

ARTHUR ERNEST MORGAN AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADULT
EDUCATION ENTERPRISE WITHIN THE
TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
1933-1938

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ronald Keith Clayton".
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ABSTRACT

ARTHUR ERNEST MORGAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADULT EDUCATION ENTERPRISE WITHIN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY 1933 - 1938

By

Ronald Keith Clayton

Arthur E. Morgan established a distinguished record of public service as an engineer, community planner, and educator, affording a significant contribution in the area of adult education. This career reflected a strong personal commitment to helping man create a better world. Mr. Morgan's appointment as Chairman of the newly-created Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933 afforded him an opportunity to further fulfill a commitment to the continuous development of adults. In so doing, he epitomized Edward Spicer's committed man concept, which posits that at any given time certain individuals strive to better the lives of others.

This study is an investigation of the manner in which Arthur E. Morgan, as Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, so interpreted and administered the TVA Act as to initiate the development of an adult education enterprise within the Authority. The program of adult education which emerged during the interval 1933-1938 was

identified, recorded, and assessed to demonstrate the degree to which it reflected Morgan's social philosophy.

The study is limited in that it is not a comprehensive investigation of the many-faceted operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority, nor has it been designed to investigate all aspects of adult education activities which the Authority initiated to help accomplish its mandate of responsibilities.

The social philosophy of Arthur Morgan has been identified prior to 1933 through an analysis of his writings and an examination of his leadership roles while he was affiliated with the Morgan Engineering Company, the Moraine Park School and Antioch College.

The genesis of the Tennessee Valley Authority has been identified through: a review of the development of the Tennessee River and Muscle Shoals prior to 1933; a socioeconomic description of the residents of the Tennessee River basin in the early 1930's; an identification of President-elect Roosevelt's "New Deal" philosophy; and a review of Roosevelt's initial plan for the regional development of the Tennessee Valley.

Several dimensions of the TVA Act have been investigated, including: the Presidential request for creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Congressional creation of the Act; the major provisions of the Act; the role of Arthur E. Morgan in the emerging Act and its provisions for an adult education component.

The development of the adult education enterprise within the Authority under Chairman Morgan has been traced from its "New Deal"



foundation, through the interaction of Arthur Morgan and his fellow members of the Board of Directors, Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal, and the delegation of responsibilities between them, to the establishment of a multi-dimensional program of adult education including job-training, general adult education, and recreation for all TVA employees, members of their families and residents living adjacent to TVA dam construction projects. Classes were provided extensively at each of the seven major dam construction camps, in community buildings adjacent to reservoir clearance projects and at the technical and administrative centers in Knoxville, Chattanooga and Muscle Shoals.

Chairman Arthur E. Morgan, in establishing an adult education enterprise within the TVA, demonstrated a leadership role which: personified Edward Spicer's "committed man theory"; operated according to the leadership-behavior style identified in the Cheatham County Study of Leadership Behavior; and demonstrated the manner in which an individual was able to so interpret a piece of federal legislation as to enable him to fulfill a personal commitment.

The program of adult education which emerged under the leadership of Arthur Morgan and his administrative staff during the interval 1933-1938 has been recorded and warrants recognition: as a significant component in the history of adult education in the United States; as a model of a multi-dimensional program of adult education; and as establishing a philosophy and principles for programs of adult education.

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To Galeta Kaar Clayton, his wife, the writer expresses deep gratitude for her support, counsel and willingness to sacrifice time and energy to enable him to pursue his graduate studies. The writer would wish for his children, Ronald, Carolyn and Keith, the good fortune in their young years of knowing, as their father knows, adults committed to helping others "seek a better world."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
 Chapter	
I. ARTHUR E. MORGAN: A COMMITTED MAN	1
The Early Years	2
The Engineer	12
The Educator	19
The Community Planner	24
Purpose and Plan of the Study	26
II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS EMPLOYED	31
Initial Interest and Preliminary Investigation . . .	31
The Committed Man Concept: Substance and Application	33
Methods Employed	39
III. THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF ARTHUR E. MORGAN	44
Components of the Social Philosophy	45
Early Implementation of the Social Philosophy	59
Consistency in Implementation of the Social Philosophy	82
IV. THE GENESIS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY	88
The Tennessee River Basin	89
Federal Interest in Development of the Tennessee River and Muscle Shoals Prior to 1933	90
Socioeconomic Conditions of the Tennessee Valley	102
A Pledge to Develop the Tennessee Valley Region	104



Chapter	Page
V. THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY	116
The Presidential Request for Creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority	117
Congressional Creation of the TVA Act	119
Major Provisions of the TVA Act	122
The Role of Arthur E. Morgan in the Emerging TVA Act	125
Provisions for an Adult Education Component Within the TVA Act	128
VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADULT EDUCATION ENTERPRISE WITHIN THE TVA: 1933 - 1938	135
The Foundation of the Adult Education Enterprise	136
The TVA Board of Directors: An Authorization to Establish a Program of Adult Education	146
The Program of Adult Education	155
Phase I - Initial Development, 1933-1934	155
Phase II - Full-Scale Operation, 1934-1938	163
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	229
Summary	229
Conclusions	232
BIBLIOGRAPHY	238

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Number of Apprentices at the Training Branches, April 1, 1938	196
2. Summary of Job Training Participation, at Selected Locations, for the Period July 1, 1936 - June 30, 1937	198
3. Summary of Job Training Participation, at Selected Locations, for the Month of February, 1938	199
4. Summary of Job Training Participation, at Selected Locations, for the Period November, 1937 - March, 1938	200

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Organization Chart - Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division	182
2. Organization Chart - Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division, Hiwassee Project	184

CHAPTER I

ARTHUR E. MORGAN: A COMMITTED MAN

Men are not content to live in the world as they find it.
They undertake to make over the corner of it in which they
live, so that it will suit their needs.

Arthur E. Morgan

In our time, Arthur E. Morgan has rendered distinguished public service as engineer, educator, and community planner. He has made a significant contribution to the development of adult education in the United States. In each arena of work, his achievements are demonstrative of bold and innovative leadership and reflective of a social philosophy which has consistently undergirded his actions.

Mr. Morgan's social philosophy evolved as he searched to discover a meaningful purpose to life. He was driven by a desire to "try to discover in what kind of world I live, and what can be to me the significance of life," and he determined that "if I have theories about the world and about life, I want to value them because they seem to me to be true, and not because they are convenient."¹ A major tenet of Mr. Morgan's philosophy is his belief that "men are born with the

¹Arthur E. Morgan, My World (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1927), p. 3.

capacity to create a far better world than they have realized."² Mr. Morgan has remained steadfast in a commitment to help men strive towards that realization.

Arthur E. Morgan's appointment to the newly-created Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933 afforded him an opportunity to fulfill his personal commitment to the continuous development of adults.

This study has investigated the manner in which Mr. Morgan, first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, so interpreted and administered the TVA Act as to develop an adult education enterprise within the Authority. Furthermore, this study has attempted to identify and assess the programs of adult education which emerged within the TVA under the leadership of Arthur Morgan, during the interval 1933-1938, and to demonstrate the degree to which they reflect a fulfillment of Morgan's philosophy.

Chapter I of this report includes a biographical sketch of Arthur E. Morgan through his early years and, later, as an engineer, an educator, and a community planner. Also to be discussed in Chapter I are the purpose and plan of the study.

Arthur E. Morgan: The Early Years

Arthur E. Morgan was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 20, 1878. When he was a young child the Morgan family moved to Minnesota. Growing up in St. Cloud, Arthur became aware at an early age of

²Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Program," Journal of Higher Education 1 (December 1930): 502.

the conflicts in values both between his parents and between his parents and others in the multi-ethnic community in which the Morgans lived.³ Arthur's father, John D. Morgan, Indiana-log-cabin-born, was a surveyor who also recited Shakespeare, subscribed to the Boston Journal of Chemistry, maintained a chemical laboratory in the woodshed and enjoyed solving mathematical problems.⁴ It was said of the elder Mr. Morgan that "he had the true scientific spirit, and cast off outworn creeds far more freely than his outworn clothes."⁵ He continuously cautioned Arthur not to accept readily the ideas of others but rather to observe, question, inquire, and decide for himself.⁶ He was tolerant, open-minded and he "did not actively press his views on his family or on others."⁷

John Morgan's liberal approach to life was in sharp contrast to that of Massachusetts-born Anna Wiley Morgan, Arthur's mother, who has been described as a strict, puritanical school teacher. She was the dominant parent in the home, responsible for maintaining, and often supporting the family.⁸ In retrospect, Arthur said of her:

³Clarence J. Leuba, A Road to Creativity (North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publishing House, 1971), pp. 21-27.

⁴Lucy Griscom Morgan, Finding His World (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kanoe and Company, 1928), p. 5.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶Leuba, A Road to Creativity, 25.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 23.

Intelligence was ordinary, there was little charm of personality, no air of authority, no prestige of manner. But there were other qualities that somewhat overcame these limitations. There was thorough going integrity. There was a clear picture of those human traits which would make a good society--good neighborliness, dependability, tolerance, and a sharing of burdens--and a simple assumption that a better social order would exist insofar as individuals exemplified those traits in themselves. With a fairly clear picture of what would be a good life, there was a quiet firmness or stubbornness in holding to personal standards regardless of how the rest of the world might go.⁹

She maintained high standards for Arthur, had confidence in him, and was responsible for his eventual "concern for the welfare of others, high and uncompromising ethical standards, ... and condemnation and intolerance of dishonesty, irresponsibility, and laziness."¹¹ She represented a way of life of which Morgan later wrote:

... by actual experience I observed that the narrow-minded, orthodox, provincial, and evangelical people with whom I grew up were also the people in our community who stood for clean-cut integrity, neighborly fellowship, and genuine social-mindedness.

St. Cloud was largely inhabited by recent immigrants from Poland, France, Germany, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, Bohemia, Holland, Russia and the Balkans, who lived in small settlements where they preserved their heritage and their ways of life.¹² Their lot in frontier Minnesota was usually one of hardship, often compounded by their primitive European heritage. Growing up among them, Arthur became increas-

⁹Arthur E. Morgan, The Long Road (Washington, D.C.: National Historical Library Foundation, 1936), p. 140.

¹⁰Leuba, A Road to Creativity, 23.

¹¹Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue in Finding His World, by Lucy Griscom Morgan (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1928), p. 101.

¹²Leuba, A Road to Creativity, 21.



aware of their varied approaches to life as represented by their ethnic differences and the strong contrasts to the Morgan life style, and he eventually was able to accurately discuss their national differences while at the same time becoming aware of their common traits of optimism and perseverance.¹³

Arthur's early exposure to the conflicting approaches to the life of his parents and of the multi-ethnic residents of St. Cloud resulted in the young man's constantly questioning his inherited value system. He later wrote, "We cannot arbitrarily accept or reject that inheritance as a whole. The problem of life is to weigh, appraise, select, and discard with equal care so that no values are lost and no impediments are retained."¹⁴

A bout with cerebral meningitis and measles left the young Morgan with permanently weak eyesight, oversensitive nerves and parents determined to provide a sheltered life for their son.¹⁵ He was unwilling to accept the physical or emotional consequences of his sickness. Diaries maintained in his youth reflect a commitment to strengthen his body and overcome his weak constitution. He recalled in a recent interview that as he studied plants he often "intentionally mutilated them to see if they recovered and...became convinced that I could do the same thing."¹⁶

¹³Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 14-20.

¹⁴Arthur Morgan, Epilogue in Finding His World, 103.

¹⁵Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 18-21.

¹⁶Interview with Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 12 February 1972.

Arthur's enthusiasm for elementary school appears to have been in inverse proportion to the degree of authoritarianism of the teacher of the year in his usually single-teacher school. His description of an episode with one of them is illustrative:

The seemingly intense dislike for me of the 3rd and 4th grade teacher, who practiced severe regimentation, may have been due to the fact that I found it difficult to sit still. It was a major crime for a pupil to whisper or turn around in his seat and look behind him. For my delinquency I was made to stand in the cloakroom, often for hours at a time. I recall standing there until dusk, and then peeking out to find that the teacher had forgotten me and had gone home.¹⁷

This teacher was succeeded by a man "so broken of spirit that he allowed the children to do as they pleased." Under conditions of freedom allowed by that teacher Arthur found school to be very profitable.¹⁸ He recalls that:

As a boy I used to find my chief delight in the wild woods, with plants and animals, with rivers and hills, marshes and rocky bluffs. The greatest thrills of my boyhood came in the discovery of some rare plant, or of fossils carried from afar in the glacial drift, or in learning the habits of birds and animals.¹⁹

This interest, shared with a friend, was responsible for the formation of the Granite City Geologist Club whose members "made a collection of specimens and accumulated a small library" consisting

17. ¹⁷Arthur E. Morgan, quoted in Leuba, A Road to Creativity,

¹⁸Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 18-19.

¹⁹Arthur E. Morgan, "A College for Nature Lovers," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 12 December 1929.

mainly of free government publications.²⁰ A laboratory was also rigged up with "a precious dollar or two spent for bottles and chemicals."²¹

Morgan was one of the few boys who utilized the town library and its collection of science books and biographies of great men. He soon developed a resentment towards English biographers who supplied all the hereditary reasons for the success of their subjects because he felt he "had no worthwhile heredity, and yet ... meant to be worthwhile."²²

The Morgan household of five frequently expanded to include boarders from the St. Cloud Normal School, some of whom were active in the local Christian Endeavor organization. From about the age of nine, Arthur showed great interest in this group, an interest which he later said was prompted by a desire to stay up late.²³ He regularly attended weekly meetings of the group and shared in their efforts to "put their lives in order."²⁴ The original religious foundation of the organization was often in conflict with the spirit of scientific inquiry.²⁵ Arthur's association with the group lasted for almost

²⁰Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 19.

²¹Arthur E. Morgan, "Constructive Solutions for Unemployed Youth," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 7 February 1934.

²²Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 5.

²³Interview, Arthur E. Morgan, 12 February 1972.

²⁴Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 18.

²⁵Ibid.

ten years and afforded him the opportunity to develop skills in critical thinking, speaking, and leadership.²⁶ It was at this time that Morgan came to realize that the great minds of the race were men who "dared to think freely." Thus, at the age of fifteen, Arthur Morgan reports he "committed himself to free inquiry."²⁷

Morgan's three years in completing high school included a combination of study, farm work, reading, and much thinking. He was a successful student. His work on the farm usually consisted of husking corn and doing other manual chores. His reading included a book of Hawthorne's sketches. He was later to say of these:

...As a whole they were not good for me to read. He dwells among mental monstrosities. The idea of an unpardonable sin which he gives in Ethan Brand is contrary to reason. ... His picture of long-continued yet abated remorse ... is antagonistic to natural law.²⁸

During his last year in high school in 1897 Arthur wrote, "Wonder what I shall do when I get through school ... I do not know how to do anything but walk, for all my eleven years in school."²⁹

Not knowing his destination, but determined to venture beyond the boundaries of Minnesota, Arthur arose early one morning in

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue in Finding His World, 102.

²⁸Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1896, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 24 August 1896.

²⁹Ibid., 12 February 1896.

the early fall of 1897, packed a bundle which included "a small Testament, Gray's Elegy, a cyclopedia of universal information, writing paper, pencils ... and a diary" and headed West with a friend.³⁰ On the road he wrote:

A destination is a fine thing to have. It makes the difference between a man and a tramp. There are tramps in a physical sense, such as we were that day. Then there are mental tramps, men who labor from day to day laying up nothing on earth or in heart, living just because they have a physical impulse to live. The worst kind are moral tramps. They have no moral destination. They see only their immediate gains and will lose a friend or reputation for slight personal advantage.³¹

Arthur arrived in Colorado in November, 1897. He was quick to note the change in climate and to display a basic understanding of human behavior when he recorded:

The weather here is a pleasure ... but I begin to dread a harmless snow flurry as much as I did a blizzard in Minnesota. It is just so with our pleasures and displeasures. If the worst trouble is gone, the mind takes up the next in importance and attempts to do away with that and so on. The healthy mind is not long contented.³²

Morgan's employment in Colorado included farm work, mining, and logging. The tenure on any one job appears to have depended solely on his degree of restlessness at the time:

³⁰ Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1897, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 11 September 1897.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1898, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 5 January 1898.



I have a very pleasant place to work, but as in all other circumstances, I cannot feel contented. I guess that that is contrary to my nature. I am rather too discontented for my own good, I think. With life, nature is still in the experimental stage. Many of our impulses and emotions conflict, and it is hard to tell what is the right course. I would experience a lazy man's relief should someone I could trust just mark out for me the way I should go in the next few years. I would like to know where I belong.³³

A portion of Carlyle's Democracy, quoted in his diary, follows the same theme:

Of all the paths a man could strike into, there is at any given moment, a best path for every man; a thing which, here and now, it were of all things wisest for him to do; - which could he be but led or driven to do, he were then doing "like a man" as we phrase it; all men and gods agreeing with him, the whole Universe virtually exclaiming "Well done!" to him.³⁴

One job in a logging camp near Arapahoe Park lasted only a few days.³⁵ To a young man "determined never to do a day's work for pay where the normal and natural results of that day's work would be of no human value," the task of cutting logs for a partially-completed gambling hall was unthinkable.³⁶

It is difficult to determine whether one of Morgan's Colorado business ventures was prompted by a desire for financial gain or a desire to open horizons for miners and woodcutters. Believing that the

³³ Ibid., 15 January 1898.

³⁴ Ibid., 25 February 1898.

³⁵ Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 38.

³⁶ Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue to Finding His World, 107.



rugged men living in mining and logging camps had a desire to read "worthwhile"--but unobtainable--books, Arthur traveled the camp circuit, armed with a cart filled with inexpensive editions of books by such writers as John Ruskin, Kipling, Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson.³⁷ Unfortunately, his basic premise proved incorrect; he recalls that he never sold a single book!³⁸

Investigation of several volumes which the unsuccessful book seller carried home indicates that he repeatedly read and understood sections of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Essays which were particularly significant for him:

To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men--that is genius.³⁹

Trust thyself; every heart vibrates to that iron string.⁴⁰

Whosoever would be a man must be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind.⁴¹

Few and mean as my gift may be, I actually am, and do not need for my own assurance or the assurance of my fellows any secondary testimony.⁴²

³⁷Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 52.

³⁸Interview, Arthur E. Morgan, 12 February 1972.

³⁹Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays (New York: Hurst and Company) 1:41. undated.

⁴⁰Ibid., 1:43.

⁴¹Ibid., 1:45.

⁴²Ibid., 1:48.

Do your own work, and you shall reinforce yourself.⁴³

All history resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons.⁴⁴

Nothing can bring you peace but yourself. Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles.⁴⁵

While in Colorado, Morgan maintained his strong interest in nature, an interest which proved a source of occasional financial gain:

Received a letter from the Popular Science News. I sent them three items and they returned one of them. They are to send me their paper and I am to write to them regularly.⁴⁶

Got a letter from home, and an order for two dollars worth of ferns.⁴⁷

Took a climb in the mountains and collected the rest of the ferns I have orders for.⁴⁸

After three years in Colorado, Morgan returned to St. Cloud. His experiences influenced the man and contributed much to the foundation of principles which thereafter undergirded his accomplishments.

Arthur E. Morgan: The Engineer

Back in Minnesota, Morgan joined his father as a surveyor's assistant. Developing an interest in engineering, he soon realized the limitations placed upon him by his lack of formal training.

⁴³Ibid., 1:49.

⁴⁴Ibid., 1:55.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1:78.

⁴⁶Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1896, 9 January 1896.

⁴⁷Ibid., 5 August 1896.

⁴⁸Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1898, 9 September 1898.

Characteristically, he turned his energies to intensive study of drainage and flood control, a field neglected by trained engineers.⁴⁹ Morgan developed a proposal for revising the drainage code for Minnesota in 1904, received approval for his plan from the Minnesota Engineers Society, and early in 1905 saw his proposal adopted by the state legislature.⁵⁰

In 1907, following the advice of C. G. Elliot of the United States Department of Agriculture, Morgan began working in government service as a Supervising Drainage Engineer.⁵¹ His purposes were two-fold: (1) "to be able to associate with trained technical men," and (2) "to do work on a larger scale."⁵²

In 1908, Arthur Morgan began field explorations for the drainage of the upper part of the St. Francis Valley, involving 1,000,000 acres of land in Northwestern Arkansas.⁵³ Knowing that "in nearly every region where drainage is undertaken, large amounts of money are spent on ill-considered efforts," usually of a temporary

⁴⁹Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 79.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³U.S., Department of Agriculture, Report of the St. Francis Valley Drainage Project in Northeastern Arkansas, Bulletin 230, Part 1. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 7-8.

nature, he developed a comprehensive drainage plan for the St. Francis Valley Drainage Association.⁵⁴ Utilizing his emerging expertise in the field and studies of projects completed in other states, he was able to demonstrate that a well-devised drainage system would also result in improved health conditions, reduced costs for rice irrigation, improved roads, an expanded lumbering season, the establishment of fisheries, improved waterways, expanded water transportation and the immediate potential for water power.⁵⁵

Between 1905 and 1921 Mr. Morgan drafted drainage codes for Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, Colorado, and New Mexico.⁵⁶ These codes provided for the creation of special governmental agencies for the express purpose of land reclamation.⁵⁷ On May 7, 1910, Morgan received word that he had been admitted as an associate member of the American Society of Civil Engineers.⁵⁸ Later he was granted full membership, and, in 1927, he was elected vice-president of the society.⁵⁹

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 88.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 79-87.

⁵⁶The Knoxville News-Sentinel, 22 December 1933.

⁵⁷Arthur E. Morgan, "The Proper Functions of Special Agencies Such as the Tennessee Valley Authority," to Heads of Departments concerned with Planning Activities of the TVA, 3 November 1933, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 4.

⁵⁸Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1910, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 7 May 1910.

⁵⁹Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 91.

The Morgan Engineering Company was organized in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1910 and reorganized in 1915 as the Dayton Morgan Engineering Company.⁶⁰ The Miami Flood Control Project of Ohio, undertaken in 1913, became the company's first major challenge. In March 1913, Dayton, Ohio, and the whole Miami Valley in southwestern Ohio were devastated by a flood whose toll included "the loss of over 360 lives and property damage in excess of 100 million dollars."⁶¹ The Dayton Citizens' Relief Committee was appointed by Governor Cox on March 27 to respond to the "first and most important matter ... getting food into the city and taking care of the destitute, and establishing the necessary stations for its distribution."⁶² Within the organization, a Flood Prevention Committee was formed. Maintaining "the general opinion that the Federal Government would not take immediate action to prevent the recurrence of the flood disasters" the citizens were solicited for funds.⁶³ Subsequently, "subscriptions amounting to more than \$2,000,000 were received"; the money was earmarked to prevent recurrence of the tragedy.⁶⁴ The committee turned to Mr. Morgan

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 94.

⁶¹State of Ohio, The Miami Conservancy District, The Miami Valley and the 1913 Flood, Technical Report, Part I. (Dayton, Ohio: 1918), p. 11.

⁶²State of Ohio, The Miami Conservancy District, History of the Miami Flood Control Project, Technical Report, Part II. (Dayton, Ohio: 1918), p. 11.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 17-21.

⁶⁴Ibid.

and informed him, "the valley has suffered a calamity that must not be allowed to occur again. Find a way out!"⁶⁵

Rejecting pressures for immediate corrective action, he suggested that "no plan of improvement should be adopted without a thorough analysis of the situation ... probably a year before definite plans could be made."⁶⁶ Further realizing that a comprehensive flood control plan for the whole valley was necessary to replace isolated city and town efforts, he played a major role in formulating the legislation which became the Conservancy Act of Ohio, authorizing "the Miami Conservancy District ... of the State of Ohio to be established on June 28, 1915 ... for the purpose of building and maintaining flood control works in the Miami Valley."⁶⁷

Morgan and his staff responded to the task with extraordinary resourcefulness and the policy and plans for the Valley "involved radical departures from time-worn methods, which created innumerable obstructions through ignorance and local prejudice."⁶⁸ To deal with this problem, the Morgan Company developed an educational campaign "to overcome impatience, prejudice, ignorance of the plans; to combat misrepresentation, to harmonize conflicting interests into a united effort

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 27-28.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 62-75.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 30.

and to gain the whole and confident support of the people," thus insuring eventual adoption of the plan.⁶⁹

Governor Cox described Mr. Morgan as "a man of forceful personality, rare conscientiousness and an almost intuitive knowledge of the best means of adapting conservancy works to difficult terrain."⁷⁰

A decade later, James A. Haight, an attorney who had at one time been active in the Miami Valley region, said of the Miami Project:

I was particularly impressed with the novel features of your plan and procedure, the delayed run-off through culverts in retention dams, the large special assessment district possessing powers adapted to meet many varied problems, the condemnation and the right of easement to flood parcels of land for limited periods of time instead of taking the entire title to the flooded areas.⁷¹

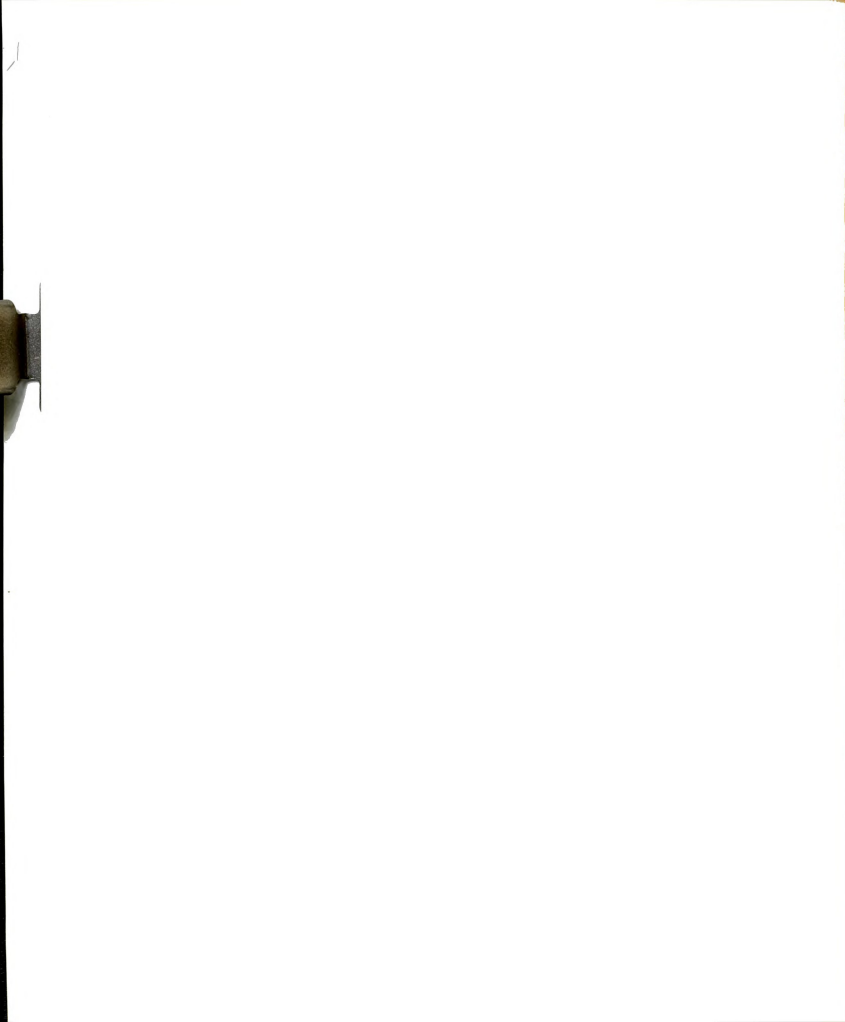
Recently, Paul Douglas, former Senator from Illinois, wrote: "Nearly sixty years have passed since these new ventures were begun, with major features in direct disagreement with the "sacred code of the Corps of Engineers, and of their Bible, The Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River. During that time the Miami Valley has been immune from flood destruction. Morgan's program has met the test of time and experience."⁷²

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁰James M. Cox, Journey Through My Years (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), p. 175.

⁷¹Letter, James A. Haight to Arthur E. Morgan, 29 May 1933, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

⁷²Paul H. Douglas, Foreward to Dams and Other Disasters, by Arthur E. Morgan (Boston, Mass.: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1971), p. vii.



The activities of the Dayton Morgan Engineering Company over the next two decades were reviewed by Mr. Morgan, its president, in November, 1933. He reported that under various conservancy codes more than 25 projects had been supervised "involving the reclamation of two million acres of land and flood control in a dozen cities with the expenditure of between \$60,000,000 and \$80,000,000."⁷³

President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Mr. Morgan Chairman of the Board of Directors of the newly-created Tennessee Valley Authority on May 18, 1933.⁷⁴ A delegation of responsibilities among the three members of the Board of Directors provided that Mr. Morgan's services as an engineer would constitute a major commitment of his energies to the Authority, since he was responsible for "Engineering, including studies, plans and construction for the control and use of water and mineral resources ... and matters concerning raw materials for fertilizer."⁷⁵

Following the days of his association with the TVA Mr. Morgan, the engineer, utilized his expertise as a consultant for several projects including the Volta River Dam in Ghana, Africa, and the Kinzua

⁷³Arthur Morgan, "Proper Functions of Special Agencies ...", p. 4.

⁷⁴U.S., President, Proclamation, "Appointment of Arthur Morgan to Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority," Federal Register, 1 June 1933.

⁷⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, Minutes, Meetings of the Board of Directors, Vol. 1, Technical Library, Knoxville, Tenn., 5 August 1933.

Dam and Reservoir on the Allegheny River in the United States.⁷⁶ His recent book, Dams and Other Disasters, presents an historical review of the civil works of the United States Army Corps of Engineers.

Arthur E. Morgan: The Educator

During his years as an engineer, Arthur Morgan maintained a strong interest in the American educational process. Very early, reflecting upon his own educational experience which failed to give him direction and vocational preparation, Morgan decided to establish an experimental school with an industrial training component.⁷⁷ In 1915 he began a systematic search for an ideal location for this undertaking, and in August of that year he bought two hundred acres on Shaw Pond in Becket, Massachusetts.⁷⁸ The land was eventually used for various educational programs by his colleagues but the school he envisioned never developed there.⁷⁹

Mr. Morgan and several business associates, desiring an alternative to existing educational programs available to their children, established the Moraine Park School of Dayton, Ohio, in 1917.⁸⁰

⁷⁶Antioch College, "Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, President Emeritus, Antioch College," Yellow Springs, Ohio. 20 June 1968; Douglas, Forward, Dams and Other Disasters.

⁷⁷Antioch College, "Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, President Emeritus, Antioch College," Yellow Springs, Ohio. 20 June 1968.

⁷⁸Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, 98.

⁷⁹Interview, Arthur E. Morgan, 12 February 1972.

⁸⁰Frank D. Slutz and Laura A. Gillmore, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," Progressive Education Association Bulletin 5 (April, 1921):1.

The founders believed that "in the process of becoming intelligent, cultured, economically sound adults, it was not necessary to sacrifice interest, initiative, and originality, nor, as is sometimes the case, character and health."⁸¹ Their "educational laboratory" was housed in a remodeled greenhouse and the original enrollment of fifty-nine students expanded to two hundred eight within three years.⁸²

The Moraine Park School became a model for the progressive education movement which was emerging across the United States.⁸³ Based upon the principles of natural child development, that movement was dedicated to the "freest and fullest development of the individual based upon the scientific study of his physical, mental, spiritual, and social characteristics and needs."⁸⁴

In 1919, Mr. Morgan played a significant role in the formation of the Progressive Education Association of Washington, D.C., and on May 6 of that year he was elected as its president.⁸⁵ The Association was not committed to any single method or system of education.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 1-2.

⁸³ Stanwood Cobb, "A New Movement in Education," Atlantic Monthly, February, 1921, pp. 227-229.

⁸⁴ Progressive Education Association, Descriptive Pamphlet of Progressive Education Association, Washington, D.C., p. 1.

⁸⁵ Letter, Stanwood Cobb, Executive Secretary, Progressive Education Association, to Arthur E. Morgan, 6 May 1919, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Instead, at least in its formative years under Morgan's leadership, the organization reflected his investigative approach to life by providing "a medium through which improvements and developments worked out by various agencies could be presented to the public."⁸⁶

Mr. Morgan's relationships with college and university graduates, many of whom he employed in his engineering firm, allowed him ample opportunity to reflect upon their educational experiences and to decry the "narrowness" of their training.⁸⁷ Although these men were well prepared to earn a living, according to Morgan, they desperately needed "health, friends, books, recreation, preparation for citizenship and a philosophy of life."⁸⁸

An opportunity to operationalize his thoughts on higher education began in April, 1919 when Mr. Morgan was elected a trustee of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio.⁸⁹ After Morgan's first visit to the school he remarked to Mrs. Morgan, "I believe it is near enough dead to start over in the form I dream of."⁹⁰ The college, "having been born of great vision" of Horace Mann, Edward Hale and

⁸⁶Descriptive Pamphlet of Progressive Education Association, p. 3.

⁸⁷Arthur E. Morgan, "A Budget for Your Life," Antioch College Bulletin, 26, No. 5, (February, 1930):8.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Lucy Morgan, Finding His World, p. 100.

⁹⁰Ibid.

their associates in 1853, was facing a series of crises which threatened its continuing existence.⁹¹ Mr. Morgan, with the approval of his trustee colleagues, began immediately to develop guidelines for reorganizing the institution.⁹²

The "New Antioch Plan" established seven basic aims for the institution: self-support for the college student; self-support for the college; a well-rounded program of study and practical experience; cultural educational offerings; vocational courses; a commitment to physical fitness; and "the development of a spirit of moral enthusiasm and of social service."⁹³

The "Plan of Reorganization of Antioch" was approved by the Board of Directors who ended a year's search for a new president by selecting Mr. Morgan in 1921.⁹⁴ As President of the College, Mr. Morgan stated the purpose of Antioch as two-fold:

One of these is cultural, technical, and practical training to provide Antioch students with the necessary intellectual equipment for effective living and working. The other is the development of purposes and aims of living, the development of basic energy drives and attitudes, that will lead students and faculty alike to commit themselves wholly to the great human adventure of discovering and fulfilling the best possibilities of life.⁹⁵

⁹¹"A Great Adventure in Education," Dayton Daily News, 17 April 1921.

⁹²Dayton Daily News, 19 May 1933.

⁹³Arthur E. Morgan, "The Plan for the New Antioch," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, December, 1920.

⁹⁴Dayton Daily News, 17 April 1921.

⁹⁵Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Program," 497.

Under Morgan's leadership the college expanded in several directions. Between 1920 and 1926 the student enrollment grew from 41 to more than 500.⁹⁶ The total annual expenditure for 1919-1920 was less than \$15,000; in 1925-1926 the annual budget totaled \$250,000.⁹⁷ The physical facilities were continuously expanded and up-dated; for example, in 1926 alone, plans were underway to construct an infirmary and medical building and an aesthetics and music facility, to develop Antioch Glen (a one-hundred acre tract of woodland adjacent to the campus), and to improve facilities for a home economics department.⁹⁸

The six-year Antioch Plan, which combined a "liberal college education, vocational training, and apprenticeship to practical life," received national attention and a surplus of applications for admission.⁹⁹ A Rutgers University Study in 1931-1932 of 363 colleges and universities found Antioch to be highly "national" in its student population, having seventy-seven per cent of its students from states other than Ohio.¹⁰⁰

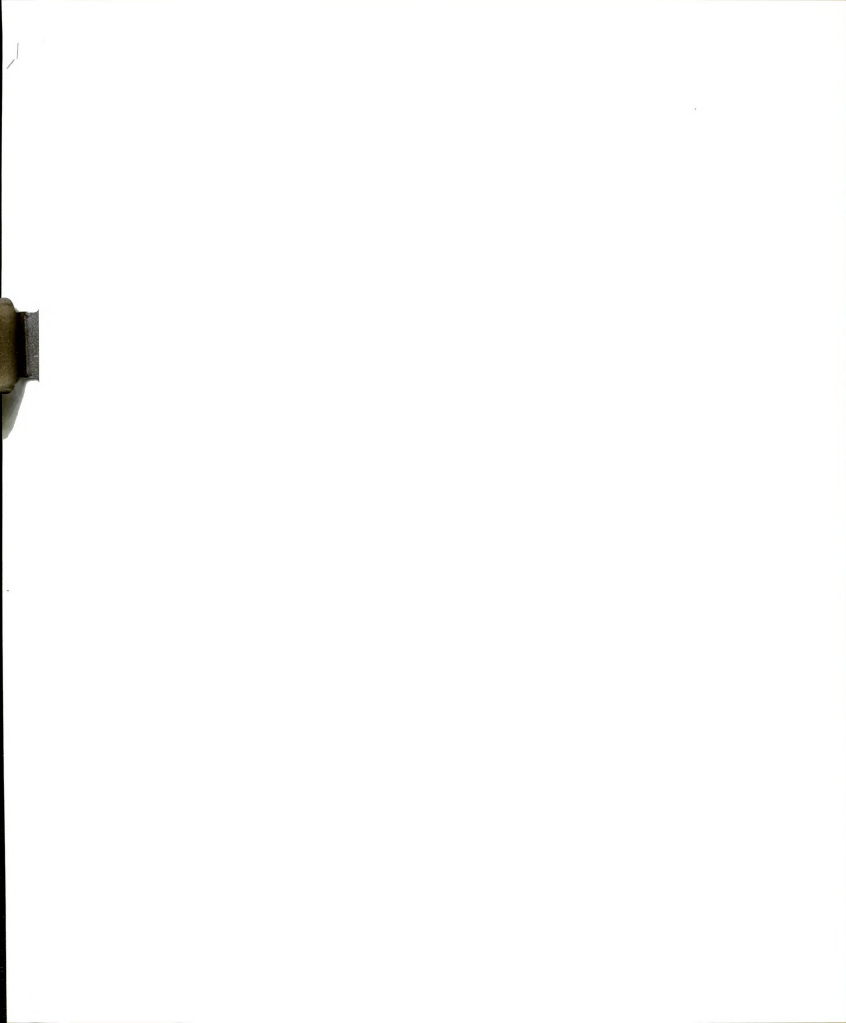
⁹⁶ Arthur E. Morgan, Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 12 (February, 1926).

⁹⁷ Arthur E. Morgan, Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 2 (September, 1925).

⁹⁸ Arthur E. Morgan, "Some Needs at Antioch," Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 17 (May, 1926).

⁹⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, "Antioch in Brief," Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 9 (January, 1926).

¹⁰⁰ "Geographical Distribution of Students," Antioch Notes, Vol. 9, No. 8 (February, 1932).



The establishment of the Fels Research Institute for the Study of Human Development and the Charles F. Kettering Research Laboratory seeking new knowledge in biological science brought additional national recognition to Antioch during Morgan's tenure.¹⁰¹ That tenure was interrupted in 1933 when Mr. Morgan assumed the Chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Arthur E. Morgan: Community Planner

Arthur E. Morgan returned to the campus of Antioch in 1938 after leaving the Tennessee Valley Authority.¹⁰² His experience as an engineer and educator had allowed him ample opportunity to work with people in various sized communities as well as "communities of workers" functioning together in construction camps. His questioning approach to life had prompted him to continuously observe the beliefs, values, and mores of the residents of these various communities as they lived within their particular milieu. He concluded that:

... contrary to the American notion that what is small and local is unimportant and seeing bigness as a measure of significance (the small community has) vital significance as a fundamental and necessary unit of society.¹⁰³

According to Morgan, it is the small community along with the family that "continues to be the chief medium for transmitting the

¹⁰¹Antioch College, "Dr. Arthur E. Morgan ...," p. 2.

¹⁰²Interview, Morgan, 12 February 1972.

¹⁰³Arthur E. Morgan, The Community of the Future, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Braun-Brumfield, Inc., 1937), p. 1.

basic cultural inheritance of society."¹⁰⁴ Mr. Morgan defines the community as an

... association of persons and families living in the same limited area who plan and work in unison to satisfy a substantial part of their common and varied needs and interests, and to sustain common standards, among whom there is a considerable development of personal acquaintance and personal relations, and a feeling that they are sharing risks and opportunities.¹⁰⁵

The community, he believed, is ultimately responsible for nurturing a particular "quality of society" which reflects the desirable traits of civilization.¹⁰⁶ Mr. Morgan identified "good will, neighborliness, fair play, courage, tolerance, open-minded inquiry and patience" as desirable traits to be perpetuated within the American community. Perpetuation occurs as traits are inculcated by the "contagion of example" in the "intimate friendly world of the family and small communities."¹⁰⁷

Mr. Morgan founded Community Service, Incorporated, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1940 "to promote the interests of the community as a basic social institution concerned with the economic, recreational, educational, cultural, and spiritual development of its

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁵Arthur E. Morgan, The Community, (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Community Services, Inc., 1942), Chap. 1, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶Arthur E. Morgan, Community of the Future, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷Arthur E. Morgan, The Community, Chap. 1, p. 2; Arthur E. Morgan, Community of the Future, p. 8.

members."¹⁰⁸ To this day, the organization continues to publish "Community Service News," a bimonthly periodical, affording Mr. Morgan and his community planning associates a vehicle for sharing their thoughts and investigative findings.

In 1947, Mr. Morgan served as a consultant to the government of Finland in the "establishment of small communities."¹⁰⁹ In 1948, he spent a year in India as a member of a governmental commission studying Indian education in the interest of the vast Indian population living in villages.¹¹⁰

Even today, Arthur Morgan and his associates continue to seek an answer to the question,

Can there be a community of the future which will save what has been so vital to men in the village life of the past, and at the same time capture those desirable qualities of urban life which through the centuries have had wholesome and legitimate appeal?¹¹¹

Purpose and Plan of the Study

This study has investigated the manner in which Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, so interpreted and administered the TVA Act as to fulfill a philosophical commitment to the continuous development of adults. Furthermore, this study

¹⁰⁸Community Service News, Community Service, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1952.

¹⁰⁹Antioch College, "Dr. Arthur E. Morgan ...," 3.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Morgan, The Community of the Future, p. 7.

has attempted to identify and assess the comprehensive program of adult education which emerged under the leadership of Arthur E. Morgan during the interval 1933-1938, and to understand the degree to which it reflected a fulfillment of Morgan's social philosophy.

The "committed man" concept as developed by Edward Spicer has been employed as the conceptual base of the study. Mr. Spicer posits that at any given time, certain individuals strive to better the lives of others and in so doing, "assume grave responsibilities for the results of their efforts."¹¹² Arthur E. Morgan, a committed man, demonstrated a kind of leadership examined in several studies, among them the Cheatham County Study of Leadership Behavior. This study concluded that the social and cultural dynamics involved in situations striving to improve society require, if they are to be resolved successfully, leadership by men who possess a self-concept of social responsibility which is stronger than their sensitivity to the feelings of others.¹¹³ Such men must possess both a strong personal commitment to the need for social change and the conviction that they possess the knowledge and competencies necessary for planning and implementing such change.¹¹⁴ Arthur Morgan had demonstrated

¹¹²Edward H. Spicer, ed., Human Problems in Technological Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), p. 13.

¹¹³Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, Better Teaching in School Administration, Nashville, Tenn., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1955.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

that he was such a man. He approached his responsibilities within the Tennessee Valley Authority with a social philosophy, essential knowledge, and leadership skills to assist the people of the Tennessee Valley Region in their search for a better way of life.

In undertaking this study, it was assumed: that Arthur Morgan had maintained a firm commitment to adult education as a means of bringing about change in society; that prior to his appointment to the TVA he had developed a social philosophy which included a commitment to bringing about change in society; that as a leader he would attempt to develop programs reflective of his personally-held educational and social values, and that as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the TVA he would be in a position of authority to provide productive leadership.

This study is not a comprehensive investigation of the many-faceted operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority, nor has it been designed to investigate all aspects of adult education activities which the Authority initiated to help accomplish its mandate of responsibilities. It is a study of one man's vision, strategies and contributions within the context of an adult education enterprise.

Adult education has been defined within the context of this dissertation to include those educational programs designed to promote development of the individual and the community and to strengthen individual and social values. Such programs operate within both formal and nonformal structures and involve both youths and adults who participate on a voluntary, part-time basis. This study is concerned with such programs as they served employees, members of employee families,

or inhabitants of the geographical region under the legal jurisdiction of the TVA.

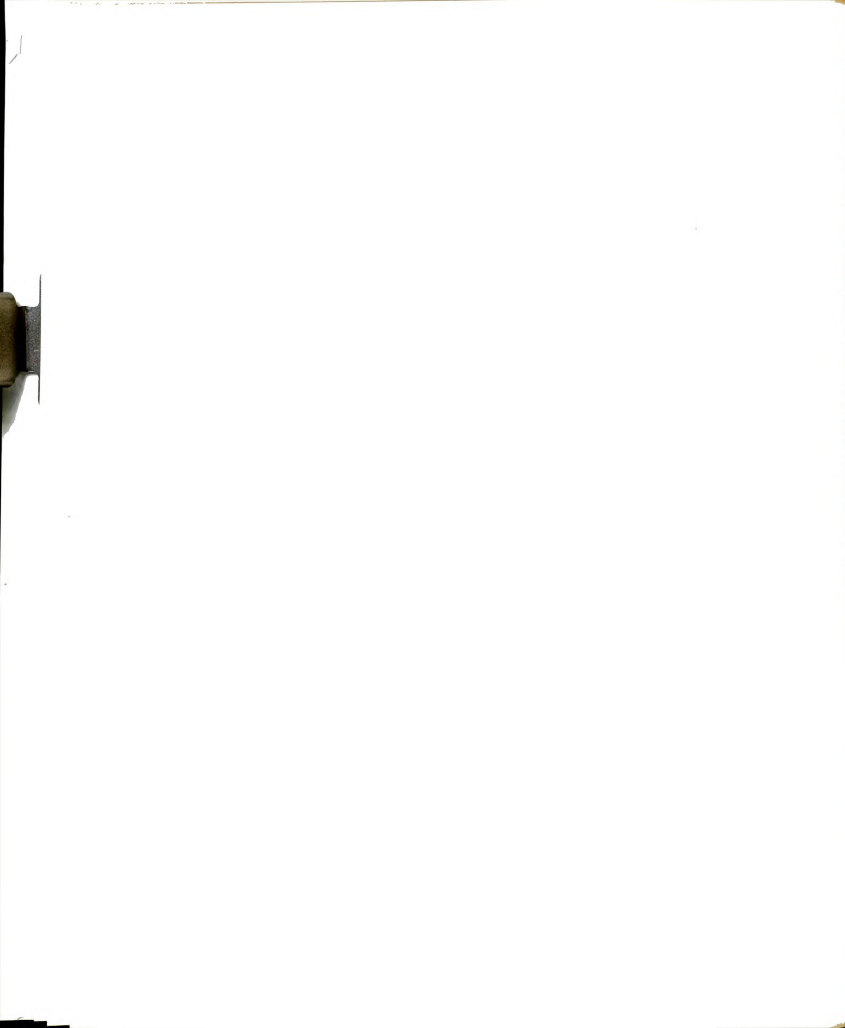
Social philosophy has been defined within the context of this dissertation to include values and beliefs as they affect attitudes towards mankind and commitment to seek certain ends in individuals and society.

The content of the study has been divided into four major topics: (1) social philosophy of Arthur E. Morgan prior to 1933; (2) the physical, economic, social, and political conditions leading to the creation of the TVA; (3) the creation of the TVA; and (4) the development of an adult education enterprise within the TVA. For purposes of organization, the study is presented in seven chapters.

Chapter I has included an introduction to the study; a review of Arthur E. Morgan's early years; a biographical review of the milestones in Arthur Morgan's careers as engineer, educator, and community planner, and a discussion of the purpose and plan of the study.

Chapter II includes a presentation of the writer's initial interest in and preliminary investigation of the subject, the substance and application of the "committed man" concept, and an enumeration of the methods employed in the study.

Chapter III presents an identification of the social philosophy of Arthur E. Morgan prior to his appointment to the Tennessee Valley Authority; demonstrates the application of his social philosophy at the Moraine Park School, the Miami Project Construction Camps, and Antioch



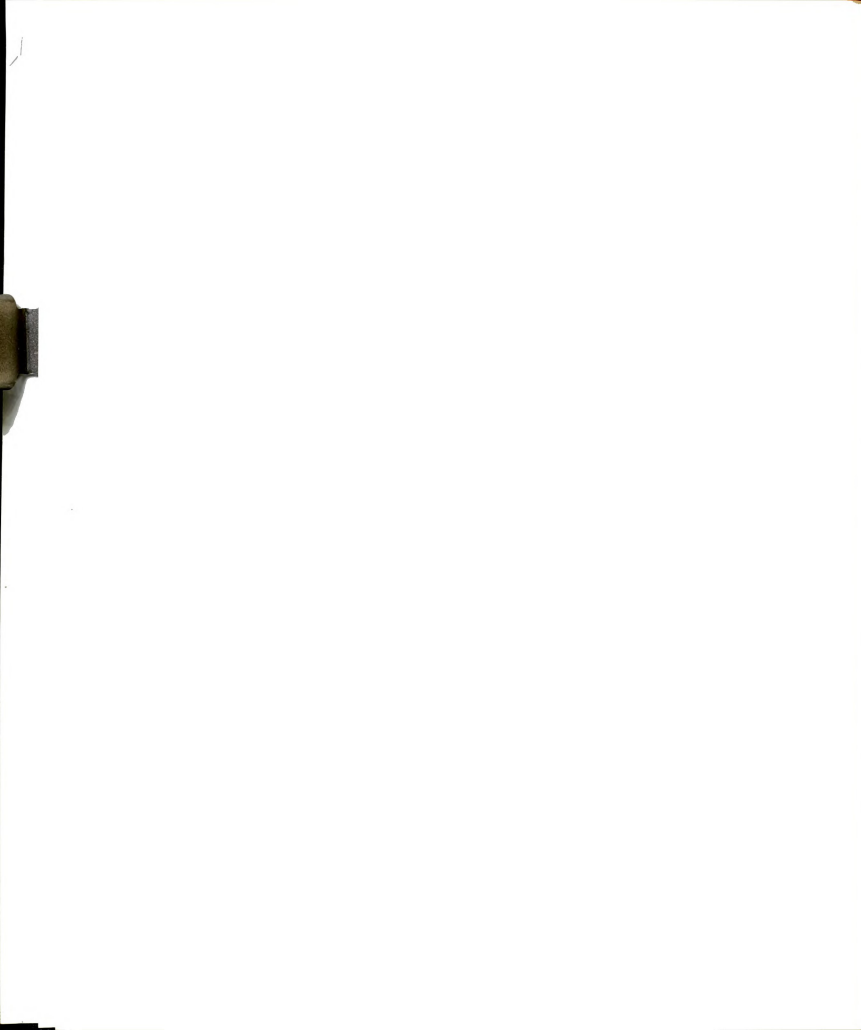
College; and gives a comparative analysis of his social philosophy as it operated in the above situations.

Chapter IV deals with a physical description of the Tennessee River Basin; traces the historical development of Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley region prior to 1933; presents a socioeconomic description of the Tennessee Valley region prior to 1933, and reviews Franklin Roosevelt's personal and political record as it constituted the basis for his pledge to develop the Tennessee Valley region.

In Chapter V are included the Presidential request for creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority; a recording of the legislative process creating the TVA Act; a recognition of the major provisions of the TVA Act; an identification of the role of Arthur E. Morgan in the emerging TVA Act; and an examination of the TVA Act as a basis for an adult education component within the Tennessee Valley development.

Chapter VI discusses the philosophical foundations underlying the establishment of an adult education enterprise within the TVA; the development of a commitment by the Board of Directors of the TVA to establish a program of adult education within the TVA; and the organizational structure and content of the program of adult education in both its initial development during the years 1933-34 and its full scale operation from 1934-38.

Chapter VII consists of a summary of the study and a presentation of conclusions drawn.



CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS EMPLOYED

Arthur E. Morgan and the adult education enterprise which emerged within the TVA under his leadership during the interval 1933-1938 constitute the basis of this study. By establishing a legitimate commitment to adult education within the provisions of the TVA Act and by providing direction in the development of a program of adult education Arthur E. Morgan fulfilled a personal commitment aimed at helping others build a better world and epitomized the "committed man" described in Edward Spicer's "committed man" concept.

This chapter will deal with the following topics: the writer's initial interest in and preliminary investigation of the subject; the application of the "committed man" concept; and the methodology employed in the study.

Initial Interest and Preliminary Investigation

The writer's initial interest in studying the adult education program which operated within the TVA during its formative years was prompted by an awareness that a program had existed but had failed to gain recognition in historical surveys of the adult education movement in the United States.

An exploratory investigation of the TVA and its program of adult education prior to 1940 was undertaken to provide a general overview of the administrative structure and operational activities of the Authority.

The investigation included an examination of library collections at the Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois; Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan; and the Joseph Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Official reports and publications of the TVA and the TVA Act were examined at the TVA Technical Library in Knoxville, Tennessee. Finally, interviews were conducted with Miss Mary U. Rothrock, first librarian of the TVA appointed in 1934, and with Mr. Jesse Mills, present librarian of the Technical Library of the TVA.

The following conclusions were drawn from the preliminary investigation:

A comprehensive and extensive program of adult education operated within the TVA prior to 1940;

Arthur E. Morgan, first Chairman of the Board of Directors of the TVA was identified as having significance in the establishment and operation of the program of adult education within the Authority;

The program of adult education which emerged prior to 1940 had not been among the specified responsibilities originally delegated to the Authority by the TVA Act;

The program of adult education which emerged within the TVA prior to 1940 under the leadership of Arthur Morgan has not previously been compiled and recorded adequately.

As a result of the preliminary investigation it appeared that the task of identifying the role of Chairman Arthur E. Morgan in establishing a commitment to and a program of adult education within the TVA

and the recording of that program prior to 1940 would constitute the basis of a dissertation aimed at strengthening the base of knowledge in the area of adult and continuing education.

The Committed Man Concept:
Substance and Application

During both the preliminary investigation and subsequent examination of the leadership role of Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman of the TVA, in establishing an adult education enterprise within the Authority, it became apparent that he acted to fulfill a personally held social philosophy which committed him to helping mankind build a better world. This kind of behavioral motivation was later identified and described by Edward H. Spicer in his "committed man" concept.

According to Edward Spicer, a participant in Cornell's program for training and research in culture and applied science, "Modern life is characterized by a great outpouring of energy on the part of some people who strive to better the lives of others."¹ This commitment of energy, in one of its principal contemporary forms, is directed toward facilitating the introduction of new technologies to communities or societies which lack them. A program of technological change will initiate, to varying degrees, modifications in the customs of its recipients, since "whenever one seeks to alter a people's way of life, he is not dealing with one individual, but with the well-being and

¹Edward H. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), p. 13.

happiness of generations of men and women."² Thus, the responsibility for bringing about change is great.

Programs of technological change reflect a fundamental condition of modern life, namely, different rates of progress by different segments of society.³ Intensive specialization in various fields, i.e. medicine, agriculture, physical sciences, has resulted in an accumulation of considerable knowledge and tested practices. The flow of this knowledge to all people, however, is neither immediate nor automatic.⁴ Individuals, realizing the value of new technology to the general populace, become "committed" to the task of dissemination.⁵

It is essential to recognize that the personal value system of the disseminator becomes activated to the: (1) selection of the particular technology to be introduced to a segment of society and (2) context in which the new technology will be presented.

Leadership behavior for social change has been demonstrated in the Cheatham County Study of leadership behavior administered by the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration. A basic conclusion of this study was that, "All the leaders studied appeared to have a sense of mission, a feeling of personal responsibility for either maintaining or changing a given social condition.

²Ibid.

³William Fielding Ogburn, Social Change, (New York: Viking Press, 1950), pp. 1-30.

⁴Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, p. 14.

⁵Ibid.

They were uniformly men of conviction."⁶

One component of the Cheatham County Study Report centered upon Leland Craig Wilson who conducted a study of members of the power group in the county. Exploratory interviews and observation were used initially to identify from twenty-five to thirty individuals involved in civic issues. These individuals were then categorized into two groups: those holding important official positions of leadership and those recognized in the community as being molders of public opinion. Objective techniques were developed to analyze group behavior patterns for those individuals on the original list and to recognize any leader not included on the list. Simultaneously, a listing of forty-eight "informed" residents was developed from a sampling of individuals affiliated with the county court, the board of education and representatives of the four geographic population centers in the county. Each of these "informed residents" was then asked in two interviews to assess the degree of influence of twenty-two individuals presumed to be in the power group. The study identified twenty individuals representing five power clusters as forming the nucleus of the power system in Cheatham County.⁷

Mr. Wilson listed the following among his findings:

⁶Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, Better Teaching in School Administration (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1955), pp. 15-23.

⁷Leland Craig Wilson, "Community Power Controls Related to the Administration of Education," unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College, 1952), pp. 10-25.

1. The members of the power structure ... were seemingly set apart from the general public by a wide margin of social, economic, educational, and interest factors, with little two-way communication existing between leaders and followers.
2. Generally, the power system operated in such a manner as to minimize the participation of the citizens at large in seeking solutions to local problems.
3. Few opportunities were available for the general public to participate in the solution of local problems.
4. The individual members of the power structure apparently had little understanding of the role of personal leadership in a democracy and the effect which a leadership system can have upon the concepts of democratic action held by the community.
5. There was a tendency for the members of the power structure to feel that it was their prerogative to settle problems and issues without involving the people who would be affected by their decisions.⁸

A second segment of the Cheatham County Study Report presented the findings of Ralph B. Kimbrough's more intensive study of eleven of the most influential leaders in the county. Kimbrough's leaders were selected on the basis of relative influence listing of those county leaders previously identified by Leland Craig Wilson. Mr. Kimbrough developed a list of current issues in the county and conducted extensive issue-interviews with each identified leader.⁹ The following conclusions relevant to leadership behavior were presented by Kimbrough:

It was shown that ten of the most influential leaders in the county acted in consistency with expressed fundamental beliefs

⁸Ibid., pp. 260-263.

⁹Ralph B. Kimbrough, "The Operational Beliefs of Selected Leaders in a Selected County," unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Knoxville, Tenn.: College of Education, University of Tennessee, 1953), pp. 13-30.

about community living. They were very responsible men in that their actions stemmed from fundamental principles of social direction.

The leaders in this study were found to operate on the basis of patterns of operational beliefs which were internally consistent. The operational beliefs, as clustered around or expressed in terms of all areas of community living, were consistent with each other.

One of the outstanding characteristics of all leaders in the study except one ... was that they used operational beliefs in all important areas of community living as a basis for action.

From the outset it was apparent that the selected leaders were highly conscious of their beliefs. They had no difficulty describing why they took action with respect to the issues in this study.

The facility to be conscious of one's beliefs appears to be a very important characteristic ... being conscious of their beliefs, these leaders did not hesitate to act on them, even in the face of strong opposition. There was an evident lack of a "compromise" attitude on the part of those leaders who were highly conscious of their beliefs.

Most of the leaders appeared to cling tenaciously to their operational beliefs without an expressed belief in any method for changing their beliefs. This lack of method by which to change beliefs was further reflected in their general resistance to change.¹⁰

Excerpts concerning leadership style, as demonstrated in the Cheatham Study, typify what Spicer labels "the disseminator role." According to Spicer, an individual functioning in such a role is responsible for introducing new technology to a segment of society. The social and cultural dynamics involved in such situations demand, if they are to be resolved successfully, leadership by individuals who possess a "self-concept of social responsibility which is stronger

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 313-320.

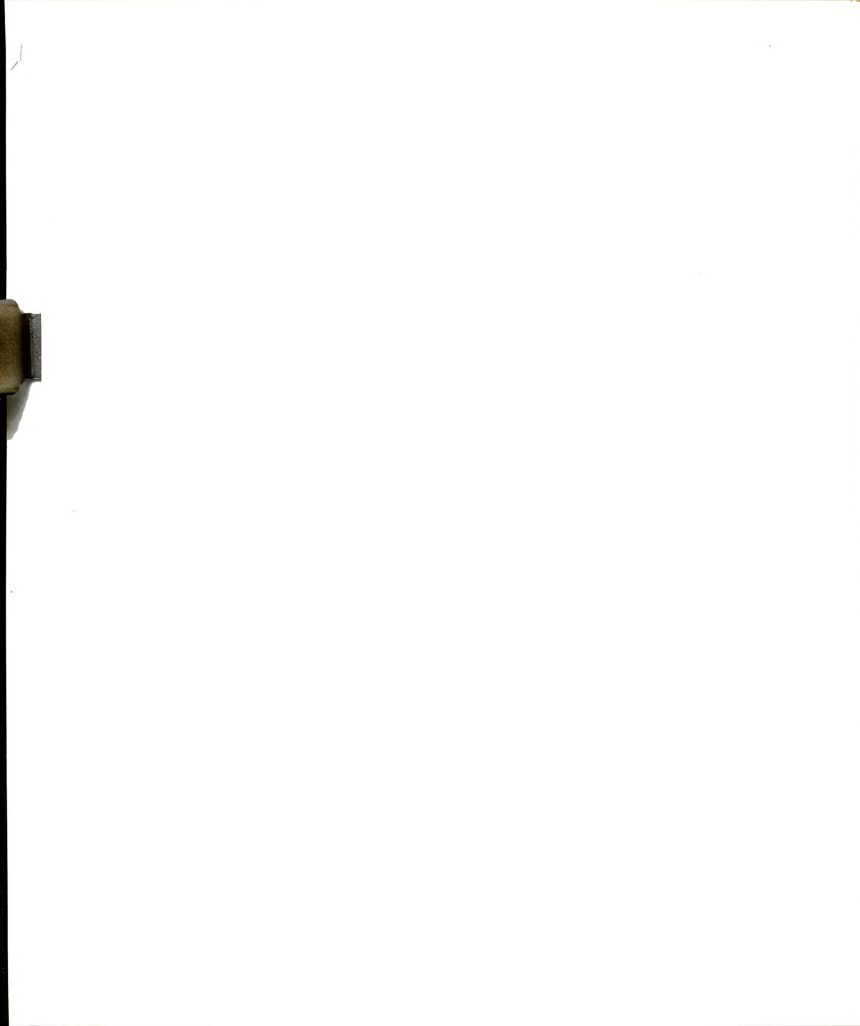
than their sensitivity to the feelings of others."¹¹ Such individuals are likely to possess both a strong personal commitment to the need for social change and the conviction that they possess the knowledge and competencies for planning and implementing such change.¹²

This study has demonstrated that Arthur E. Morgan was such an individual. He possessed both a personal commitment to the need for social change and the confidence in his own knowledge and competencies required to bring about desired change. As a public servant in the roles of engineer, educator, and community planner, he personally sought or directed others to seek the expansion of knowledge in his chosen fields. He consciously searched and ultimately recognized a personal lifestyle which has given his own life meaning. He was committed to a strong social philosophy, dedicated to improving the lives of others and ultimately society as a whole. Thus, for Morgan, the opportunity to introduce a new development model to society afforded, at the same time, an opportunity for him to encourage others to follow his lifestyle.

The influence of Arthur E. Morgan in interpreting the Tennessee Valley Authority legislation in 1933 so that an adult education component could be developed within the Authority demonstrated his desire to assume dual responsibilities: (1) as developer of

¹¹Southern States Cooperative Program, Better Teaching in School Administration.

¹²Ibid.



technological and social advancements as an engineer and as conceptualizer and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the TVA; and (2) as disseminator of knowledge so that it benefitted the residents of the community. Morgan's career reflects a steadfast commitment of energy on the part of one man who strived to "better the lives of others."¹³

Methods Employed

This study was undertaken in an attempt: to identify the manner in which Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman of the TVA, so interpreted the TVA Act as to enable him to fulfill a personal commitment to promote the continuous development of adults; to identify the program of adult education which emerged under his leadership within the TVA during the interval 1933-1938; and to determine the degree to which the program of adult education reflected the social philosophy of Arthur E. Morgan.

In order to achieve these objectives, data were collected pertaining to four major topics: (1) the social philosophy of Arthur E. Morgan prior to 1933; (2) the physical, economic, social and political conditions leading to creation of the TVA; (3) the creation of the TVA; and (4) the development of an adult education enterprise within the TVA.

¹³Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, p. 13.

The Social Philosophy of Arthur E. Morgan
Prior to 1933

In order to interpret the leadership role of Arthur E. Morgan as chairman of the TVA and to assess his influence upon the program of adult education which emerged within the Authority, his social philosophy prior to his appointment to the TVA has been identified through analysis of his speeches and writings, interpretation of interview data, and appraisal of his public service career accomplishments as an engineer, educator, and community planner.

The private, non-published documents, letters and diaries of Arthur Morgan which are housed in the Olive Kettering Library of Antioch College and in Mr. Morgan's residence in Yellow Springs, Ohio, were made available to the writer.

The Physical, Economic, Social and Political
Conditions Leading to the Creation of the TVA

Several factors have been identified as instrumental in the emergence of legislation creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. These factors were investigated as potential indicators of the interpretation and enactment of the legislation. An investigation of Congressional records, government reports, and related publications indicated that the Tennessee River with its Muscle Shoals had been the basis of several pieces of federal legislation during a span in excess of two hundred years. Debate had continued in Congress relative to the manner in which the Tennessee River's power resources were to be developed.

Examination of available socioeconomic data pertaining to residents of the Tennessee Valley, in comparison with other regions of the nation, indicated that during the Depression years of the late 1920's and early 1930's the overall socioeconomic level of the residents of the Tennessee Valley had declined earlier and to a greater depth than had that in other areas of the United States.

The natural resources of the Tennessee Valley Region had been dissipated. The power potential of the Tennessee River remained underdeveloped as a regional resource. Agricultural productivity in the region approached a minimal level.

The record of Franklin D. Roosevelt as an elected official in federal and state government and as a private citizen, as assessed through an examination of selected federal and state government documents, speeches and writings prior to 1930 reveals a personal commitment to alleviating these conditions. The "New Deal" philosophy of the Roosevelt administration, as reflected in the speeches and writings of the President, his advisors, and his Congressional colleagues reveals a broad political commitment to improving the general welfare of Americans. In short, there existed a combination of long-standing and increasing need, together with political readiness, to address the problems of the Tennessee Valley.

The Creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority

President Roosevelt's request to Congress for legislation creating the TVA has been analyzed to determine the major responsibilities of the Authority as envisioned by the President.

Steps in the legislative process, as recorded in Congressional documents and reports, have been reported in chronological order to provide detailed background information pursuant to the development of the TVA Act and its many provisions.

Major provisions of the Act have been identified through an examination of the document itself to afford a general understanding of the broad responsibilities delegated to the Board of Directors.

The role assumed by Arthur Morgan, chairman-designate of the Board of Directors of the TVA, as the TVA legislation was evolving in Congress has been identified through an examination of available accounts of the events and an interpretation of data collected in an interview. In addition, the Act has been further examined to ascertain the specific provisions relative to providing programs of adult education within the Authority's operation.

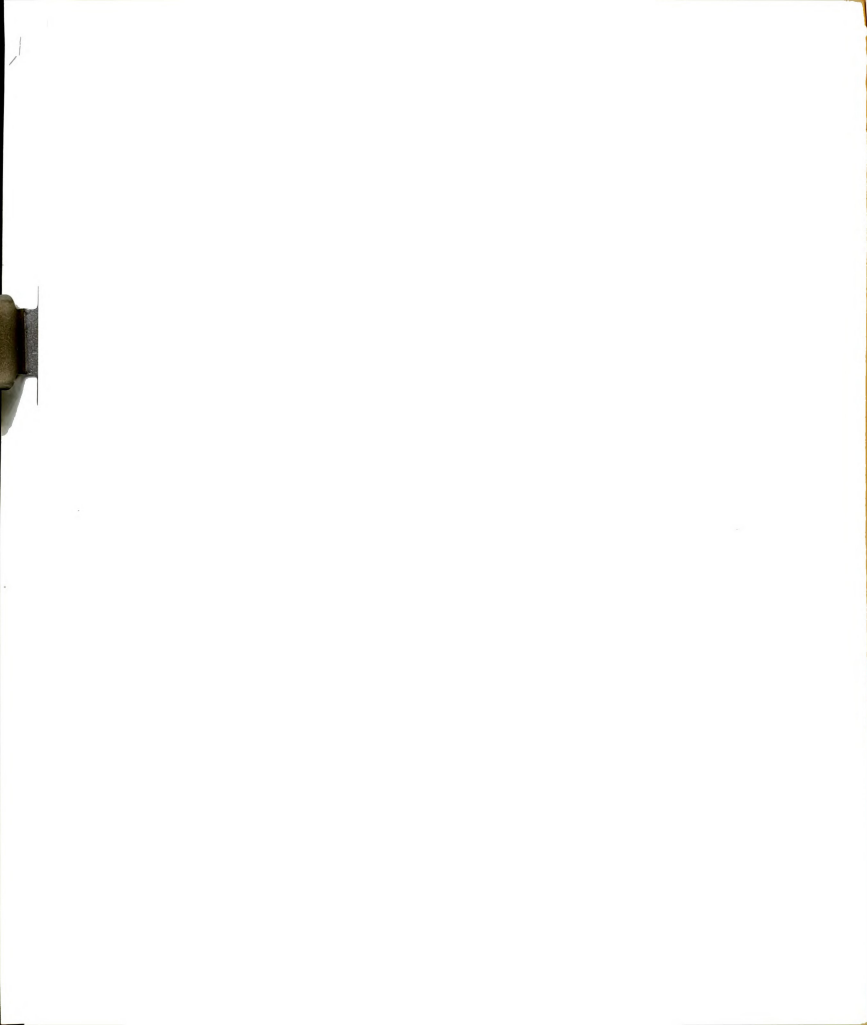
The Development of an Adult Education
Enterprise within the Tennessee
Valley Authority

The rationale employed by Arthur Morgan in establishing a foundation for a program of adult education within the Tennessee Valley Authority has been found in portions of selected speeches and writings and from data collected from interviews.

The official minutes of the TVA Board of Directors meetings and associated documents incorporated in the record and pertinent speeches and writings of Arthur Morgan have been examined to determine the manner in which the Board of Directors' commitment to adult education was officially recognized.

The programs of adult education which emerged under the leadership of Arthur Morgan during the interval 1933-1938 have been identified according to official documents and reports of the TVA, an analysis of the speeches and writings of Arthur Morgan and associates directly involved in the adult education enterprise, an examination of relevant newspaper accounts, and an appraisal of data collected in interviews with Arthur Morgan.

The general guidelines as developed by Louis Gottschalk in Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method were employed throughout the study in the collection and evaluation of data available in the books, reports, documents, and other printed resources. Because of the passage of time, interviews were not considered a principal source of data. Data from interviews were valuable, however, because they provided clues for further investigation and insights into findings from other sources.



CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF ARTHUR E. MORGAN

Arthur E. Morgan eventually recognized and adopted a social philosophy which would give him direction and a purpose for being.¹ He consciously attempted to remain steadfast to this philosophy, allowing it to form a lifelong foundation for his decisions and his actions. Even before the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority, his appointment to the Chairmanship of the Board of Directors, and his leadership role in establishing a commitment to adult education within the Authority, Mr. Morgan's social philosophy was evident. It was present in his writings as a young man, an adult, an engineer, and an educator. It was reflected in career accomplishments which included: (1) the development of the Miami Valley Construction Camps; (2) the founding of the Moraine Park School; and (3) the reorganization of Antioch College. An analysis and comparison of his leadership role in these selected instances indicates a commonality of basic goals whose attainment represented a reflection and fulfillment of his philosophy.

¹Arthur E. Morgan, My World (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1927), p. 1.

Components of the Social Philosophy

In order to "show that life has great value," Arthur Morgan felt it was first necessary to learn "why we are here and where we are going."² He periodically questioned his own values, attitudes and beliefs to determine their reason for being and their implications for future behavior. He reflected upon his numerous "growing up" experiences, to identify his behavioral drives and to evaluate the consequences of his actions. This searching produced in young Morgan repeated periods of confusion and discomfort:

How I would like to be able to see plainly the best path to take for the years to come. My head is not clear and I find it hard work to decide on any immediate course of action.³

Eventually, however, there was to emerge one "best path," which afforded Mr. Morgan a set of values, beliefs and attitudes chosen because "they seem to me to be true."⁴

In order to know Mr. Morgan's philosophy, several components have been identified, including: (1) a man's relationship to humanity; (2) a philosophy of daily living; (3) worthy values for our society; (4) components of a well-rounded life; (5) the purpose of education; and (6) leadership behavior of the individual.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1898, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 29 December 1898.

⁴Arthur E. Morgan, My World, 3.

A man's relationship to humanity, according to Arthur Morgan, is fundamentally based upon "the Christian belief that no man liveth unto himself."⁵ As a young man, Morgan interpreted this as a belief in neighborly fellowship, the sharing of burdens, and a general social-mindedness, values which were commonly demonstrated in the Morgan household, where they constituted a major force in the orthodox Christian religion practiced by Mrs. Morgan,⁶ who was described as "... setting her teeth and straining to make ends meet on almost nothing, yet forever helping those in still greater distress."⁷ This willingness to help others in distress, however, did not "facilitate intimate fellowship in the neighborhood," since the ways of the Morgan household were usually in sharp contrast to those of their neighbors.⁸ The elder Morgans' isolation was reinforced by Arthur himself as his intellectual pursuits, his health problem, a basic timidity, and a practice of non-aggressive behavior prevented him from becoming "one of the boys" in the neighborhood.⁹ Therefore, opportunities for young

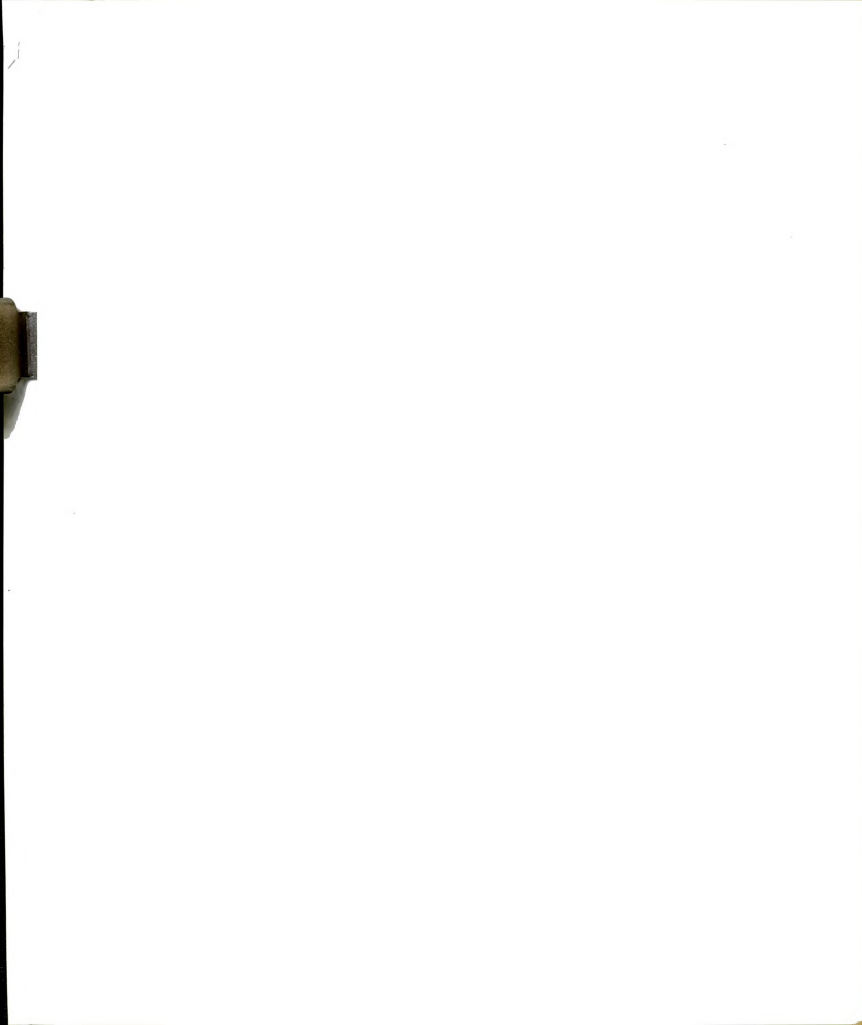
⁵Interview with Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 12 February 1972.

⁶Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue in Finding His World, by Lucy Griscom Morgan (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1928) p. 101.

⁷Ibid., p. 102.

⁸Clarence J. Leuba, A Road to Creativity, (North Quincy, Mass: Christopher Publishing House, 1971), p. 33.

⁹Ibid., pp. 33-35.



Arthur to duplicate these early observed and accepted teachings appear rare.

The diaries of young Morgan reflect the emergence of an awareness and an acceptance of a "give and take" philosophy in dealing with others. Reflecting upon this theme, the following diary entry records an attempt by young Morgan to tally a period of associations:

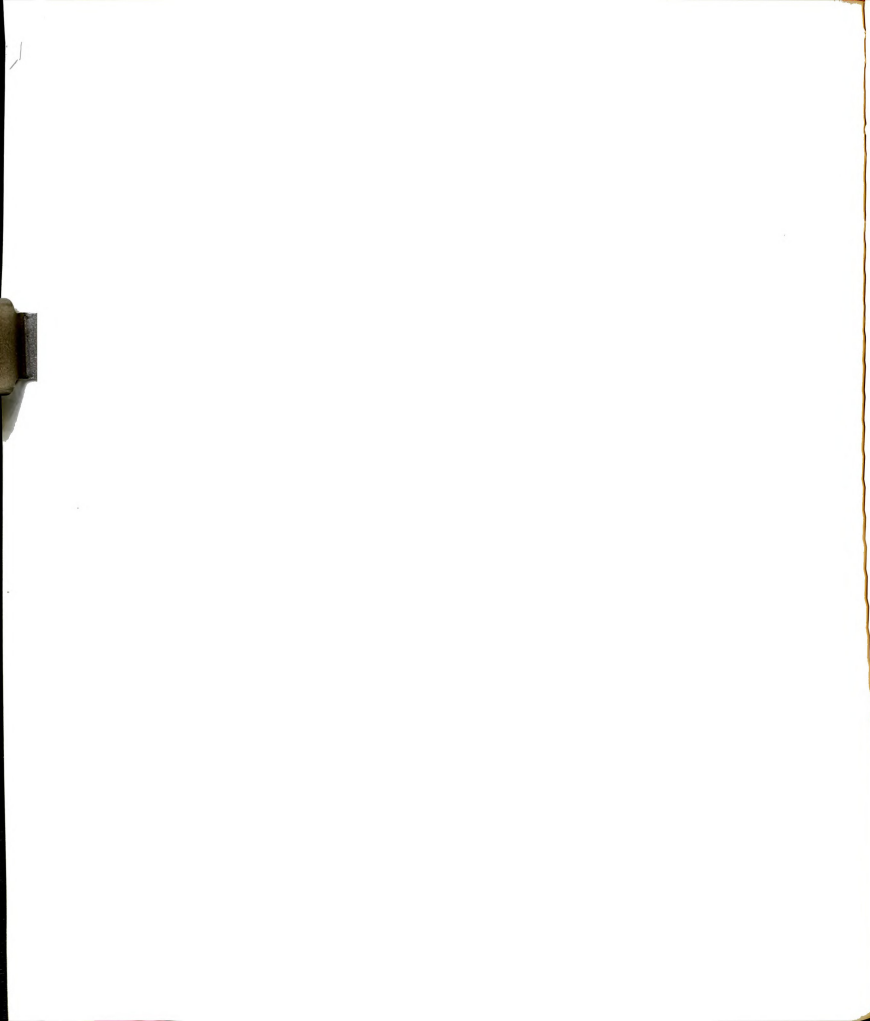
During the last year I have been more nearly self-supporting than ever before. I have lived on friends about three weeks this year, and have received about \$25.00 that I didn't earn. On the other hand I have paid out about \$20.00 waiting on other people, and have spent two weeks of my time in the same way. This besides what I have done for others and what others have done for me in the way of favors, presents, etc. ...¹⁰

Morgan's reaction to being exposed to the theory of evolution at the age of sixteen eventually enabled him to view life as "an endless continuity extending from the remote past into the remote future" where the individual being is not an "independent creation" but a "bit of the thread or warp of that fabric."¹¹ Therefore, according to Morgan, a man should see his life "not as a separate unit but as an element of a great whole," gaining joy and satisfaction not from personal, individual fulfillment but rather the "enlargement, growth, and fulfillment in which all men present and future will share."¹²

¹⁰Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1898, 31 December 1898.

¹¹Arthur E. Morgan, My World, 38.

¹²Arthur E. Morgan, "Early Engineering and Search for Purpose," unpublished manuscript, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio. 7 p. 4.



For Morgan, this spirit and effort towards improving life for the present and future generations is best demonstrated by "parents who see their children well started in life but with a fulfillment they will not live to see" and by members of a community who "contribute to community well-being" and by national leaders who "work to promote the good of a nation."¹³ Sharing this spirit, Mr. Morgan adopted as personal objectives in life deeds which can be measured not by what he has "achieved in personal satisfactions, but what will be achieved through (him) for humanity."¹⁴ Morgan believes that,

... the deeper the assurance that one's work actually does bring about an increase of human well-being, the greater and more sustained will be the satisfaction.¹⁵

The level of well-being within society, according to Morgan, the "good or ill of the whole" is the responsibility of each individual within the whole.¹⁶

A philosophy of daily living, according to Arthur Morgan, must include the following dimensions: identifying man's sources of happiness and seeking their fulfillment; adopting a way of viewing life and recognizing the role of the individual; developing a method for accepting or rejecting a system of values, attitudes, and beliefs; and attending to the daily tasks of life.

¹³Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁵Arthur E. Morgan, My World, 46.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 38.

"Happiness will not come by the pursuit of any single value to the exclusion of all others."¹⁷ Philosophers have included the desire for inward peace, the will to power, the will to survive, the desire for individuality and the desire to know the truth among the central desires of man, but Arthur Morgan declares:

The statement of ultimate desire which most appeals to me is that attributed to Jesus -- "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." It is the desire for a more abundant life, for greater unity, order, and harmony, as well as for greater volume and intensity. I can see no benefit but enormous harm in fixing up some single phase of life and enlarging it to the status of central and dominant value.¹⁸

The task, therefore, is to

...learn how to adjust human needs, desires, and necessities, so that the sum total of felicity will be greatest; and it is the business of science, religion, and philosophy to assist in the search for adequate, consummate and ultimate satisfactions and to bring them into proper relationships.¹⁹

In Arthur Morgan's view, several dimensions of life provide major sources of happiness:

A sense of unity of the race is one of the deepest instincts of men, and nothing gives greater or more lasting felicity than opportunity to give it expression.

Human fellowship, friendship, and affection are sources of deep and abiding satisfactions, sometimes from the emotional experience or immediate personal contact, sometimes from the indirect relationship that comes by following great minds of literature.

Few types of experiences tend more to felicity than the appreciation of beauty. Differ as we may about the psychology

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 48.

of beauty, its enjoyment in nature and in art is one of our chief resources.

Creative effort, whether on a great or small scale, brings to some men deep and lasting felicity. The astronomer who discovers new worlds, the explorer who brings knowledge of new territories, the engineer who in some degree masters the physical world ... all these will find joy in their work, when they do it truly and wisely; and that joy will be greater when they see that work as part of the great conquest of the material and psychological world, which has universal felicity as its goal.²⁰

Arthur Morgan's thoughts on happiness include a challenge of the unquestioned assumption of "almost all religion and philosophy" regarding the "helplessness of man before the overwhelming causes of tragedy."²¹ Not so, says Morgan, who insists that man is to be viewed as potent with a growing freedom and power to eliminate tragedy. "Practically every cause of human tragedy ultimately can be removed by an extension of the kinds of power he already possesses."²²

The well-being of society and the degree to which it strives for growth depends upon its individual members and their attitude towards their total environment. To Arthur Morgan, this took the form of a determination to conduct an "objective examination of the world and of life."²³

My generation may not see clearly enough to discover what possible values life has. But I can hasten the day and increase the probability of others seeing it ... For I can

²⁰Ibid., pp. 46-47.

²¹Ibid., p. 18.

²²Ibid., pp. 51-52.

²³Ibid., p. 20.

see no reason why life cannot have great and permanent value, though conclusive proof of that value is beyond me.²⁴

The scientific method of inquiry was adopted by Mr. Morgan as the basis for his objective examination of the environment.²⁵ He believed it to be a "dependable way to arrive at opinions and conclusions about the nature of things" and thus "bring about more universal agreement in beliefs."²⁶ He maintained a steadfast commitment to an examination of the evidence that it might "remake our views of the nature of the world and of ourselves," for "unless opinion is disciplined and tested constantly by discriminating references to the nature of things, the beliefs of men will be in a state of anarchy."²⁷

For Mr. Morgan, life is a daily opportunity to search, to question, to plan, to revise, and to accomplish. His wife, recalling their first meeting at Wellesley College and a canoe trip on Lake Waban in Minnesota, wrote:

Once around was the usual program for visitors, but our pioneer guest was not so easily satisfied; "Why not go down the outlet and see what it is like?" We explained that we heard there were various difficulties ... but before we fully realized it, he had swung the canoe under the first bridge.²⁸

²³Ibid., p. 20.

²⁴Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵Ibid., p. 17.

²⁶Ibid., p. 15.

²⁷Ibid., p. 16.

²⁸Lucy Griscom Morgan, Prologue to Finding His World (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1928), p. 1.

Reflecting upon several of his innovative engineering accomplishments, Mr. Morgan concluded:

I have never started on a job of any importance in all my life but what in trying to do that job the way it should be done, I soon found myself having to pioneer unknown paths, because so few jobs are done as well as they can be ... The way a job has been done isn't the way it should be done.²⁹

Addressing the students at Antioch College on Thanksgiving Day, 1924, Mr. Morgan perhaps best described his philosophy of daily living:

I am thankful for the chances to have adventures. Life would be dull without them. It is good adventure to fight for life, to break new ground. I am thankful for dreams; they are the stuff of which adventures are made. The road of life would be weary but for dreams to lead us on -- dreams of what may be -- but is not yet.³⁰

"In what a strange and interesting world we find ourselves! Let us look about us and see what it is like."³¹

Worthy values for society, according to Arthur Morgan, are basic values which are "essential to the continuing development of society."³² Such values begin in the realm of the individual and

²⁹Arthur E. Morgan, "Confidential Summary Report of the Personnel Division Conference," Tennessee Valley Authority Report, Tennessee Valley Authority Technical Library, Knoxville, Tenn., September 29-30, 1934, p. 4.

³⁰Arthur E. Morgan, "The Laws That Endure," Antioch Notes, Vol. 2, No. 9 (January, 1925).

³¹Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue in Finding His World, 104-105.

³²Interview, Arthur E. Morgan, 12 February 1972.

become values of society when held by a majority of the members within the society.³³ The values which Mr. Morgan has identified as worthy have withstood the test of time and are desirous today.³⁴

As a young boy, Arthur Morgan observed his mother and his neighbors in the community practicing "neighborly fellowship and social-mindedness," while maintaining a life characterized by "clean-cut integrity."³⁵ He further observed these values and the way of life they dictated come under the criticism of such writers as "Mencken, Sinclair Lewis and others against the evangelicals of the Middle West."³⁶ Despite their opponents' arguments, Mr. Morgan remained faithful to these basic orthodox Christian values, finding them worthy because they supported a "life with dignity and discipline."³⁷

In addition to these values, Mr. Morgan would want for society: experiences of friendship based upon "equality and mutual giving; an appreciation of beauty as found in nature or the results of the creative efforts of fellows; the comfort of finding joy in necessary work and the satisfaction of that work being well done."³⁸

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Arthur E. Morgan, Epilogue to Finding His World, 101.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 104

³⁸Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary, 1899, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 5 January 1899; Arthur E. Morgan, My World, 47.

All of the values mentioned above, however important, are subordinate to the value of striving to build a good life with a general commitment to assisting all men in knowing a good life.³⁹

Components of a well-rounded life, according to Arthur Morgan, represent the important dimensions of an individual's life, the attainment of which bring about freedom and satisfaction to the individual. Responding to the question, "What are the important things in life?" Mr. Morgan included the following values which gave significance to him:

Physical Health - The importance of health is so obvious ... it influences all the other elements of life. It is consequently strange that so few persons exercise the foresight which is necessary for the maintenance and continuance of good health throughout the normal lifetime. There should be added, however, participation and cooperation with community health measures for sanitation and disease prevention.

Training for Work - One's joy in life frequently depends upon whether or not he has had adequate preparation for his vocation. It increases his usefulness and power, and, consequently, his own happiness and his value to the community.

Actual Experience in Work - The responsibility of chores to young people have great value. We learn with our hands as well as, and in some cases much better than, by our eyes and ears. The accomplishing of actual tasks under adult direction develops strength, coordination of eye and hand, and a certain measure of responsibility.

A Trained Appreciation of Social, Religious, Economic and Aesthetic Values - By social sense, I mean a recognition of one's responsibilities to others and an appreciation of the value of human contacts. One who has developed social sense will tend to cultivate sound morals that he may be in harmony with the laws of human life. A life which does not include some form of religion, or which does not at least include

³⁹Ibid., p. 50.

aspiration, is apt to fail in some other important respects. For religion or aspiration sustains a desire for the best. Whatever the individual may call it, religion, aspiration, or social hope, some sort of faith in an ideal is a most important item in his budget for life. A properly trained financial sense brings freedom from strain and prevents one of the chief causes of marital unhappiness later on. An appreciation of beauty and a desire to have it in our homes and working places insure a chief source of pleasure in human life.

A Sense of Proportion - Most people never have enough money, time, or energy, because most of us have never cultivated a sense of proportion. The successful person is almost invariably the one with the unusual ability to choose what is most important. The person of judgment comes to his own conclusions as to relative values. This ability can be developed by training and practice.

Knowledge of History, Literature, Philosophy, and Science - No one of us can discover very much about life for himself. We get most of our understanding from the great men who have traveled the way of life. History ... gives one a perspective of the experience of the race and its experiments in government and morality as it has advanced in civilization. Literature furnished companionship with great minds. Philosophy is to fare forth with great thinkers to seek the meaning of life. Science has already accomplished so much, not only in making the earth more comfortable and interesting for human living, but also in giving the race a new attitude toward life itself. The scientific attitude may come a little more slowly, but an inquiring mind will soon grasp it. Without it, life seems a chaos explainable only by magic and superstition.

A Life Purpose - A life purpose for one's own chosen path in the light of the past of the race and with the needs of the present and the possibilities of the future in mind, a central unifying purpose -- this is the great thing after all. It provides a main reason for living and organizes life into a single adventure. A worthy life purpose, whether it be attained or not, glorifies the humblest of life.⁴⁰

These "seven elements of life" are identifiable components of programs developed under Arthur Morgan's leadership to assist people in realizing a fuller and more satisfying life.

⁴⁰ Arthur E. Morgan, "A Budget for Your Life," Antioch College Bulletin, Vol. 26, No. 5 (February, 1930): 3-7.

The foundations of a sound education, according to Arthur Morgan, are built upon the basic recognition that "education is an innate process of human life, as inherent as is physical development from infancy to maturity."⁴¹ Educational stimuli, therefore, should be "initiated and maintained" by the interest and aspiration of the pupil.⁴² They may be "awakened, guided, controlled, trained; inhibitions may be removed, but in the main they work according to their own laws."⁴³ Thus, Mr. Morgan, has identified the great teacher as:

the great inspirer ... the one who helps the pupil find himself. He is the diver who brings up from the depths of our nature priceless pearls of thought which we had never before dreamed we possessed.⁴⁴

Mr. Morgan's ideal teacher will "supplement the ordinary contacts of life with others so that the entire environment will develop to the fullest the possibilities of the child."⁴⁵ An efficient educational process results in the fullest development of the "whole of the personality" of an individual and produces "well-rounded

⁴¹ Arthur E. Morgan, Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life (Boston, Mass.: the Atlantic Monthly Press, Inc., 1918), p. 3.

⁴² Ibid., p. 1.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁴ Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary 1898, 21 August 1898.

⁴⁵ Arthur E. Morgan, Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life, 10.

men and women."⁴⁶ "Nothing which is essential to a fully developed life and which is not being acquired elsewhere can safely be omitted."⁴⁷ Arthur Morgan has identified several responsibilities of any educational program committed to the complete development of the individual:

to develop alertness and vigor of spirit, keenness of observation, and sureness of judgment.

to develop certain human qualities, such as integrity, courage, and patience.

to open the eyes and mind to natural phenomena, to life-processes and the habits of plants and animals, to the data of geology, of physics, and of astronomy; and to the appeal of good literature, poetry, history, and of the various forms of art.

to inspire the habit of searching out what is the burden of the world's wisdom and judgment in reference to the main issues of life.

to develop the habit of questioning and examining accepted beliefs, whether of common knowledge, or in science, business, morals, or other fields.

to encourage youth to work out for itself tentative standards of economic, moral and spiritual values; to pay heed to its use of time and resources; to define its attitude toward industry and social life, toward the live issues of the day, and toward life itself.

to develop social relationships, interests, and responsibilities. Habits should be acquired, of effective expression of consideration and goodwill, and of the elimination of social friction through the medium of courtesy, good manners and good form, this "good form" to consist of consummate skill in living the Golden Rule ...

⁴⁶ Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Purpose," Antioch Notes, Vol. 1, No. 3 (February, 1924); Arthur E. Morgan, "A Budget For Your Life," 8.

⁴⁷ Arthur E. Morgan, Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life, 10.

to develop a working knowledge of commercial usages, of the art of being solvent, of appraising accurately one's possessions, of correctly measuring and judging material values. Every man should be the master of the elementary principles and technic of ordinary business affairs.

to develop courage, energy and persistence necessary to drive through to the full reasonable conclusion in our thinking, rather than to halt and to hedge when weariness or cowardice threatens.⁴⁸

Mr. Morgan further defines the kind of school in which such a program as that described above will be carried out:

The school of the future will be protean. It will overflow into all parts of the community, utilizing farm, home, factory, store and office. There will be time for team work, for group play, for class work, but much of the time will be spent singly or in groups, with teachers' guidance, in working out the project, with its ramifications into literature, mathematics, science, history, physical labor, and business dealings.⁴⁹

The leadership behavior of the individual, says Morgan, must be recognized as a primary force influencing the manner in which a home, a community, and a nation function. He demonstrated his belief that each individual has an effect upon his environment when he wrote:

Received a letter from the lady I boarded with while I taught last winter. For forty years she has lived in the backwoods on a farm with few friends and none of her culture. But her pure, unselfish life has made a different spirit in the neighborhood.⁵⁰

When a man builds a house ... he commonly gives little thought to the ultimate aims of his own life or of the ultimate life

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 10-13; Arthur E. Morgan, "Drive," Antioch Notes, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1926).

⁴⁹Arthur E. Morgan, Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life, 18.

⁵⁰Arthur E. Morgan, Personal Diary 1898, 8 January 1898.

of mankind. Yet each act of a man's life has some effect, though it be insignificantly slight, on his own fate or upon human destiny.⁵¹

The degree to which an individual affects his environment is dependent upon both his commitment to a leadership role and his effectiveness as a leader. The behavior of each individual and the goals he strives to achieve are reflective of a personal set of values, attitudes, and beliefs. Therefore, when a leader attempts to modify the behavior of another individual, he strives to alter the personal values, attitudes and beliefs of that person towards greater conformity to his own.

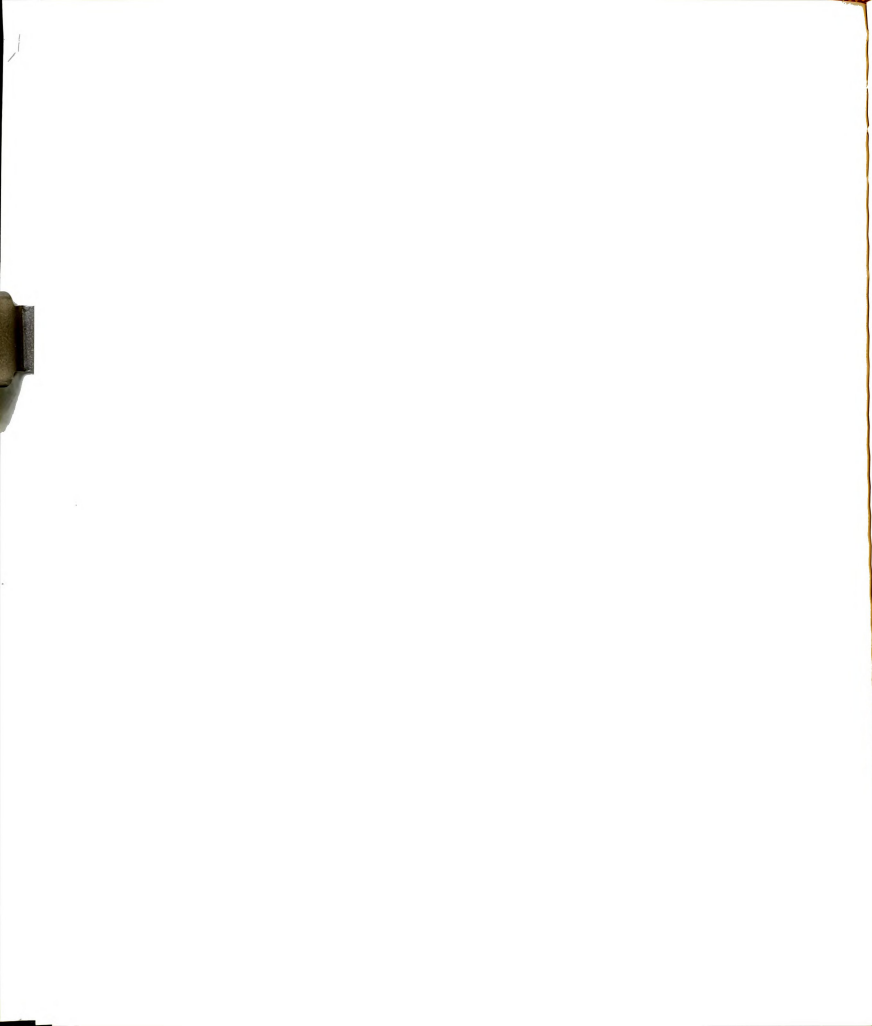
Committed to the philosophy of helping men "create a far better world than they have realized,"⁵² Arthur Morgan's leadership approach has two dimensions. First, he believes himself to be an individual with the potential, the knowledge, and the desire to personally improve his environment. Second, having accepted the several dimensions of his social philosophy as the means by which men can improve their environment, he strives to help others become committed to this philosophy.

Early Implementation of the Social Philosophy

The Miami Valley Construction Camps housed workmen and their families employed by the Miami Conservancy District to complete

⁵¹ Arthur E. Morgan, "Early Engineering and Search for Purpose," 1.

⁵² Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Program," Journal of Higher Education 1 (December, 1930): 502.



the Miami Flood Control Project started on November 24, 1916.⁵³ Following the disastrous Miami River flood of March 24, 1913, Arthur E. Morgan, President of the Morgan Engineering Company, provided engineering leadership to the newly-created Flood Prevention Committee of Dayton, assisted in the development of legislation in the state to allow for the creation of the Miami Conservancy District, and developed an "official plan" intended to prevent any further flooding in the Miami Valley Region.⁵⁴

Morgan's "official plan" called for camps to be constructed for the workers at the sites of the five retarding basins.⁵⁵ Morgan's concept of a camp called for a radical departure from traditional housing provisions. Unable to accept the general living conditions which commonly accompanied the tarpaper bunkhouses and inadequate construction cars provided to workmen, Mr. Morgan spoke to the directors of the project about the responsibility which was theirs to provide decent living and housing conditions for the crews.⁵⁶

⁵³Arthur E. Morgan, The Miami Conservancy District (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 248.

⁵⁴State of Ohio, The Miami Conservancy District, History of the Miami Flood Control Project, Technical Report, Part II (Dayton, Ohio: 1918), pp. 11-176.

⁵⁵Arthur E. Morgan, The Miami Conservancy District, 248.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 386-387.

The Directors of the Miami Conservancy District agreed with Mr. Morgan and, with the aid of a town planner, developed plans for the villages which were to be constructed.⁵⁷

These plans resulted in the construction of "one and two family houses and bunkhouses of various types for men without families."⁵⁸ The buildings were well-planned and constructed; the bunkhouses, for example, "usually had separate rooms for each two or four men, and showers and lounging areas, until then almost unheard of conveniences under such circumstances."⁵⁹

Arthur Morgan's concern for the worker and his family went beyond the construction of housing:

As soon as we began planning our construction camps, Mr. Morgan expressed a hope to see the people of the various camps work out for themselves some sort of camp government that would be responsible for all the activities of the community life and cooperate with those in responsible charge for the District in the matter of schools and in other accommodations which must be provided by District funds.⁶⁰

Mr. Morgan, speaking at a flag-raising ceremony in October, 1918, at the Taylorville camp

⁵⁷ Arthur E. Morgan to Charlotte Winans, 19 July 1948, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

⁵⁸ Arthur E. Morgan, The Miami Conservancy District, 387-388.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 388.

⁶⁰ Miami Conservancy District, "Six Months Progress of the Camp Community Associations," The Miami Conservancy Bulletin, 1, No. 11 (June, 1919):172.

emphasized the importance of cooperation among the workmen at the camp in making living conditions the best possible. He urged the men and women to take advantage of the educational opportunities that will be offered at the camp, in the way of lectures and night school classes, all this being important to the highest standard of efficiency and service.⁶¹

In November, 1918, it was reported that:

A night school has been started at each of the camps for the special benefit of employees. The subjects include advanced mathematics; industrial arithmetic; penmanship; English for foreigners; mechanical drawing; and first aid work.⁶²

Classes were offered free two evenings per week on a twelve week cycle.⁶³

Residents in each camp, desiring to live in a "true self-governing community," established a governmental structure usually consisting of the commission form which was "familiar by reason of the marked success it has had in various cities across the country," notably Dayton.⁶⁴ The Taylorsville Community Association was the first of several camp organizations. It was formally established on November 29, 1918. The Taylorsville Community Association adopted a Constitution which served as a model for those to be adopted later by residents in other camps. This Constitution provided for:

⁶¹Miami Conservancy District, "Flag Raising at Taylorsville Dam," The Miami Conservancy Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 3 (October, 1918): 47.

⁶²Miami Conservancy District, "Night Schools Started at the Camps," The Miami Conservancy Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4 (November, 1918): 57.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Miami Conservancy District, "Camp Community Association," The Miami Conservancy Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 6 (January 1919):84.



...government by five elected commissioners, in charge respectively of Community Service (camp improvements, gardens, transportation, religious and relief activities). Social Service (entertainment, sports, etc.); Education (including circulating library); Records and Finance; and Safety (health, sanitation, fire, police, etc.). There is no manager. The commissioner receiving the most votes becomes chairman, a presiding officer only.⁶⁵

It was further thought that the interaction between residents involved in conducting the business of self-government would facilitate a feeling of cohesiveness among residents, of,

... everybody pulling together -- young and old, men and women, men with families and those without -- sharing the common burdens and responsibilities, and helping to make the camp reflect the best purposes of its members.⁶⁶

The Miami Conservancy Bulletin of June, 1919 included a "Six Months Progress of the Camp Community Associations" report which indicated that Associations similar to Taylorsville were operating at the Englewood, Huffman, and Germantown Camps.⁶⁷ The programs and activities sponsored by the several Associations were similar to the extent that they commonly included the following:

Athletics - "Englewood started the ball rolling in the baseball line by being the first to challenge the other camps of the District to a series of baseball games for the championship of the district."

Entertainment - "Paramount - Artcraft pictures - the best on the market - are shown every Wednesday."

⁶⁵ Miami Conservancy District, The Miami Conservancy Bulletin (June 1919): 172.

⁶⁶ Miami Conservancy District, The Miami Conservancy Bulletin (January 1919): 84.

⁶⁷ Miami Conservancy District, The Miami Conservancy Bulletin (June 1919): 172-173.



Social - "Regular dances are held at the hall on Saturday evenings on an average of twice a month.

Educational - "A Domestic Science room and a Manual Training room have been built ... and classes started in both.

"The Library and Reading Room, in addition to providing writing facilities, is equipped with about twenty different magazines and periodicals, and two daily and Sunday papers. A traveling library of fifty volumes has been secured through the State Traveling Library Department."

"A dancing class ... is held every Monday evening."

"Residents of the camp are very much interested in night school classes."

Camp Improvements - "a great deal of work has been done in camp toward making it more beautiful and attractive."

"In March nearly two hundred young trees ... were dug in the woods and transplanted in avenues along the streets in camp."⁶⁸

A review of the Association reports indicates a variety of activities actively pursued by the residents of each camp. In summary, it was stated that:

Probably the biggest thing the Association has done (which cannot be expressed as an item of work) is the creation of a spirit of cooperation for the intellectual, social, and physical improvement of the citizens in the camp.⁶⁹

Arthur Morgan, recalling in 1948 the construction camps which he envisioned and developed thirty years earlier, wrote:

The Miami Conservancy construction villages had nothing of the "tough" disreputable aspect of the usual construction camp. I lived adjoining one of these camps during the construction period. The school and the community life was equal or superior to that in most small villages ... They were interesting experiments in modernizing village government.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Letter, Arthur E. Morgan to Charlotte Winans, July, 1948.



The Moraine Park School of Dayton, Ohio was founded in June, 1917 by Arthur E. Morgan and several business associates, including George B. Smith, F. O. Clements, Colonel E. A. Deeds, Charles F. Kettering, and Orville Wright.⁷¹ These gentlemen, desiring an alternative to existing educational programs for their children, envisioned a program built upon the theory that the best way to learn was to "learn by doing."⁷² They desired an educational environment which would epitomize conditions found in real life.⁷³ Committed to this concept, the founders adopted a sliding tuition scale, assessing parents according to their wealth. Thus, they were assured of having a cross-section of students representing the several social and economic levels in the city.⁷⁴

Recognizing the responsibility to "teach children how to think, to help them to work out for themselves standards of conduct which will make them desirable citizens, and the acquisition of a body of knowledge essential for everyone to have" as the primary aims of the school, four principles were established to govern the procedure and practices of the institution:

⁷¹ John C. Hover, et al., ed. Memoirs of the Miami Valley, 3 vols. (Chicago: Robert O. Law Co.), 2:160.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Frank D. Stutz and Laura A. Gillmore, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," Progressive Education Association, Bulletin 5 (April 1921):5.



1. The school must train its pupils to be students, not only of books but of whatever their hands find to do.
2. All pupils must be taught to govern themselves, because moral choices are voluntary.
3. Practical tasks for head and hand must unite knowledge and intelligence.
4. Sound bodies developed through group recreation are essential to success.⁷⁵

The broad curriculum goals, as they were developed to accomplish the aims of the institution, were defined by Mr. Frank D. Stutz, Headmaster, to include,

... to enable pupils to learn how to associate with people, how to express themselves clearly and accurately, how to earn, spend and save money properly, how to make useful products out of raw materials; how to appreciate the spiritual, the intangible values in life, how to know and love the world of nature, its laws, its life, and how to play enthusiastically, regularly, and fairly, how to choose chums, friends and mates.⁷⁶

The school operated a Junior Division for grades kindergarten through grade six, and a Senior Division for grades seven through twelve.⁷⁷ The Junior Division was housed in a structure designed and built to be "as near as possible like home, while retaining the essentials of a good school."⁷⁸ Classrooms equipped with tables,

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 2-6.

⁷⁶Hover, Memoirs of the Miami Valley, 2:160-161.

⁷⁷Stutz, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," 5.

⁷⁸Ibid.



chairs, carpenter benches and tools offered a strong contrast to the willow furniture and chintz cushions of the several porches used for reading and quiet activities.⁷⁹ The informal atmosphere (no formal classes below fifth grade) fostered student activity typified as is follows:

In reading, they choose whatever books they please, and, finding a comfortable corner, read to themselves ... often finding a book so interesting that he will want to share it with his mates.⁸⁰

The Senior Division was housed in a remodeled greenhouse located on the outskirts of the city.⁸¹ Activities in the school offered a stark contrast to accepted educational practices. In addition to content offerings, these unique features were included:

Student self-government was practiced according to a design adopted by the city of Dayton for its operation. Consisting of a mayor, three commissioners, a manager and several departments, the students assume responsibility for a major portion of the program. The Department of Recreation, for example, "assumes responsibility for excursions through factories and hikes in the country, and makes out schedules for games with other teams." The Department of Law, "whose duty it is to take charge of the community court, also tries cases, draws up various legal blanks for the community and includes, besides, a patent office where the ideas of students may be patented."

Business enterprises or projects are required of each student, resulting in the establishment of several businesses including a general store handling stationery, candy and athletic equipment,

⁷⁹Stanwood Cobb, "A New Movement in Education," Atlantic Monthly, February 1921, p. 233.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 228.

⁸¹Stutz, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," 1.

a bank handling collections, savings deposits, checking accounts, and organized for a profit to the shareholders.

School library and museum, housing collections for instructional purposes, are operated by the students.

Pupil evaluation at the school, which took the form of reports to parents, consisted of giving points for excellence or weakness in the following categories:

Congregating - "manner of mixing with his fellows"

Language - "self-expression"

Acquiring possessions - "getting a living and taking care of property"

Cosmologizing - "interpreting the world as the pupil sees it"

Creating - "bringing things to pass"

Man-conserving - "doing for others"

Pairing - "choosing friends"⁸²

Playing - "relaxing oneself"

Parents were given the responsibility of contacting the school periodically to report progress and offer suggestions regarding their children's growth and/or the school's welfare.⁸³

Observing the behavior of students at the Moraine Park School, Mr. Morgan reported, "I have seen the extreme eagerness of children to respond to opportunity" and their eagerness to "get somewhere and master the knowledge of their elders."⁸⁴ The opportunity for self-direction and an assumption of responsibility for growth and success in school should enable the students to satisfy Mr. Morgan's demand that educational institutions should "train people to stand on their own feet."⁸⁵

⁸²Hover, Memoirs of the Miami Valley, 2:161.

⁸³Ibid., p. 162.

⁸⁴Arthur E. Morgan, "Educational and Social Aims for the New Antioch," Progressive Education Association, Bulletin 8, August 1921: 4-5.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 4.

Antioch College was founded in Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1853 by Horace Mann, who envisioned a new kind of college reflecting the vital and responsive spirit of the West.⁸⁶ Challenging the traditional ways of other colleges in America, Antioch distinguished itself as the first educational institution to admit women to its courses on equal terms with men.⁸⁷ The College's broad-based program reflected a determination that the students "would attain the full measure of their possibilities" and become "ministers of good to the world."⁸⁸ Horace Mann, in delivering his inaugural speech as President of the College, identified several major aims of the school's programs:

A body, grown from its elemental beginning, in health; compacted with strength and vital with activity in every part; impassive to heat and cold, and victorious over the vicissitudes of seasons and zones; not crippled by disease nor stricken down by early death; not shrinking from bravest effort, but panting, like the fleetest runner, less for the prize than for the joy of the race; and rejuvenant, amid the frosts of age. A mind as strong for the moral life as the body for the mortal life; alike enlightened by the wisdom and beacons by the errors of the past; through intelligence of the laws of nature, guiding her elemental forces, as it directs the limbs of its own body through nerves of motion, thus making alliance with the exhaustless forces of nature for its strength, and clothing itself with her endless charms for its beauty, and, wherever it goes carrying a sun in its hand with which to explore the realms of nature, and reveal her yet hidden truths. And then a moral nature,

⁸⁶"A Great Adventure in Education," Dayton Daily News, 17 April 1921.

⁸⁷"The Antioch Idea", The Christian Register, 11 May 1922.

⁸⁸Dayton Daily News, 17 April 1921.

presiding like a divinity over the whole, banishing sorrow and pain, gathering in earthly joys and immortal hopes, and transfigured and rapt by the sovereign and sublime aspiration to KNOW AND DO THE WILL OF GOD."⁸⁹

There emerged at Antioch College a certain "spirit" among those affiliated with the institution, reflecting in part a belief in the basic worth of its unique program and out of defense against the several forces opposed to an institution which so challenged accepted ways. For several decades this "Antioch spirit" proved to be a major force in sustaining the institution through crises.

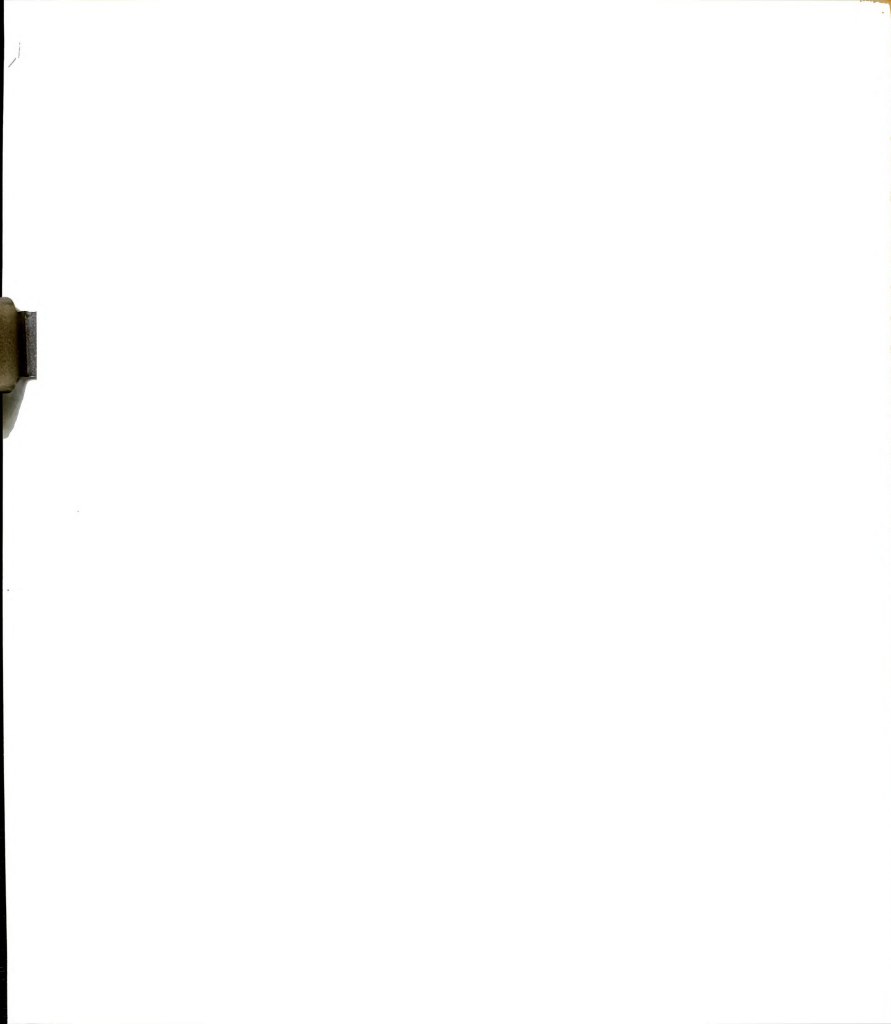
Arthur Morgan's appointment to the Board of Trustees of Antioch College in 1919 occurred at a time when the institution sorely needed impetus and direction, a reassessment of its purpose, revisions in its curriculum, new financial resources, and an awakening of that "spirit" essential to attracting faculty and students to an almost deserted campus.⁹⁰

The thrust of Arthur Morgan's leadership was immediate. Shortly after assuming office, Morgan, with the approval of his fellow trustees, began to develop a comprehensive "Plan For the New Antioch."⁹¹ Dimensions of the plan included: an identification of aims for the institution, a statement of educational theory, an identification of fundamental curriculum foundations, thoughts on personnel, and an

⁸⁹Horace Mann, "Inaugural Address", Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1853.

⁹⁰Arthur E. Morgan, Finding His World, 100.

⁹¹Dayton Daily News, 19 May 1933.



identification of major provisions of the Antioch Program.

Arthur Morgan identified seven outstanding aims of the "New Antioch":

1. Approximate self-support for the college student by a division of time between school and organized industry.
2. Self-support for the college through tuitions, supplemented by the earnings of industrial, commercial or professional work carried on under the direction of the college.
3. The securing of a more rounded development through alternation of study and experience, reducing the floundering about of the young college graduate.
4. Cultural education for the purpose of developing the texture of mind and character, and the ability of the mind and will to function to the best advantage, rather than for the purpose of turning out persons who are simply well-informed and academically minded.
5. Vocational courses, which must include the rudiments of a cultural education, and which aim to develop the ability to be self-reliant and self-directing, and the ability to administer professional, commercial, or industrial organizations.
6. The maintenance of physical fitness of the students to a high degree.
7. The development of a spirit of moral enthusiasm and of social service, which will make productive citizenship as vital an aim as economic independence or cultural fitness.⁹²

These basic aims represented a rebirth of the progressive-innovative spirit upon which the institution was founded. Guidelines establishing a commitment to the work-study concept, to planned on-campus and off-campus experiences, to vocational courses with leadership training and to a commitment to social services would enable Antioch College

⁹² Arthur E. Morgan, "The Plan for the New Antioch," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, December 1920, p. 1.

to again challenge the thinking and practices of the college community.

Arthur Morgan's theory of education is based on the proposition that:

... a man is best fitted to understand and to make the best of himself and of his environment if he thinks clearly and has command of the facts with which his thoughts must deal; that he can think most clearly when he has a sound biological inheritance, when he is physically sound and conforms to the conditions of physical fitness, when his living conditions are tolerable and free from extreme economic or other pressure, when he has become familiar with the efforts other men have made to solve the same problems, and when he has become acquainted with the working of his faculties.

The end and aim of education, therefore, is so to equip a man in personality or "spirit" in mind and in body, and so to help him secure a favorable environment, that he will make the maximum possible contribution toward discovering and realizing the significance of existence. The fortunes of men are so interrelated that these aims apply primarily not to a single individual, but to all individuals, who collectively make up society.⁹³

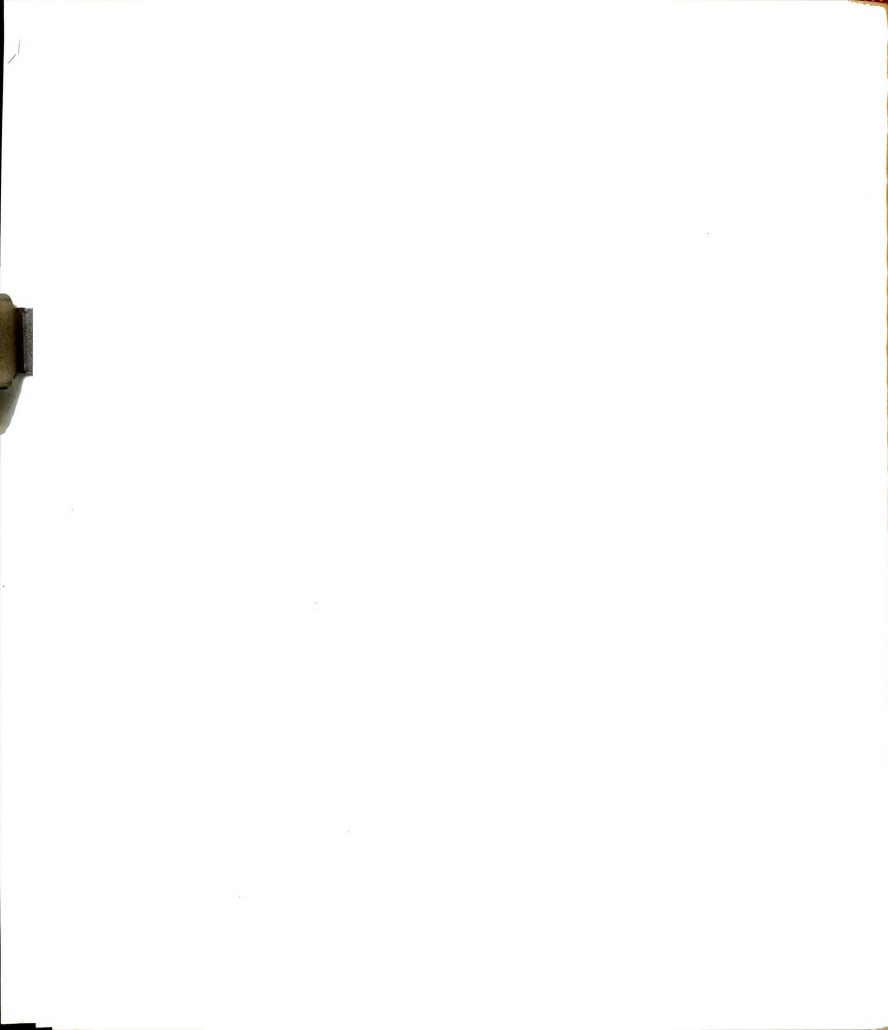
He further charges that it is the responsibility of an educational system to be responsible for the total development of the individual.⁹⁴ The school is, therefore, responsible for continuously examining existing conditions influencing the developmental process of each student and is responsible for removing any existing deficiencies.

Arthur Morgan identified and outlined these five fundamental curriculum foundations:

Economic Education: With occasional exceptions which many of us would recognize, mature men or women should meet their

⁹³Ibid., p. 2.

⁹⁴Ibid.



obligations to society and should provide a substantial economic basis for themselves and their families, by performing essentially valuable service which society will pay for because its value is generally recognized. Along with this habit of earning a living should go the maintenance of solvency through the habit of spending less than is received for such services. The educational process and environment should aim to prepare for this condition of economic stability; sometimes by education for a particular calling, but always by education to develop those underlying qualities of character and those abilities which are necessary for the maintenance of such economic stability in almost any calling.

Education for Personal and Social Purpose: Life aims should not be imposed upon young people, as creeds are imposed by the orthodox, to be accepted without question. Yet philosophy, purpose, and outlook are greatly influenced by association, and such influence tends to result in the acceptance of some view of life to the exclusion of other views.

Education would be a failure which did not result in analysis and definition of moral aims, and also in awakening moral determination and enthusiasm, as evidenced by a sustained desire both for the development of personal character, and for social service. This influence upon the development of life aims may be secured by the personal influence and inspiration of members of the faculty and of the student body, and by the development of habits of thought and purpose which become continuing characteristics of the whole institution, and a common possession of the student body. Moral purpose cannot be sustained today among intelligent people unless it is of a sort that can develop in company with an open and inquiring mind -- with the scientific or experimental attitude.

Education of the Intellect: Neither moral purpose nor economic independence can be depended upon to serve a useful end, except as they are disciplined and informed by a trained mind. The trained mind is one that has greatly increased its stature, range, power, and accuracy, by taking advantage of the suggestion, inspiration, and discipline which comes from alternately thinking for oneself, and following the course of other men's minds as recorded in literature, art, and other forms of human expression; while at the same time it has made itself master of the data which furnish the foundation for ideas. This mastery of data takes the form either of memory of facts, the ability to classify facts as they appear, or the ability to find them as needed.

The Development of Wisdom Requires Both Study and Experience: The word "academic," when used as the antithesis of "practical" in



describing a person, implies that he is one who deals with theoretical rather than actual considerations. This usage is a recognition of the fact that in the actual development of almost any situation, a large number of factors appear which theoretical analysis would not have foreseen. The word "practical" as used to describe a man who has acquired skill without theoretical knowledge, usually infers an ability to accomplish the immediate result, but inability to get the larger significance of any course of action. Judgment as to the part that will be played by unforeseen factors in situations that may arise, and as to the actual weight and significance of all factors involved, is not gained by study alone or by experience alone, but by a combination of both.

Physical Education: The fact that physical fitness is an essential condition to the highest accomplishment should be recognized by making physical education a vital and essential part of the educational process.⁹⁵

Mr. Morgan, recognizing the significant role to be assumed by members of the Board of Trustees in initiating and maintaining a commitment to his plan for the New Antioch, suggested a major change in the traditional composition of the governing board. Rejecting a membership limited to alumni residing in the vicinity of the college, he envisioned a membership of lawyers, engineers, industrial leaders, professors, teachers, and administrators attracted from throughout the country.⁹⁶ Morgan wanted on his Board men who

were fundamentally original, who had developed caution in adventures, and who had developed also a high degree of skill in arriving at sound judgments by the method of analysis of the factors involved.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Mr. Morgan recommended a bi-dimensional plan to be adopted for procuring faculty members. Certain individuals who had achieved success in industry and who would be willing "to be responsible for the economic and professional stability of our practical understandings" would be employed for the vocational dimensions of the curriculum.⁹⁸ Men with "scholarship, originality, virility" and a willingness to work within a team structure would be employed for the academic dimensions of the curriculum.⁹⁹ All faculty members would reside within the college community to afford the students continuous models of well-functioning adults.

Recognizing that the "selection of a student body is almost as important as the selection of a faculty," Mr. Morgan formulated plans for a national recruitment effort.¹⁰⁰ He envisioned "securing applications for admission from several thousand and from these selecting about six hundred that seem most suitable."¹⁰¹ Application forms would be developed which would allow each applicant to express himself through a series of correspondence with final selections to follow personal interviews.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

The "Antioch Program" envisioned by Mr. Morgan to serve the students arriving on the campus would include the following components:

Self-Support: The Antioch program aims to arrive at self-support for the student ... by dividing his time into two week intervals between school and financially productive work.

By combining work and study we can make the experiences of these years cover a fairly complete cross-section of life, so that the student is getting a sense of the texture of himself and of the world, and is developing effective reactions, at the same time that he is acquiring college culture and technic.

Antioch and Societal Education: First, education consists in seeing principles, in getting the significance of life, in developing all the powers of men and women ... Second, the training in self-reliance, in administrative methods, in economics and sociology, which form the common elements in our vocational courses, will not be without value in any walk of life Third, a training in some calling that will provide economic independence may be a good foundation for a career of fine work in art, literature, science, or social service, in which public appreciation often lags far behind fine accomplishment The aims of Antioch technical courses are not only vocational training as an end, but vocational training as a means to economic independence, so as to furnish a surplus of time and means for citizenship, for service to one's community, and to his times.

Cultural Courses: The aim of the cultural courses will be to give the student the outlook of the historian, of the biologist, of the chemist; to enable him to classify facts as he meets them, to realize their importance, to know how to find them as he needs them; and fundamentally to be able to approach problems that arise with an original mind to which this type of education is a servant and not a master. One of the faculties to be developed is a whole-some skepticism of alleged facts, or a tentative acceptance of these not fully established.

Autonomous Courses: The student ... will be given opportunity to proceed beyond the limits of the regular courses offered, in the manner of a seminar. The additional courses, to be carried by the student with only occasional access to a professor in that subject, are termed "Autonomous Courses." They will be open only to students of proven ability.

Technical and Vocational Courses: A limited number of courses with the aim of preparing selected students for specific callings: (1) should to the fullest possible extent represent an essential contribution to public education in America -- a contribution not

being duplicated elsewhere; (2) should be courses which gain rather than lose by being offered at a small college, where highly specialized equipment and faculty are not available; (3) should belong to a single general class, so as to contain the greatest practicable proportion of common factors, thus simplifying the curriculum and reducing expense, while to the fullest possible extent retaining value for persons of widely varying aims; (4) should be courses which will profit to the fullest extent by the peculiar location or policies of the college, the pertinent factor in this case being the policy of alternation of work and study, and the type of faculty and organization which that policy involves; (5) should develop a spirit of responsible citizenship aimed to prepare students for environments where certain types of social service are peculiarly needed; (6) should be courses, the training for which will have the widest possible usefulness and application.¹⁰²

Not only did the Board of Trustees of Antioch enthusiastically receive and adopt Morgan's "Plan For the New Antioch," but also, to insure implementation of the Plan and to provide the bold, innovative leadership crucial for Antioch's survival, the Board invited Arthur Morgan to assume the presidency of the College. Thus, in 1921, with Arthur Morgan and two hundred selected students, Antioch College began anew.¹⁰³

Mr. Morgan, addressing the Progressive Education Association in Dayton later that year, spoke of a nation "facing a need of social adjustment" as the "habits and ways of the past perform inadequately with modern thinking."¹⁰⁴ Modern civilization, said Morgan, "demands

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 7-13.

¹⁰³ Dayton Daily News, 19 May 1933.

¹⁰⁴ Arthur E. Morgan, "Educational and Social Aims for the New Antioch," p. 3.

a higher standard of conduct."¹⁰⁵ Morgan saw that the idealistic beliefs and values held by college students clashed vigorously with the realistically harsh economic realities faced by those same young people when they entered the working world as employees. Morgan's answer to the dilemma was to let the young people be proprietors of their own businesses.¹⁰⁶ It is better, said Morgan, "if you can assist this young man to determine his business habits for himself and to start as a proprietor of his own job, so that he can bring about a social readjustment."¹⁰⁷ The Antioch Plan eventually aimed at preparing students to be employers, not employees, because Morgan believed that "graduates ought to assume positions of commanding influence in the community."¹⁰⁸ For the quickest way, he said, of reaching the whole people and of assisting in redirecting social values is to "train leaders determined to make the most out of life for themselves and society."¹⁰⁹

Students, parents, faculty members, trustees, employers associated with Antioch, and supporters of the college began receiving

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, "On Selecting Students," Antioch Notes, Vol. 1, No. 4, February, 1924.



"Antioch Notes" on September 1, 1923.¹¹⁰ President Morgan established the semi-monthly publication as a means of maintaining communication with the various communities of Antioch. From 1923 to today, the publication has consistently reported the progress of the school, reports of its financial condition, and the philosophical, religious, and educational ideas of Mr. Morgan and his successors. Article titles which included, "The Will to Power", "What Can College Do?", "The Abuses of Expedience", and "The Classics vs. Science", indicate the kinds of thoughts Mr. Morgan shared.¹¹¹

Antioch College operated under a tri-dimensional six-year program to provide a "liberal college education, vocational training, and an apprenticeship to practical life."¹¹² Underlying the program was the desire to develop in each student "initiative, self-reliance, sound judgment, and ability to assume responsibility."¹¹³ Seeking to realize a way of life committed to worthy values and noble purposes, the school was not a place for students who "lacked integrity, wholesome character, or whose chief interest is in their personal advancement."¹¹⁴

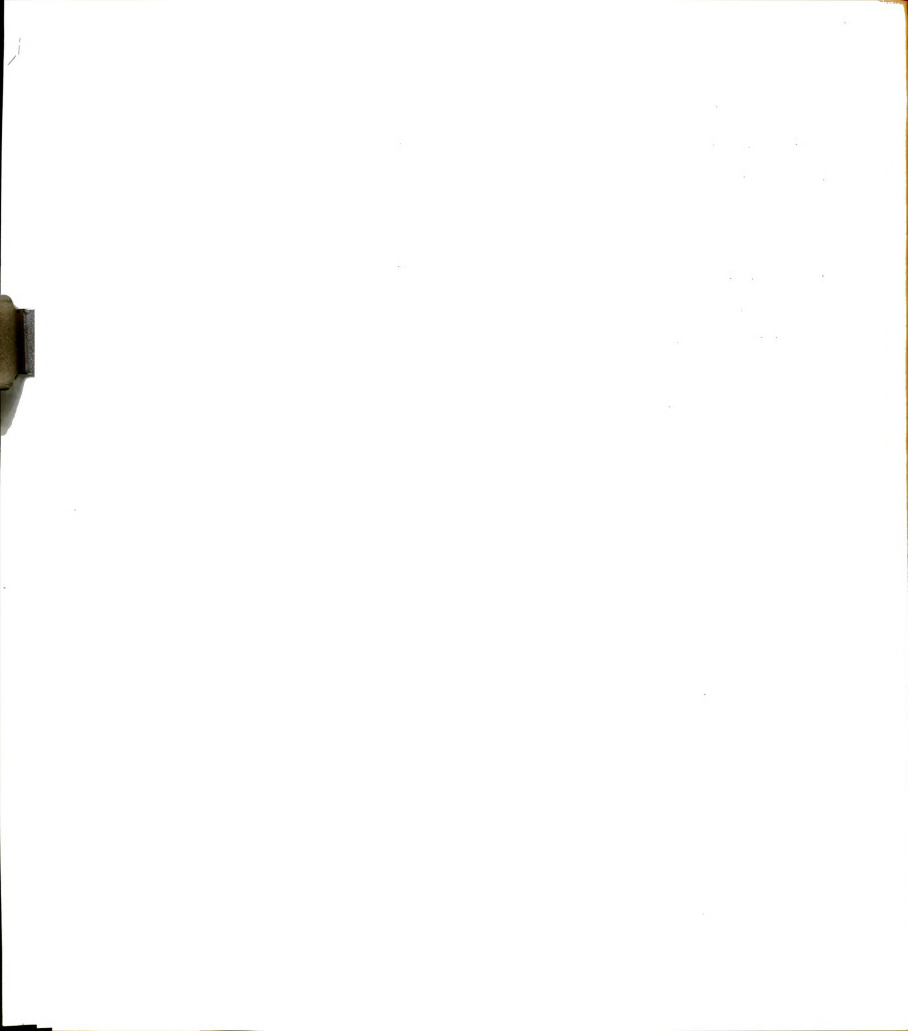
¹¹⁰ Arthur E. Morgan, Antioch Notes, Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1923.

¹¹¹ Arthur E. Morgan, Antioch Notes, assorted issues, September, 1923 through April, 1931.

¹¹² Arthur E. Morgan, Antioch Notes, Vol. 1, No. 3, February, 1924.

¹¹³ The Christian Register, 11 May 1922.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.



An examination of the Antioch Program as it existed a decade after President Morgan assumed leadership of the school demonstrates a fulfillment of the goals which Morgan envisioned earlier.

The following program existed in 1931:

Introduction to the Main Fields of Human Concern: Each student will take five or six years of science including mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, psychology and earth science; four years of social science, including history, economics, and government; a year of philosophy; two years or more of English and literature; and an introduction to the field of aesthetics.

Field of Concentration: Each student is required to choose some dominant interest as his or her special subject of study and this must occupy not less than one-third of the entire college course.

Autonomous Program: Formal class recitations are largely replaced by self-directed study and informal conferences. To develop an adult sense of personal responsibility and an awareness that his education depends upon his own active participation and demands of him initiative.

Cooperative Work Plan: Students spend half-time at college and half-time at practical work. The college wishes its students to learn actual conditions of commercial life, that poor work brings failure and that good work brings reward. Jobs are diversified to broaden the range of experiences. Employers are an important dimension of the faculty and assume a responsibility for educating the students. A "Professor of Work" joined the faculty to assist five students who were alert and intelligent but who lacked effective habits of work.

Student Industries: Students will be encouraged to develop their own industries.

Vocational Guidance: A process of exploration and examination was initiated to assist each student in identifying a significant and promising field.

Education for Comradship: Co-education furnishes for both men and women experience in intellectual as well as social fellowship. Comradship can live only on common interests. The greater the range, depth, and worth of those interests, the greater is the possibility for sustained and satisfactory fellowship.

Education for Marriage, Parenthood and Family Life: The Antioch Nursery School and kindergarten; courses in child psychology, child care, family relationships are maintained in the hope that most young men and women in time will be prepared for intelligent understanding of the next generation.

Physical Well-Being: Each student will take five years of physical education courses. Health is emphasized as an important part of the college program through joint cooperation of the Medical and Physical Education Departments. Intramural athletics provide a basis for activities.

Several studies were conducted at Antioch to improve the general health of the students and their associates. The Antioch Shoe was designed to improve health and posture in women. For eighteen months Antioch had made a study of women's shoes, cooperating with other colleges, health organizations, orthopedists, hospitals, last makers, shoe manufacturers, and artists. More than one hundred models were built before the perfect shoe was adopted and introduced.

A Tobacco and Scholarship Study was conducted, which indicated that a definite relationship existed between smoking and low scholarship.

Service Counsel: All students are expected to carry some community responsibility. Students regularly carry voluntarily and without pay a great variety of community responsibilities.

Student Government: The Community Council operates, whereby students and faculty members are elected and assume a major responsibility for discipline. It is perhaps the chief function of the Council to interpret to the student body the standards and procedures of the college, and to interpret to the faculty student opinion on matters of common concern.¹¹⁵

Mr. Morgan said of Antioch College:

We are trying to create at Antioch an environment in which people may inquire freely and see clearly, so that through the permeation of spirit they may become aware of higher levels of living than

¹¹⁵ Arthur E. Morgan, "Some Information About Antioch," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, May 1, 1931; Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Program," Journal of Higher Education, 1 (December, 1930): 497-502; Arthur Morgan, "The Shoes of Happiness," Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 5 (November, 1925); Arthur E. Morgan, "Tobacco and Scholarship," Antioch Notes, Vol. 3, No. 2 (September, 1925); Arthur E. Morgan, "Fifteen Years at Antioch," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, November, 1935.

those already reached, and may whole-heartedly devote themselves to the greater adventure of attaining these higher levels. These are ends for which our study and our work are but ways and means.¹¹⁶

Consistency in Implementation
of the Social Philosophy

Individuals who participated in the three previously described programs (at the Miami Valley Construction Camps, the Moraine Park School, and Antioch College) were a study in human contrasts; in age, social standing, economic accomplishments, academic achievement and basic aspirations, they represented a broad spectrum of American life.

Residents of the five construction camps were described by Arthur Morgan as a,

... type of migrant worker, often homeless and thriftless, who wandered from job to job, seldom working for more than a few weeks at any one place.¹¹⁷

These men, at the bottom of their country's socio-economic scale, with little hope and few aspirations for the future, excepting physical survival, were in stark contrast to the students enrolled in the private-progressive Moraine Park School or Antioch College. Despite these apparent differences, however, an analysis and comparison of these three programs as they emerged under the leadership of Arthur Morgan illustrated a commonality of basic goals and planned experiences

¹¹⁶ Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Program," 502.

¹¹⁷ Arthur E. Morgan, The Miami Conservancy District, 386.

which represent a reflection and a fulfillment of the Morgan philosophy. The six components of this philosophy earlier identified and described constituted the foundation of each of these programs.

A man's relationship to humanity, according to Arthur Morgan, consists of relationships based on mutual respect and support among individuals striving to improve life for present and future generations. Participants in each program operated under a communal system of self-government, assuming individual and group responsibility for the general welfare and the continuous development of their community. The initial and sustained enthusiasm towards the self-government model and the apparently successful daily operation of each program indicates a commitment to Morgan's philosophy.

According to Arthur Morgan, a philosophy of daily living includes: self-appraisal and an identification of individual goals; an appraisal of man's physical environment and an awareness of man's growing control over this environment; an objective and scientific approach toward personally-held values, beliefs and attitudes; and, finally, a positive attitude toward life and daily living.

The Miami Conservancy District, by providing wholesome living conditions at the several construction camps, enabled the residents, because their own basic survival needs had been met, to work towards satisfying such higher level needs as education, recreation, and the establishing of new hopes and aspirations for themselves and for their families. These employees, through their work to prevent future flooding in the Miami Valley, witnessed an increased awareness of man's



control over the physical environment, resulting in a realization of man's potential power to combat nature's hardships. The residents of the camps, by participating in the process of self-government and the several educational programs initiated in each camp, were placed in an environment which challenged their personal system of values, attitudes, and beliefs. The total camp environment, in contrast to previous working conditions, was conducive to affording the worker a new and positive attitude toward life.

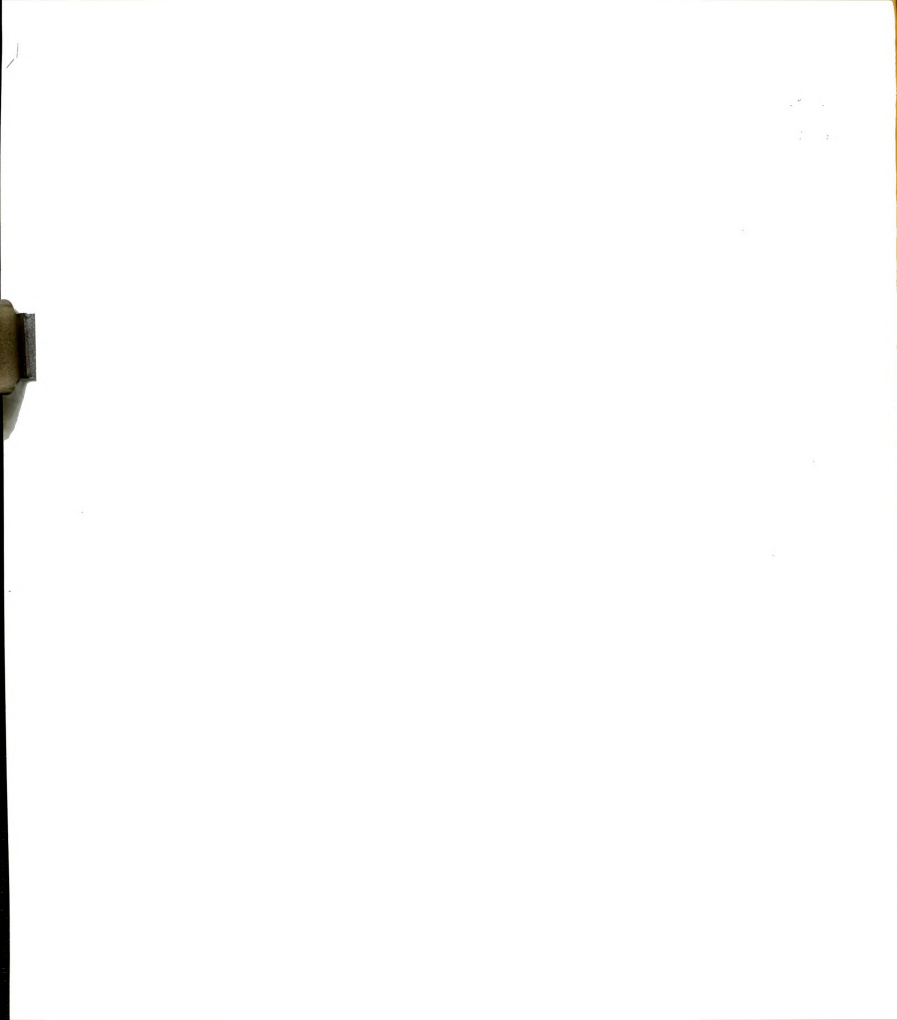
Students enrolled at the Moraine Park School and Antioch College, by the very nature of the progressive educational philosophy upon which the schools operated, functioned in an academic environment reflecting this aspect of the Morgan philosophy.

Worthy values for society, identified by Arthur Morgan, included a life typified by: neighborly fellowship and social mindedness; an appreciation of natural beauty and man's creative accomplishments; and a personal satisfaction in work well done.

The three programs, which operated successfully on a daily basis under the guidelines of self-government, demonstrated a commitment by the participants to behavior traits associated with neighborly fellowship; i.e., concern for the welfare of others. Each program operated with a commitment to helping improve life for other people.

Each program operated in a natural setting, the appreciation of which was strengthened as participants in each program were committed to maintaining and improving their natural environment.

The successful construction of the several dams and related flood control provisions in the Miami Conservancy Project according

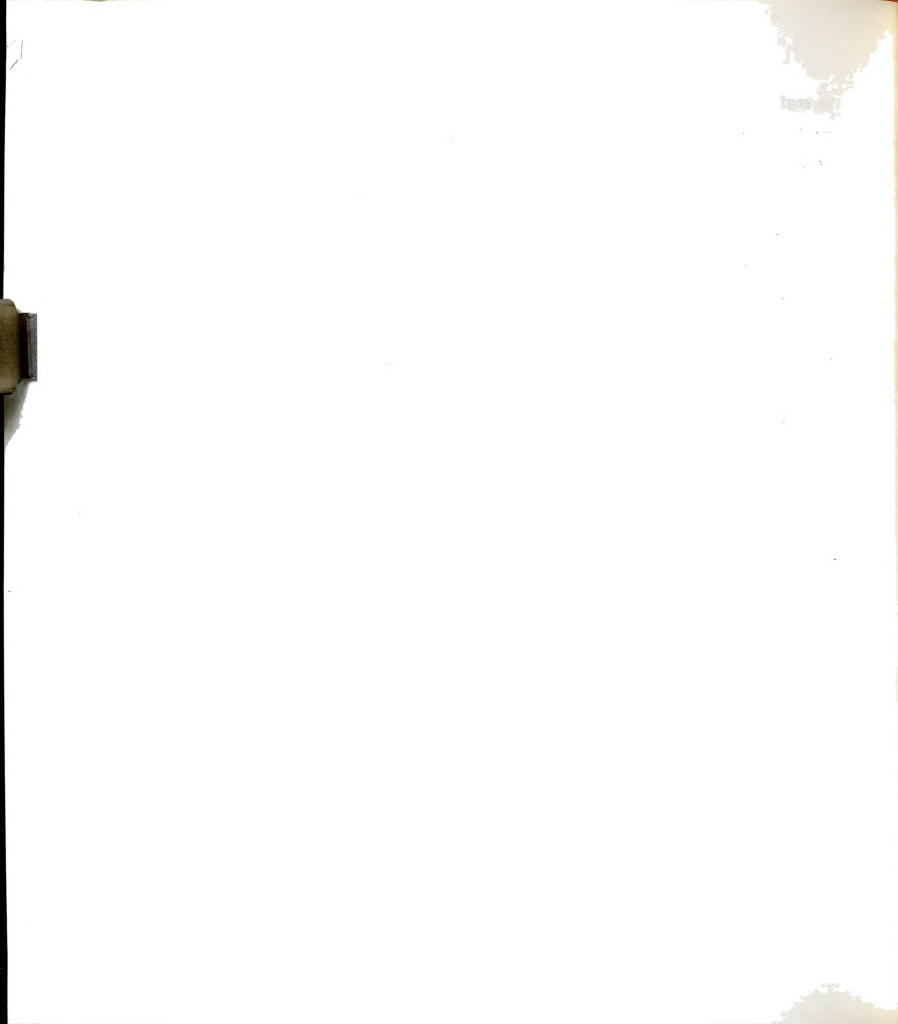


to engineering specifications, afforded the laborer continuous personal satisfaction in witnessing the daily accomplishments of his efforts. Students in the two educational programs, responsible for initiating and evaluating a large portion of their activities, experienced on a personal level the satisfaction of work well done.

Components of a well-rounded life, identified by Arthur Morgan, include: physical health; training for work; actual experience in work; a trained appreciation of social, religious, economic, and aesthetic values; a sense of proportion, knowledge of history, literature, philosophy and science; and a life purpose. A reflection of these components is seen in the responsibilities which were assumed by the several commissioners elected under the adopted organizational scheme for self-government at each camp site. Activities available to the residents at each camp reflect an actualization of Morgan's components as interpreted by the commissioners.

A reflection of these components is also seen in an examination of the general purposes, educational philosophy and curriculum at the Moraine Park School and at Antioch College. The ultimate aim of these two institutions is to produce students prepared to lead the type of well-rounded life envisioned by Arthur Morgan.

The foundations of a sound education, developed by Arthur Morgan, are based upon the recognition that education is an innate process of human life, initiated and maintained by the students. This concept underlies the educational activities which emerged at the Miami Construction Camps, the Moraine Park School, and Antioch College.

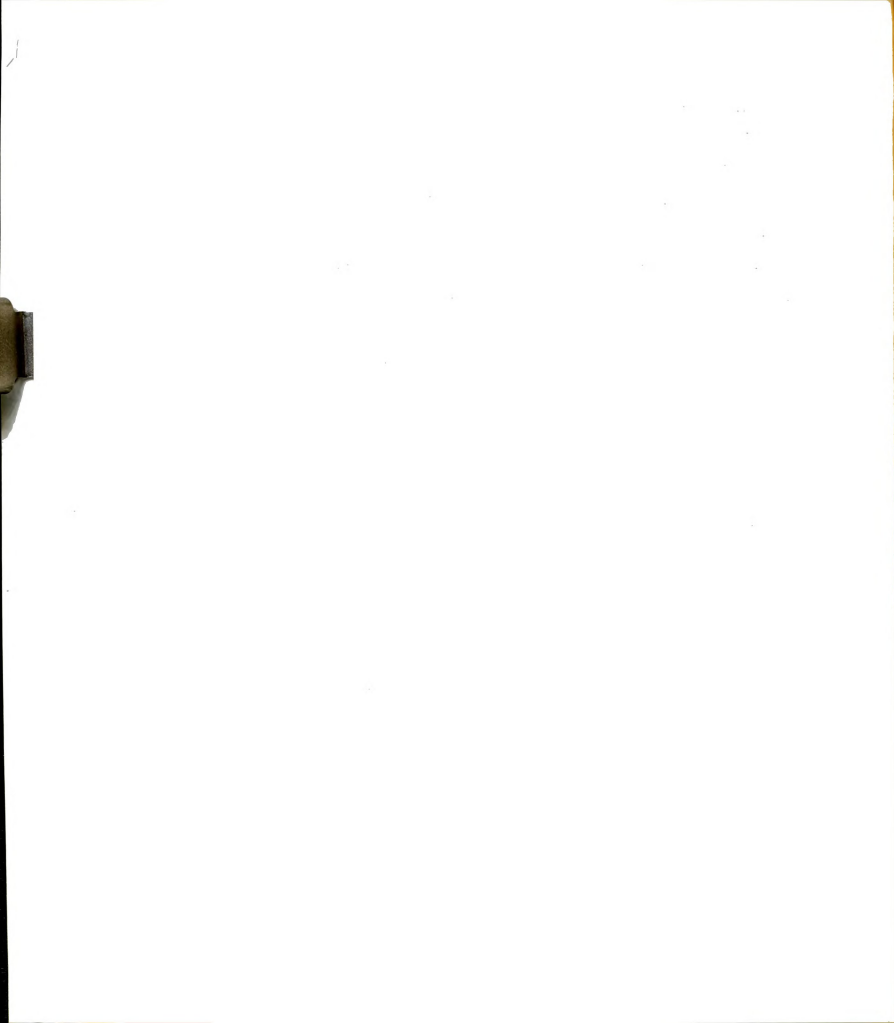


The leadership behavior of the individual, recognized by Arthur Morgan as a primary force influencing society, was nurtured in the three programs. The responsibilities imposed on individuals by a communal self-government environment provided ample opportunities for leadership experiences. In addition, the adoption of the commission form of government expanded opportunities for leadership experiences. The residents of the Miami Construction Camps, for example, were encouraged to assume major responsibility for developing and maintaining the daily operations of the several camps. The degree to which the residents succeeded in their endeavors was dependent upon the continuing development of their leadership skills.

The Moraine Park School, insisting that students establish and maintain business enterprises while assuming a major responsibility for the operation of the school, developed leadership traits. Antioch College, committed to a cooperative work plan, student industries, and a service council, sought to produce graduates who would provide leadership directed toward the improvement of society at both local and national levels.

Through his leadership, Arthur Morgan, in establishing the basic operating tenets at the Miami Construction Camps, the Moraine Park School, and Antioch College, was able to provide environments reflective of his social philosophy. These programs were indicative of Mr. Morgan's aspiration to help others know a better world.

Arthur E. Morgan's conscious strivings led ultimately to the formulation of a social philosophy which would give his life a



meaningful purpose. He was steadfast to a commitment to work with his fellow man in the spirit of fellowship, friendship, and affection and to strive, through a critical examination of man's total environment, for a better life for present and future generations. Mr. Morgan sought to provide an environment which encouraged every individual to develop fully his capabilities and to know a full and rewarding life.

An appraisal of Morgan's accomplishments as an engineer and educator prior to 1933 indicate a personal fulfillment and a recognition of the application of his social philosophy.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENESIS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The visit to Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River by President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt and Senator George Norris of Nebraska on January 21, 1933, proved to be historic. It pre-faced action which would shortly be reflected in the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Historically, the Tennessee River shared with other waterways of the nation sporadic federal attention, dependent upon the fluid interests and priorities of the nation's elected representatives and their constituents. The personal and political commitments of George Norris and Franklin D. Roosevelt prior to 1933 were among these forces.

Senator Norris had maintained a steadfast determination that the government should develop and control the electrical power resources of the Tennessee River. President-elect Roosevelt envisioned the river basin as constituting a physical foundation for a comprehensive plan of regional development encompassing his commitment to the conservation of natural resources and his newly-elected government's pledge for a "new deal" for the people of this nation.

This chapter will deal with the following topics: a physical description of the Tennessee River basin; a brief review of the



development of the Tennessee River and Muscle Shoals prior to 1933; a socioeconomic description of the Tennessee River basin in the early 1930's; an identification of President-elect Roosevelt's "New Deal" philosophy; and a review of President-elect Roosevelt's initial plans for the development of the Tennessee Valley.

The Tennessee River Basin

The headwaters of the Tennessee River are in the Great Smoky and Blue Ridge Mountains of eastern Tennessee, western Virginia, North Carolina, and northern Georgia.¹ The main river originates above Knoxville, Tennessee, at the confluence of the Holston and French Broad Rivers and "flows southwest to the corner of Georgia, then west across northern Alabama to Mississippi and finally north across Tennessee and Kentucky," a distance of approximately 650 miles, before it eventually empties into the Ohio River at Paducah, Kentucky.² A geological dip of approximately 133 feet dramatically alters the flow of the river through Alabama, creating a 37 mile stretch of rocks and shoals known as Muscle Shoals.³ The river's watershed encompasses a region of about 41,000 square miles, incorporating the seven states

¹U.S., Tennessee Valley Authority, The Norris Project, Technical Report No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 1.

²Ibid.

³Joseph S. Ransmeier, The Tennessee Valley Authority (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942), p. 35.



of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.⁴

Federal Interest in Development of the Tennessee
River and Muscle Shoals Prior to 1933

Federal legislation directed towards the development and maintenance of the Tennessee River and other national waterways reflects both an increasing realization that such waterways are more prudently managed by the federal government than by state and municipal units of government and a growing awareness of the tremendous resources of waterways.⁵ Prior to the twentieth century, the federal government passed legislation to improve the navigability of rivers for commercial and military purposes. On May 24, 1824, following federally authorized surveys, the Congress of the United States adopted an act directing the President to improve navigation on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.⁶ In that year, President James Monroe's annual message to Congress included a report of John Calhoun, Secretary of War, urging that:

The whole union must be considered as one, and the attention directed, not to those roads and canals, which may facilitate intercourse between parts of the same state, but to those which may bind all of the parts together ... of very highest national importance, in a commercial, military, and political point of

⁴Maurice F. Seay, "The Tennessee Valley and the Tennessee Valley Authority," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, 10, No. 4 (June, 1938):16.

⁵Ransmeier, The Tennessee Valley Authority, 3-33.

⁶An Act to Improve the Navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, Statutes at Large, 4, Ch. 139, 32-33 (1824).



view Canals round the falls of the Ohio at Louisville and Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee River These three great works, then, the canal to Ohio and Lake Erie, with the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio, Mississippi, ... round the Muscle Shoal ... are conceived to be the most important objects within the provisions of the act of the last session.⁷

On May 23, 1828 Congress awarded to the State of Alabama 400,000 acres of federal lands to be sold to finance the construction of a canal around the Shoals.⁸ Despite this canal, completed in 1836 and a second federally financed canal completed in 1890, the problem of navigation around the Shoals persisted.⁹

At the turn of the century, issues relative to navigation were supplanted by the federal government's attempt to formulate policies dealing with water power and flood control. Congress responded to the growing demands of private power investors seeking to construct dams across navigable streams by passing legislation in 1890 which reaffirmed the government's sovereignty over the nation's waterways. This legislation included provisions that:

It shall not be lawful to build any wharf, pier, dolphin, boom, dam ... or structure of any kind outside established harbor-lines, or in any navigable waters of the United States without the permission of the Secretary of War ... (Section 7)

and

⁷U.S., Department of War, Message to the President of the United States, Sec. John C. Calhoun, accompanying the President's Annual Message to Congress, S. Doc. 1, 18th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1824.

⁸An Act to Grant Certain Relinquished and Unappropriated Land to the State of Alabama, For the Purpose of Improving the Navigation of the Tennessee, Coosa, Cahawba, and Black Warrior Rivers, Statutes at Large 4, Ch. 75, 290 (1828).

⁹Ransmeier, The Tennessee Valley Authority, 35.



... the creation of any obstruction, not affirmatively authorized by law, to the navigable capacity of any waters, in respect of which the United States has jurisdiction, is hereby prohibited. (Section 10)¹⁰

In 1898, Representative Joseph Wheeler of Alabama, acting at the request of the newly organized Muscle Shoals Power Company, introduced a bill (H.R. 9335) requesting the right to construct and operate canals and powerhouses on the south side of the Tennessee River.¹¹ The bill was amended to include authorization for the Secretary of War to fix charges and was signed by President McKinley on March 3, 1899.¹² The Muscle Shoals Power Company failed to exercise the provisions of the bill.¹³

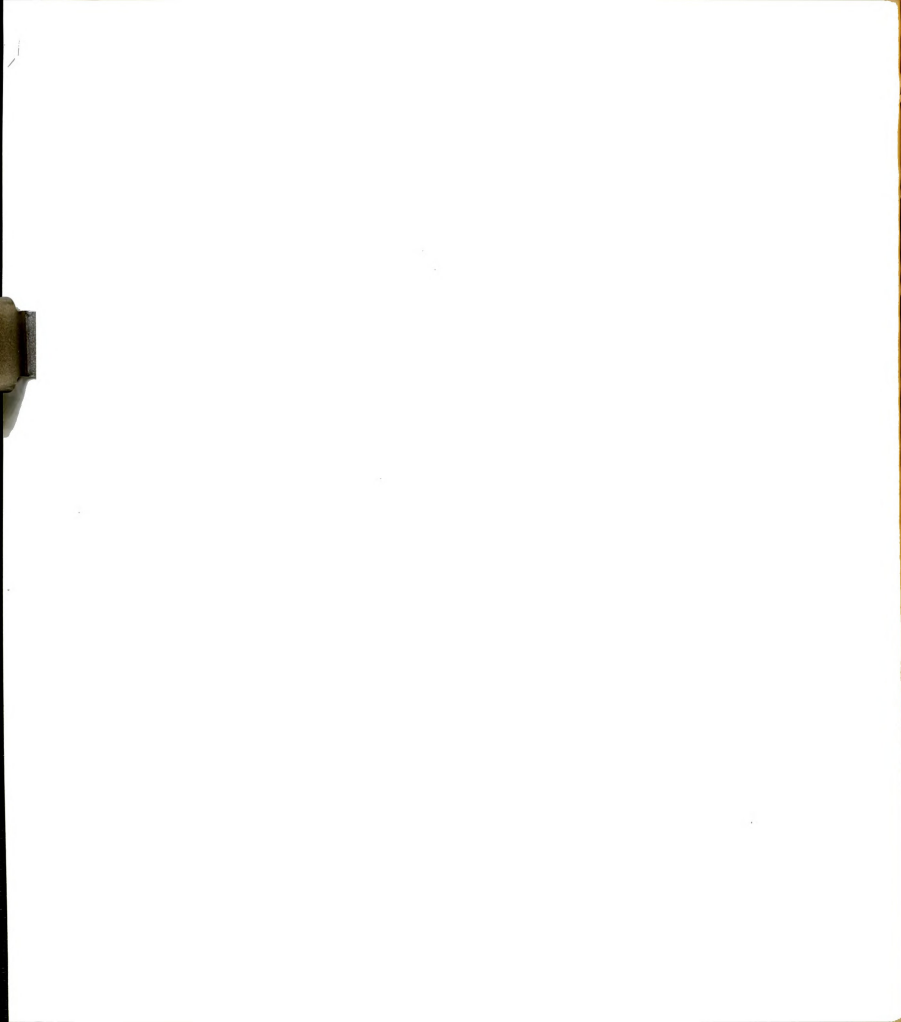
Representative William Richardson from the same Congressional District, introduced a similar bill in 1902 at the request of Mr. N. F. Thompson and Associates to develop power resources at Muscle Shoals,

¹⁰An Act Making Appropriations for the Construction, Repair and Preservation of Certain Public Works on Rivers and Harbors and for Other Purposes, Statutes at Large, 26, Sec. 7 and Sec. 10, 454 (1890).

¹¹U.S., Congress, House, A Bill Granting to the Muscle Shoals Power Co. Right to Erect and Construct Canal and Power Stations at Muscle Shoals, Ala., H.R. 1341, 55th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1898, p. 359.

¹²An Act Granting to the Muscle Shoals Power Company Right to Erect and Construct Canal and Power Stations at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, Statutes at Large 30, 1351 (1899).

¹³Judson King, The Conservation Fight (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959), p. 4.



Alabama. (H.R. 14051).¹⁴ The bill passed the House of Representatives and received Senate approval on February 18, 1903, but was vetoed by President Theodore Roosevelt who stated:

The recent development of the application of water power to the production of electricity available for use at considerable distances has revealed an element of substantial value in streams which the government is or is liable to be called upon to improve for the purposes of navigation, and this value, in my judgment, should be properly used to defray the cost of the improvement. Wherever the Government constructs a dam and lock for the purpose of navigation there is a waterfall of great value. It does not seem right or just that this element of local value should be given away to private individuals of the vicinage, and at the same time the people of the whole country should be taxed for the local improvement I think it is desirable that the entire subject of granting privileges of the kind referred to in this bill should be considered in a comprehensive way ... as shall best conserve the public interests.¹⁵

From the time he became President of the United States on September 14, 1901 upon the death of William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt vigorously pursued a broad plan aimed at developing and protecting the nation's natural resources.¹⁶ His veto message of the Muscle Shoals legislation typified this commitment. On March 4, 1907, he created the Inland Waterways Commission to,

¹⁴U.S., Congress, House, A Bill Granting to N.F. Thompson and Associates the Right to Erect a Dam and Construct Power Stations at Muscle Shoals, Ala., H.R. 14051, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, p. 740.

¹⁵James D. Richardson, ed., Compilation of the Messages and Papers of Presidents, 1789 - 1894, 52nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1894 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), 15:6817-6818.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 6637-7005.



... prepare and report a comprehensive plan for the improvement and control of the river systems of the United States.¹⁷

On May 13-15, 1908, he hosted a White House Conference of Governors and presented the several recommendations of this Commission.¹⁸ The conferees adopted a "Declaration For Conservation of Resources" which included the principle that,

... water should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation ... and to develop power in the interests of the people; that sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.¹⁹

Roosevelt vetoed the Rainey River Bill in 1908 and the James River Bill in 1909, each of which would have authorized the construction of dams which were not, according to Roosevelt, protecting the public interest.²⁰ The water power struggle between public interests and private enterprise was not resolved during President Roosevelt's tenure in office.

Representative Richardson of Alabama had introduced a second bill (H.R. 24543) relative to the development of Muscle Shoals on January 18, 1907. That bill proposed dam construction financed jointly by the federal government and the Muscle Shoals Hydro-Electric Power

¹⁷Ibid., 16:7139.

¹⁸Loomis Havemeyer, ed., Conservation of our Natural Resources (New York: the Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 531.

¹⁹Loomis Havemeyer, ed., Conservation of our Natural Resources, Appendix I, "Governors' Declaration for Conservation of Natural Resources," (New York: the Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 532-534.

²⁰King, The Conservation Fight, 16-23.



Company.²¹ Richardson's bill was referred to the Rivers and Harbors Committee and received the attention of a specially appointed board of army engineers under the chairmanship of Colonel William Rossell.²² Ultimately, the "Rossell Board" rejected the proposal and concluded that,

... in general, any partnership relation between the United States and a private corporation is necessarily to be closely scrutinized, as the results in the past have been that the Government, as a party to such agreements, has usually suffered thereby.²³

The private entrepreneurs, however, persisted and, two years later convinced Representative S. M. Sparkman of Florida, newly appointed Chairman of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee, to re-view the Muscle Shoals situation. On February 24, 1912, Representative Sparkman directed Colonel Dan Kingman, Chairman of a newly created board conducting studies of waterways, to prepare "two comprehensive plans and costs" for utilization of "all the water power that can be developed" at Muscle Shoals.²⁴ On May 18, 1914, Representative Sparkman received a favorable report from the Army Corps of Engineers, supporting a plan for joint development of the shoals by the federal government and the Muscle Shoals Hydro-Electric

²¹Ibid., p. 35.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 36.

²⁴Ibid.



Company.²⁵ The plan was included in the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill for fiscal year 1915 (H.R. 13811). It was vigorously opposed and defeated by Norris and his colleagues in the House.²⁶

The struggle to control the water power at Muscle Shoals continued into World War I. The National Defense Act of 1916, authorized the President to,

... make, or cause to be made, such investigation as in his judgment is necessary to determine the best, cheapest and most available means for the production of nitrates and other products for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other products by water power ...

It also provided that the President...

is further authorized to construct, maintain, and operate, at or on any site or sites so designated, dams, locks, improvements to navigation, power houses and other plants²⁷

Acting under the authority of that act, President Wilson announced on September 28, 1917, that the nation's first nitrate plant would be located at Sheffield, Alabama, near Muscle Shoals.²⁸

The Air Nitrates Corporation, a subsidiary of the American Cyanamid Company, agreed on November 16, 1917, to construct an air nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, utilizing electricity supplied by a steam plant and the Alabama Power Company.²⁹ As an additional source

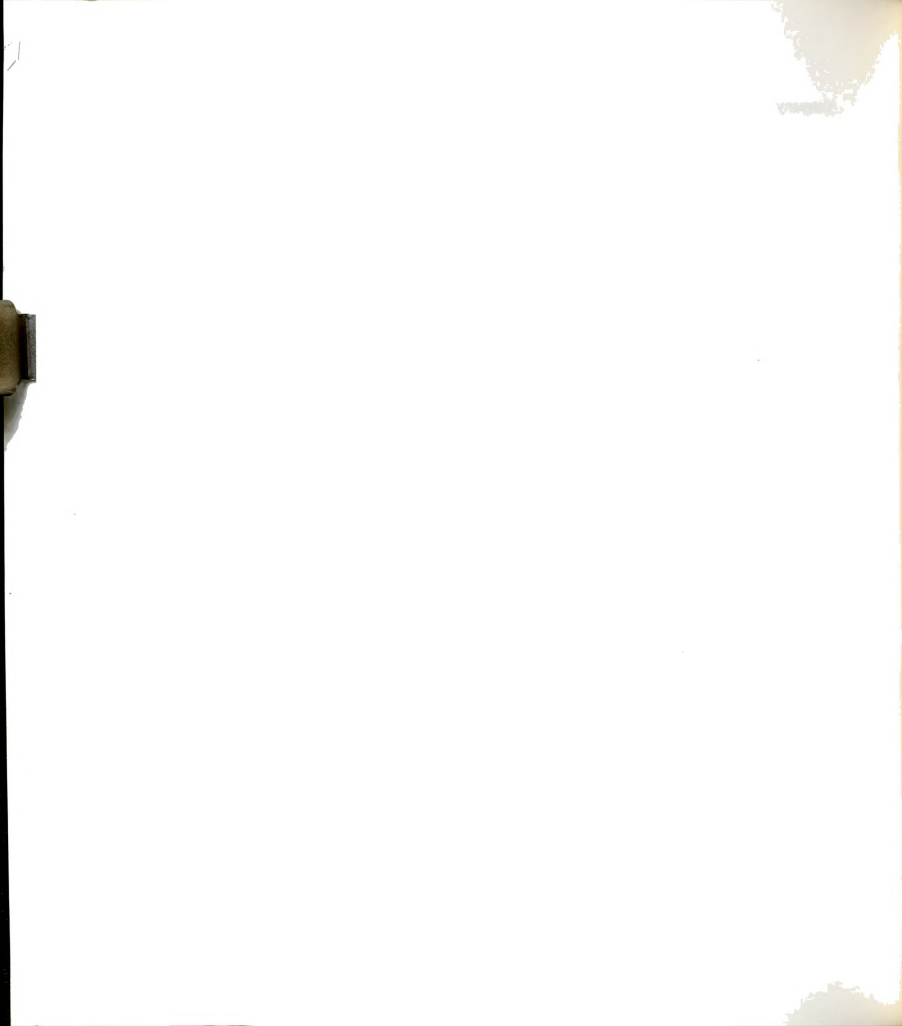
²⁵Ibid., pp. 37-38.

²⁶Ibid., p. 38.

²⁷National Defense Act, Statutes at Large, 30 pt. 1, Sec. 124, 168 (1916).

²⁸King, The Conservation Fight, 76.

²⁹Ibid., p. 77.



of energy, President Wilson, on February 25, 1918, ordered construction of a dam at Muscle Shoals.³⁰ The total undertaking became embroiled in legislative controversies ignited by representatives of both parties and compounded by the Armistice terminating the war and the defense role of Muscle Shoals.³¹

After the Armistice, the House of Representatives set up a Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department under the chairmanship of Representative William Graham of Illinois.³² Financial aspects of the "Graham Report" indicated that \$100 million had been spent on the Muscle Shoals project, including \$13 million on the half-completed Wilson Dam and \$70 million in Plant Number 2 and the steam station,³³ and that \$12 million was needed to complete construction of Wilson Dam.³⁴ The bill, proposed in the Senate and passed on February 5, 1921, to complete the dam, was firmly opposed in the House.³⁵ The uncompromising deadlock which ensued was a harbinger of a decade of national controversy over the fate of Muscle Shoals.

The controversy continued between

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., p. 80.

³²Ibid., pp. 81-82.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 83.

... those Americans who wanted to get government out of business and were eager to liquidate the project and dispose of the Federal assets on the best possible terms and those supporters of public power who wished to make sure that the Wilson Dam and nitrate plants were kept in the hand of the Government and used to help the farmer.³⁶

Mr. Henry Ford, on July 8, 1921, tendered the government a most attractive offer for operation of Muscle Shoals which provided that:

If the government would complete Wilson Dam and construct Dam Number 3 twenty miles above it as planned by the Army Engineers for river regulation and power production, he would lease both dams for 100 years and repay the Government's investment plus four percent interest. Second, he would pay \$5 million for all the properties built and owned by the government in connection with the project. Third, he would operate Nitrate Plant Number 2 to approximately present capacity in the production of nitrogen and other fertilizer compounds. He would sell the fertilizer at not more than an eight percent profit ... he would furnish free electric power to operate the navigation locks at the dams, and keep Nitrate Plant Number 2 in prime condition ready for use by the government in event of another war.³⁷

Failing in his efforts to obtain necessary Congressional support, Mr. Ford withdrew his offer on October 18, 1924, saying that:

What should have been decided by anyone within a week has become a complicated political affair ... productive business cannot wait on politics.³⁸

Senator George Norris of Nebraska played a major role in the Senate activities relative to the Ford proposal. Initially, as

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Denis W. Brogan, The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Chronicle of the New Deal and Global War, (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1950), p. 241.

³⁷ King, The Conservation Fight, 98.

³⁸ Samuel Crowther, "Henry Ford Tackles a New Job," Collier's, The National Weekly, 18 October 1924, p. 5.

Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Senator Norris reported to the Senate in 1921:

I consider the proposition as one of great importance, involving a great deal of money, and involving a policy which under the circumstances, it is very difficult to decide upon. I confess that if it were left to me to decide today, I would not be able to tell whether I was in favor of accepting Mr. Ford's proposition or rejecting it, although I have read it twice.³⁹

This indecision was short-lived, for Senator Norris on April 10, 1922, introduced his first bill for government operation of Muscle Shoals by "creating a federal chemical corporation empowered to operate the whole project."⁴⁰ This counterproposal and others by Norris initiated a growing movement for public control of the project. Representative William B. Oliver of Alabama declared:

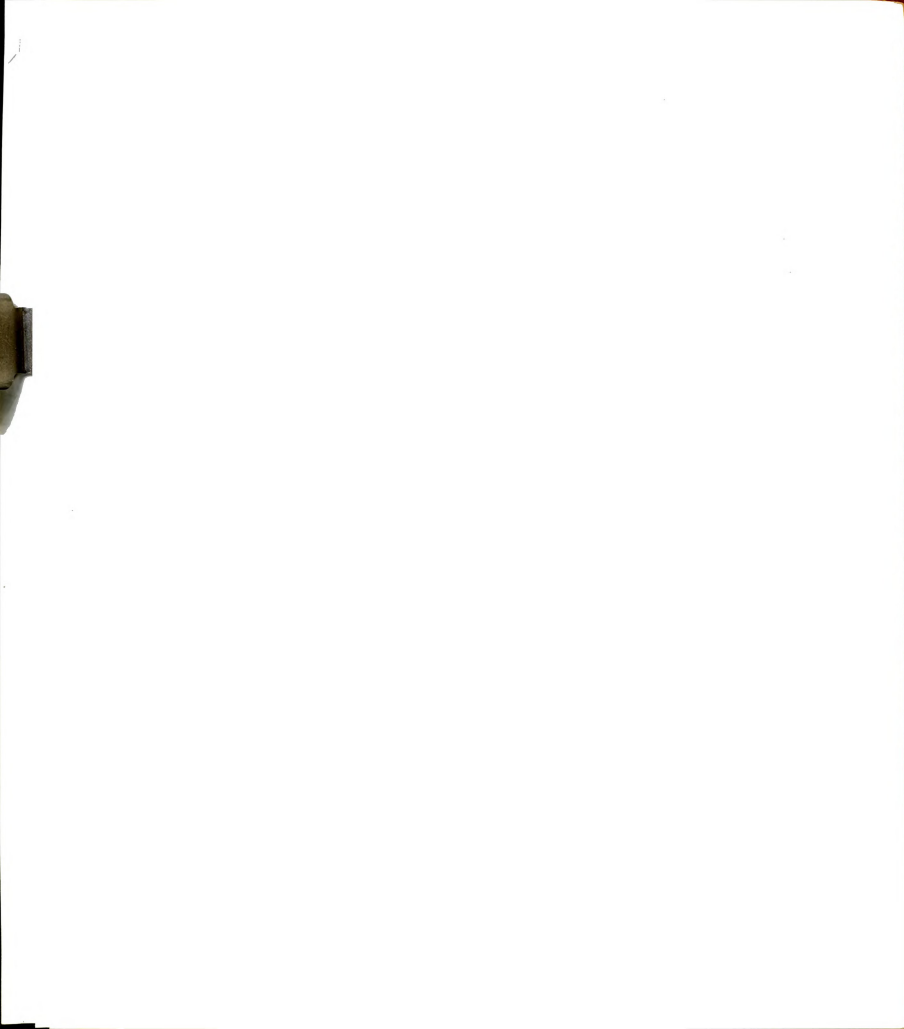
No power company should be permitted to exploit such a dam site for its own local, selfish purposes ... no private lease should be approved unless it clearly promises a substantial reduction in the cost of commercial fertilizer to farmers and reasonable rates to consumers as to any surplus electric energy.⁴¹

In 1922 and 1924 Senator Norris introduced in Congress measures that called for partial development of the Muscle Shoals

³⁹U.S. Congress, Senate, Senator Norris Speaking Relative to the Development of the Power Plant and Navigation at Muscle Shoals, Ala., Transmitting Copies of the Proposals of Mr. Henry Ford Relative to the Project, 67th Cong., 2nd Sess., 7 February 1921. Congressional Record, Vol. 62, pt. III:2211.

⁴⁰U.S., Congress, Senate, A Bill to Provide for the Manufacture of Explosives for the Use of the Army and Navy, to Provide for the Manufacture of Fertilizer for Agricultural Purposes, to Incorporate the Federal Chemical Corporation, and for Other Purposes, S. 3420, 67th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1922, p. 177.

⁴¹King, The Conservation Fight, 139.



properties.⁴² Neither measure was adopted. On January 5, 1926 he introduced a bill (S.B. 2147) calling for multipurpose development of the watershed.⁴³ The bill was compromised to gain support of the House and presented as a Joint resolution (S.J. Res. 163) at the end of the sixty-ninth Congress.⁴⁴ The seventieth Congress convened on December 5, 1927, and Senator Norris reintroduced his compromise bill (S.J. Res. 46) providing for,

... the completion of Dam Number 2 and the steam plant at Nitrate Plant Number 2 in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the manufacture and distribution of fertilizer and for other purposes.

The bill also provided,

... that for the purpose of maintaining and operating the properties now owned by the United States in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in the interest of the national defense and for agricultural and industrial development, and to aid navigation and control of the destructive flood waters in the Tennessee River and Mississippi River Basins, there is hereby created a body corporate by the name of the "Muscle Shoals Corporation of the United States."⁴⁵

⁴²Ibid., pp. 108-122.

⁴³U.S., Congress, Senate, A Bill to Provide for the Operation of Dam No. 2 at Muscle Shoals, Ala., For the Construction of Other Dams on the Tennessee River and its Tributaries, for the Incorporation of the Federal Power Corporation, and for Other Purposes, S. 2147, 69th Cong., 1st Sess., 1926, p. 72.

⁴⁴U.S., Congress, House, A Bill Providing For the Completion of Dam No. 2 and the Steam Nitrate Plant No. 2 in the Vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the Manufacture and Distribution of Fertilizer and for Other Purposes, S.J. Res. 163, 69th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1926, Journal, p. 876.

⁴⁵U.S., Congress, House, A Bill Providing for the Completion of Dam No. 2 and the Steam Nitrate Plant No. 2 in the Vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the Manufacture and Distribution of Fertilizer and for Other Purposes, S.J. Res. 46, 70th Cong., 1st Sess., 1927, Journal, p. 949.



Senator Norris' bill received bi-partisan support, passed both Houses and was delivered to the White House on May 25, 1928. President Coolidge neither signed nor vetoed the bill, thus it was doomed by a pocket veto.⁴⁶ A similar bill was introduced and passed the seventy-first Congress, only to be vetoed on March 3, 1931, by President Hoover on the principles that:

Under government operation the power plant would lose at least \$2 million annually. The generating and transmission costs would be about 9.1 mills per kilowatt hour wholesale, whereas private companies were already selling it at about 7.2 mills. Second: The fertilizer provision was, because of its limitation, of no great importance. Third: Because of the ineptitude of the federal government, competent management was impossible. Fourth: The whole concept was utterly wrong. Regulation and not public ownership was the solution.⁴⁷

Speaking in response to the veto, Senator Norris closed his remarks with: "That is what was in this measure and that is what the President of the United States has taken away from the American people by his wicked, his cruel, his unjust, his unfair, his unmerciful veto."⁴⁸

Senator Norris approached the Presidential Campaign of 1932 defeated in his attempts to obtain public control and development of Muscle Shoals. However, he remained steadfast to a commitment and a campaign he had started in 1915.

⁴⁶Ransmeier, The Tennessee Valley Authority, 58.

⁴⁷King, The Conservation Fight, 242.

⁴⁸Ibid.



Socio-Economic Conditions
of the Tennessee Valley

The 2,812,886 residents of the Tennessee River basin listened to the two Presidential candidates who were seeking their votes in 1932.⁴⁹ While these residents were in some ways like other Americans experiencing the economic disasters of the times, in certain aspects they comprised an atypical segment of the national population.

Residents of the valley included a racial composition roughly 90 per cent white and 10 per cent Negro, the Negro population having declined 10.1 per cent between 1900-1930.⁵⁰ Within the white population, typically Northern European in origin (English, Scotch-Irish, and German) and mostly third, fourth, or fifth generation residents of the area, there existed great homogeneity reinforced by existing folk patterns and attitudes and cultural isolation.⁵¹ The element of foreign-born residents, common to many regions of the nation, was inconsequential in the Valley region.⁵²

Families were large; the average family in 1930 consisted of 4.6 persons, as contrasted with the 4.1 person national average.⁵³

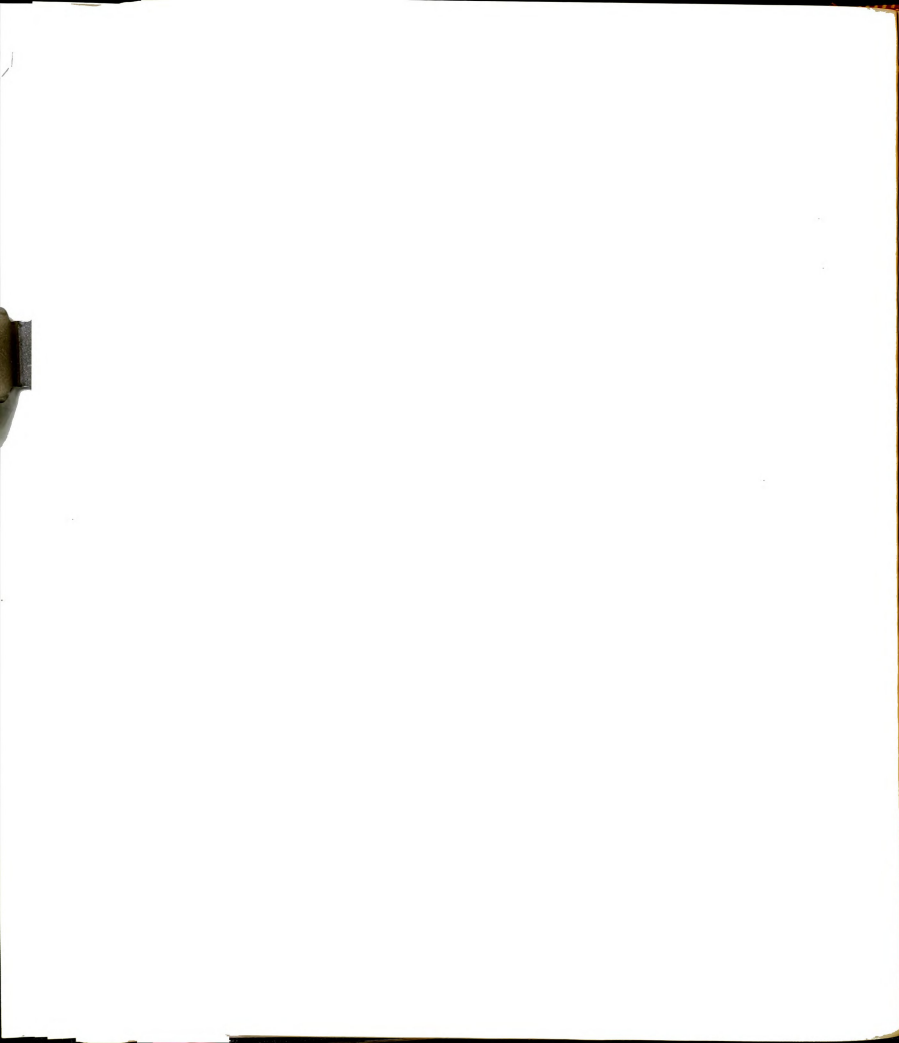
⁴⁹William E. Cole and S.E.T. Lund, "The Tennessee River Valley, Its People, Resources, and Institutions," Journal of Education Sociology 15, No. 3 (November, 1941):132.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 133.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., p. 132.



A larger proportion of residents were under 20 years of age, compared with the total American population.⁵⁴ A majority were rural residents; 77.6 per cent of the population lived in a rural environment.⁵⁵

Productivity was low; residents were attempting to exist on approximately 41,000 square miles of land generally drained of its productive resources by poor farming methods and vast soil erosion.⁵⁶

This dismal situation was compounded by the fact that farmers were reluctant to replace cotton as the region's major agricultural crop. Farmers experienced economic disaster as returns from cotton and cotton-seed fell 70 per cent, causing the average gross income of families "in cotton" to drop from \$735.00 in 1928 to \$216.00 in 1932.⁵⁷ A variety of industries, textile manufacturing and mining offering non-agricultural employment opportunities to valley residents, had expanded during the 1920's. These opportunities had remained at a fairly even level during the two or three years before the crash of 1929; with the crash even the very meager employment opportunities diminished.⁵⁸

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 133.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 132.

⁵⁶Arthur E. Morgan, "Log of the TVA," Survey Graphic, January, 1934, p. 2.

⁵⁷C. S. Johnson, E. R. Embree and W. W. Alexander, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy (New York: the Macmillan Press), 1935, p. 47.

⁵⁸Katherine D. Lumpkin, The South in Progress (New York: International Publishers, 1940), pp. 160-161.



The Tennessee Valley was described in 1933 as "below average in many important respects" and "on practically every per capita count of wealth, welfare, and economic competence stood at the bottom of the Nation's list."⁵⁹ The most devastating aspect of the whole area was "the waste which comes when people fail to see the great possibilities and opportunities around them, and when, in that failure to see what might be, they resign themselves to things as they are."⁶⁰ Perhaps, the residents of the Tennessee River Basin were wondering if the 1932 Presidential election would make a difference.

A Pledge to Develop the
Tennessee Valley Region

In an unprecedented move, New York Governor and Presidential nominee Franklin Delano Roosevelt arrived in Chicago on July 2, 1932, to accept the Democratic nomination for President, thus becoming the first presidential nominee to address his party at a national political convention.⁶¹ He challenged the delegates:

Let us now and here resolve to resume the country's interrupted march along the path of real progress, of real justice, of real equality for all of our citizens, great and small Ours must be a Party of Liberal thought, of planned action, of

⁵⁹"Some Objectives and End Results of the TVA," (Nashville, Tenn.: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1941), p. 8.

⁶⁰Arthur Morgan, "Log of the TVA," 4.

⁶¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:647.



enlightened outlook, and of the greatest good to the greatest number of our citizens What do the people of America want more than anything else? Work; work, with all the moral and spiritual values that go with work. And with work, a reasonable measure of security -- security for themselves and for their wives and children (Work and security) are the spiritual values, the true goal toward which our efforts of reconstruction should lead I pledge you -- I pledge myself -- to a new deal for the American people.⁶²

A part of the "New Deal" Roosevelt promised was to consist of legislation creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. The ingredients of this legislation ultimately creating the TVA, as representative of several programs to emerge as "New Deal" legislation under Roosevelt were products of a combination of personal experiences and historically-recorded political experiences of Roosevelt, his personal advisors, and their predecessors.

Mr. Roosevelt's aggressive attitude towards protecting the nation's natural resources had been clearly established in his roles of elected officer and private citizen prior to 1933. His political career began in 1910 when he was elected State Senator in New York and appointed Chairman of the State Senate's Forest, Fish and Game Committee.⁶³ Senator Roosevelt's record indicates a strong commitment to strengthening the government's authority over its resources. A major piece of legislation was the Roosevelt-Jones Bill, introduced

⁶²Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Acceptance Speech -- Nomination for Presidency, 2 July 1932," The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:647-658.

⁶³Edgar B. Nixon, ed., Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-1945 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 4.



on January 15, 1912, which attempted to expand state control over private property by recognizing that:

The State, under its police power, has the right to regulate the use of private property in such a way as to prevent that use from resulting in injury to the people The state clearly has a right to regulate logging on private lands, and no good reason can be assigned why that right should not be exercised⁶⁴

Upon leaving the Senate, Mr. Roosevelt received a letter of gratitude for his conservation accomplishments from A. S. Houghton, Chairman of the Camp-Fire Club's Committee on Conservation of Forests and Wild Life:

I think I can say with confidence that the Camp Fire Club generally, and this Committee in particular, have looked upon you as one of the bulwarks upon which we could with safety lean in our unending fight for the conservation of the resources of the State, and, in particular, of its wildlife.⁶⁵

The record indicates that Mr. Roosevelt, as a private citizen, periodically encouraged his neighbors to incorporate improved conservation practices on their properties, as typified by a letter to Mr. Overfield, a neighbor in Hyde Park, in which Roosevelt wrote:

I am firmly convinced that it pays to plant these trees, and almost every farm has some section of rocky and otherwise unsuitable land for crops The State sells the trees I will send application blanks.⁶⁶

⁶⁴New York, The Roosevelt-Jones Bill (1912), S. 92, G.A. 160.

⁶⁵A. S. Houghton to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 11 March 1913, copy in Nixon, ed., Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-1945, p. 27.

⁶⁶Franklin D. Roosevelt to William Overfield, 2 December 1923, copy in Nixon, ed., Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-1945, p. 51.

On his property in Warm Springs, Georgia, Mr. Roosevelt maintained a demonstration farm to assist local residents in improving their farming operations.⁶⁷ For example, he tried to demonstrate to the farmers how they could gradually improve their poor cattle by breeding with a quality bull. The comment of Otis Moore, Roosevelt's superintendent, "In five or six years after we started there was not a farmer in the whole county that did not have a white-faced bull," indicated the willingness of local farmers to respond favorably to demonstration farming methods as well as Roosevelt's willing assistance.⁶⁸

Franklin D. Roosevelt viewed the role of government as one of service to the people. As governor of New York, in response to the question of unemployment relief, Mr. Roosevelt on August 28, 1931, defined the role of government as,

... not the master but the creature of the people. The duty of the State towards the citizens is the duty of the servant to the master. The people have created it; the people by common consent permit its continual existence. One of the duties of the State is that of caring for those of its citizens who find themselves the victims of such adverse circumstances as makes them unable to obtain even the necessities for mere existence without the aid of others When, however, a condition arises which calls for measures of relief over and beyond the ability of private and local assistance to meet -- even with the usual aid added by the State -- it is time for the State itself to do its additional share.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Frank Freidel, F.D.R. and the South, (Baton Rouge, La.; Louisiana State University Press, 1965), pp. 8-13.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁶⁹Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message Recommending Creation of Relief Administration to New York State Legislature, 28 August, 1931. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:457-468.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's record as Governor clearly indicates his favoring government involvement in the waterpower issue. Included in a letter of November 28, 1928, to an uncle, he wrote:

I followed the platform declaration which is in favor of State-owned sites I particularly want data on the capitalization of existing Water Power companies. It seems to me that the fundamental difficulty with the existing rates is that these rates are based on capitalization far greater than the actual investment.⁷⁰

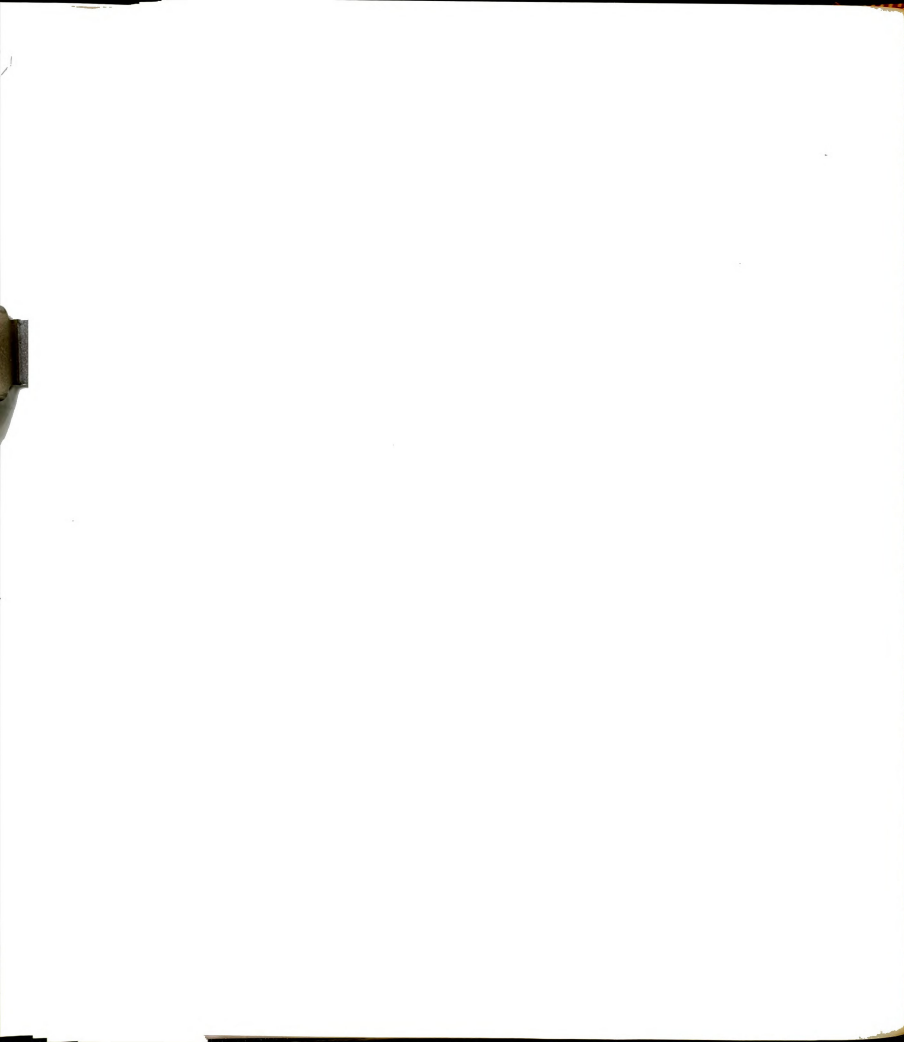
At about the same time he wrote: "I am just getting into the stage of conflict with the Legislature and I am sending (my) Water Power message next week," thus referring to a plan for the "publicly-owned development of the water resources of the St. Lawrence River."⁷¹

On the Presidential campaign trail, candidate Roosevelt delivered a speech presenting his position regarding the nation's utilities. His remarks revealed his firm belief,

I do not hold with those who advocate Government ownership or Government operation of all utilities. I state to you categorically that as a broad general rule the development of utilities should remain, with certain exceptions, a function for private initiative and private capital ... (however), where a community -- a city or county or district -- is not satisfied with the services rendered or the rates charged by the private utility, it has the undeniable basic right, as one of its functions of Government, ... (to change) after a fair referendum to its votes has been had, its own governmentally owned and operated service.

⁷⁰Franklin D. Roosevelt to Frederic A. Delano, 28 November 1928, in F.D.R., His Personal Letters, ed. by Elliot Roosevelt, 4 vols. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 1:14.

⁷¹Franklin D. Roosevelt to George Foster Peabody, 20 February 1929, in F.D.R., His Personal Letters, ed. by Elliot Roosevelt, 4 vols. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 1:38; Elliot Roosevelt, ed., F.D.R., His Personal Letters, 4 vols. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 1:38.



I might call the right of the community to own and operate its own utility something like this: a "birch rod" in the cupboard to be taken out and used only when the "child" gets beyond the point where a mere scolding does no good.

State-owned or Federally-owned power sites can and should and must properly be developed by the Government itself Never shall the Federal government part with its sovereignty or with its control over its power resources while I am President of the United States.⁷²

As candidate for President, Mr. Roosevelt reiterated his belief in the proper role of government and his political philosophy in a speech delivered to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco on September 23, 1932. In his address, Mr. Roosevelt described Democracy,

... a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things ... a system of government and economics exists to serve individual men and women (recalling Jeffersonian attitude) Government is a means to an end, not an end in itself. These people, he considered, had two sets of rights ... personal competency ... and possessing property. By personal competency, he meant the right of free thinking, freedom of forming and expressing opinions, and freedom of personal living, each man according to his own lights He realized that the exercise of the property rights might so interfere with the rights of the individual that the government, without whose assistance the property rights could not exist, must intervene, not to destroy individualism but to protect it The task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order Every man has a right to life; and this means that he also has a right to make a comfortable living Every man has a right to own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings.⁷³

⁷²Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Address on Public Utilities," 29 September 1932, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:727-742.

⁷³Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Address, 23 September 1932," The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:742-755.



In the relationship between government and business, according to Mr. Roosevelt, either "government sits down at a table of partnership with business," or the government "exerts the superior authority of police power to enforce fairness and justice as they should exist among the various elements in economic life."⁷⁴ Thus, Roosevelt reaffirmed the federal government's basic commitment of responsibility for the broader public welfare.

Presidential candidate Roosevelt offered the American people a "New Deal" based upon a commitment that the "object of all our striving should be to realize an abundant life" for every man, woman, and child.⁷⁵ Several components of the "New Deal" were immediately distinguishable upon Mr. Roosevelt's election and were responsible for the nation's willingness to sanction Roosevelt's several major undertakings. According to historians Henry Commager and Richard Morris, "apathy, resignation, defeat and despair" were replaced with "action, advance, confidence and hope" across the land.⁷⁶ Mr. Roosevelt's admiration for "men of action" and his respect for their deeds were reaffirmed when he said:

⁷⁴Franklin D. Roosevelt, On Our Way (New York: The John Day Company, 1934), pp. x-xi.

⁷⁵Franklin D. Roosevelt to Alva J. Brasted (Chief of Chaplains, U.S.A.), 13 February 1934, recorded in What Roosevelt Thought, by Thomas H. Greer. (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1958), p. 3.

⁷⁶Henry S. Commager and Richard B. Morris, Editors' Introduction to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940 by William Leuchtenburg (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotion, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly; so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who knew neither defeat nor victory.⁷⁷

This attitude was to prevail in Mr. Roosevelt's government, as he and his leaders developed plans for actions not according to accepted creeds but chiefly in terms of objectives to be achieved.⁷⁸ Roosevelt welcomed all the advice he could get; he "liked to charm, to provoke; he also liked to be challenged and to receive fresh ideas."⁷⁹ He attempted to write the thoughts of many into single, unified approaches to meet his objectives. An examination of the several programs which eventually emerged under the Roosevelt "New Deal" government reveals, according to Franklin Carter, an unofficial observer, ideas and methods which were not new but rather reflections of past political experiences.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Franklin D. Roosevelt, Campaign Radio Address, 2 November 1936, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 5:

⁷⁸Ernest K. Lindley, Half-Way with Roosevelt (New York: The Viking Press, 1936), p. 6.

⁷⁹Thomas H. Greer, What Roosevelt Thought (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1958), p. x.

⁸⁰John F. Carter, The New Dealers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934), pp. 3-6.

This is demonstrated by reviewing the basic components of legislation ultimately establishing the Tennessee Valley Authority, which included a commitment to social and economic planning, government control of water-power resources, conservation of natural resources, and improvement of agriculture.⁸¹ Governor Roosevelt, in addressing the Conference of Governors in 1931, stated:

This situation has suggested to many that some new factor is needed in our economic life, and this new factor must come from utilizing our experience and our ingenuity to draft and to organize concerted plans for the better use of our resources and the better planning of our social and economic life in general.⁸²

The interval between Roosevelt's election in November, 1932 and his inauguration in March, 1933 afforded an opportunity for laying preliminary plans to reorganize the government and begin preparation of the legislation which he would present to Congress. Because this legislation would include a bill ultimately creating the Tennessee Valley Authority, President-elect Roosevelt sent a letter to Senator George Norris in December, 1932 from Albany:

I am wondering if it would be possible for you to come on to New York and dine with me and spend the evening I want to tell you that I have given a tentative promise to visit

⁸¹The Tennessee Valley Authority Act, Statutes at Large, 4-8 Pt. 1, Ch. 32, 58-78 (1933).

⁸²Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address on Land Utilization and Planning," Conference of Governors, French Lick, Indiana, June 2, 1931, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:485-495.



Muscle Shoals on my way to Warm Springs I want to see what the whole Tennessee River looks like I am particularly anxious to have you accompany me on this trip.⁸³

Senator Norris visited President-elect Roosevelt in New York, and on January 2, 1933, it was announced that the trip to Muscle Shoals was scheduled for January 21, 1933.⁸⁴ Senator Norris, Senators Bankhead and Black (Alabama), Hull and McKeller (Tennessee), and Dill (Washington), and members of the Federal Power Commission would accompany Roosevelt.⁸⁵

Prior to departing for Muscle Shoals by train on January 20, 1933, Senator Norris announced to the press:

I will introduce my bill for the government operation of Muscle Shoals at the special session of Congress. I expect that it will be signed by the President.⁸⁶

President-elect Roosevelt spoke at Sheffield, Alabama, on January 21, 1933, and informed his "neighbors":

I do not believe that any person in the world can act or make a recommendation in regard to any great project unless he has seen the project himself I am confident that the distinguished gentlemen who are with me ... will be able to work with me to get something practical done. We are here because the

⁸³Franklin D. Roosevelt to George Norris, 14 December 1932, in F.D.R., His Personal Letters, ed. by Elliot Roosevelt, 4 vols. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 1:309-310.

⁸⁴Ibid., 1:310; "Roosevelt Will Go to Muscle Shoals; Norris to Join Him," New York Times, 2 January 1933.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶"Roosevelt on Way to Muscle Shoals," New York Times, 21 January 1933.



Muscle Shoals Development and the Tennessee River Development as a whole are national in their aspect and are going to be treated from a national point of view.⁸⁷

Concluding his inspection, President-elect Roosevelt also spoke at Montgomery, Alabama, informing his listeners:

I am determined on two things as a result of what I have seen today. The first is to put Muscle Shoals to work. The second is to make Muscle Shoals a part of an even greater development that will take in all of that magnificent Tennessee River from the mountains of Virginia down to the Ohio and the Gulf.

Muscle Shoals is more today than a mere opportunity for the Federal Government to do a kind turn for people in one small section of a couple of states. Muscle Shoals gives us the opportunity to accomplish a great purpose for the people of many states, and, indeed, for the whole Union. Because there we have an opportunity of setting an example of planning, not just for ourselves, but for generations to come, tying in industry and agriculture and forestry and flood prevention, tying them all into a unified whole ...⁸⁸

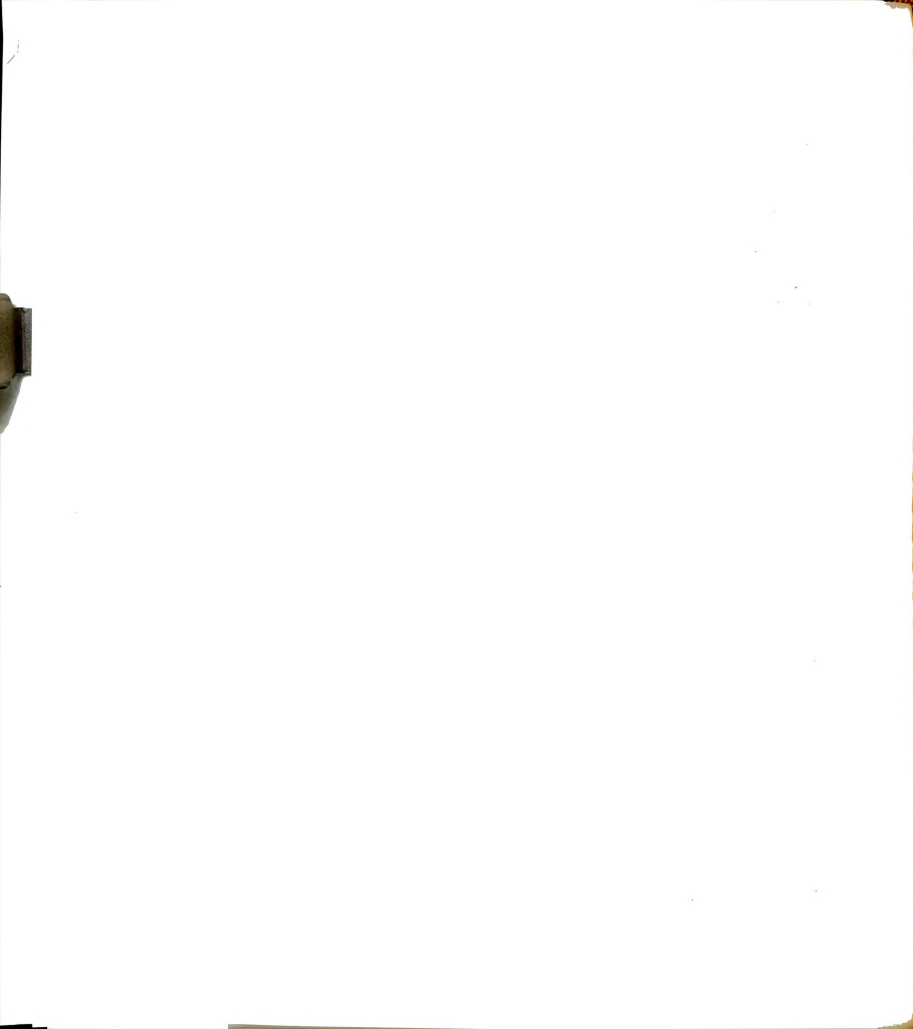
While the national leaders were being photographed on the trip, President-elect Roosevelt spoke quietly to Senator Norris, "This should be a happy day for you, George." Senator Norris replied, "Mr. President, I see my dreams come true."⁸⁹

The Tennessee Valley Authority, to be created by Congress within one-hundred and twenty days of the Roosevelt-Norris visit,

⁸⁷Franklin D. Roosevelt, remarks at Sheffield, Alabama, January 21, 1933, in F.D.R., His Personal Letters, ed. by Elliot Roosevelt, 4 vols. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 1:886-887.

⁸⁸Franklin D. Roosevelt, remarks at Montgomery, Alabama, January 21, 1933, in F.D.R. His Personal Letters, 1:887-889.

⁸⁹"Government Operation of Muscle Shoals Plant Pledged by Roosevelt," New York Times 22 January 1933.



would reflect the personal and political priorities of these national leaders. Prior to 1933, these priorities as they related to the government's role in agricultural development, the conservation of natural resources and the utilization of waterways for power had been clearly identified. Attention to and the development of plans aimed at the social and educational needs of the residents appeared to be undefined. The indication that an adult education enterprise might be eventually incorporated in the Tennessee Valley Authority legislation was not apparent at this time.

CHAPTER V

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The Tennessee Valley Authority, created by Congress in 1933 upon the request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, has been described in retrospect by historian Henry Steele Commanger:

Never before in American history had the general welfare clause of the Constitution been so boldly or imaginatively applied.¹

Mr. Commanger further stated that the TVA Act, representative of Roosevelt's "New Deal philosophy," had "permanent significance" in that it,

... firmly established the principle that government was responsible for the health, security, and enlightenment of the whole people ... made greater progress toward the physical restoration of the country than had any other Administration in our history ... established government as umpire and regulator of the economy ... and, thereby, of much of the social well-being of the people ... modernized and expanded the political administration, brought the judiciary into a better balance with the other two departments of the Government, and shifted the center of administrative gravity from state to nation ... made substantial advances towards planning in conservation, in economy, in education, and in other fields, and in devising managerial innovations such as Government corporations²

¹Henry Steele Commanger, introduction to The Journals of David E. Lilienthal, David E. Lilienthal, 5 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) vol. 1: The TVA Years, 1939-1945, p. xxx.

²Ibid., p. xxix.

This chapter will deal with the following topics: the Presidential request for creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Congressional creation of the TVA Act; major provisions of the TVA Act; the role of Arthur E. Morgan in the emerging TVA Act; and provisions for an Adult Education Component within the TVA Act.

The Presidential Request for Creation of the
Tennessee Valley Authority

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, fulfilling a pledge to "put the Muscle Shoals to work" requested on April 10, 1933, that Congress create legislation establishing a Tennessee Valley Authority.³ Roosevelt said in his message to the Congress:

The continued idleness of a great national investment in the Tennessee Valley leads me to ask the Congress for legislation necessary to enlist this project in the service of the people.

It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development; it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concerns.

I, therefore, suggest to the Congress legislation to create a Tennessee Valley Authority--a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation. This authority

³Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Presidential Request to Create the Tennessee Valley Authority," 10 April 1933, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938, 1:122.

should also be clothed with the necessary power to carry these plans into effect. Its duty should be the rehabilitation of the Muscle Shoals development and the coordination of it with the wider plan.

Many hard lessons have taught us the human waste that results from lack of planning. Here and there a few wise cities and countries have looked ahead and planned. But our Nation has "just grown." It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many States directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers.

This in a true sense is a return to the spirit and vision of the pioneer. If we are successful here we can march on, step by step, in a like development of other great natural territorial units within our borders.⁴

In this message, the President was requesting the creation of an Authority with responsibilities and commensurate authority surpassing those granted previously by the Congress when it attempted to create the Muscle Shoals Corporation of the United States in 1928 (Senate Joint Resolution 46) and 1931 (Senate Joint Resolution 49).⁵

In addition to the generally recognized and accepted responsibilities inherent to the operation of Muscle Shoals, which included,

... promoting the national defense; promoting agricultural and industrial development; improving navigation on the

⁴Ibid., 1:122-123.

⁵U.S., Congress, House, A Bill Providing for the Completion of Dam No. 2 and the Steam Plant at Nitrate Plant No. 2 in the Vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the Manufacture and Distribution of Fertilizer and for Other Purposes, S.J. Res. 46, 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1927, pp. 971-972; U.S., Congress, House, A Bill to Provide for the National Defense by the Creation of a Corporation for the Operation of the Government Properties at and near Muscle Shoals in the State of Alabama, and for Other Purposes, S.J. Res. 49, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 1931, p. 441.

Tennessee River and preventing flood destruction of the Tennessee River region,⁶

the Tennessee Valley Authority envisioned by President Roosevelt was to be charged with responsibility for improving the future lives and welfare of 2,812,886 Americans inhabiting approximately 41,000 square miles included in the Tennessee River watershed. Furthermore, this experiment in regional planning and development was to have national implications for improving "the general social and economic welfare of the Nation."

Congressional Creation of the TVA Act

On April 1, 1933, in a meeting with President Roosevelt, Senator George Norris of Nebraska discussed at great length his bill "for the development of the President's projects" with reference to the Tennessee Valley.⁷ On April 11, 1933, following the Presidential request of April 10, 1933, Senator Norris introduced a bill (S. 1272),

... to improve the navigability and to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River, to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for the national defense by the creation of a corporation for the operation of Government properties at and near Muscle Shoals in the State of Alabama, and for other purposes.⁸

⁶U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 46; U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 49.

⁷Harold L. Ickes, The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), pp. 14-15.

⁸U.S., Congress, Senate, A Bill to Improve the Navigability and to Provide for the Flood Control of the Tennessee River, to Provide for Reforestation and the Proper Use of Marginal Lands in the Tennessee Valley; to Provide for the Agricultural and Industrial



The bill, assigned to the Senate's Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, was very minimally amended and returned to the Senate on the afternoon of April 12, 1933, whereupon Mr. Norris reported "unanimous consent from the Committee" and "submitted a report (Number 23) thereon."⁹

On April 11, 1933 Representative John McSwain of South Carolina and Representatives Edward B. Almon and Lister Hill of Alabama had each introduced companion legislation (H.R. 4859, H.R. 4860, H.R. 4861) in the House of Representatives,

... to provide for the common defense; to aid interstate commerce by navigation; to provide for flood control; to promote the general welfare by creating the Tennessee Valley Authority; to operate the Muscle Shoals properties; and to encourage agricultural, industrial, and economic development.¹⁰

The bills were referred to the House Committee on Military Affairs and assigned a single number, H.R. 5081.¹¹ On April 20, 1933, Mr. McSwain filed a Committee Report (Number 48) and returned

Development of Said Valley; to Provide for the National Defense by the Creation of a Corporation for the Operation of Government Properties at or near Muscle Shoals in the State of Alabama, and for Other Purposes, S. 1272. 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, p. 83.

⁹Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁰U.S., Congress, House, A Bill to Provide for the Common Defense; to Aid Interstate Commerce by Navigation; to Provide for Flood Control; to Promote the General Welfare by Creating the Tennessee Valley Authority; to Operate the Muscle Shoals Properties and to Encourage Agricultural, Industrial and Economic Development, H.R. 4859 (H.R. 4860 and H.R. 4861, similar bills, were introduced) 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, p. 153.

¹¹Ibid.

H.R. 5081, without amendments, to the full House where it was approved on April 25, 1933.¹²

On April 28, 1933, on the motion of Senator Norris, the Senate proceeded to consider his Committee's bill (S. 1272) regarding the "Development of the Tennessee River Basin and Operation of Muscle Shoals Properties."¹³ The Bill did not receive unanimous approval.¹⁴ Several days of debate and consequent amendments prompted Senator Norris to call for a reading of the House-approved Bill, H.R. 5081, on May 3, 1933.¹⁵ Following the reading, upon the motion of Senator Norris, H.R. 5081 was amended to incorporate the Norris Bill (S. 1272) and was subsequently approved. Agreement by the House of Representatives then had to be sought in conference committee.¹⁶

On May 9, 1933 a joint Congressional Committee was organized, upon the request of Representative McSwain. Minor differences were resolved, resulting in a compromise bill. The conference committee's compromise bill received approval from the Senate on May 16 and from the House of Representatives on May 17.¹⁷ President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Tennessee Valley Authority Act on May 18, 1933.¹⁸

¹²Ibid., pp. 200-201.

¹³U.S., Congress, Senate, S. 1272, p. 133.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 141-144.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 176; U.S., Congress, House, H.R. 5081, pp. 268-274.

¹⁸Tennessee Valley Authority Act, Statutes at Large, 48 pt. 1, ch. 32, 58-78 (1933).



Major Provisions of the TVA Act

The Act creating the Tennessee Valley Authority includes thirty sections which were described by Representative Gray as the "best bill that can be secured at this time"¹⁹ Of these thirty sections, twenty-five had comparable provisions in the bills passed by Congress in 1928 (Senate Joint Resolution 46) and 1931 (Senate Joint Resolution 49).²⁰ Sections 22-26, not included in earlier Congressional legislation, include the "New Deal" provisions reflected in President Roosevelt's initial message to Congress requesting the legislation.²¹

A review of the several responsibilities the Act delegated to the Board of Directors reveals two categories: those which are of a general, broad, undefined type, and those which are specific and clearly defined. The latter type, dealing with power and revenue issues, comprised the major basis for debate during the legislative process.²²

The provisions selected for inclusion here are those which enumerate the major areas of responsibility of the Authority

¹⁹ Representative Finley H. Gray, speaking of H.R. 5081, 17 May 1933, Congressional Record, 77 pt. 4: 3602.

²⁰ U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 46, pp. 971-972; U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 49, p. 441; Tennessee Valley Authority Act (1933), 58-78.

²¹ U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 46, pp. 971-972; U.S., Congress, House, S.J. Res. 46, p. 441; Tennessee Valley Authority Act (1933), 58-78.

²² Record of House Debate on H.R. 5081, 17 May 1933, Congressional Record, 77 pt 4: 3354-3603; Record of Senate Debate on H.R. 5081, 1 May 1933, Congressional Record.



and/or those which have had bearing on this study. Such provisions include:

Section 1: That for the purpose of maintaining and operating the properties now owned by the United States in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in the interest of the national defense and for agricultural and industrial development, and to improve navigation in the Tennessee River and to control the destructive flood waters in the Tennessee River and Mississippi River Basins, there is hereby created a body corporate by the name of the "Tennessee Valley Authority" (hereinafter referred to as the "Corporation"). The board of directors first appointed shall be deemed the incorporators, and the incorporation shall be held to have been effected from the date of the first meeting of the board. This Act may be cited as the "Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933."

Section 2: (a) The board of directors of the Corporation (hereinafter referred to as the "board") shall be composed of three members, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In appointing the members of the board, the President shall designate the chairman. All other officials, agents, and employees shall be designated and selected by the board. (h) All members of the board shall be persons who profess a belief in the feasibility and wisdom of this Act.

Section 5: The board is hereby authorized --(a) To contract with commercial producers for the production of such fertilizers or fertilizer materials as may be needed in the Government's program of development and introduction in excess of that produced by Government plants. Such contracts may provide either for outright purchase of materials by the board or only for the payment of carrying charges on special materials manufactured at the board's request for its program. (c) To cooperate with National, State, district, or county experimental stations or demonstration farms, for the use of new forms of fertilizer or fertilizer practices during the initial or experimental period of their introduction. (e) Under the authority of this Act the board may make donations or sales of the product of the plant or plants operated by it to be fairly and equitably distributed through the agency of county demonstrations, agricultural colleges, or otherwise as the board may direct, for experimentation, education, and introduction of the use of such products in cooperation with practical farmers so as to obtain information as to the value, effect, and best methods of their use.

Section 10: The board is hereby empowered and authorized to sell the surplus power not used in its operations, and for operation of locks and other works generated by it, to States,



counties, municipalities, corporations, partnerships, or individuals, according to the policies hereinafter set forth; and to carry out said authority, the board is authorized to enter into contracts for such sale for a term not exceeding twenty years, and in the sale of such current by the board it shall give preference to States, counties, municipalities, and cooperative organizations of citizens or farmers, not organized or doing business for profit, but primarily for the purpose of supplying electricity to its own citizens or members; Provided, That all contracts made with private companies or individuals for the sale of power, which power is to be resold for a profit, shall contain a provision authorizing the board to cancel said contract upon five years' notice in writing, if the board needs said power to supply the demands of States, counties, or municipalities. In order to promote and encourage the fullest possible use of electric light and power on farms within reasonable distance of any of its transmission lines the board in its discretion shall have power to construct transmission lines to farms and small villages that are not otherwise supplied with electricity at reasonable rates, and to make such rules and regulations governing such sale and distribution of such electric power as in its judgment may be just and equitable: Provided further, That the board is hereby authorized and directed to make studies, experiments, and determinations to promote the wider and better use of electric power for agricultural and domestic use, or for small or local industries, and it may cooperate with State governments, or their subdivisions or agencies, with educational or research institutions, and with cooperatives, or other organizations, in the application of electric power to the fuller and better balanced development of the resources of the region.

Section 18: In order to enable and empower the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, or the board to carry out the authority hereby conferred, in the most economical and efficient manner, he or it is hereby authorized and empowered in the exercise of the powers of national defense in aid of navigation, and in the control of the flood waters of the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, constituting channels of interstate commerce, to exercise the right of eminent domain for all purposes of this Act, and to condemn all lands, easements, rights of way, and other area necessary in order to obtain a site for said Cove Creek Dam, and the flowage rights for the reservoir of water above said dam, and to negotiate and conclude contracts with States, counties, municipalities, and all State agencies and with railroads, railroad corporations, common carriers, and all public utility commissions and any other person, firm, or corporation, for the relocation of railroad tracts, highways, highway bridges, mills, ferries, electric light plants, and any and all other properties, enterprises, and projects whose removal may be necessary in order to carry out the provisions of this Act. When said Cove Creek Dam,

transmission line, and power house shall have been completed, the possession, use, and control thereof shall be intrusted to the Corporation for use and operation in connection with the general Tennessee Valley project, and to promote flood control and navigation in the Tennessee River.

Section 22: To aid further the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and of such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this Act, and to provide for the general welfare of the citizens of said areas, the President is hereby authorized, by such means or methods as he may deem proper within the limits of appropriations made therefor by Congress, to make such surveys of and general plans for said Tennessee basin and adjoining territory as may be useful to the Congress and to the several States in guiding and controlling the extent, sequence, and nature of development that may be equitably and economically advanced through the expenditure of public funds, or through the guidance or control of public authority, all for the general purpose of fostering an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development of said areas; and the President is further authorized in making said surveys and plans to cooperate with the States affected thereby, or subdivisions or agencies of such States, or with cooperative or other organizations, and to make such studies, experiments, or demonstrations as may be necessary and suitable to that end.

Section 23: The President shall, from time to time, as the work provided for in the preceeding section progresses, recommend to Congress such legislation as he deems proper to carry out the general purposes stated in said section, and for the especial purpose of bringing about in said Tennessee drainage basin and adjoining territory in conformity with said general purposes (1) the maximum amount of flood control; (2) the maximum development of said Tennessee River for navigation purposes; (3) the maximum generation of electric power consistent with flood control and navigation; (4) the proper use of marginal lands; (5) the proper method of reforestation of all lands in said drainage basin suitable for reforestation; and (6) the economic and social well-being of the people living in said river basin.²³

The Role of Arthur E. Morgan in the Emerging TVA Act

Arthur E. Morgan was in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1933 in the interest of the Muskingum Conservancy District of Ohio,

²³Tennessee Valley Authority Act, 1933, 58-78.

whereupon Senator Robert Bulkley of Ohio arranged an appointment for Mr. Morgan with President Roosevelt, acting on the belief that such a meeting would "constitute favorable publicity for the Muskingum Conservancy District."²⁴ Arthur Morgan recorded the events of that first of several meetings with President Roosevelt:

When I met my appointment with the President he at once began to talk about the bill which had been introduced for creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority. For about an hour the President discussed his ideas for the Authority. He said almost nothing about either power or fertilizer. His discussion was mostly about economic and social developments.²⁵

The President expressed the belief that one method to relieve unemployment in the region would be to encourage former rural residents to return to the farm environment where a combination of agricultural and industrial employment opportunities would be available, thus restoring economic stability to the region.²⁶

In addition, Mr. Morgan recalled of that first meeting that the President said,

... whereas the TVA area now had a population of two million people, he thought that it could absorb an additional population of two million more. The picture which he gave me of the possible functions of the TVA was of an undertaking to encourage the decentralization of industry in that region, to help locate people on small farms, and to develop the social and economic resources of the region.²⁷

²⁴ Arthur E. Morgan, "Statement of My Relations with the President," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, July 1, 1938, p. 1.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 3.



President Roosevelt concluded the meeting by informing Mr. Morgan of his desire to appoint him Chairman of the Board, "to be responsible for the development of this program."²⁸ Mr. Morgan accepted.

"After the interview," he reports, "it occurred to me that I should like to participate in the drafting of the bill."²⁹ Thus, with necessary approval, Mr. Morgan consulted with Senator Norris and his counterpart, Mr. McSwain, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.³⁰ Issues regarding power generation and transmission were primary concerns of Mr. Morgan during these meetings with legislative leaders. With the approval of the President, he drafted a provision that "the Authority should have power not only to build transmission lines but to unite them into systems." The provision was incorporated in the bill.³¹

Following passage of the TVA Act Arthur Morgan requested of President Roosevelt the issuance of two executive orders.³² The first (June 8, 1933),

... placed the construction of the Cove Creek Dam on Clinch River in the hands of Arthur E. Morgan without additional compensation to said Arthur E. Morgan, and under his direction of such engineers as may be necessary

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 4.

³¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

³²Ibid., pp. 8-9.



for that purpose, with the understanding that the work shall be done by and through the Tennessee Valley Authority.³³

In the absence of this executive order, this responsibility might have been delegated to the Bureau of Reclamation or the United States Army Corps of Engineers. The second executive order (also of June 8, 1933) consisted of President Roosevelt's assignment to the Board of Directors of the TVA responsibility formerly held by the President:

In accordance with the provisions of section 22 and section 23 of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, the President hereby authorizes and directs the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority to make such surveys, general plans, studies, experiments, and demonstrations as may be necessary and suitable to aid the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin, and of such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this act, and to promote the general welfare of the citizens of said area; within the limits of appropriations made therefor by Congress.³⁴

Provisions for an Adult Education
Component Within the TVA Act

The TVA Act has direct implications for programs of adult education designed to assist the Authority in fulfilling its responsibilities in the areas of agricultural development and utilization of electric power:

Section 5: (c) To cooperate with National, State, district, or county experimental stations or demonstration farms, for the use of new forms of fertilizer or fertilizer practices during the initial or experimental period of their introduction.

³³U.S., President, Executive Order, "Construction of Cove Creek Dam on Clinch River," U.S. President--Executive Orders no. 607-6270 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 8 June 1933, 6162.

³⁴U.S., President, Executive Order, "Conservation and Development of the Natural Resources of the Tennessee River Drainage Basin," U.S. President--Executive Orders no. 607-6270 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933) 8 June 1933, 6161.

Section 10: ... the board is hereby authorized and directed to make studies, experiments, and determinations to promote the wider and better use of electric power for agricultural and domestic use, or for small or local industries, and it may cooperate with State governments, or their subdivisions or agencies, with educational or research institutions, and with cooperatives or other organizations, in the application of electric power to the fuller and better balanced development of the resources of the region.³⁵

However, for purposes of this study, references to programs of adult education will henceforth pertain not to agricultural or electrical power-related programs, but to those types of adult education enterprises covered by the definition of adult education given in Chapter I of this study, namely:

... educational programs designed to promote the fullest development of the individual and to strengthen those values essential to the continuing development of society, within a formal or informal structure, to serve older youth and adults who would participate on a voluntary, part-time basis, and who are employees, members of employee families or inhabitants of the geographical region identified as being under the legal jurisdiction of the TVA.

In Section 3 of the TVA Act, provisions relative to the employees of the Authority deal with labor policy, wages, and labor-related benefits:

Section 3: The board shall without regard to the provisions of Civil Service laws applicable to officers and employees of the United States, appoint such managers, assistant managers, officers, employees, attorneys, and agents, as are necessary for the transaction of its business, fix their compensation, define their duties, require bonds of such of them as the board may designate, and provide a system of organization to fix responsibility and promote efficiency. Any appointee of the board may be removed in the discretion of the board. No regular officer or employee of the Corporation shall receive a salary in excess of that received by the members of the board.

³⁵Tennessee Valley Authority Act, 1933, 58-78.



All contracts to which the Corporation is a party and which require the employment of laborers and mechanics in the construction, alteration, maintenance, or repair of buildings, dams, locks, or other projects shall contain a provision that not less than the prevailing rate of wages for work of a similar nature prevailing in the vicinity shall be paid to such laborers or mechanics.

In the event any dispute arises as to what are the prevailing rates of wages, the question shall be referred to the Secretary of Labor for determination, and his decision shall be final. In the determination of such prevailing rate or rates, due regard shall be given to those rates which have been secured through collective agreement by representatives of employers and employees.

Where such work as is described in the two preceeding paragraphs is done directly by the Corporation the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid in the same manner as though such work had been let by contract.

Insofar as applicable, the benefits of the Act entitled "An Act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, as amended, shall extend to persons given employment under the provisions of this Act.³⁶

This section and the remaining sections of the Act do not provide specific provisions for a program of adult education for TVA employees.

While it might be assumed that discussion occurred among legislators engaged in the development of the Act relative to the subject of providing programs of adult education as an integral component of the Authority's operation and that a decision was reached to include this operation within the general, undefined provisions of the Act:

Section 22: To aid further the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and of such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this

³⁶Ibid.

Act, and to provide for the general welfare of the citizens of said areas, the President is hereby authorized, by such means or methods as he may deem proper within the limits of appropriations made therefor by Congress, to make such surveys of and general plans for said Tennessee basin and adjoining territory as may be useful to the Congress and to the several States in guiding and controlling the extent, sequence, and nature of development that may be equitably and economically advanced through the expenditure of public funds, or through the guidance or control of public authority, all for the general purpose of fostering an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development of said areas; and the President is further authorized in making said surveys and plans to cooperate with the States affected thereby, or subdivisions or agencies of such States, or with cooperative or other organizations, and to make such studies, experiments, or demonstrations as may be necessary and suitable to that end.³⁷

Section 23: The President shall, from time to time, as the work provided for in the preceding section progresses, recommend to Congress such legislation as he deems proper to carry out the general purposes stated in said section, and for the especial purpose of bringing about in said Tennessee drainage basin and adjoining territory in conformity with said general purposes ... the economic and social well-being of the people living in said river basin.³⁸

There is an absence of evidence to support this assumption concerning the provision of programs of adult education as an integral component of the Authority's responsibilities, according to findings as they relate to President Roosevelt, Congressional leaders, and Arthur E. Morgan and these men's roles in the emerging TVA Act.

President Roosevelt, prior to assuming the Presidency of the United States, as an elected official and as a citizen, indicated a broad commitment to: providing a more abundant life for all Americans, the conservation of the nation's natural resources, improved agricultural productivity achieved, in part, by the

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

demonstration method, and government involvement in the development of the nation's water-power resources. Provisions to fulfill these major desires of President Roosevelt are in the TVA Act. There is an absence, however, of a specific commitment to the establishment of programs of adult education.

The attention of Congressional leaders who participated in the development of the TVA Act was not directed towards the establishment of programs of adult education. In fact, the subject never appeared in debate over the Act as recorded in the Congressional Record. Moreover, the minority report included as part of Representative McSwain's Committee Report to the House of Representatives makes reference to the absence of general discussion relative to Sections 22 (H.R. 5081, Section 27) and Section 23 (H.R. 5081, Section 28):

Section 27 provides, among other things, that it is "to aid further the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River Draining Basin and of such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the developments consequent to this act."

There was no testimony given before the committee, either at public hearings or in executive session, as to what it contemplated by this language.

The same section further reads: "To provide for the general welfare of the citizens of said areas."

There was no testimony given before the committee, either at public hearings or in executive session, as to what is contemplated by this language.

Section 28 ... states:

"The President shall, from time to time, as the work provided for in this act progresses, recommend to Congress such legislation as he deems proper to carry out the general purposes The proper use of marginal lands The proper method for reforestation of all lands in said drainage basin suitable for



reforestation The most practical method of improving agricultural conditions in the valleys of said drainage basin The economic and social well-being of the people living in said river basin and all adjacent territory."

There was no testimony offered before the committee, either in public hearing or executive session, to show what is contemplated by this language.³⁹

Moreover, discussions relative to the development of programs of adult education within the TVA did not occur as a part of Mr. Morgan's activities relative to the bill.

With reference to Arthur Morgan's "Statement of My Relations With the President," the following questions relative to the topic were asked in an interview and repeated later in a questionnaire. Similar responses were given by Mr. Morgan both in the interview and in consequent correspondence.

Question: "During the several meetings you held with President Roosevelt which were described in your statement, do you recall any discussion regarding educational and training opportunities for employees?"

Mr. Morgan's response: "No. The President approved my plans, however, when I told him what I was doing."

Question: "During the meetings with Congressional leaders drafting the TVA bill, do you recall any discussion regarding education and training opportunities for employees?"

Mr. Morgan's response: "No. I do not remember making such a suggestion."⁴⁰

³⁹U.S. House, Muscle Shoals, H. Rept. 48 to Accompany H.R. 5081, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., 1933, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰Interview with Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 12 February 1972; Correspondence with Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 26 April 1974.



Therefore, according to these findings, it has been concluded that the adult education component which was to emerge within the TVA under the leadership of Arthur Morgan was not considered at this stage of the development of the TVA bill.



CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ADULT EDUCATION

ENTERPRISE IN THE TVA

1933 - 1938

There emerged almost immediately within the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, under the leadership of Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman of the Board of Directors, a commitment to initiate a program of adult education designed to promote the fullest development of the individual and to strengthen those values essential to the continuing development of society. Writing in My World in 1927, Arthur Morgan may have recorded the fundamental objective of this adult education enterprise:

The statement of ultimate desire which most appeals to me is that attributed to Jesus - "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." It is the desire for more abundant life, for greater unity, order, and harmony, as well as for greater volume and intensity.¹

This Chapter will deal with the following topics: the foundation of the adult education enterprise; the TVA Board of Directors and their authorization to establish an adult education program; and the program of adult education, phases I and II.

¹Arthur E. Morgan, My World (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Kahoe and Company, 1927), p. 41.



The Foundation of the Adult Education Enterprise

The program of adult education which was to emerge from the aspirations and plans of Arthur Morgan was to become an accepted function of the Authority by those committed to its operation. The program evolved under the unspoken intentions of the TVA Act and was to reflect the basic goals of the New Deal philosophy professed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, his political colleagues in Congress, and his personal advisors. The program of adult education was designed to develop "a way of life that will bring about the fulfillment of its greatest possibilities" by preparing "promising young men and women for productive and satisfactory living in a new social and economic order of their own creation."²

Arthur Morgan defined the role of government in the United States as being based upon the principles that,

... the whole people shall share in the development and determination of public policies and programs each to the extent of his or her ability; and that the purpose of government is to promote the greatest possible well-being of the whole people.³

It is a means men have worked out to bring order and harmony into human relations and to improve the quality of living. It is a means and not an end. Whenever it fails to serve its purpose, or whenever it can be made to serve that purpose better, it is our right and duty to work for the necessary or desirable changes.⁴

²Arthur E. Morgan, "Planning For The Use of The Land," Survey Graphic, XXIII No. 5 (May, 1934), 251.

³Arthur E. Morgan, "Democracy," The American Magazine, October, 1934.

⁴Arthur E. Morgan, "Address Before TVA Employees," First Methodist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, July 29, 1936.



Arthur Morgan believed that his view of the role of government was consistent with that held by President Roosevelt and his administration. Morgan believed that the President's leadership in government called for an appraisal of existing conditions and a strong commitment to bringing about necessary changes, thus fulfilling the legitimate operation of government. He wrote in 1934,

President Roosevelt has an inclusive social philosophy that has a large degree of clarity, order, and integration. To me that philosophy seems to be unusually reasonable, sane, and humane. It seems to me to be radical in that it gets beyond temporary expediency to elemental issues, and it seems humane and reasonable in its endeavor to bring about necessary changes.⁵

President Roosevelt's campaign promise for a "new deal for the American people" is, according to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, best represented in the old phrase, "the greatest good for the greatest number." This notion is consistent with Arthur Morgan's definition of the basic purpose of government.⁶ Mr. Ickes elaborated on the broad goals of the Roosevelt administration as being to

... build a new social order ... set up higher social ideals. Society is no happier or stronger than its most miserable and weakest group. The terrible period through

⁵ Arthur E. Morgan, "The Tennessee Valley Authority," The Scientific Monthly, January, 1934, p. 65.

⁶ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Acceptance Speech, Nomination for President," 2 July 1932, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 vols. (New York: Random House, 1938), 1:659; Harold L. Ickes, The New Democracy (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1934), p. 55.

which we are passing, if it has taught us nothing else, has made us realize our interdependence on each other. If we are to build a happier future for our children and our children's children we must build it together.⁷

Sharing these thoughts, Arthur Morgan said:

A temper of life grows slowly Leadership and education can greatly accelerate processes of social growth ... and may determine whether power shall rest with a progressive, socially-minded element or with those who are confirmed in exploiting things as they are (Technical advances) will not bring a new day in this region (TVA) unless they release the social and spiritual qualities inherent in the people and encourage the dominance of desirable qualities ... a social point of view, a sense of social responsibility, and a loyalty to one's country.⁸

Arthur Morgan viewed the Tennessee Valley Authority as being committed to this end.

The most important point to be understood is this: the Tennessee Valley Authority is not primarily an emergency unemployment relief measure. The main purpose is to build up the permanent social and economic prosperity of the Tennessee Valley.⁹

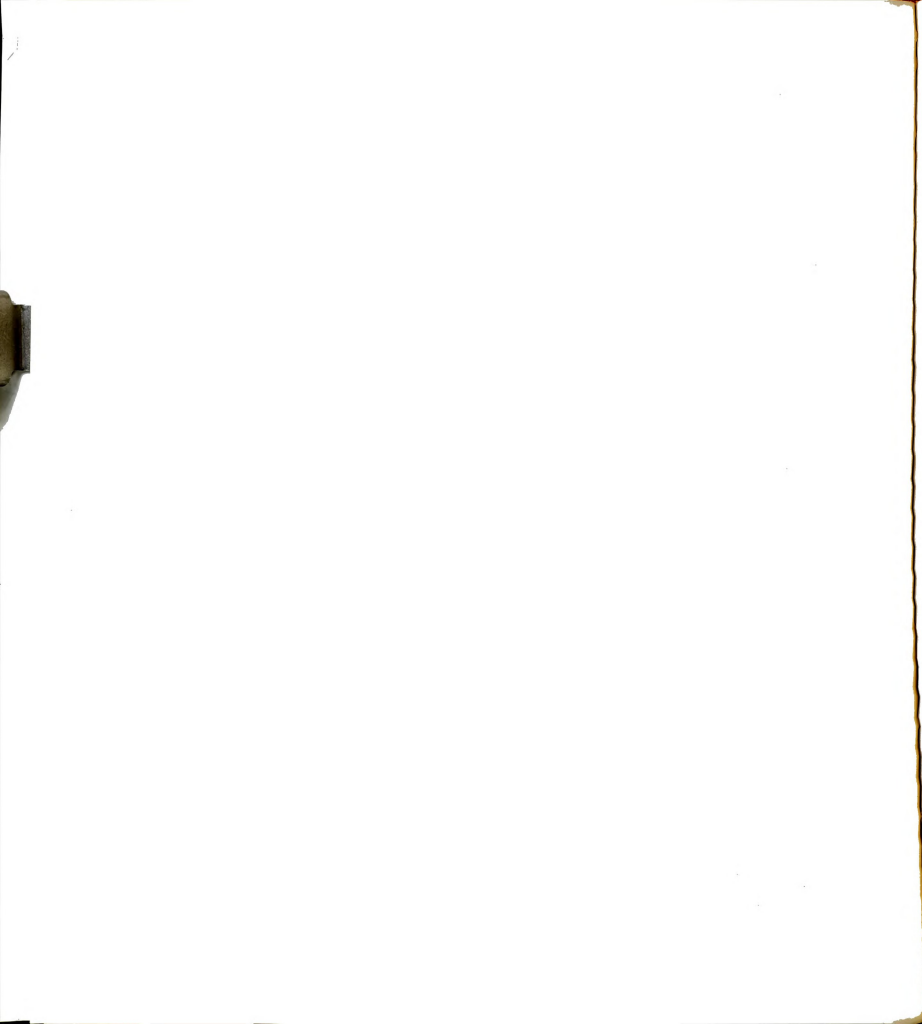
The Tennessee Valley Authority ... was brought into existence ... as part of this effort of the President to get the American people social-minded, to get them thinking of the general welfare of the country ... to get them thinking of the future as well as the profit of the moment.¹⁰

⁷ Ickes, The New Democracy, p. 74.

⁸ Arthur E. Morgan, "Social Methods of the Tennessee Valley Authority," Journal of Educational Sociology, VIII no. 5 (January, 1935), 261-264.

⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, "Home Industries Planned in South," Detroit Free Press, 13 August 1933.

¹⁰ Arthur E. Morgan, "Address to Staff of Personnel Division," Tennessee Valley Authority Report--Personnel Division Conference, Tennessee Valley Authority Technical Library, Knoxville, Tenn., September, 1934, p. 3.



The relationship between government and the American people, under the Roosevelt administration, would strengthen the spirit of building it together and interdependence referred to by Harold Ickes. President Roosevelt had earlier pledged a reversal of the attitude of government leadership which

... during the past several decades has been withdrawing from the practical contact with citizens as human individuals It has been losing gradually but certainly the intimate relation to and understanding of the human functions and human problems so essential to serving the basic purpose for which it was originally created by the people.¹¹

Arthur Morgan envisioned the TVA as operating with a comparable approach to the people destined to receive its services.

The aim of the TVA is to present a picture of possibilities, and to help the people of this region to work out organization and means whereby the spirit of sharing opportunities and responsibilities can become the dominant and guiding spirit of the people.¹²

Arthur Morgan selected a poem by Sidney Lanier to express the humanistic approach upon which he would build the TVA.

Alas, for the Poor to have some part
In yon sweet living lands of art
Makes problems not for head, but heart.
Vainly might Plato's brain revolve it;
Plainly the heart of a child could solve it.¹³

¹¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, Government--Not Politics (New York: Covici-Friede Co., 1932), p. 27.

¹²Arthur E. Morgan, "Talk on Tennessee Valley Authority," delivered to Rotary Club, Knoxville, Tennessee, 31 October 1933, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 2.

¹³Sidney Lanier "The Symphony (1875)," Poems and Letters (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 26 quoted by Arthur E. Morgan, "The Strength of the Hills," Graphic Survey, XXIII no. 1 (January, 1934), 8.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Arthur E. Morgan demonstrated a compatability of thought regarding the proper role of government and its functioning relationship with the governed. They shared a common goal and commitment towards improving the quality of life in America and a mutually supportive confidence in their capabilities to achieve that goal.

The actions of Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman of the TVA, would ultimately reflect the personal values and attitudes of a man committed to a social philosophy, a personal interpretation of his role as a federal government employee responsible to the President of the United States, and his personal interpretation of his responsibilities as defined within the TVA Act.

Arthur Morgan recognized two distinct phases of work in the TVA: "first, definite projects which are given by law to the Authority to carry out and second, ... a general program of social and economic planning."¹⁴ The latter phase had a basis in Section 22 of the Act which provided "for the general welfare of the citizens of said areas ... for the general purpose of fostering an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development of said areas,"¹⁵ and, according to Arthur Morgan, signified the fundamental mission of

¹⁴Arthur E. Morgan, "The Tennessee River Valley Project as a Great National Experiment," address before National Conference on City Planning, Baltimore, Md., 11 October 1933, Planning and National Recovery (Philadelphia: William F. Fell Company, 1933).

¹⁵Tennessee Valley Authority Act, Statutes at Large, 48 pt. 1, ch. 32, 58-78 (1933).

the Tennessee Valley Authority.¹⁶ The other provisions of the Act, dealing with dam construction, flood control, power development and distribution, and increased agricultural productivity, were recognized by Morgan as significant and instrumental components of a general program of social and economic development.

A program designed to "bring about an orderly plan of growth which will make for social and economic well-being in a community" must, according to Morgan, "deal with the very nature of things" and offer assistance in solving the "fundamental problems of living" and by providing "a fair chance for the fulfillment of reasonable hopes on the part of all men."¹⁷ Within the community, such a program would replace the "haphazard, unregulated and unplanned social and economic life of the past ... not a good foundation for general prosperity and well-being."¹⁸

In formalizing a sound program of social and economic development, Arthur Morgan identified several significant elements operating within a large community and developed an approach relative to the treatment of these elements. He identified the following elements as being significant:

¹⁶Arthur E. Morgan, "Home Industries Planned for South," Detroit Free Press, 13 August 1933.

¹⁷Arthur E. Morgan, "Strength of the Hills," p. 46.

¹⁸Arthur E. Morgan, quoted by J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," a talk given to National Vocational Guidance Association, Cleveland, Ohio, 23 February 1934, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Immediate economic improvement is important. Education which will enable people to have a picture of the results which are best and of the best means for bringing them about, is essential. The development of character and social purpose is very important and is imperative to any sustained well-being. The control of the environment by the elimination of waste and of nuisances, and by making the economic and aesthetic resources available to the population, is important.¹⁹

Furthermore, he identified "social life, political life, personal life and family life" as crucial for a community's well-being.²⁰

Responsibility for the development within the community of these several elements requires

... giving each factor (element) the emphasis and attention which is best in view of the time and the circumstances, that is, the matter of right proportion

If any factor of a program is over-emphasized in proportion to its importance, and thereby withdraws resources from other factors that are more important, or when any factor is under-emphasized so that it fails to take its proper part in the whole design, the total results suffer.²¹

"Balance" of the several elements is at "the heart of social planning."²²

¹⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, "A Statement of the Personal Attitude of Arthur E. Morgan Concerning a Sound Basis for Economic and Social Development in the Tennessee Valley Authority and Under Its Direction," unpublished manuscript, 1201 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 10 November 1933, p. 1.

²⁰ Arthur E. Morgan, "The Contagion of Progress," unpublished manuscript, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 5 August 1933.

²¹ Arthur E. Morgan, "A Statement of the Personal Attitude of Arthur E. Morgan Concerning a Sound Basis for Economic and Social Development in the Tennessee Valley Authority and Under Its Direction," p. 1.

²² Arthur E. Morgan, "The Contagion of Progress," unpublished manuscript, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 5 August 1933.

Arthur Morgan, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority,
was committed to the concept of total human development:

My first and overall hope for the TVA was that it might contribute to the quality of life ... and that better living might develop.²³

Education, earlier identified as an element within the framework of community development, was defined as being responsible for

... the temper and quality and the well being of any people ... [which is] determined by its general cultural development. The cultural development of any society usually is to a large degree the haphazard and unorganized result of chance circumstance. It should be part of the purpose of social and economic planning to appraise cultural elements and values, to try to present to the community in question those elements which are of greatest value, and to stimulate or promote their adoption. For instance, the average dwelling house in America is very inefficiently designed so far as convenience of living is concerned. Individual dwellings have individual excellences, but there has been little thorough going or effective study to the end of working out the most effective, convenient and satisfactory designs of modern dwellings. If this can be done, and if the population can be made acquainted with what constitutes excellence of arrangements, there can take place a very substantial increase in the convenience, economy, and attractiveness of the design of dwellings. The same principle can be applied to many of the cultural factors which affect the every day living and the general well being of the people.

The habit of continuing education as a life long process is necessary to social and economic improvement. To work out methods and techniques to bring this about, and to create in the population a general expectation of continued intellectual growth and development, is a thoroughly appropriate function in such an organization as the Tennessee Valley Authority.²⁴

²³Arthur E. Morgan, "Vagaries," unpublished manuscript, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1969.

²⁴Arthur E. Morgan, "A Statement of the Personal Attitude of Arthur E. Morgan Concerning a Sound Basis for Economic and Social Development in the TVA and Under Its Direction," p. 6.

One method, identified early by Arthur Morgan to foster change and promote the development of the region was reflected in the belief that

... the way we progress is most always by getting acquainted with people who are progressive and in being like them. So I think the greatest function of the Tennessee Valley Authority is that of trying to gather together some of the best in this field, some in that field . . . to have examples of good practice and to follow them.²⁵

This belief in the merit of "setting a good example" ultimately provided the theme for a Code of Ethics which Arthur Morgan developed for TVA employees. He declared in the introduction:

Of all the conditions which affect the success of the Tennessee Valley project, no other is more important than the spirit, attitude, and conduct of the personnel of our organization. In every part of America, poor ethical habits are the chief preventive of a better civilization If the personnel of the TVA can set desirable standards in its personal, social, and business conduct, its value in this respect may be greater than the value of any economic, social, or cultural change it may bring about.²⁶

The social philosophy of Arthur Morgan and the spirit, values, and attitudes of a carefully selected TVA staff, provided the initial input relative to establishing a program of education and training within the Authority's broad commitment to social and economic development.

²⁵Arthur E. Morgan, address delivered to State Water Conservation Board, Columbus, Ohio, 10 August 1933, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 2.

²⁶Arthur E. Morgan, "The Tennessee Valley Authority and Its Program," address delivered before the Mid-South Meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Knoxville, Tenn., 8 November 1934, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 21.



It seemed to us that there was a place to begin the New Deal. Those men [construction employees] have not had much opportunity and training Why not use their spare time in making their lives more worthwhile when they go back home.²⁷

These were to be the initial beneficiaries of the adult education enterprise, aimed at developing the "latent talents in our workers ... to open doors to more effective working and living."²⁸

Arthur Morgan, in developing a "Method for Determining the Qualifications for Persons Being Considered for Employment by the Tennessee Valley Authority," identified several dimensions of human development worthy of attention and capable of development within a program of adult education.²⁹ A candidate for employment as a brick layer, for example, was to be examined in terms of his:

... cultural fitness, general vocational skill, mental fitness, personal traits, skill on a particular job, public service-mindedness, vocational fitness, economic habits, ethical fitness, and physical fitness.³⁰

These dimensions of human development, recognized by Arthur Morgan in 1933 as being important, were similar to those he identified earlier as components of a well-rounded life:

... physical health, training for work, actual work experience, a trained appreciation of social, religious, economic

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Arthur E. Morgan, "The Man On The Job," Survey Graphic, XXIV no. 3 (March, 1935), 112-115.

²⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, "A Suggested Method for Determining the Qualifications for Persons Being Considered for Employment by the Tennessee Valley Authority," 16 May 1933, Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 4.

³⁰ Ibid.



and aesthetic values, a sense of proportion, knowledge of history, literature, philosophy, and science and a life purpose.³¹

The broad, encompassing dimensions envisioned for the adult education enterprise within the Authority reflected Arthur Morgan's long-standing commitment to the continuous development of the total individual and a striving to strengthen those values identified as being essential to the continuing development of society.

The TVA Board of Directors: An Authorization
to Establish a Program of Adult Education

Arthur E. Morgan of Yellow Springs, Ohio, was appointed Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority by Franklin D. Roosevelt on May 26, 1933.³² Roosevelt appointed Harcourt A. Morgan of Knoxville, Tennessee, and David E. Lilienthal of Madison, Wisconsin, Directors of the Board of the TVA on June 3, 1933. The three men thus constituted full membership in accordance with Section 2(a) of the Act: "the Board of Directors of the Corporation (herein referred to as the Board) shall be composed of three members, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" and with Section 2(d) of the Act: "two of

³¹ Arthur E. Morgan, "A Budget for Your Life," Antioch College Bulletin, 26 no. 5 (February, 1930), 307.

³² Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1934, Tennessee Valley Authority (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 1.



the members in office shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the board."³³

The first meeting of the Board of Directors took place on June 16, 1933, in the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C. and officially incorporated the TVA in accordance with Section 1 of the Act, "the Board of Directors first appointed shall be deemed the incorporators and the incorporation shall be held to have been effected from the date of the first meeting of the board."³⁴

At that first meeting, additional responsibilities were delegated among the Board of Directors in the following manner: Arthur E. Morgan was designated General Manager of the Corporation; Harcourt A. Morgan was designated Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, and David E. Lilienthal was designated General Counsel in charge of the Legal Department and Acting Secretary of the Board.³⁵

The Minutes of Board of Directors meetings indicate actions taken relative to the establishment of an adult education enterprise under the leadership of Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman. The following actions relative to this development were taken at Board of Directors meetings during their first three months of work:

June 16, 1933 (first meeting): The matter of housing facilities for employees involved in construction of Cove

³³Ibid., Tennessee Valley Authority Act.

³⁴Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, June 16, 1933," Minutes, Meetings of Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, Tennessee Valley Authority Act.

³⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, June 16, 1933."



Creek Dam was discussed by the Board. A suggestion by Arthur E. Morgan that the Authority construct a permanent town at or near the site of the dam construction was discussed but no action was taken.³⁶

The "matter of housing facilities for employees," discussed in these Minutes, but not actually written into the TVA Act, is indicative of Arthur Morgan's concern for providing decent living conditions for employees and their families. The Miami Valley Construction Camps (Chapter III) are an earlier demonstration of this commitment, and eight months after their inception, the director of training would say of them, "they are the basis for the actual development of a rural community, and ... will serve as foundation centers of training."³⁷

June 26, 1933 (second meeting): The Board discussed the matter of training a small group of mechanics, carpenters, etc. this summer as part of the project of construction at Cove Creek Dam and the necessary housing facilities in connection therewith. The Board approved tentatively the training of such men at Berea, Kentucky, and Madison, Tennessee.

The Board approved the policy of giving to those people in the area to be submerged by the Cove Creek Dam, priority and preference in connection with the employment and training opportunities.³⁸

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," address to the National Guidance Association, Cleveland, Ohio, 23 February 1934, Tennessee Valley Authority Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

³⁸Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, June 26, 1933," Minutes, Meetings of Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

It is significant that despite the absence of a provision for training within the TVA Act, the Board of Directors, at its second meeting, approved "the training of such men" and adopted a policy providing "employment and training opportunities." The Minutes fail to identify the initiator of the conversation relative to training; however, Arthur Morgan later acknowledged responsibility for the discussion. Arthur Morgan further stated that "it was proper and necessary as a part of good engineering and construction policy."³⁹

July 11, 1933 (fifth meeting): The Board discussed the possibility of giving local residents of the Valley combined industrial and agricultural training so that small enterprises such as carpentry and furniture shops, creameries, saw mills, brick yards, et cetera, could be promoted and fostered.

The Board approved the employment of J. Dudley Dawson and assigned to him the study of possible training methods, and ways and means of enlisting the cooperation of county agents in a training program.⁴⁰

Although the Minutes neglect to mention Arthur Morgan as the initiator of the discussion relative to training, it should be noted that J. Dudley Dawson had been associated with Arthur Morgan at Antioch College since 1924.⁴¹

³⁹Interview with Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 12 February 1972; Questionnaire completed by Arthur E. Morgan, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 26 April 1974.

⁴⁰Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, July 11, 1933," Minutes, Meetings of Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁴¹Arthur E. Morgan, "Training Programs for the TVA," unpublished manuscript, residence, 1205 Forer Street, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 9 p. 1.



On July 15, 1933, Mr. Dawson presented to Chairman Arthur Morgan a "Tentative Outline of Work With Training Program for the Tennessee Valley Authority."⁴²

On July 28, 1933, Arthur Morgan issued a memorandum identifying "Elements in the Tennessee Valley Authority Program." Among the elements identified were:

Begin the development of a general social and economic plan for the Tennessee Valley Authority. Parts of this can be developed deliberately. Other parts may have to be put into operation quickly to meet existing conditions as those of the Subsistence Homestead project and the Citizens' Conservation Corps. We must begin to develop a staff of men who will work on the development of such a plan.

We cannot finish such a plan before we begin to execute it, but we can be reasonably sure that the work we are doing will not be wasted.

A training program at Cove Creek can be begun, even though we have not a completed plan. This will require a number of men and we should begin to build that staff. One man is now employed, Mr. J. Dudley Dawson. I believe that Miss Helen Dingman of Berea would be especially valuable, and also Mr. Nat Frame from West Virginia and one man from western Alabama we are in touch with. The staff is not only to execute a program, but to help create it. Therefore, we want to take on the kind of people who can create such a plan and put them to work. This training program of itself is a big job and it will not be a success unless it is in the hands of able men, who are employed long enough ahead of time to prepare for it.

Study the possibilities of small industries and of industrial and agricultural communities. Encourage the establishment of small industries where they seem feasible, probably recruiting

⁴²J. Dudley Dawson, "Tentative Outline of Work with Training Program for the Tennessee Valley Authority," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 15 July 1933, pp. 1-3.



management and labor from the training groups at Cove Creek Dam.⁴³

July 29, 1933 (seventh meeting): A training program for workers on the Dam was studied by the Board. No action was taken.

The following decisions were made by the Board concerning the Cove Creek Dam (Norris):

It is the intention of the Tennessee Valley Authority to employ about twice as many men as are needed, working them three days a week and maintaining a training program for the other three days. To carry through this program the Tennessee Valley Authority must select the workmen. It could not do this if the work were to be let by contract. The whole training program depends on the direct handling of the work by the Authority.

In order to provide for the training program and to provide permanent homes for a number of people, one or more towns shall be built in the vicinity of the dam. As a rule there shall be from one to five acres of tillable land for each house, though not necessarily all adjacent to it.

Arthur E. Morgan discussed the training program in detail. He mentioned the names of men available for this work and stated his preference for having several men on the staff who are connected with labor unions. The Board authorized him to prepare a program and to select a staff to carry it out.⁴⁴

The Minutes appear contradictory. They report both that "A training program for workers was studied ... no action was taken," and "Arthur Morgan discussed the training program The Board authorized him to prepare a program ... carry it out."

⁴³Arthur E. Morgan, "Elements in the Tennessee Valley Authority Program," Tennessee Valley Authority Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, 28 July 1933.

⁴⁴Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, June 29, 1933," Minutes, Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

These inconsistencies appear to demonstrate Arthur Morgan's determination to receive Board approval for his program of adult education. Failing at first to receive approval, he apparently reintroduced the subject for discussion and persevered until approval was granted.

July 30, 1933 (eighth meeting): Chairman Arthur Morgan's memorandum of July 28, 1933 entitled "Elements in the Tennessee Valley Authority" was incorporated into the Minutes.

In connection with its discussion of the Authority's training and educational program, the Board considered the work done by Mr. John P. Ferris in developing small industries.

Arthur E. Morgan was authorized to employ such assistants as are required for the training and educational programs.⁴⁵

It is significant that the concept of adult education was expanded to include a reference to education as well as training.

Arthur Morgan received authorization to "employ such assistants as are required for the training and educational programs." A review of the Minutes presented herein shows that the guidelines of the training and education program are undefined, thus affording Arthur Morgan great freedom in establishing the program.

On August 3, 1933, Directors Harcourt A. Morgan and David Lilienthal issued a "Memorandum on Organization" calling for a division of responsibilities among the members of the Board.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, July 30, 1933," Minutes, Meetings of Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁴⁶Harcourt A. Morgan and David E. Lilienthal, "Memorandum on Organization," Tennessee Valley Authority Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, 3 August 1933.

August 5, 1933 (ninth meeting): A memorandum by Harcourt A. Morgan and David E. Lilienthal, dated August 5, 1933, was submitted to the Board.

After some discussion the following distribution of responsibilities among the Directors, for various phases of work, was approved.

Arthur E. Morgan

1. Integration of the parts of the program into a unified whole, including the administration of the general functions such as accounting. The Comptroller shall report directly to the Board on matters of general policies.
2. All matters concerned with Norris Dam and its appurtenances.
3. Educational and training programs, other than agricultural.
4. Engineering, including studies, plans, and constructions for the control and use of water and mineral resources (except Muscle Shoals dam and the power house and electrical transmission and distribution); and matters concerning raw material for fertilizer.
5. Land and regional planning, including subsistence homesteads, (except agriculture) and housing.
6. Matters relating to social and economic organization and planning, such as common accounting services, and common collection and distribution.
7. Sharing with Harcourt A. Morgan matters relating to industry, especially those relating to training for industry, and its association with cooperatives, accounting, etc.
8. A few experiments with Cove Creek homesteads, including rock terracing.
9. Forestry, soil erosion and conservation corps, tentatively.

Harcourt A. Morgan

1. All matters relating to agriculture.
2. The design, construction, and operation of smelters for phosphorous and for potash.
3. The maintenance and operation of Nitrate Plant #2. Appraisal of the plant for capitalization purposes.



4. A research program in the nature and behavior of fertilizers we make.
5. The purchase, blending, and sale of fertilizers.
6. A chemical engineering department, and the program of research and development in the manufacture of fertilizers, cement, and dry ice.
7. Rural life planning.
8. Public relations in East Tennessee and adjoining areas.
9. Matters relating to localized industry and its relation to agriculture.

David E. Lilienthal

1. The distribution of power, including relations with purchasers, and prospective purchasers.
2. All matters relating to the operation of the hydro-electric and steam-electric plants at Muscle Shoals.
3. The construction and operation of transmission lines.
4. The development of standardized accounting methods for power generation, transmission, and distribution, and the supervision of power accounting for the Corporation.
5. The Swann proposal to exchange power for power sites.
6. The Legal Department.
7. The appraisal, purchase, and condemnation of land.
8. The economics of transportation.⁴⁷

The delegation of responsibilities among the Directors, as approved by the Board, gave Arthur Morgan leadership and authority for establishing adult education and training programs other than agriculture within the Tennessee Valley Authority.

⁴⁷ Arthur E. Morgan, "Memorandum on Progress Toward Organization to August 5, 1933," Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, 5 August 1933, p. 4.



An analysis of the general content of the Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors of the TVA during the months of June, July, and August of 1933 indicates considerable attention afforded the concept of training and education. This fact reflects Arthur Morgan's strong commitment to the concept and his control over the Authority during its early weeks of operation. It appears that during these first weeks Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal served largely as supporters of Arthur Morgan on issues relating to training and adult education; Arthur Morgan was able to obtain consistently the consensus among Board members necessary to transact training and adult education business.⁴⁸

The Program of Adult Education

Phase I--Initial Development 1933 - 1934

Wherever family and community are being refined,
strengthened and stabilized, there we have the roots of a
good new world tomorrow.

--Arthur E. Morgan

The program of adult education within the Tennessee Valley Authority was initiated at the construction camp adjacent to the Cove Creek Dam, hereafter referred to as Norris. Basic to the operation of the program was the decision of the Board of Directors of the TVA to build permanent housing for construction employees and their

⁴⁸Tennessee Valley Authority, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, August 5, 1933," Minutes, Meetings of Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

families and to employ the men five and one-half hours a day, six days a week. The "Tentative Outline of Work With Training Program" developed and presented by J. Dudley Dawson, Director of Training, on July 15, 1933, offered initial direction for program development.

The central features of this training program were:

(a) To assist in the design and organization of a program of training for groups of qualified and interested persons in the Tennessee Valley District which shall serve the following purposes.

(1) The immediate need of the Tennessee Valley Authority for trained workmen to assist in the various developments of the valley such as the Cove Creek Dam.

(2) The provision of facilities for the selected persons to work out a program of general training which shall be concerned with all phases of their living.

(3) The coordination and enlargement of the training work to serve the best interests of the Tennessee Valley District as a whole.

(b) To see that the educational phases of the project are developed as a part of, and in harmony with, the plans of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

(c) To see that the work serves the interests and needs of the people in the Tennessee Valley.⁴⁹

According to Dawson, a commitment to the training program had direct implications for the Authority's employee recruitment and hiring practices:

There is the job of selecting the larger and more inclusive group of qualified persons who wish to participate in the work and take the training which the Authority will offer in connection with the development of the program. Specifications and qualifications for admission to the employment service and training will need to be worked out. In general,

⁴⁹J. Dudley Dawson, "Tentative Outline of Work with Training Program for the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 1.

they will be determined by the needs, resources, and policies of those in charge of the Tennessee Valley Development. Only persons of good character and purpose who are interested in and qualified to profit from the experience and training will be considered.⁵⁰

The several components of the training program which were identified by Dawson according to need were to provide training opportunities for:

... carpenters, concrete workers, mechanics, painters, plumbers and pipe fitters, welders, electricians, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, surveying assistants, sawmill operators, gardeners, bakers, cooks, dairymen, laundry men, housekeepers, barbers, and shopkeepers.⁵¹

A memorandum from Arthur Morgan on August 23, 1933, greatly expanded the dimensions of the training program envisioned by Mr. Dawson and officially recognized the training division as an integral component of the TVA administrative structure.⁵² According to the memorandum, the Department of Personnel under Director Floyd Reeves was restructured to include, in addition to personnel, responsibility for training and planning.⁵³ The organization and functions of the department were:

General Functions: Floyd W. Reeves
Director of Personnel, training, and
Planning

The general function will be to coordinate the work of the divisions, to develop systems and methods, and to carry on labor and wage investigations.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 2.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Arthur E. Morgan, "Outline for Proposed Organization and Budget for Personnel, Training and Planning," 23 August 1933, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

⁵³Ibid., p. 1.

Employment: Carl L. Richey
Director of Employment

This division will be responsible for assisting in preliminary selection of staff members at all levels; administration of field employment offices in collaboration with operating agencies of the Corporation; administration of policies affecting appointments, promotions, demotions, allocation, and separation of personnel, including certification to employee and comptroller.

Training: J. Dudley Dawson
Director of Training

This will include provision of training facilities for workers employed by the Corporation; administration of a safety program; administration of a program of adult education and recreation; cooperation with local and state authorities in providing educational facilities for children of employees; provision for vocational and educational counseling.

Health:

Administration of physical examinations, first aid stations, medical service, and public health program; cooperative activity with all staff and operating units in matters pertaining to the general program of health and physical welfare; cooperation with the health departments of other governmental agencies.

Social and Economic Planning:

This division will be responsible for studies pertaining to problems of marketing and cooperatives; organization and function of social and political units, including states, counties, municipalities and communities; kind and type of community which ought to exist; the function of education, recreation, and the radio in a planned social order; and the development of plans based upon the studies made.⁵⁴

The broad areas of responsibility of the training division within the Department of Personnel, Training and Planning had been identified.

Chairman Morgan envisioned a program for training and adult education which would:

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 1-2.



... help to turn them from laborers lucky to get a job, into effectively trained men, ready to take the results of a land-use survey and to dig out careers for themselves.⁵⁵

... make life more promising, more wholesome, and more interesting ... restore opportunity for adventure in the lives of men and women.⁵⁶

Two important principles were recognized as basic to the establishment of the training component of the program, the first being the "interest and capacity of the individual" and the other the "vocational opportunities and needs which seem to have significance in the social order."⁵⁷

The purposes of the training program were identified as providing:

- (1) training in the vocations in which the individual was already employed.
- (2) opportunity to explore vocational possibilities according to the employees' interests and abilities.
- (3) job training for basic rural occupations, including in addition to those commonly associated with agriculture those occupations and trades which contribute to a more orderly and complete rural life and which might relate to a coordinated development of agriculture and industry.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program--Muscle Shoals Area, Technical Library, Knoxville, Tenn., 21 March 1935, p. III.

⁵⁶Arthur E. Morgan, The Knoxville News-Sentinel, 22 December 1933.

⁵⁷J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 3.

⁵⁸Ibid., U.S., Tennessee Valley Authority, The Norris Project, Technical Report No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 331.



Specific program components designed to achieve the major objectives of the training operation at this initial stage of development included:

Trade Shops: giving training in wood-working, auto repairing, machine shop and electrical work "were organized. The employees, through short periods of intensive training ... have the opportunity to broaden their abilities" in the several skills.⁵⁹

Foreman's Training Course: designed to assist men in preparing to become foremen. The course deals with phases of construction, safety, labor relations and other subjects. Each member of the group gets experience with "electricians, carpenters, pipe fitters, machine shops, truck crew, crusher plant, mixing plant, quarry and concrete crew. Study and instruction groups represent an integral component of the course directing attention to problems related to construction and actual work conditions.⁶⁰

Automotive Shop: designed to provide repair service for TVA cars and trucks ... furnishes "instruction for those interested in auto mechanics as an occupation and for all owners of automotive equipment.⁶¹

The purpose of the more liberal components of the program of adult education were identified in terms of seven activity categories:

activities designed to establish habits of critical thinking, creative activity, social mindedness and cooperation

activities to promote individual independence and to provide for one's self

⁵⁹J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 7; Floyd W. Reeves, "Social and Economic Development of the Tennessee Valley," Mountain Life and Work, July, 1934, p. 19.

⁶⁰Arthur E. Morgan, "The Man On The Job," p. 116.

⁶¹"Some Notes on the Training Program at the Norris Dam," Olive Kettering Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, p. 3.

activities to provide the zest for achieving character, quality and excellence

activities to develop the leadership potential of the employees

activities to prepare people to participate in a democratic society

activities designed to eradicate illiteracy⁶²

activities relative to the proper social, religious and community life for the Norris town.⁶³

Program components designed to achieve the objectives of the program of adult education at this stage of initial development included:

A Program of General Education, including "common school subjects, health, social and economic problems, principles of government, community life, fundamentals of science, literature, and other fields of interest to an adult group."⁶⁴

A Program of Home Planning, designed for employees' wives, sisters, and mothers, offering training in various aspects of home-making. The schooling includes such areas as: use and care of electrical equipment, care of the home, food, clothing, child care, and training in various home arts and crafts.⁶⁵

The recreational program was designed to maintain physical fitness and to provide entertainment to the Norris community. The development of the Norris community included plans for the construction of a community building to include auditorium, gymnasium,

⁶²J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 4; Arthur E. Morgan, "Man On The Job, p. 140; Nashville Banner, 1 May 1934.

⁶³"Some Notes on the Training Program at the Norris Dam," p. 4.

⁶⁴J. Dudley Dawson, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 9.

⁶⁵"Some Notes on the Training Program at the Norris Dam," p. 4.



library and meeting room facilities. Outdoor play areas which included softball and baseball diamonds, tennis and volleyball courts and children's playgrounds offered facilities for wholesome recreation. Lectures, discussions, musical entertainments, religious services, and educational films were presented from time to time.⁶⁶

The multi-faceted training and adult education program which emerged at Norris during the initial development of the adult education enterprise was well received by the employees and their families. The first Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority on June 30, 1934, reported that approximately 600 employees were participating in the training and adult education program at Norris.⁶⁷ It was later determined that 178 employees participated in the engineering and technical training program; 200 employees participated in general adult education; and 15 employees participated in the home planning and management program.⁶⁸

The positive spirit of the workers regarding the program was, according to Arthur Morgan, reflected when "the entire machine shop force gave notice that they wished instruction from the Training Section."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1934, p. 49.

⁶⁸ Maurice F. Seay, 'The Development of an Educational Program for Employees and Their Children,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 34.

⁶⁹ Walter E. Myer, "The Tennessee Valley Looks to the Future," The Journal of the National Education Association, December, 1934.



The adult training and education program which emerged at Norris under the leadership of Arthur Morgan and his staff was destined to become the prototype for expansion of the enterprise within the Authority.

Phase II--Full-Scale Operation
1934 - 1938

There has not yet been any presentation of an adequate way of life that includes home, government, community life, individual life, economic life, philosophical purpose and scientific method. We need a view of life that will take into account all these factors and synthesize them into a well-proportioned program without any compromise or omission. Then we need to unite to give expression to this view of life in a new social order, individual order, and mental and spiritual order. That undertaking should take definite shape and result in a definite clan of people who are committed to that way of life as a whole, and who will commit their whole lives and powers to its fulfillment.

--Arthur E. Morgan

The construction projects undertaken by the Tennessee Valley Authority during the interval 1934-1938 expanded to include, in addition to Norris Dam, the construction of the Chickamauga, Guntersville, Hiwassee, Pickwick, Wheeler, and Wilson Dams.⁷⁰

The Training Section of the Authority continued to assume responsibility for providing a comprehensive program of adult education for increasing numbers of employees and members of their families.

⁷⁰Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935, Tennessee Valley Authority (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 29-49; Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1937, Tennessee Valley Authority (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 43-85.



The increased employee population, largely recruited from within the identified TVA region, was representative of a cross-section of the regional population. The Negro worker, employed on construction projects "in the same ratio to the total project force that the Negro population of the area bears to the total population of the area in which the project is located," was identified by the Training Section as a sub-employee population with unique educational needs and interests.⁷¹

The number of employees engaged in TVA work varied and was dependent upon the stage of development of each construction project. For example, on June 30, 1935, 4,505 employees were at work at the Wheeler Dam; at the close of the fiscal year (June 30, 1936), the number had decreased to 1,175 employees.⁷² The Negro employee population at Wheeler during this period peaked at 1,551 workers.⁷³ During this same period, the number of workers employed on the Pickwick Landing Dam increased from 968 to 1,985 workers.⁷⁴

⁷¹Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1934, Tennessee Valley Authority (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 48.

⁷²Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, Tennessee Valley Authority (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 93.

⁷³J. Max Bond, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority for Negroes," The Journal of Negro Education, VII no. 3 (July, 1938), 384-389.

⁷⁴Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 99.



On June 30, 1935, employees of the Authority numbered 15,807, of whom 13,808 were engaged in construction, maintenance, and reservoir clearance activities on six construction projects.⁷⁵

To facilitate a program of adult education, three employee groups were identified by the Training Section: (1) construction and maintenance employees engaged at the several dam construction sites and commonly housed in TVA construction villages; (2) reservoir clearance employees; and (3) administrative and technical employees. Local residents indigenous to the several construction projects and related TVA activities were encouraged to participate in the adult education activities planned by the Training Section of the Authority.⁷⁶

To know the adult education activities made available through the Training Section of the Authority during the interval 1934-1938, several factors have been identified. They include: the educational setting; the general aims and objectives; basic principles of adult education; administration; supervision and coordination; and the educational program components.

The Educational Setting

The adult education enterprise of the Authority operated at each construction village, in the local communities of the reservoir

⁷⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935, p. 47.

⁷⁶Tennessee Valley Authority, "The Training at the Hiwassee Project (Fiscal Years 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940)," Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division, Technical Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, p. 7.



clearance projects, and at the administrative and technical center of the Authority at Knoxville, Tennessee, with branch offices at Chattanooga, Tennessee and Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

The construction village at Hiwassee Dam in North Carolina was representative of the villages established by the Authority to house construction and maintenance workers and their families. Each village constituted an educational setting for a program of adult education.

The Hiwassee village was composed of one hundred and thirty-five residential houses, five men's dormitories, one women's dormitory, a community building, a cafeteria, a hospital, and an extra two-room school building.⁷⁷ The village was self-contained, having a grocery store and meat market; a commissary for the sale of dry goods, incidentals, drugs, and refreshments; a United States post office, space for a fire truck and a barber shop.⁷⁸ Each village had a community building which, at the Hiwassee Village, housed the Training Section staff and provided: a library, a lounge, a combination gymnasium-theatre-recreation hall, and a four-room school.⁷⁹ Facilities for outdoor adult education activities were maintained in each of the construction villages.

Similar but separate facilities were available for Negro workers and members of their families at several construction

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 4.



villages. At the Pickwick Dam, twenty-five modern cottages ... a dormitory for single men ... a modern one-room school building and a recreation center were provided by the Authority.⁸⁰ It is noted that many Negro employees, while engaged in dam construction and maintenance activities, found it possible to commute from their regular residence in lieu of dormitory and village housing.⁸¹

The majority of the resident employees of each construction village were classified as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled labor.⁸² The Hiwassee Village, representative of the several villages, reached a peak population of 839 men, women and children, of whom 344 were single men.⁸³ An additional 700 persons lived on the access road to the Hiwassee Village and were incorporated into the population to be afforded adult education activities.⁸⁴

In conjunction with dam construction activities, reservoir clearance projects were undertaken by the Authority to properly prepare land designated to form the reservoir basin. The work required of employees assigned to these projects included the cutting and removal of trees and brush. These employees were farmers--share

⁸⁰J. Max Bond, 'Negro Training,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 165.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 162-171.

⁸²Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 6.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 7.



croppers, tenant farmers, or small farm owners--who lived within commuting distance of the work.⁸⁵ According to the employment policy of the Authority, the men worked for the Authority on alternate weeks, enabling them to return to farm chores on a bi-weekly basis.⁸⁶ At the end of each day's work, the men returned to their homes, which were usually located in isolated areas in the region.⁸⁷ During peak construction periods, the Authority had fourteen crews of sixty men, each engaged in reservoir clearance operations.⁸⁸

The Training Division of the Authority identified the following factors as significant in establishing a program of adult education and training for this segment of their employee population:

1. It would not be expected that the people as a whole would be interested in attending classes in formal educational subjects. The employees in the clearance units came from small farms and had had little technical or formal school training--the average being about the equivalent of the third or fourth grade. They had very little need, or interest, in training activities of a technical nature, such as engineering, commercial work, mechanical drawing.

2. The public schools in and around the reservoir had been very inadequate. Short terms, poorly trained and meagerly paid teachers, dilapidated buildings, bad roads which prevent consolidation, and other handicaps had resulted in

⁸⁵J. Max Bond, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority for Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, vol. VII: no. 3 (July, 1938), 383.

⁸⁶R. O. Niehoff, 'General Adult Education,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 178.

⁸⁷Williard L. Hayes, 'Recreation Service,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 154.

⁸⁸R. Russell Munn, "Saw-Filers and Book Boxes," The Library Journal, LX no. 16 (September 15, 1935), 720.



relatively low educational achievement. As a result progressive leadership in the rural sections was limited. Having frequently been exploited, there had arisen in their minds a natural skepticism of anything new or unfamiliar. This is illustrated by the fact that for a short time some of the book borrowers were reluctant to sign library cards for fear of having to pay for a set of books.

3. Soil erosion and a continuous one-crop farm program has reduced most of the uplands of the reservoir area to a sub-marginal level. People attempting to farm on these lands find it a hard struggle. Although at first glance the description of the actual program sponsored will seem to indicate that this factor was not taken into account, further study will show that these seemingly inappropriate activities were used as a means to this larger end.

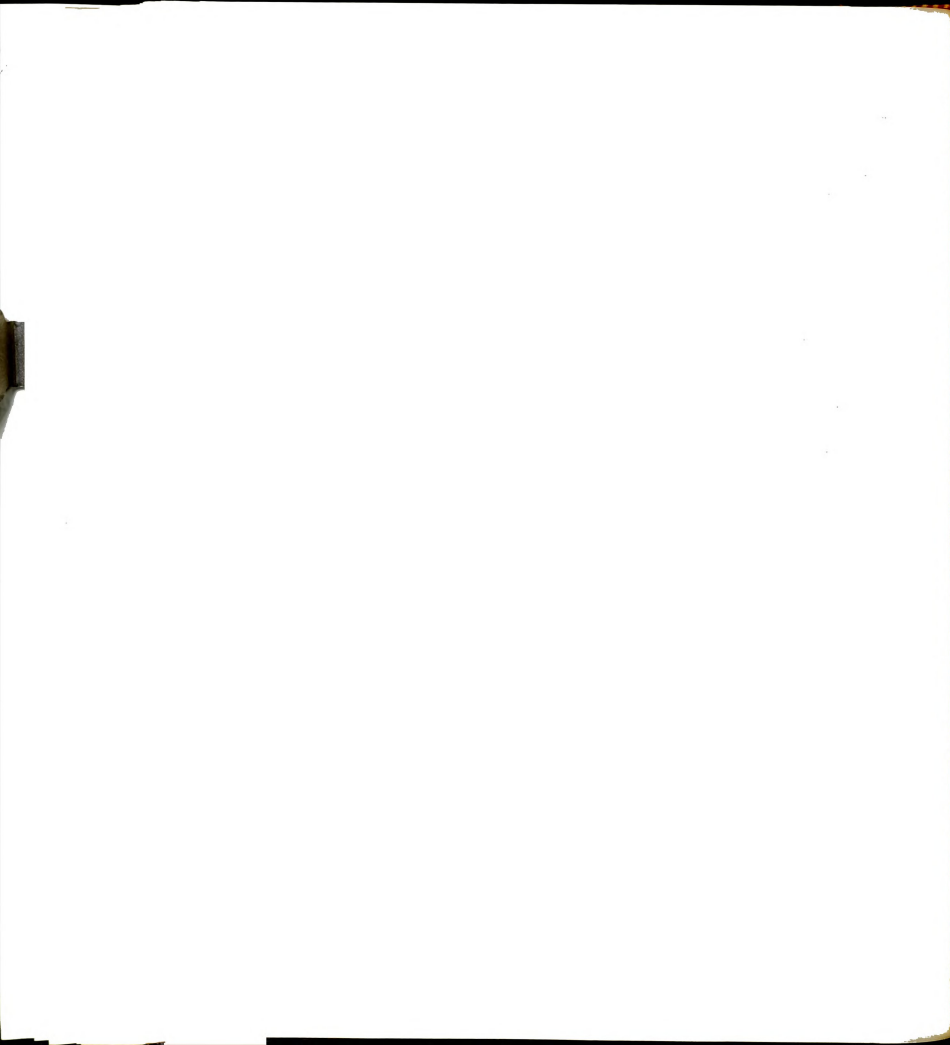
4. The work of the State Agriculture Extension Division with which the Authority cooperates in setting up demonstration farms, terracing cover crop programs, and other farm activities provided a good background for community meetings and a shop program. Likewise, it appeared that a program of community meetings would provide opportunities for country agricultural agents and others to reach larger numbers of the employees and residents; the training program might therefore serve as a medium through which many related objectives (acceptable to the farmers and others) could be achieved.

5. The WPA library and general adult education program were already being carried on more or less effectively in a portion of the area. A policy of cooperation and supplementation rather than overlapping was adopted.

6. Churches in the area had not gone very far in providing for the social and recreational needs of the people. There were only a few civic organizations of any kind in the area. Two women's clubs, one men's club, one parent-teachers association, five or six women's home demonstration clubs, and ten or twelve 4-H clubs comprised practically the entire group of organizations.⁸⁹

The Training Division of the Authority concluded that its task consisted of working with groups already organized and to assist in stimulating the development of organizations where they did not

⁸⁹R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," pp. 178-179.



exist. Adult education activities were offered within the several communities in churches, community buildings, schools, and in other existing facilities.⁹⁰

The administrative and technical staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority was employed in the Authority's central offices in Knoxville, Tennessee and at branch offices in Chattanooga and Muscle Shoals.⁹¹ This group represented the third distinct segment of the employee population with unique adult education needs and interests. This group as a whole was cosmopolitan, being composed of employees selected from all parts of the United States. Most were college and professional school graduates.⁹² Adult education activities for these workers were offered in allocated space in the Authority's office buildings and in the facilities of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville and the University of Chattanooga.⁹³

General Aims and Objectives

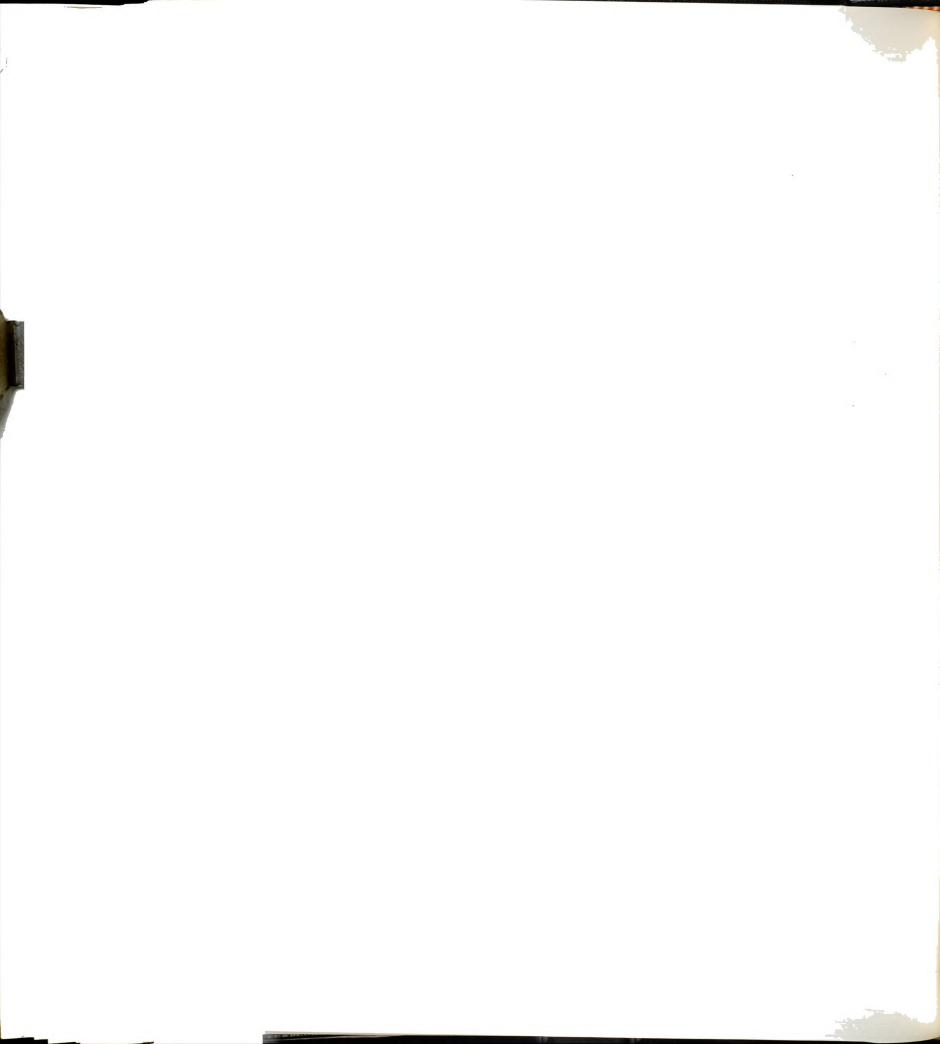
The general aims and objectives of the adult education enterprise have been outlined by several persons and publications: Mr. Floyd Reeves, Director of Personnel, Training and Planning, Tennessee Valley Authority; Mr. Maurice Seay, Central Office Administrative Staff, Tennessee Valley Authority; "The Training Program

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 178.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 186

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., p. 187.



at the Hiwassee Project"; "The Negro Program at Muscle Shoals"; and Mr. Charles Bennett, reporter for Industrial Education Magazine. For comparative purposes, the aims and objectives of the program, as first suggested by Mr. J. Dudley Dawson, Director of Training, have been repeated here:

(a) To assist in the design and organization of a program of training for groups of qualified and interested persons in the Tennessee Valley District which shall serve the following purposes.

(1) The immediate need of the Tennessee Valley Authority for trained workmen to assist in the various developments of the valley such as the Cove Creek Dam.

(2) The provision of facilities for the selected persons to work out a program of general training which shall be concerned with all phases of their living.

(3) The coordination and enlargement of the training work to serve the best interests of the Tennessee Valley District as a whole.

(b) To see that the educational phases of the project are developed as a part of, and in harmony with, the plans of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

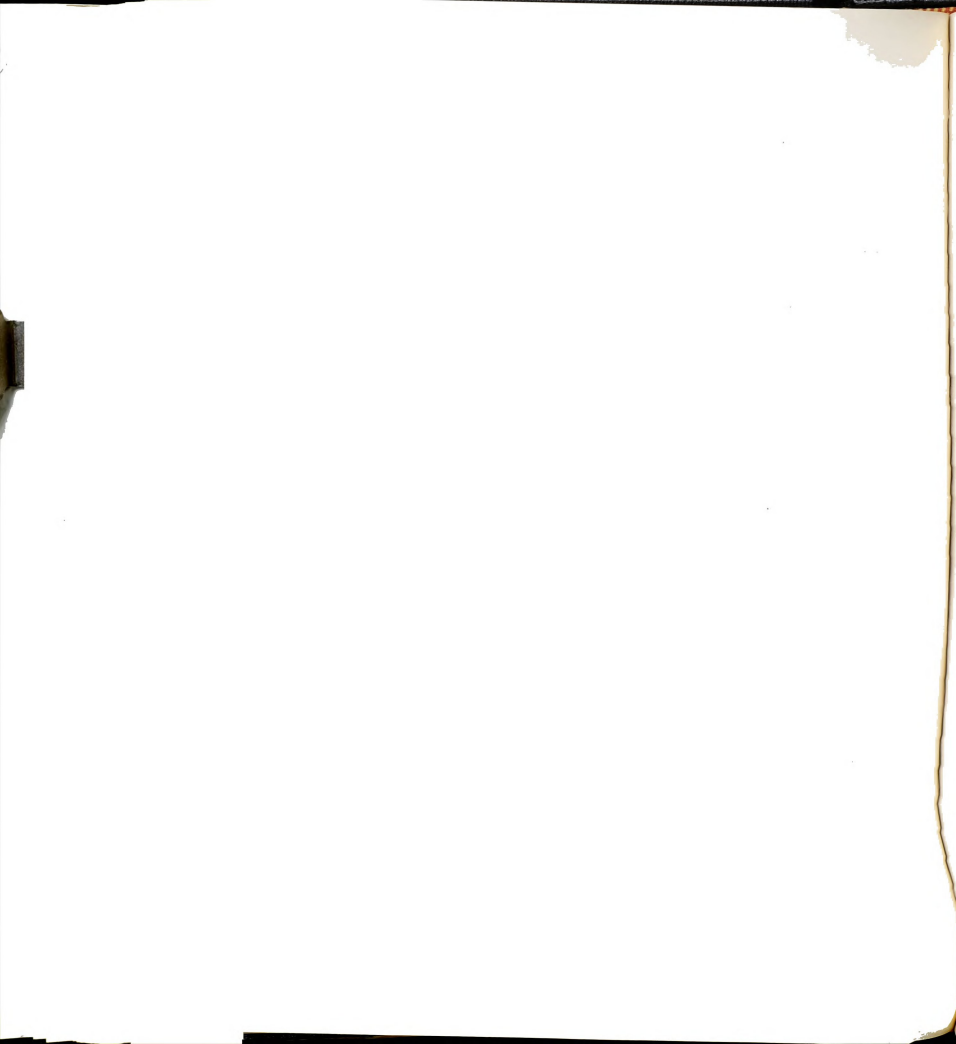
(c) To see that the work serves the interests and needs of the people in the Tennessee Valley.⁹⁴

Floyd Reeves:

The adults employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority are,

... filling in gaps in formal education; interested in occupational training; increasing their general social intelligence; interested in parent education; interested in health education; participating for their own personal satisfaction.

⁹⁴J. Dudley Dawson, "Tentative Outline of Work with Training Program for the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 1.



The recreational activities sponsored by the Authority are organized to provide diversion for employees, to assist them in making use of their leisure time in a way that will be truly recreational and to provide practice in leadership--all for the purpose of increasing morale among employees. High morale means more efficient work on the job. More efficient work means lower cost.

The general educational activities of the Authority are also maintained primarily as a means of increasing employee morale. A second purpose is to set up the machinery whereby employees may attain a better understanding of social, economic and governmental problems.

In setting up the program of occupational training, three major purposes have been kept in mind: Training is provided: (1) To increase the efficiency of employees on their present jobs; (2) to assist employees in preparing themselves for more important jobs with the Authority; and (3) so that employees, having terminated their work with the Tennessee Valley Authority, will be prepared to make a larger contribution to the development of social and economic conditions in the area.

It is recognized that the mere acquirement of skills or facts has a less enduring influence than the development of habits and capacities for continuing self-education, and that the key to the latter is extensive reading.

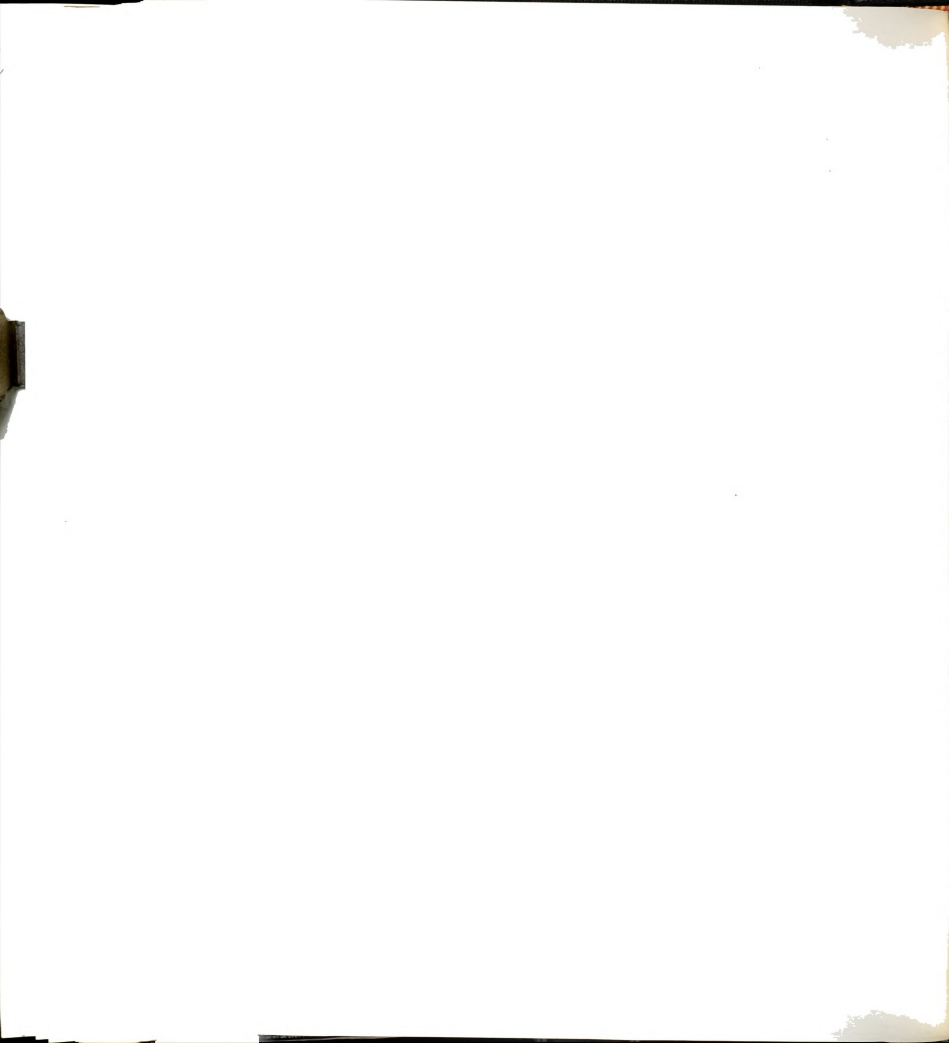
All phases of the training program are expected to contribute to the development of leadership and to the recognition of the values of cooperative effort.⁹⁵

Maurice Seay:

To enable employees to increase their efficiency on the job.

To enable employees to prepare themselves for vocations suitable to the improved agricultural and industrial life of the Valley and essential to the program of the Authority.

⁹⁵Floyd W. Reeves, "Adult Education as Related to the Tennessee Valley Authority," School and Society XLIV no. 1131 (August, 1936), 5-6. Floyd Reeves, "T.V.A. Training," Journal of Adult Education, VII (January, 1935), 49.



To enable employees to prepare themselves for more responsible positions with the Authority.

To provide for the intellectual, recreational, and social needs of employees and their families as they themselves express these needs and interests.

To provide elementary and secondary school facilities for children of employees living on premises owned by the Authority.

To contribute to employee understanding of the total program of the Authority.

To render staff assistance to other departments in the Authority whose programs involve educational techniques.

To serve whenever possible the local and state educational agencies in their efforts to develop educational programs based upon the needs and interests of residents of the Tennessee Valley.

To develop leadership skills and cooperative attitudes.

Facilities for training have been made available ... with the expectation that these citizens of the Valley would be enabled to make greater contributions to the Authority through their work, and possibly to the communities and to the general development of the region.⁹⁶

The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project:

To improve the quality of workmanship on all TVA projects.

To aid in a social and economic advancement of the Tennessee Valley Area.

To increase the efficiency of the employees at work and to provide skilled labor for future construction and operations in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

⁹⁶Maurice F. Seay, "Some Principles of an Educational Program," p. 44; Maurice F. Seay, "People Centered Schools," Adult Education Bulletin, I no. 4 (April, 1937), 3; Maurice F. Seay, "The Development of an Educational Program for Employees and Their Children," p. 28.



To assist employees, through vocational counseling that is carried in cooperation with the Employment Section to determine if there is some other type of work for which they are better fitted.

To give training that will develop qualities of leadership.

To provide activities that will show the values of cooperative effort.

To train employees to become artisans in the possible industrial development of this area, and to take a definite place in an improved agricultural-industrial society.

To encourage a constructive use of leisure time through the more extensive use of the facilities already provided and the development of further facilities.

To further an understanding of the general social and economic background and the forces which are operating to change American life.

To improve the standards of home life.

To utilize as far as possible the existing agencies and means provided for furthering the program in such a way as will permit latent leadership to assert itself.⁹⁷

The Negro Program at Muscle Shoals:

The basic purposes of the program designed expressly for the Negro worker, while not fundamentally different from the general objectives described, recognized some distinctive features:

1. To give to the Negro laborer a technique which he may employ to raise his standard of living and to increase his skill as a worker.

The standard of living among most of the members of this Race group of people is exceedingly low. The pride resulting from the ownership of property and

⁹⁷ Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Tentative Objectives,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, March, 1935, pp. 2-3.



the self-respect growing out of participation in community activities are lost to this group. Because of the low wages whole communities have been known to degenerate.

The Negro staff attempts to encourage negroes to improve their standard of living through the following methods:

- a. Creating desires and wants by providing an enlarged social outlook.
 - b. Eliminating cost to family and state by introducing modern health practices.
 - c. Teaching the women to improve economic techniques in the home through the study of budgeting, home economics--such as, canning, the making of rugs and quilts, and home beautification.
 - d. Teaching the men new methods of poultry raising, gardening, furniture repairing and instructing them in the fundamentals of the trades considered basic to their improvements.
2. To improve the general educational status of the workers and to attempt to eliminate illiteracy among them.

This aim is closely allied with citizenship ideals. It is becoming more and more an established fact that if democracy is to survive, America must rely upon the literacy of all her citizens. Governmental activity, the wise use of the ballot, and the increasing need for adults to transmit to their children proper ideals and training are all dependent upon education.

The Negro Program attempts to achieve this end through adult schools provided by the F.E.R.A. At the present time, Negro employees are attending schools at Hartselle, Decatur, Athens, Town Creek, Leighton, Tuscumbia, Sheffield, Florence, and Killen.

3. To develop in each community a capable leadership.

The manner in which the Negro Staff attempts to develop a leadership among Negroes appears below:

- a. Eighteen clubs have been established in which the TVA workers and their families receive training in community organization through participation in community activities.

- b. TVA workers themselves have already organized subsidiary clubs for home and school improvement and for the provision of wholesome leisure time activities for the entire community. Through such participation several of the TVA men have developed into active leaders in the community.

At one center, Wheeler Dam, there is an outstanding example of the leadership training of which we speak. The workers themselves are in direct charge of the Negro dormitory; they teach in the adult school, conduct religious services, and promote social and recreational activities. The entire set-up is devised to place the men in positions of leadership.

- 4. To modify old reaction patterns and create in their stead a desire for new values.

The Negro program has attempted to make a beginning in a new type of thinking. If supported by the people and the employers of labor, this new approach to the race question may mean the dawn of a new economic era for the South. In promoting this difficult angle of our Program the following activities are projected:

- a. An attempt is made to create better relationships between the majority and the minority races.
- b. The Negro is given a type of instruction intended to increase his efficiency as a worker.
- c. Social problems closely related to the labor movement are discussed with the Negro worker.
- d. An attempt is being made to give the Negro and the white laborer a better understanding of the problems that confront them.
- e. An attempt is made to find economic support for the view that in spite of the separation of the races that equal opportunity should be provided for the Negro in the occupations and in the provision of housing and other facilities.⁹⁸

⁹⁸Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Negro Program,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, March, 1935, pp. 1-3.



Charles Bennett:

Mr. Charles Bennett, a reporter visiting the town of Norris, concluded from an interview with Mr. Dawson, Director of Training:

The dam is not the end sought; it is but a means to bring about better living conditions in this vast area in the Southland. It is assumed that, when the dam is completed, most of the men who have been trained will go back into the communities from which they came and, if trained wisely, will become centers of influence in upgrading the community life.⁹⁹

Basic Principles of Adult Education

The adult education enterprise as it developed within the Tennessee Valley Authority revealed an educational philosophy which was recognized and accepted by the training and educational staffs operating the various program components. The basic principles of adult education which undergirded the operation were identified:

Education is the composite of all experiences of an individual; thus, education is different for each individual. In the study of either theoretical or practical aspects of electricity, for instance, better results are obtained if the fact is recognized that all of a trainee's experiences influence this study. An electrician does not have an "education" to make him an electrician, another "education" to make him an effective citizen, another "education" to cause him to use his leisure time profitably. An electrician has an education to which all of his experiences contribute The contributions of different phases of education are now recognized as important in any training objective of the TVA program. It is believed that no department or specialized phase of learning can function efficiently in an isolated manner. The entire "product" is the goal and a program is planned to achieve that goal.

Since education is a continuous process, it cannot be confined within fixed administrative divisions; it demands coordination of all its services. The application of this conception to a planned program of education for all age levels of a community

⁹⁹ Charles A. Bennett, "Impressions Gained at Norris Dam," Industrial Education Magazine, May, 1935, p. 131.

has seldom been attempted.... Almost never do (citizens) hear or read of the total educational program of the community--all of these regular and special phases of education so coordinate that the whole is a well-balanced and adequately supported program for children and adults ... [In Norris] the community's total educational program is administered by a superintendent of education. The nursery school and kindergarten, the elementary and secondary schools, the recreational program, the public library, the health unit--all are parts of a planned program, receiving their support and their supervision from the same source through a combined budget. Space and equipment, time scheduling of classes and programs, staff allocations, etc., are carefully planned in this centralized administration Education is continuous and thus it transcends administrative divisions. It demands, for most effective results, that the educational activities either be centralized in one agency or coordinated by the cooperative efforts of all agencies

Educational activities should be based upon the problems, needs, and interests of those for whom they are planned. The interpretation of this factor, however, too frequently has been simply that teaching techniques must be modified to conform to the different abilities represented in the groups. Experience in the TVA educational program has revealed that such modification has only limited value unless the principle is applied first to the planning of the aims and content of the activity ... for example, a correspondence course in carpenters' arithmetic ... was planned from the beginning for those who would likely be enrolled. Through their labor organizations they were consulted as to their needs and interests; the peculiarities of their work were noted. The employees of the TVA who enrolled in this course responded enthusiastically because the content of the course was taken from their daily work. The practicability of the course was evident and the suggested aids and supplementary materials were based upon actual services available, such as library deposits and exhibits of different types of work in carpentry. The implication of this principle may be important to makers of curricula and courses of study. The varied experiences in the TVA program suggest that experts in this field would be more effective in their assistance to programs that are conducted by well trained staffs if they refrained from preparing elaborate courses of study and curricula for large areas and confined their efforts to devising and testing techniques of curriculum construction for individual situations and to preparing suggestive materials.

The democratic method in education is a practicable method by which the educational program can be related to the real interests and real needs of people. The democratic method is based upon a fundamental and abiding faith in people--a faith that people, if free and informed, will more frequently than not do what is best for society; that more frequently than not they themselves will



find the best answers to their problems, as judged in historical perspective. If one holds to this fundamental belief, this faith, he can, without fear of result, bend his effort toward the support and development of machinery and methods that will give to each individual an opportunity to bring his mental equipment to bear upon the problem at hand. Leadership whether in the classroom or on a construction job is not a task of telling the student or the worker what to think or what to do and assuming compliance because the one in charge has spoken; leadership is the much more difficult task of stimulating ideas and motivation among those upon whom the success of the classroom rests or the construction job depends, those who are learning and those who are doing the work. The democratic method assumes compliance with the will of the leader only by consent of those being led, with that consent flowing from the intelligent respect, or by a meeting of minds as to the validity of the common purpose and the method to be used in achieving it.

Any one may have excellent ideas as to what employees ought to be interested in, what they ought to know, how they should conduct their relationships with their supervisors and their work. It is essential, however, that those ideas find a basis of mutual understanding and consent with employees, expressed independently without the pressure of dominating suggestion from someone in a superior position. Any attempt to impose ideas upon them from above meets with a lack of interest and frequently with positive distrust.

An educational program for all age levels must be characterized by flexibility. The wide range of objectives for the TVA educational program necessitates a variety of activities for their achievement. These activities are conducted under many different conditions and by various procedures. Therefore, it is not strange that there has developed a flexibility of approach which, more than any other single feature, characterizes the program and differentiates it from education as carried on in the more traditional pattern Space and equipment serve multiple purposes. Schoolrooms, libraries, shops, and demonstration houses are designed to be used for the school program for children during the day and for adults during parts of the day and night. In addition to the economical features, this multiple-purpose use of space and equipment has a practical influence in the development of a unified and balanced educational program for all age levels The staff of the Training Division is called upon to be flexible in its point of view and educational methods. Many teachers of elementary and secondary pupils also lead adult classes; librarians serve all age groups not in the library alone, but also in the classroom and shop and at the tool box with employee groups working in rural areas; recreation specialists conduct varied programs appropriate to the different age levels; and administrative officers are responsible for the integration



of all these educational activities.... Informality with respect to attendance requirements, credits, and certificates constitutes another phase of that flexibility which is the outstanding characteristic of the training program Successful program building requires careful selection of activities, interesting methods of presentation and alert supervision. No one technique can be relied upon in all situations to accomplish desirable results. The Training Division has no "swivel-chair" programs to impose upon trainees or cooperating agencies. Flexibility is an outstanding characteristic.¹⁰⁰

These principles of education, not "separate and clearly distinguishable," represent an integrated, general approach to the task of providing an effective program of adult education.¹⁰¹

Administration, Supervision, and Coordination

The increase in the number of construction projects undertaken by the Tennessee Valley Authority during the interval 1934-1938 and the accompanying extension of its adult education and training commitment necessitated the establishment of a "central branch" form of organizational framework in the spring of 1935. The organizational framework which emerged was representative of the bold, creative and pioneering aura which permeated the entire TVA operation. Furthermore, it reflected and reinforced the initial philosophy of of the adult education enterprise, noted for flexibility, coordination, and a commitment to the democratic process.

¹⁰⁰Maurice F. Seay, "Some Principles of an Educational Program," pp. 45-54; Gordon R. Clapp, "Educational Implications Found in Great Federal Projects," The Educational Record, January, 1937.

¹⁰¹Maurice F. Seay, "Some Principles of an Educational Program," p. 45.



The adult education enterprise continued to operate as the Training Division of the Department of Personnel, Training, and Planning. The central office was located at Knoxville, Tennessee.

The plan for administration and supervision is graphically presented on page 182. An examination of this chart identifies a chief administrative officer with administrative staff and six general supervisors in the areas of library service, Negro training, recreation, elementary education, public administration and job training. Eight training centers have been identified by geographical location to include the Pickwick, Miscle Shoals, Chattanooga, Wilson, Norris, Gunterville and Hiwassee Construction projects and the administrative complex and supportive service employees at Knoxville, Tennessee.

The adult education activities at each location were generally categorized by the central administration into units which included: job training; general adult education; recreation; and schools. Supervisory services from the central office were available to all units regardless of classification. For example, "libraries, though included in the recreation and general adult education unit, provide library services to all types of educational activities."¹⁰²

The administration, supervision and coordination leadership roles were defined by the central office as:

¹⁰²Maurice F. Seay, 'Administration, Supervision, and Coordination,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--a Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), p. 58.



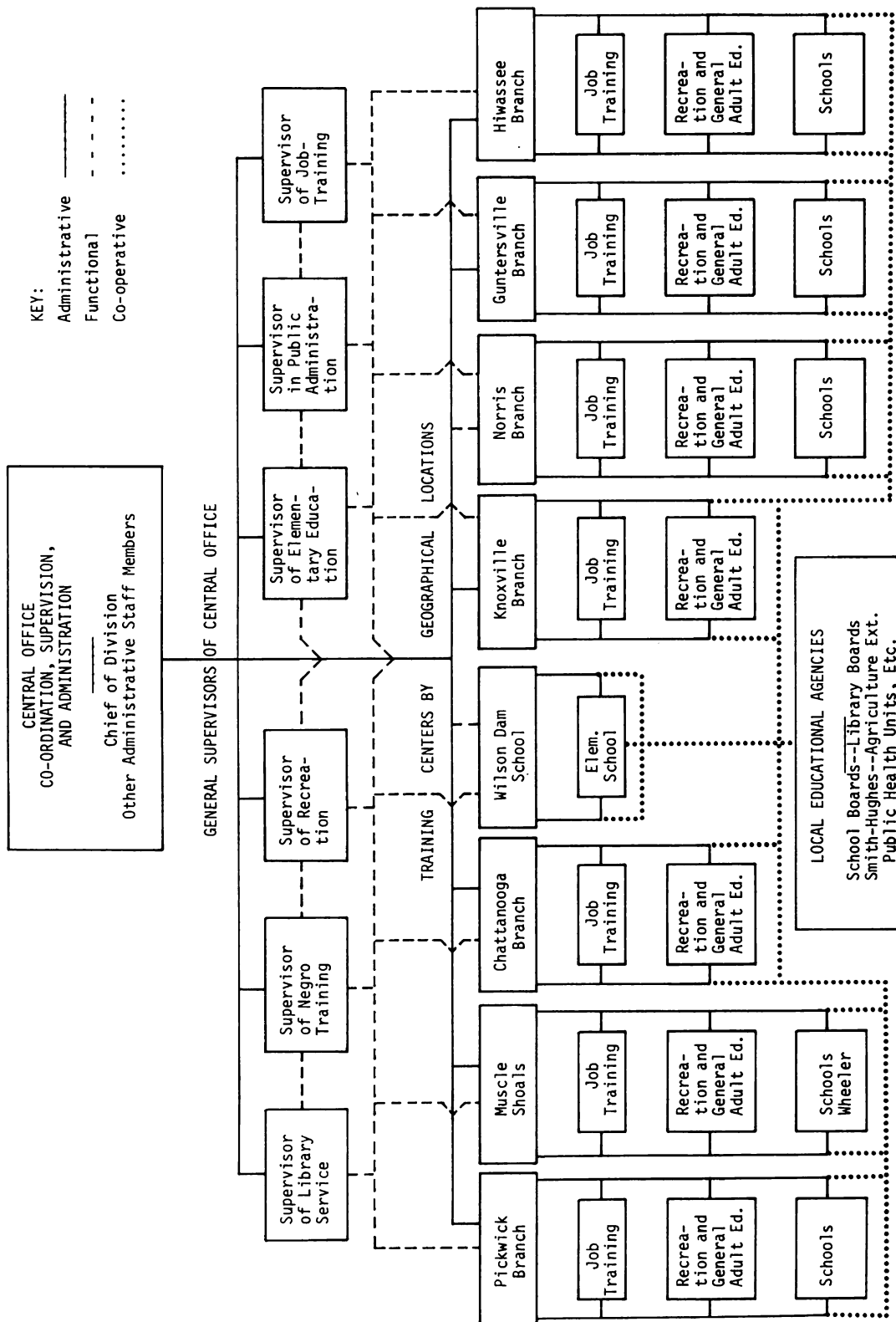


Figure 1. ORGANIZATION CHART - Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division.

Maurice F. Seay, "Administration, Supervision, and Co-ordination;" Maurice F. Seay, "Adult Education, A Part of A Total Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), p. 56.



Administration: decentralization of administrative authority. Responsibility to be assumed by designated personnel at each training center.

Supervision: primary function of the central office. It includes general coordination, integration, and evaluation of the activities of all branches.

Coordination: coordination is expected to accomplish (1) a desirable balance between standardization and flexibility which would utilize the experience gained in one center to aid a program at another location but not at the expense of adapting each program to fit the particular needs of the several areas; (2) the provision of capable leadership of several specialists to serve the entire program which would not otherwise be possible for each training center; (3) unified plans as to use of equipment and staff; (4) the timing of the "ending" and the "beginning" of training in the various centers so that staff members and equipment could be transferred to new locations when the program at one center was completed in such a way that maximum use might be made of the Authority's investment in staff and in equipment; (5) a central agency through which contacts could be made and maintained with other Divisions in the TVA and with the many educational agencies of the Valley.¹⁰³

The plan for administration and supervision of the adult education and training program of the Hiwassee Project has been selected as representative of organizational plans adopted at each construction village. The plan is graphically presented on page 184.

An examination of this chart identifies a chief administrative head and five general supervisors in the areas of job training, recreation, visual education, regional library services, and the principalship of a school. Each supervisor has direct responsibility for operating a program component. The job training supervisor is responsible for operating a program component which includes

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 57-58; Maurice F. Seay, "The Development of an Educational Program for Employees and Their Children," p. 38.

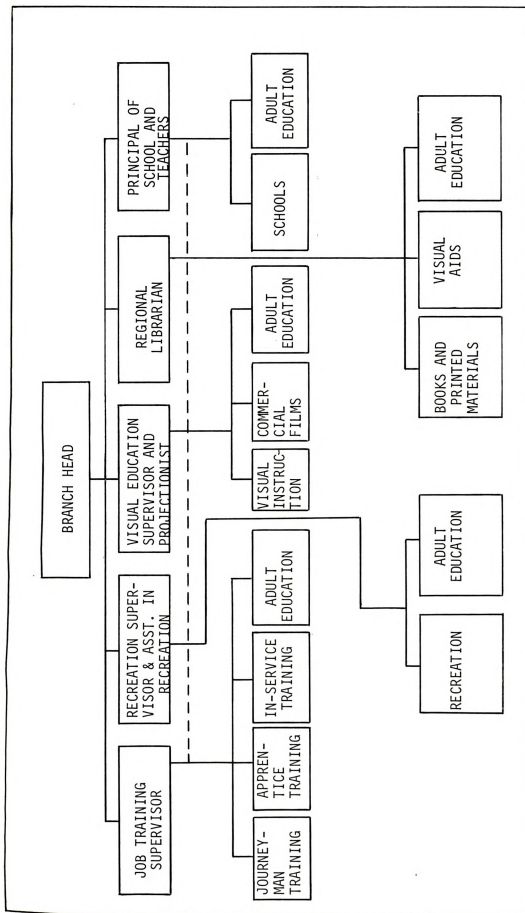


Figure 2. ORGANIZATION CHART - Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division, Hiwassee Project.

Tennessee Valley Authority Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project Fiscal Years 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940." Tennessee Valley Authority, Technical Library, Knoxville, Tenn., p. 18.



journeyman training, apprentice training, in-service training and education. The recreation supervisor is responsible for operating a program component which includes recreation and adult education. The visual education supervisor is responsible for operating a program component which includes visual instruction, commercial films, and adult education. The regional librarian is responsible for operating a program component which includes books and printed materials, visual aids and adult education. The school principal is responsible for operating the school in the village and a program of adult education.

A comparative examination of the organizational chart developed by the central administrative office and the organizational chart developed at the Hiwassee Project reveals an inconsistent overall organizational scheme. This is indicative of an experimental, exploring, evolving attitude which the central office maintained toward the leadership of local adult education and training programs.

This attitude also prevailed among the leadership of the various local administrative organizations. The "Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program--Muscle Shoals Area" report was prefaced with "it should be remembered that this outline is only tentative and unofficial and is to be improved by suggestions and criticisms."¹⁰⁴

The delivery of educational services was another dimension of flexibility available to the leadership of local programs. The

¹⁰⁴Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program--Muscle Shoals Area, 'Tentative Objectives,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," pp. 1-3.



option existed for educational services to be wholly developed through Authority resources or to be developed through agreements with existing state and local educational units. This latter option was utilized at the Gunterville Dam Village where agreements were formalized with three counties:

Marshall, Jackson and Madison whereby, these three counties will conduct, at the Authority's expense, a program presenting opportunities for job training, adult education¹⁰⁵

Educational leaders at the Chickamauga Dam Village reported that cooperative arrangements have been made with state and local organizations, for offering to all interested employees opportunities for job training, organized recreation, courses in adult education¹⁰⁶

Educational Program Components

Three major program components made up the adult education enterprise of the Authority: job training; general adult education; and recreation. Each component received supportive services provided by the Library Services and Visual Education and each operated at the construction villages, reservoir clearance projects and at the administrative and technical offices of the Authority.

Job Training

The program component Job Training which was established within the Training Section of the Tennessee Valley Authority

¹⁰⁵Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 104.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 109.



reflected a relationship of mutual respect, support, and cooperation between employer and employee. Arthur Morgan said of the employees:

We can make sure that these 17,000 employees have fair wages, good working conditions and reasonable hours, and living conditions and training which will make better citizens, better able to take care of themselves when the dams are completed.¹⁰⁷

This relationship reflected the Board of Directors' initial commitment to good labor conditions and facilitated the joint development of the TVA Employee Relationship Policy which:

... enables every workman, skilled or unskilled, to know both his rights and responsibilities; ... instructs every supervisor of labor that these rights of labor must be recognized, and also that loyalty and honest work are required ... defines for both employee and the supervisor rights and responsibilities that neither should evade¹⁰⁸

The Policy further provides that "joint conferences between the authorized representatives of the supervised employees and the supervisory and management staff be held periodically for the purpose of systematic employee-management cooperation."¹⁰⁹

Arthur Morgan, in projecting possible topics for consideration at future conferences, included the following areas of mutual concern:

... the elimination of waste in construction and production; conservation of materials, supplies and energy; improvement in quality of workmanship and services; promotion of education and training; the correction of conditions making for grievances and misunderstandings; encouragement of courtesy

¹⁰⁷ Arthur E. Morgan, "Building A Labor Policy," Survey Graphic, XXIV no. 11 (November, 1935), 529.

¹⁰⁸ Tennessee Valley Authority, "Employee Relations Policy," incorporated by Arthur Morgan, "Building A Labor Policy," p. 530.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 531.



in the relation of employes with the public; safe-guarding health; prevention of hazards to life and property; betterment of employment conditions; strengthening the morale of the force as a whole.¹¹⁰

The Training Division established four basic objectives of the job training program:

1. To insure an adequate supply of skilled workers.
2. To assist employees in increasing their efficiency on their present jobs.
3. To assist employees to become qualified for more responsible positions within the Authority.
4. To provide a broader vocational experience to enable employees to fit into the occupational opportunities of the region in which they live.¹¹¹

To facilitate the effectiveness of job training activities the employees of the Authority were classified as: the professional and technical staff; skilled workmen; semi-skilled workmen; and unskilled laborers. Programs of job training were designed by the Training Division for each recognized labor group.

The job training activities designed for the continuous development of the professional and technical staff were aimed at the establishment of a commitment of career service to the Authority.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹George F. Gant, 'Apprentice and Job Training for Craft Work,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--a Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 111; Tennessee Valley Authority Personnel Department Training Division, "Educational Opportunities for TVA Employees Located in Knoxville," Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, September, 1937, p. 1; Tennessee Valley Authority Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Construction,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 1.



A two-dimensional approach designed to include developmental work experiences and opportunities for additional formal training were identified as basic tenets of the program. To insure that "professional staff members look towards positions in the administrative set-up which are above the position he holds," the Authority included in its personnel practices a commitment to recruit its "professional staff at the lower level in order that vacancies at the higher levels may become available to staff members."¹¹² This practice of "promotion from within" provided a positive incentive for the continuous development of professional and technical employees.¹¹³

An orientation program consisting of twelve lectures delivered by members of the TVA Board and selected department heads was developed to acquaint newcomers to the professional and technical staff of the Authority with its organizational scheme, objectives, and various operations.¹¹⁴ Discussion groups organized to support the lecture series and a follow-up interview with the placement officer of the Personnel Department scheduled about six weeks after employment concluded the orientation process.¹¹⁵

¹¹²George F. Gant, 'Apprentice and Job Training for Craft Workers,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), p. 92.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 93.

¹¹⁵Ibid.



Professional courses on the college and graduate level were made available to those members of this employee group who wish to "extend their professional knowledge or to prepare themselves for possible promotion."¹¹⁶ The University of Tennessee, in cooperation with the Authority, established course offerings which reflected the content needs of the employees as recognized through meetings of employees and instructors.¹¹⁷

During the 1936-37 academic year, 316 employees of the Authority participated in the following university credit courses:

- Concrete Design
- Water Power Engineering
- Psychology
- Business Law
- Statistics
- English
- Mathematics
- Principles and Problems of Public Administration
- Transmission Line Theory
- Mechanics
- Accounting
- German
- French
- Spanish
- Regional Planning¹¹⁸

During the 1937-38 academic year, participation increased in the following courses:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 95.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Tennessee Valley Authority, "Educational Opportunities for TVA Employees Located in Knoxville," p. 2.

¹¹⁹George F. Gant, "Training Opportunities for the Professional Staff," p. 97.

<u>Engineering Courses</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
Civil Engineering	41
Hydraulic Design	41
Mathematical Analysis	6
Mechanics	15
Sanitary Engineering	11
Transmission Line Theory	11
Wave Motion	<u>18</u>
SUBTOTAL	143
 <u>Other Courses</u>	
Accounting	10
Administration of Government Enterprises	14
German	4
Basic Course in Personnel Administration	65
Principles & Problems of Public Administration	<u>13</u>
TOTAL	274

Informal employee discussion groups were also organized as another approach to continuous staff development. Discussion topics, unique to each group of employees, reflected "materials and problems encountered on the job."¹²⁰ For example, "a design seminar group, which was an outgrowth of a graduate course in mechanics, used design problems encountered in work of the Authority."¹²¹

A training program in public administration was established to: (1) prepare employees for future supervision and administrative positions and (2) work with supervisors to "make them better personnel men and to assist them in performing the personnel functions inherent in a supervisor's responsibilities."¹²²

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid., p. 99; Gordon R. Clapp, "Supervisory Training in the Tennessee Valley Authority," Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Pamphlet no. 3, May, 1936, p. 14.

The program accomplished its objectives through ... technical courses for employees in the management departments, such as personnel administration, office management, and public finance; informal discussion groups, and individual contacts, assistantships in the Personnel Department, internships in Public Administration, and special lectures on organization and relationships within the Authority.¹²³

The Supervisory Training Program is of major significance in that it maintained a "sense of administrative consciousness" within the operation of the Authority:

It creates interest in an enterprise as a whole; it causes discussion; it adds to the understanding by the staff of administrative techniques, and secures a more intelligent appraisal of and a more willing cooperation with administrative procedures. Men cooperate far more willingly when they appreciate the importance of the work they are asked to perform.¹²⁴

The Training Section provided additional services to the program:

- a. Maintenance of home-study catalogs of universities and colleges as well as of commercial correspondence schools.
- b. Agreements with certain schools which offer substantial discounts to employees enrolling through the Division.
- c. Relationships with correspondence schools through which the actual course material can be procured for inspectional purposes by employees and designated specialists in the Authority before enrollment.
- d. Filing of records of work taken by correspondence upon request of the individual employee.
- e. Offer full-time and part-time work schedules to support programs of study.

¹²³George F. Gant, "Training Opportunities for the Professional Staff," p. 101; Gordon R. Clapp, "Supervisory Training in the Tennessee Valley Authority," pp. 14-15.

¹²⁴George F. Gant, "Training Opportunities for the Professional Staff," p. 99.



- f. Provide relevant counseling services to employees.
- g. Maintenance of a library of the catalogs of leading colleges and universities of the country and other materials for employee use.¹²⁵

These services were provided in an effort to insure continued effectiveness of the operation and to provide a system of continuous support and service to the individual professional and technical employee.

The job training activities designed for the continuous development of skilled workmen (carpenters, electricians, iron workers, lathers, plumbers, structural iron workers, etc.) sought to provide opportunities to "study various phases of their trade" for increased competencies and to master additional skills.¹²⁶ Typically, supervisors on the job encountered "carpenters who cannot read blueprints or who do not have a good knowledge of arithmetic, or operators who know only one type of engine or motor."¹²⁷

To overcome these limitations the Authority established comprehensive courses for each trade. Each trade course offered classes to employees currently working in that particular trade as well as employees of other trades seeking additional skills.

Classes designed to alleviate actual problems which occurred on the job were offered whenever "a sufficient number of employees

¹²⁵George F. Gant, "Apprentice and Job Training for Craft Workers," pp. 106-107.

¹²⁶TVA Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Construction,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 1.

¹²⁷Ibid.

or an organization of employees requested instruction."¹²⁸ These classes were scheduled in accordance with existing work schedules and employees frequently drafted the instructor "from among their fellow-workers--workers judged to be capable teachers in the skill in question."¹²⁹

Classes in the essentials of alternating current motors, hydro-plant operations, architectural drawing, mechanical drawing, blacksmithing, architectural blue-print reading, were commonly provided and reflected the broad content dimensions of the operation.¹³⁰

The job training activities, designed for the development of semi-skilled workmen (individuals of ability striving to become skilled workers) initially consisted of actual work experience and training towards mastery of performance standards in a particular trade.¹³¹ These job training activities were incorporated into a formal craft apprenticeship program in 1936 when a local union representative of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

¹²⁸George F. Gant, "Training Opportunities for the Professional Staff," p. 122.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," The Role of the Library in Adult Education (Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 22.

¹³¹TVA Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Construction,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 1.

on the employee training committee at Pickwick Dam initiated the action.¹³² A joint labor-management committee of the Authority responded favorably to the proposal and on July 1, 1936, a carpenter apprenticeship program having 24 apprentices was launched.¹³³

Apprentice training immediately spread to other TVA projects and extended to other crafts constituting the basis for job training of the semi-skilled worker. Mr. George Gant, Chief, Training Division, Personnel Department, TVA, said of this development:

... the significant element in the development of apprenticeship training within the Authority is that the employee organization not only proposed it but that they participated actively in its planning, in getting it started, and in conducting the program.¹³⁴

An employee selected for participation in an apprenticeship program became an hourly employee in the trade, progressing through a probationary period and three distinct periods or levels of development. The employee's competency was assessed at the conclusion of each level by examination. Classes and outside study were required, in addition to work experiences carried out under the supervision of a member of the craft.¹³⁵ Table 1 shows

¹³²Tennessee Valley Authority, Division of Personnel, Employee Relations Branch, "The TVA Apprenticeship Program--July 1936 to July 1968," Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee, July, 1968, p. 2.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴George F. Gant, "Apprentice and Job Training for Craft Workers," p. 118.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 119-120.



Table 1. Number of apprentices at the training branches, April 1, 1938.

Craft	Total	Pickwick	Guntersville	Chickamauga	Hiwassee	Wilson Dam	Department of Operations	Norris Property Division	C & M Division*
Electrician	79	20	18	13	8	6	12	2	
Plumber and Steamfitter	34	5	12	9	6	2			
Structural Iron	33	8	12	7	4	2			
Carpenter	43	10	6	14	9	1		1	2
Machinist	15		10			5			
Brickmason	1					1			
Construction Lineman	25						24	1	
Maintenance Lineman	6						6		
Painter	1							1	
TOTALS	237	43	58	43	27	17	42	5	2

*The Construction and Maintenance Division will use apprentices from other construction programs since their work offers additional training opportunities.



the number of apprentices involved in TVA projects on April 1, 1938.¹³⁶

In addition to those classes designed in accordance with apprenticeship training requirements, training was available to the semi-skilled employees who were involved in the following crafts and operations:

- Blacksmith
- Boilermaker
- Brickmason
- Carpenter
- Cement Finisher
- Core Driller
- Drill Sharpener
- Electrician
- Machinist-Mechanic
- Marine Engineer Pilot
- Operating Engineer
- Painter
- Pipefitter-Plumber
- Plasterer
- Powderman
- Pump Operator
- Rigger-Steelworker
- Sheet Metal Worker
- Timberman
- Wagon Drill Operator
- Welder¹³⁷

Classes were offered in response to individual needs and a personal desire to broaden one's vocational competencies.

The job training activities designed for the development of the unskilled laborer strived to help him identify an area of "work for which he seemed best fitted and encouraged (him) to study along that line" and to strengthen previously acquired labor

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 120.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 114.



skills.¹³⁸ The unskilled laborer, once he identified an area of interest, was encouraged to make application for an apprentice-type program in that field. Classes were initiated in the areas of general home improvement and farm and home mechanics to strengthen essential, every-day skills.

The degree of participation in job training activities at the several dam construction locations reflected the number of employees working at each location. The size of the work crew at each dam was determined by the stage of development of the project.

Table 2 indicates the number of meetings and the attendance for job training activities at the Chickamauga, Guntersville, and Pickwick Dams during a twelve-month period.¹³⁹

Table 2. Summary of job training participation, at selected locations, for the period July 1, 1936 - June 30, 1937.

Item	Total	Chickamauga	Guntersville	Pickwick
Number of Meetings	3,777	911	904	1,962
Total Attendance	31,827	10,274	7,955	13,598

¹³⁸TVA Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Construction Training,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 2.

¹³⁹Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1937, pp. 74-85.



Table 3 indicates the number of activities, the number of meetings, attendance, and actual enrollment in job training activities at the Chickamauga, Guntersville, Wilson, and Pickwick Dams in one month.¹⁴⁰

Table 3. Summary of job training participation, at selected locations, for the month of February, 1938.

Item	Total	Chickamauga	Guntersville	Wilson	Pickwick
Number of Activities	99	22	9	42	26
Number of Meetings	791	87	59	389	256
Total Attendance	5,708	1,380	339	2,556	1,433
Total Actual Enrollment	1,428	388	90	556	394

Table 4 indicates the number of activities, the number of meetings, attendance and actual enrollment in job training activities at the same locations as identified in Table 3, but for an extended period of time.¹⁴¹

General Adult Education

The program component, general adult education, has been defined within the Training Division of the TVA to include "training

¹⁴⁰George F. Gant, "Apprentice and Job Training for Craft Workers," p. 115.

¹⁴¹J. Max Bond, "The Training Program of the Tennessee Valley Authority for Negroes," pp. 384-387.



Table 4. Summary of job training participation, at selected locations, for the period November 1937 - March 1938.

Item	Total	Chickamauga	Guntersville	Wilson	Pickwick
Number of Activities	478	123	58	157	140
Number of Meetings	3,161	636	401	932	1,192
Total Attendance	25,497	7,390	1,581	8,040	8,486
Total Actual Enrollment	7,009	2,479	479	1,922	2,129

not directly related to the job" and non-vocational study by individuals or small groups "without immediate traceable financial gains."¹⁴² On the adult level, "it shares many of the same objectives, methods and problems that are experienced on the collegiate and secondary levels of our American educational system."¹⁴³ It does not include recreation as generally defined, to constitute "games, dancing, and sports."¹⁴⁴

Mr. R. O. Niehoff, Supervisor of Training for the Knoxville Area Training Division, identified the following characteristics of the TVA program of general adult education:

1. The program grows out of the interests of those who participate. General adult education must be responsive to the desires and expressed needs of employees; they alone can determine the subjects to explore. Needs and interests are

¹⁴²R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 175.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.



too varied and too indeterminate for supervisors alone to anticipate. The program of job training in some instances, however, may be determined by a supervisor who analyzes the job requirements into the skills and knowledge which are necessary for its performance and creates training to develop these skills.

2. Attendance is voluntary. Since general adult education cannot be translated immediately into increased efficiency or production, attendance cannot be made compulsory, even were such a regulation followed for job training. Motivation comes from the participants.

3. Educational paraphernalia, such as grades, attendance records, reports, are avoided. The activities are considered adult, and any similarity to traditional school work is minimized. To do otherwise would be to alienate the persons who might participate. Informality is essential. The programs, however, must contribute to the participants or the project fails for want of attendance.

4. Active participation is encouraged and stimulated but not required in most instances. Members of the groups are encouraged to take an active part in the study and discussions and in the direction of the activities. Even the passive participant, however, may find his interest increased and his desire to contribute stimulated if he is not harassed by requirements. Exceptions are made in some groups which are definitely organized on the basis of every member contributing one of the programs in a series.¹⁴⁵

The general adult education program component within the adult education enterprise of the Authority was designed to:

1. Satisfy needs and desires for improvement or broadening of knowledge or skills not directly related to present jobs.
2. Provide opportunities to understand more systematically the changing economic and social trends.
3. Assist individuals and organized groups in understanding their social and economic responsibilities.
4. Provide opportunities to become familiar with the tools of learning, such as library materials and educational films, and to stimulate the use of such tools.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 175-176.



5. Stimulate and develop desire for further study.
6. Provide opportunities for self-expression in chosen fields of interest.
7. Develop powers of observation and critical judgment of one's own activities in relation to the well-being of society.
8. Aid in developing powers of correlating new knowledge with past experiences.
9. Stimulate in other ways more thoughtful use of leisure.
10. Quicken an interest in the social implications and outreach of the TVA program.¹⁴⁶

To realize the aims and objectives of the general adult education component, the following methodology was adopted as the foundation for the operation of the educational program:

1. The informal discussion method is to be preferred as the basic technique for stimulating individual and group participation.
2. As far as possible informal discussion groups are organized wherever an expression of interest warrants.
3. The public Forum-meeting is to be used as a supplement to the discussion group procedure.
4. Community study groups are to be encouraged as the means of furthering the active cooperation of the people in the district in working out a program of social and economic planning for the Area.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶Ibid. TVA Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'General Education,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 1.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 1-2.



The Construction Villages

The community itself "constitutes the most important laboratory of the school."¹⁴⁸ The daily operation of village life, aimed at the general well-being of the total community, necessitated the continuous interaction of the residents toward this end.

The community building usually housed the general adult education activities in each construction camp. The following facilities were common in each:

1. The library (a room of 17' x 26') was fitted with a librarian's desk, tables, chairs, book shelves and a magazine rack. The average book stock amounted to about 2000 volumes and approximately 50 current magazines were made available.
2. The lounge or social room (39' x 62') was furnished with easy chairs, settees, ping pong tables, and with necessary drapes, rugs, and other fixtures in order that a more home-like atmosphere might prevail.
3. The gymnasium-auditorium (42' x 67') was equipped with a stage for use as a theatre, as well as for basketball and other indoor games and amusements. Commercial moving pictures were regularly held in this space and for this service a well-equipped projection booth was provided.
4. The classrooms were equipped with tables and chairs instead of desks, bulletin boards, wall racks, and motion picture screens.¹⁴⁹

A variety of general adult education activities were available to the employees, members of employee families and local

¹⁴⁸Floyd W. Reeves, "Adult Education as Related to the Tennessee Valley Authority," p. 7.

¹⁴⁹Maurice F. Seay, "People Centered Schools," p. 3. TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 5.



residents indigenous to the construction villages. These activities included:

Forums of labor, health, current events ... classes in everyday ethics, practical English, journalism and other subjects (desired by the residents) ... workshops for hobby work ... lecture series on a variety of subjects ... concerts of recorded music educational films and book review evenings.¹⁵⁰

Homemaking, providing demonstrations, classes, study groups in employee homes, in cooking, home decoration, and child care.¹⁵¹

In 1936 the supervisors of the general adult education activities of the villages reported the following activities within the program:

- Bookkeeping
- Business Arithmetic
- Business English
- Business and Engineering Law
- Business Law
- Camera Club
- Civil Service
- Cooperative Study Group
- Cracker Barrel Club
- Current Affairs
- Current Affairs Forum
- Elementary Economics
- Everyday English
- Editorial Club
- Effective Speaking
- Everyday Ethics
- Furniture Making
- Guard and Guide Course
- Health Education
- Homemaking
- Industrial Organization and Management
- Journalism Club
- Junior and Senior Discussion Groups

¹⁵⁰R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 185.

¹⁵¹John Chandler, The Library in the TVA Adult Education Program, (Chicago, Ill.: American Library Association, 1937), pp. 27-28.



Labor College:

History of American Labor Movement
 Effective Speaking
 The Social Conflict in Contemporary Literature
 Labor Problems
 How to Plan, Conduct and Participate in Meetings
 Labor Economics

Labor Forums

Labor Study for Foremen
 Landscape Gardening
 Library Management
 Literary Club
 Live at Home Program
 Lyceum Program
 Modern Economic Problems
 Music Appreciation
 Music Reading
 Negro Welfare Club
 Parent Education and Child Welfare Group
 Period Furniture
 Photography
 Poster Design
 Practical English
 Poultry Club
 Public Ownership
 Psychology, Applied
 Science Club
 Show Card Writing
 Social Implications of TVA (Discussion Group)
 Society and Photogrammetry
 Soil Improvement
 Terrace Engineering
 TVA Lecture Series
 Three R's
 Use of Books and Library
 Women's Discussion Groups
 Workers' Education¹⁵²

The leaders (instructors) for the various activities were members of the training division staff, employees of other service agencies operating in the community, and volunteers from among the village residents.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," p. 22.



Reservoir Clearance Projects

Community meetings were planned to provide general adult education activities at the various construction sites throughout the region. Within the broad context of objectives and goals of the adult education enterprise, "improved income and a better living from the land" were prime objectives of the educational activities at the construction sites.¹⁵⁴ Activities were also designed to improve "general diet and health practices" and "home and community beautification."¹⁵⁵

The Authority utilized and strengthened existing community service agencies such as farm and home demonstration agents, school staffs, county doctors and nurses, WPA library and adult education workers.¹⁵⁶

The general format of the community meetings was as follows:

Recreational activity--people came to the meetings for entertainment, for laughter ... ice-breaker stunts such as a community laugh, group games, and local talent fostered a growing community spirit.

Community sing--the audience would participate in singing hymns, patriotic songs or folk favorites.

Educational activities--in some meetings all of the participants remained together to listen to a short talk by the county agent, home demonstration agent, county health nurse or some other well-known person in the community.

¹⁵⁴R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 179.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 180.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.



When room was available, the group was usually divided into three sections, with the women hearing discussions of home management, the children engaging in some recreational activity and the men listening and participating in a discussion of agriculture or forestry ... library services were introduced at every community meeting.... An educational or recreational film was presented prior to the conclusion of each meeting.¹⁵⁷

Participation in the activities of the general adult education component at the construction villages and reservoir clearance communities has been reported in several Annual Reports of the Tennessee Valley Authority:

Pickwick Landing Dam--1,792 meetings for visual and general adult education, with a total attendance of 33,130.¹⁵⁸

Pickwick Landing Dam--1,240 meetings for visual and general adult education with a total attendance of 32,697.¹⁵⁹

Chickamauga Dam--534 meetings for visual and adult education with a total attendance of 14,470.¹⁶⁰

Guntersville Dam--213 general adult-education and visual education meetings were held with a total attendance of 11,340.¹⁶¹

Mary U. Rothrock, librarian for the TVA, reported that in 1936 total attendance at general adult education activities was

¹⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 182-183.

¹⁵⁸Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 99.

¹⁵⁹Tennessee Valley Authority, Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1937, p. 74.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 81.



105,618 and that "in a typical month there were 51 enrolled groups with a total attendance for the month of 9,407."¹⁶²

Administrative-Technical Center

General adult education activities were available to the administrative and technical staff employed at Knoxville, Tennessee, and at branch offices in Chattanooga and Muscle Shoals. The content was of a "more technical and abstract nature" and the "process of discussion and inquiry" assumed a significant role in the activities. Several vehicles for educational development emerged:

Credit University Classes--Cooperative arrangements between the TVA and the University of Chattanooga were achieved. Extension courses were offered in psychology, international relations, and English; a professor of economics chaired a seminar in regional planning.¹⁶³

Non-Credit Classes--Classes in a variety of subjects were available to the employees in the area of their expressed interests. During the 1936-37 academic year, approximately 1000 employees participated in the following activities:

- Public Speaking Club
- Foreign Film Series
- Conversational French
- Office Management
- Civil Service Forums
- Shakespeare Club
- Understanding the South
- Music Listening Group
- Psychology Club
- Elementary Accounting
- Slide Rule
- Orientation Lecture Series

¹⁶²Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," p. 23.

¹⁶³R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 187.



Lecture Series on the Cooperative Movement
 Philosophy Club
 Camera Club¹⁶⁴

Self-directed Study Groups--Groups of employees emerged to pursue topics of general interest. For example, one study group of twenty-five to thirty employees met weekly and discussed a single issue each evening. The following topics constituted their study and discussion:

The New Deal Challenge:

- Government Corporation as a Vehicle for Social Development
- Taxation and the New State
- Section 7a and the Labor Policy
- Security Legislation
- AAA and the Farm Program
- The Tariff and International Trade

United States Present Social Trends:

- The Share-the-Wealth Movement in America
- Insurgent America; or the Third Party Movement
- The Fascist Trends in America; or It Can't Happen Here
- The Social Credit System

European Social Trends:

- Fascism in Italy
- National Socialism in Germany
- Collectivism in England and Scandinavia
- Russian Communism and Marxism
- Socialism--Abroad and Here

Planning for the Abundant Life:

- The Technocrats' Answer
- Analyzing America's Capacity to Produce and Consume Capital, Income, and Economic Progress under the Profit System
- The Constitutional Hurdles--Can We Jump Them?
- War and Peace--Planning for Disarmament
- Democracy's Answer¹⁶⁵

Public Speaking Groups--Public Speaking Groups were organized under steering committees typically operated in the following manner:

1. The meetings were to be held in homes with a luncheon provided by the host and paid for by the group.

¹⁶⁴Tennessee Valley Authority Personnel Department Training Division, "Educational Opportunities for TVA Employees Located in Knoxville," p. 2.

¹⁶⁵R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 189.



2. Every member of the group was to be a participating member, either as speaker, introducer, book reviewer, discussion leader, or host.

3. No attempt was made to find an "expert" leader. The group did not want a public speaking class as such. The members preferred rather to give speeches, make introductions, act as chairman, and to get criticism from the group on their participation. The members of the group were to consider themselves as a "normal" audience which would frankly indicate their criticisms on each other's participation. All agreed that the criticisms would have to be freely given to carry out the objective of the group.

4. Expert "advice" on public speaking technique would be presented in the form of book reviews of public speaking texts.

5. All members were to be responsible for the guidance of the activities. This was partially accomplished by a steering committee consisting of four members. Membership was rotated so as to include during the year all members of the group.¹⁶⁶

Adult Education Council--an adult education council was organized in Knoxville to include representative membership of the TVA and community agencies. One of the "fundamental convictions of the Council, which was organized in 1936, is that it should effect coordination of activities among the existing agencies." The group promoted public discussions of current issues.¹⁶⁷

In 1937-1938 the series included:

What Kind of Community Have We and Where Are We Going?
(University of Tennessee)

Our Municipal Money's Worth
(Knoxville Council, Parent Teachers Association)

Modern Trends in Family Life
(American Association of University Women)

The Interrelationship of Urban and Rural Life
(County Agricultural Agent, County Home Demonstration Agent)

What is Ahead for Youth in Our Community?
(Knoxville Board of Education, City Night School, and Young Women's Christian Association)

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 191.



Is Our Community Democratic?

(United Federal Workers of America)

Are We Balancing Our Human Budget?

(East Tennessee League of Women Voters)

What is Civilization Doing to Us?

(Knoxville--Knox County Adult Education Council)¹⁶⁸

Knoxville High School Evening Program--this program offered a variety of classes which were available to the residents of Knoxville, including the TVA staff. The program afforded classes in English, elementary mathematics, Spanish, French, social science, typing, various business subjects, home economics, and music.¹⁶⁹

Stair Vocational School--the Stair Vocational School offered several courses in practical skills of special interest to certain TVA employees. Courses included Welding, Machine Shop, Machine Woodwork and Cabinet-making and Sketching for architects and designers.¹⁷⁰

The following report was made concerning participation in the general adult education activities available to the administrative and technical staff:

From July 1, 1935 to June 30, 1936, a total of 3,427 meetings in general adult education were held. These meetings had an aggregate attendance of 105,618 persons. For the corresponding period from July 1, 1936 to June 30, 1937, 5,333 meetings were held with an aggregate attendance of 93,251.¹⁷¹

Recreation

"The efficiency of a man's work is affected by the way he spends his off-duty time and the kind of recreation he desires is

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁶⁹Tennessee Valley Authority Personnel Department Training Division, "Educational Opportunities for TVA Employees Located in Knoxville," pp. 3-4.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁷¹R. O. Niehoff, "General Adult Education," p. 192.



often determined by the nature of his occupation."¹⁷² "The most important requisite of both good work and good recreation is the same: the spirit of creative activity."¹⁷³

The recreation component was defined by the Training Division of the TVA to include the following eight forms of activity:

1. physical--games and sports
2. rhythmic--music and dancing
3. linguistic--story-telling and discussion groups
4. social--get-together activities
5. creative--handicrafts and art
6. dramatic--plays and skits
7. natural environment--nature study and hobbies
8. civic--community service.¹⁷⁴

The recreation component of the adult education enterprise was designed to

provide an opportunity for participants to find out and develop the best and most satisfying use of leisure time.¹⁷⁵

develop character, enrichment of personality, health of body and mind, social happiness and vocational efficiency.¹⁷⁶

provide for the intellectual, recreational and social needs of employees, their families (and local residents) as they themselves express those needs and interests.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷²Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 159.

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Tennessee Valley Authority, Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, 'Recreation Program,' "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 1.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 150.

¹⁷⁷TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 34.

train volunteer leaders in recreational activities and to develop an understanding and an appreciation of what constitutes a wholesome community recreational program.¹⁷⁸

and to help maintain a level of morale essential to the successful daily operation of life in the construction villages and at the construction sites.¹⁷⁹

The recreation service identified four guiding principles as being essential to the achievement of the broad goals of this educational component:

1. The first of these principles is the conception that participation is more valuable than passive amusement. While it is realized that there is a place for the appreciative type of activity in music, drama, art, etc., the emphasis is placed upon the doing of things by the people themselves. This conception implies that the main appeal in good recreation is the satisfaction which comes from skillful activity. There are few more powerful motives than the desire to develop skill and to achieve excellence in sports or in other recreational activities. Consequently, the satisfactions which come from excellent accomplishment are in a large measure the basis of all good recreation.

2. A second principle is that the development of leadership is of primary importance. The approach of the recreation service, which places much responsibility upon volunteer leaders in the promotion of activities, is conducive to this end. This kind of experience is followed by leadership institutes which aim not only to improve the abilities of leaders in carrying on activities, but also to give them a better understanding of the philosophy of the modern leisure movement. A frequent outcome of these institutes is the organization of a leaders' group for the purpose of arousing community interest in planning for recreation.

3. Education for leisure is not less important than education for labor. Education for leisure comes not by formal instruction but rather by building an atmosphere of wholesome good

¹⁷⁸Maurice F. Seay, "The Development of an Educational Program for Employees and Their Children."

¹⁷⁹Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 149.



times and by furnishing facilities and leadership to encourage people to participate in pleasurable and constructive activities.

4. In the fourth place, recreation activities must provide a program inclusive enough to meet many interests. Too often recreation is thought of only in terms of pool halls and motion picture shows. Some communities provide for specialized sports for individuals and a few teams and still others will encourage sports on a community-wide basis. But after all, sports are only a part of any program that endeavors to serve all the people. The intellectual and cultural interests have a wide appeal and their benefits to the individual, from the point of view of recreation, are as direct as the physical sports. In the planning of a broad recreational program, facilities and activities should make a contribution to a permanent community program. An inclusive program will include playgrounds and community program. An inclusive program will include playgrounds and community centers, but it will also emphasize the opportunities of leisure so that within the home, the school, the church, and throughout all natural human relations, there shall be an appreciation of wholesome fun and sociability.¹⁸⁰

The Construction Villages

Recreational activities were provided at the construction villages for employees, members of employee families, and local residents indigenous to the villages.

The facilities and equipment of the recreation program at the Hiwassee Village are representative of the extent to which this program was developed at the several construction villages:

Community building--lounge--serves as a general sitting room where employees gather to talk, listen to the radio, and participate in table game activities such as checkers, chess, cards, and dominoes. The furnishings are comfortable.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 157-158.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 151.



Community building--auditorium--was equipped with a large stage for dramatics. The Auditorium, in addition to being used for commercial motion pictures, was equipped for basketball, volley ball; handball, and boxing practice. A victrola turntable with loud speaker was made available for informal dancing and for skating.¹⁸²

The residents of the Hiwassee Village participated in the following recreational activities:

- Badminton
- Bowling
- Boxing
- Basketball
- Clock Golf
- Croquet
- Darts
- Handball
- Horseshoe Pitching
- Shuffleboard
- Paddle Tennis
- Roller Skating
- Tennis
- Softball
- Ping Pong
- Gym Classes
- Children's Summer Playground
- Amateur Nights
- Dominoes
- Cards
- Radio
- Dancing
- Checkers
- Chess
- Story Hours
- Parties
- Hiking
- Photography Club
- Aviation Ground Course
- Target Practice
- Weaving
- Garden Club
- Book Study Group
- Folk Dancing
- Plays
- Dance Classes¹⁸³

¹⁸²TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 36.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 38.



Additional recreational activities included volleyball, wrestling, physical education classes and paddleball.¹⁸⁴

Leagues and tournaments in both team and individual sports were organized to promote participation in these activities, since a "major interest of a large portion of the employees was in competitive games."¹⁸⁵ The competitive framework operated within each village and did not extend to inter-village competition.¹⁸⁶

Craft shop activities were available for men and women at each village.

A variety of woodwork products ... boats, cedar chests, bedsteads, magazine racks and dressers. Painting, weaving, pottery making Practically every center has staged at least one community hobby show in which were exhibited home-made craft pieces and a wide range of unique and interesting collections.¹⁸⁷

A variety of music and drama activities were available at each construction village reflecting the interests and talents of the residents.

Orchestras, choral clubs, community singing, amateur musicals, quartets, music appreciation groups ... are some of the more common musical activities.¹⁸⁸

The planning and execution of recreation activities at each construction village was carried on by "an Employees' Recreation

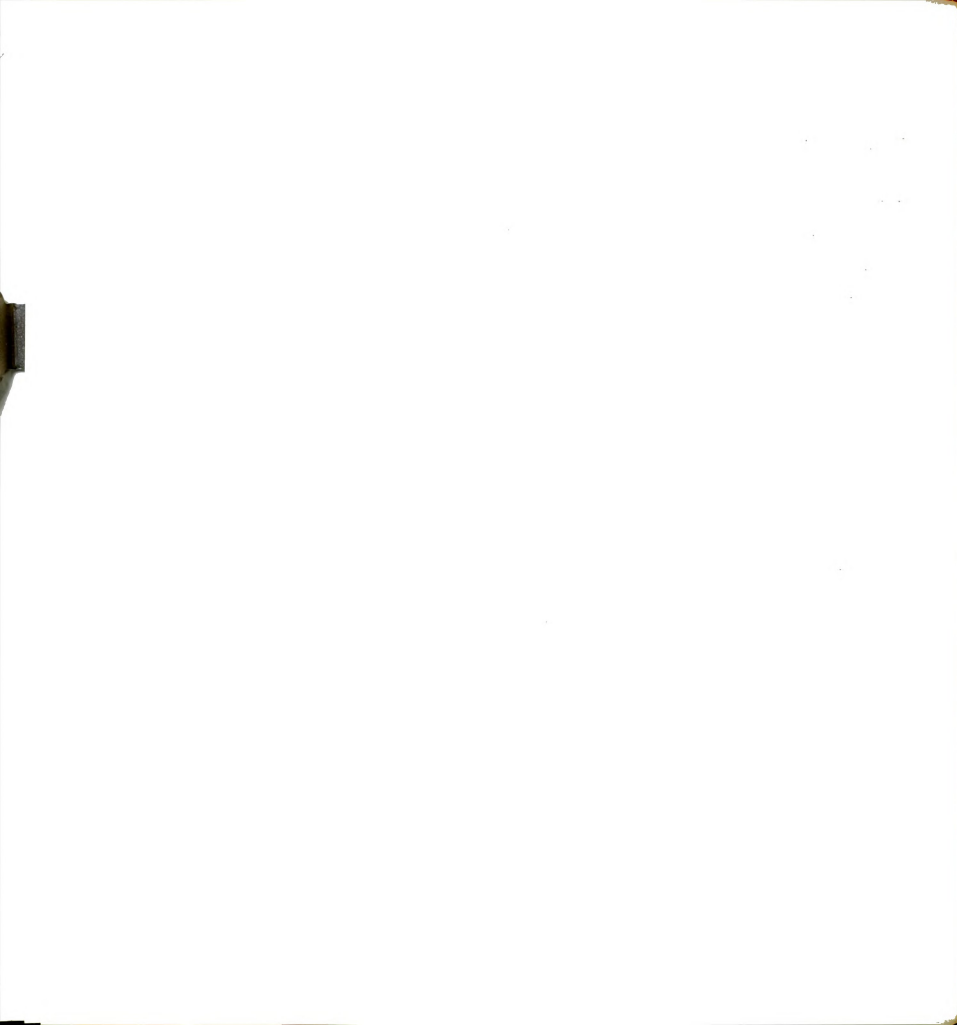
¹⁸⁴Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 151.

¹⁸⁵TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 37.

¹⁸⁶Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 152.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 152-153.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 152.



Association which is open to all employees and their families."¹⁸⁹

Each association operated with

... a board of directors ... elected by the various groups represented at the camp. This board appoints permanent committees to direct the activities which the association desires to sponsor. One of the most important duties of the board is to determine just what projects will be undertaken and what funds of the association will be expended on each. These decisions are arrived at after sending out formal questionnaires or making an informal canvass of the membership. The expressed desires of the employees themselves are the main factor in the management and control of the program.¹⁹⁰

Recreational Leadership Training Institutes were organized by the Authority to assist individuals in acquiring skills essential to the initiation and maintenance of community recreation programs.¹⁹¹

Participation in the recreational activities of the several construction villages was extensive. Supportive statistical data available for the Hiwassee Village indicates that:

At the height of the softball program as many as sixteen games a week were played, with 175 players participating and an average of 200 spectators in attendance.

At one time, twenty-two teams were engaged in a bowling league tournament.

Participation in organized recreational activities at the Hiwassee village in 1937 was 11,653 and in 1938, 81,013. The number of actual activity hours for the two-year period totaled 138,000.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁹¹Tennessee Valley Authority, Training Program, Muscle Shoals Area, "A Tentative and Unofficial Statement of Work, Aims, and Objectives," p. 3.



Participation in unorganized recreational activities at the Hiwassee Village in 1937 was 1,859 and in 1938, 85,134.¹⁹²

Reservoir Clearance Projects

The activities of the recreation component of the adult education enterprise as it operated in communities adjacent to reservoir clearance projects reflected a basic commitment to provide an opportunity for "scattered families to meet for wholesome good times."¹⁹³ In providing an atmosphere of pleasant association with neighbors and friends, the Authority strived to build a "community spirit which renders the group effective for many kinds of cooperative effort."¹⁹⁴

Recreational activities shared an evening format with general adult education activities and usually consisted of folk games, square dances, and entertaining films.¹⁹⁵

Local residents were encouraged to participate in the planning of the activities and many teachers, church leaders, and residents attended the Recreational Leadership Institutes provided to develop local leadership committed to maintaining programs of recreation in their local communities.¹⁹⁶

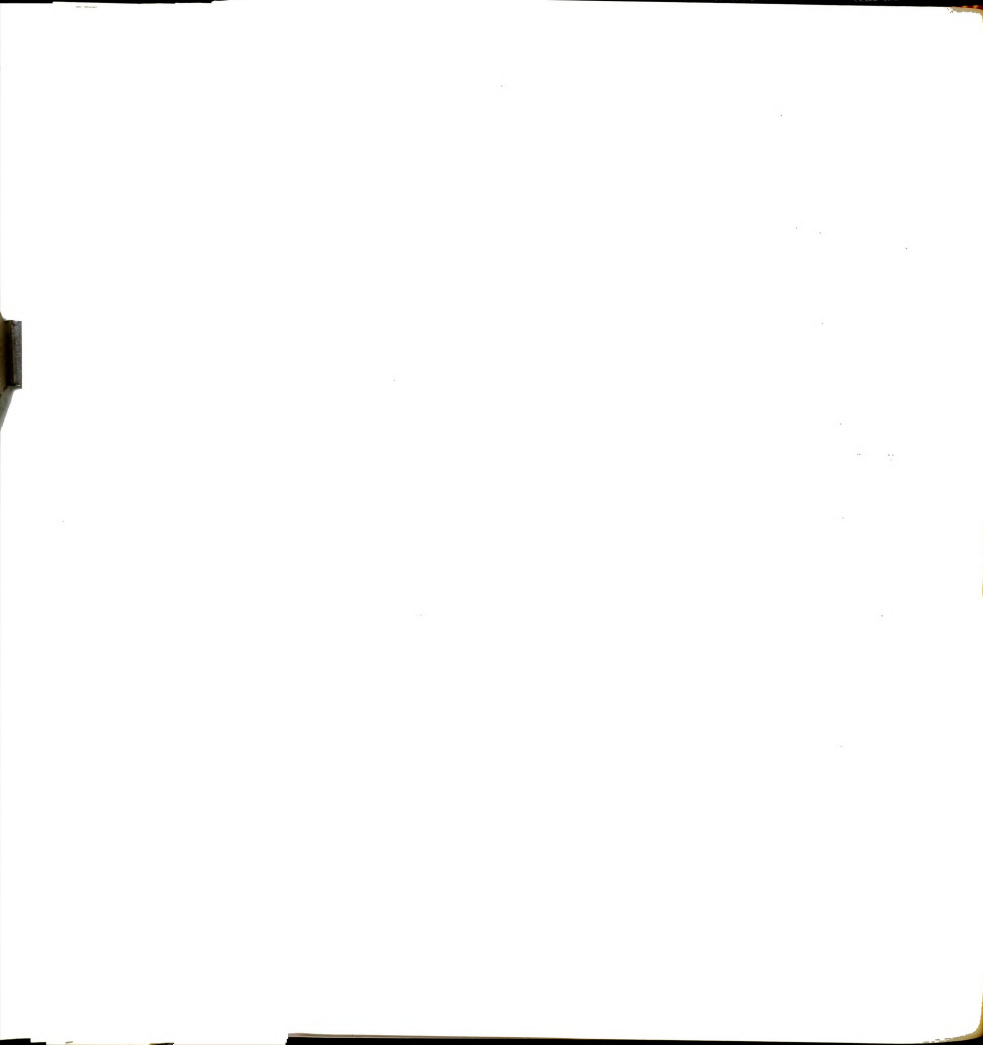
¹⁹²TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 40.

¹⁹³Willard L. Hayes, "Recreation Service," p. 154.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 155-156.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.



Administrative-Technical Center

The administrative and technical staffs of the Authority were encouraged to participate in recreational activities generally available to the residents of Knoxville, Chattanooga and Muscle Shoals. There is some evidence to indicate a willingness to participate in recreational activities when work schedules called for field activity at construction sites and at reservoir clearance projects.

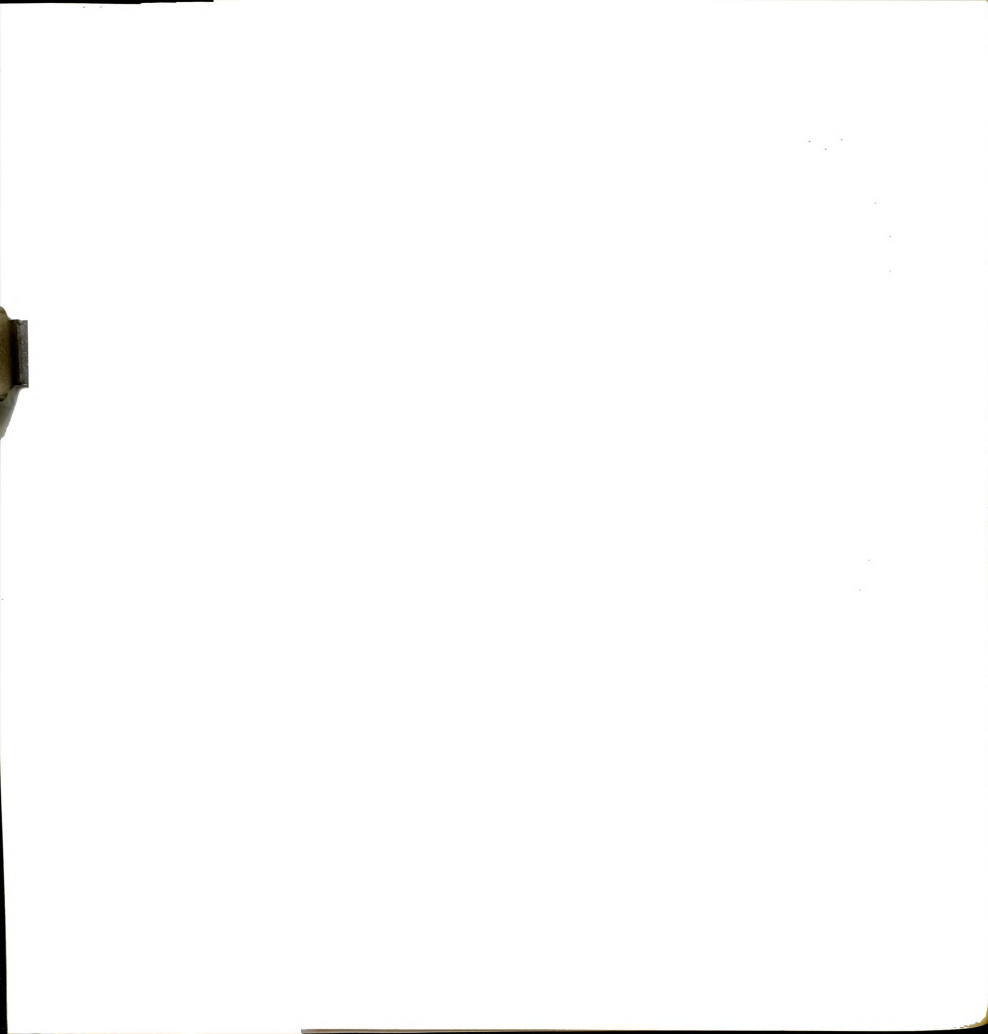
Library Services

The library was established within the adult education enterprise of the TVA to place books within the reach of every employee and to provide supportive library facilities and services to the established program components: job training, general adult education, and recreation.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, the Library Services desired to demonstrate to the residents of the Valley, many of whom "had little or no contact with books," what library services are and what benefits they afford to a community.¹⁹⁸

The Library Services of the TVA, in addition to providing direct services to the employees of the Authority and residents of the Valley, strived to establish "a variety of relationships with

¹⁹⁷R. Russell Munn, "Saw-Filers and Book Boxes," p. 720.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.



local, state, and national agencies" to promote greater availability of library services."¹⁹⁹

Services to the Construction Village

A camp library was established and maintained at each construction village to "serve as the special library for the adult education program, the general library for the village and also as a center for the extension of Library Services to employees who do not live in the village but in the surrounding area."²⁰⁰ The typical village library housed a collection of from four to five thousand books and subscribed to approximately one hundred newspapers, magazines, and periodicals.²⁰¹

The libraries were designed to serve the residents in an atmosphere of informality and friendship. The reading rooms contained simple and inexpensive furniture and were usually open twenty-four hours daily.²⁰²

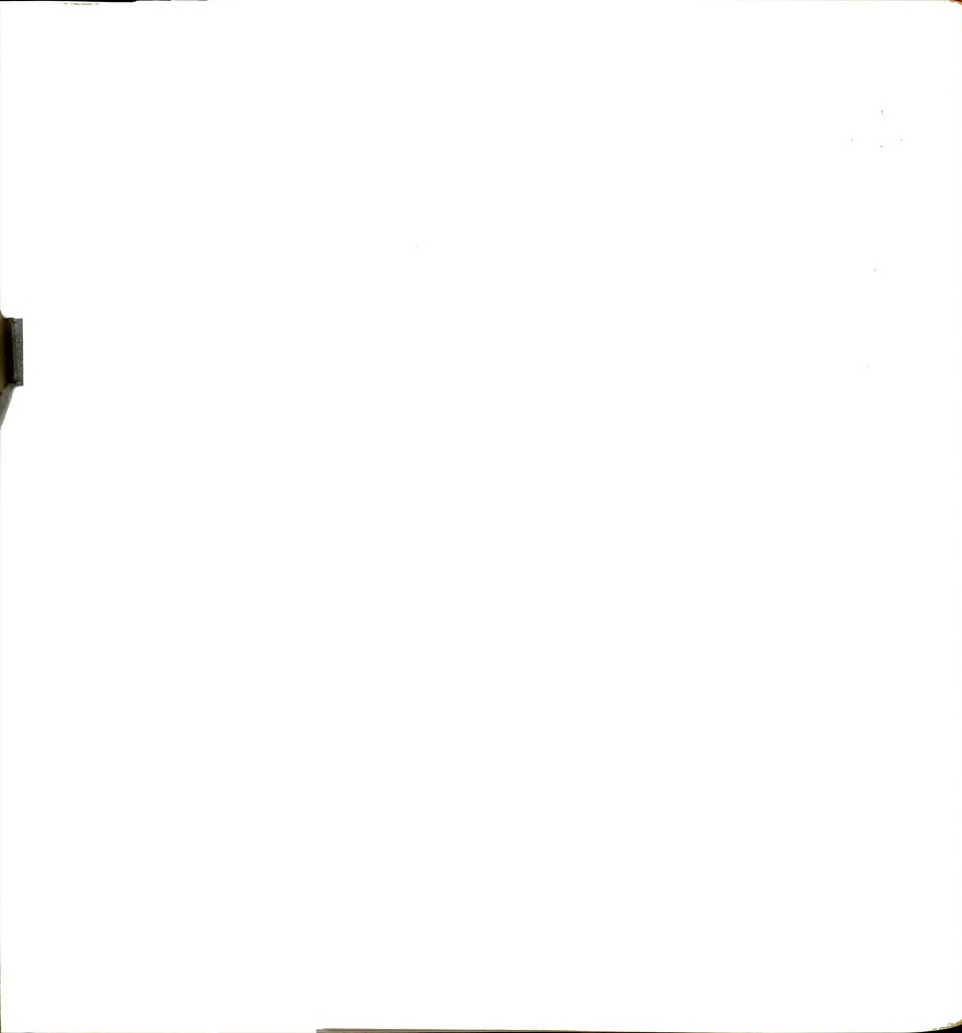
The several dimensions of the job training program component within the adult education enterprise received the major benefits of the Library Services, since "the greatest demand was

¹⁹⁹Mary U. Rothrock, 'Library Service,' Maurice F. Seay, ed., "Adult Education--A Part of a Total Educational Program," Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, X no. 4 (June, 1938), 143.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 136.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 132.

²⁰²TVA Training Program, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 50.



for technical and scientific books directly related to the job."²⁰³

A collection of technical books was kept in the library for reference and general use. Special deposits were placed in offices in order that the construction staff might have immediate access to them. Approximately twenty technical periodicals were currently received and routed, immediately on arrival, to men most interested in them. Any reference questions were answered by telephone, and, if they could not be answered locally, were referred to the Technical Libraries in Knoxville and Chattanooga. In-service and job training required reference books, supplementary texts, catalogs and files of ephemeral material. Technical periodicals and pamphlets were routed to apprentices. Old magazines were clipped for articles which could be used in class work.²⁰⁴

The library served the general adult education and recreation program components to a lesser degree. The Library Services unit did, however, maintain:

... a file of rule books for various games; ... books were loaned on games, puzzles and other in and out-door entertainment; reference questions were answered on dimensions for courts, history of sports, etc. Periodicals were furnished for staff use. Exhibits, book lists and displays were correlated with commercial and educational films, or to follow up forums and discussion group meetings. Study courses were inaugurated by the library and reading lists were prepared for clubs. Periodicals and professional books were bought for the teaching staff.²⁰⁵

The library staff maintained an effective working relationship with those individuals responsible for operating the three program components, "participated fully as staff members in

²⁰³Mary U. Rothrock, "Library Service," p. 138.

²⁰⁴TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 50.

²⁰⁵Ibid.



discussing problems relative to the total educational venture and cooperatively worked to provide an effective supportive service in each village."²⁰⁶

Service to Reservoir Clearance Projects

Library services were extended to the employees engaged in reservoir clearance projects. A system utilizing book boxes as a means of distributing books to the workers "scattered over rough hillsides or swamps ... inaccessible by main highways," was developed by the library.²⁰⁷ Each book box, water-proofed and equipped with a lock and key, usually contained sixty volumes, approximately one-third of which were non-fiction, one-third fiction, and one-third children's books.²⁰⁸ The children's books were included, in part, for the worker who:

... whether from timidity, indifference, or because of limited education, did not want a book for himself ... [but] might be tempted to take one home to the children; and that, when he had taken it home, either he or the children--or possibly both--would read it, thereby growing a little more at home with the printed page.²⁰⁹

The book distribution process became an integral part of the total work scene. Each morning the employees reported to the "saw-filer" who distributed axes and saws to the employees from a

²⁰⁶Mary U. Rothrock, "Library Service," p. 137.

²⁰⁷R. Russell Munn, "Saw-Filers and Book Boxes," p. 720.

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹Ibid.



tool box. At the conclusion of the day's work, the employees returned to the tool box, strategically placed adjacent to the library book box, checked in their tools and checked out a book.²¹⁰ Book selections were changed on a weekly basis and the traveling librarian, in talking with the saw-filer custodians "discovered the book needs of the men."²¹¹

Circulation from the book boxes during March and April of 1935 totaled 1607 books--"25 percent juvenile, 20 percent non-fiction, and 55 percent fiction."²¹²

A second method of distribution utilized by the Library Service as it sought to serve employees and residents indigenous to the reservoir clearance projects involved the use of evening meetings. A library representative equipped with "a canvas bag of books which he opens and sets up in a conspicuous place" was present at each general adult education community meeting.²¹³ The book collection in the canvas bag was typically mentioned several times during each evening meeting, and members of the audience were reminded that books could be checked out and returned at a future time.²¹⁴

²¹⁰Ibid.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹²Ibid.

²¹³Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," p. 27.

²¹⁴Ibid.

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Services to the Professional and Technical Staff

A technical library was established in Knoxville within the Authority complex. This library provided full services to the staff. Collections were also maintained at the two branch offices.

Library Services was recognized as a significant component of the adult education endeavor within the Authority. Circulation of books, one measure of the total library operation, indicated that in 1936, 162,296 volumes were circulated and in 1937, 218,436 volumes circulated.²¹⁵ Mr. R. Russell Munn, librarian at Norris, said in reflecting upon the realm of services offered by the library:

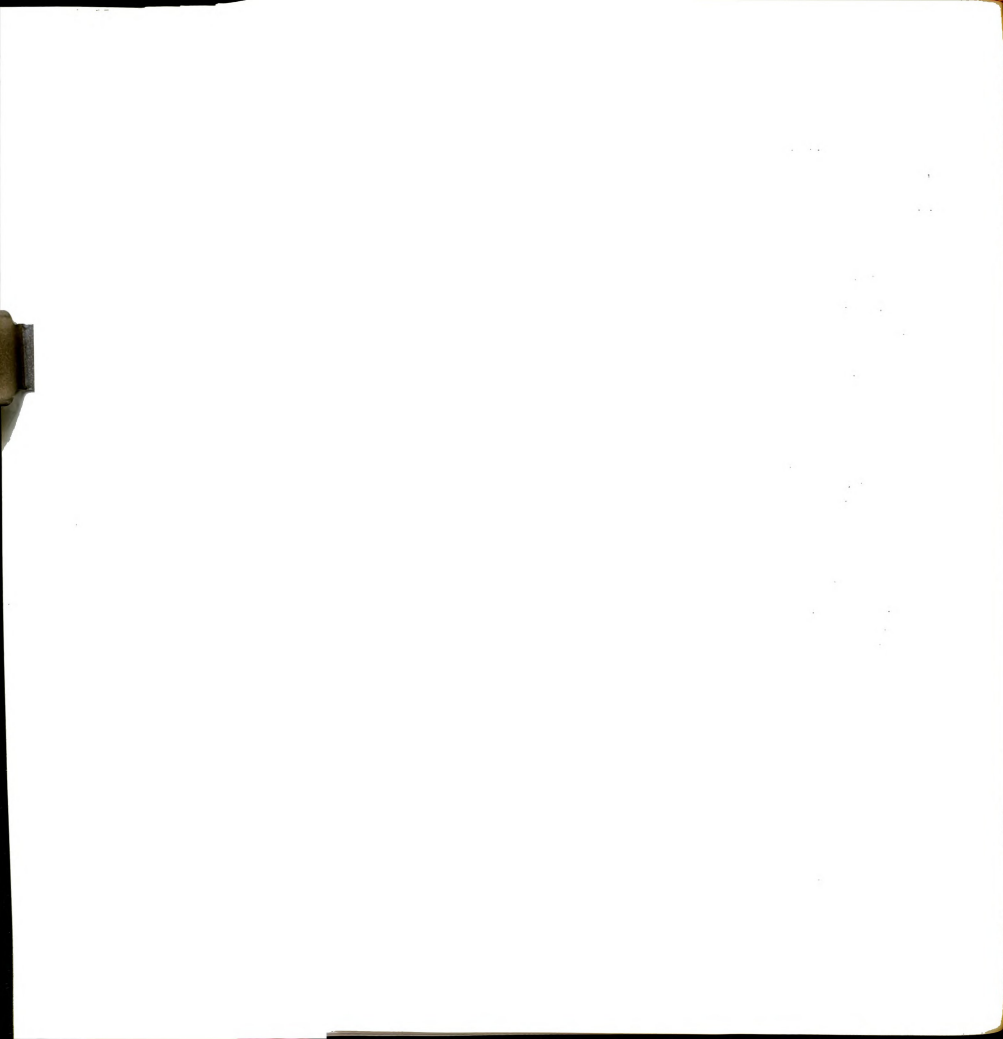
The paramount objective in this work is to give these people, who have had little or no contact with books a taste of what a library service might be. The TVA is trying in many ways to give them a leg up, convinced that once they are out of the hole they can look after themselves. Contact with books is one of the means.

Some men, who have not had any previous access to books, will have acquired a reading habit which will be useful to them throughout life; some will have been helped to prepare for new jobs or to be more efficient in the present one; women and children in the homes of these workers will have had a glimpse of a more spacious world. All will have some idea of what library service is and when the time comes to set up a permanent organization a great many friends will be scattered here and there over a wide area.²¹⁶

Mary U. Rothrock, first librarian of the Authority, added another dimension to the usefulness of Library Services. In her judgment, Library Services functioned as a unifying agent of the

²¹⁵Ibid.; Mary U. Rothrock, "Library Service," p. 145.

²¹⁶R. Russell Munn, "Saw-Filers and Book Boxes," p. 720.



several adult education program components. She concluded from her experiences in the library-adult education relationship:

... the library, more than any other institution, is in a position to integrate the separate programs of all community agencies of adult education into a complete, unified whole. The effective work performed by local councils of adult education which often have been organized and administered under library leadership well illustrates this strategic position.

... the library has an obligation as the logical center for supplying many and varied materials for the community's adult education activities. This calls for a greatly liberalized conception of what is meant by "materials"--films, projectors, blueprints, slides, posters, charts, maps, phonograph records, exhibit objects, etc. With the handling of all these comes recognition of the fact that, after all, books, too, are educational supplies, and if they are to be effective, they must be liberally provided and freely used.

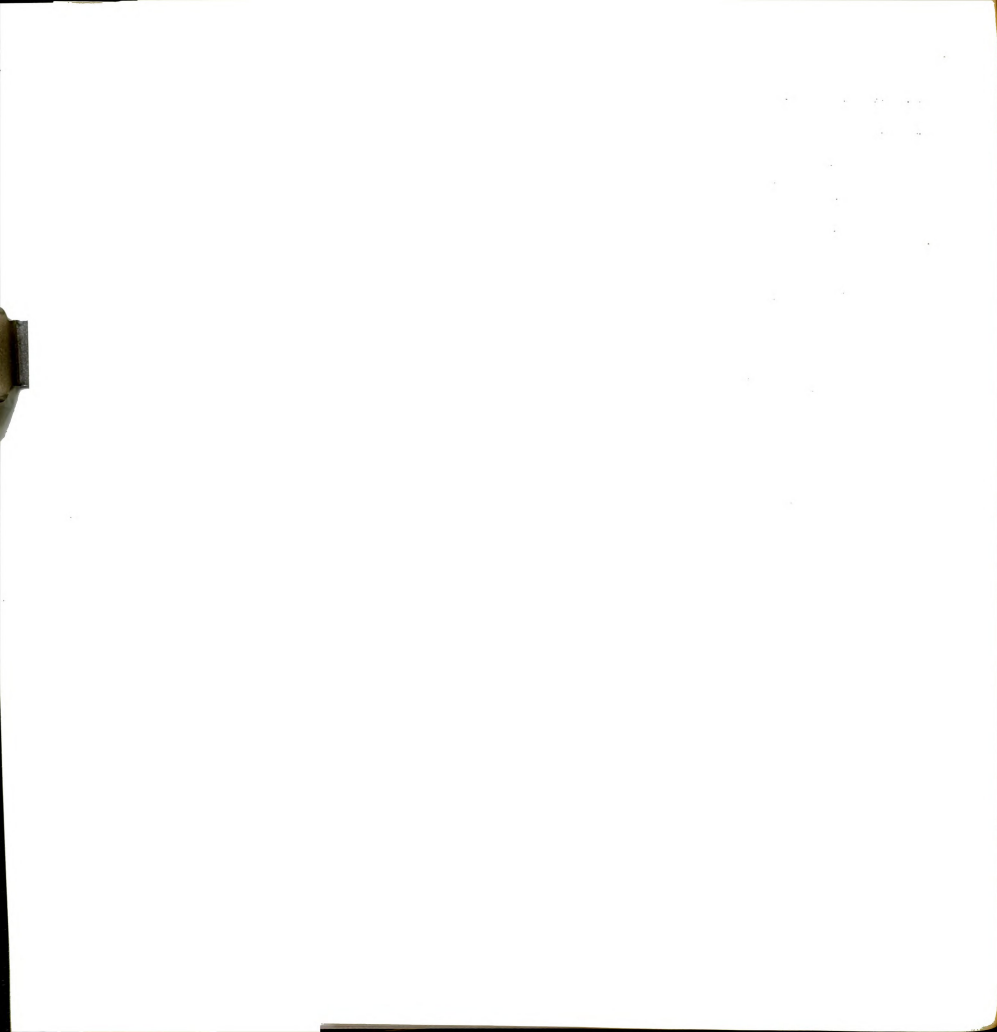
... Librarians ... are in a peculiarly favorable position to exercise educational statesmanship in promoting this idea of a complete community program in which all agencies pool their resources for the welfare of the people rather than for their own aggrandizement.²¹⁷

Visual Education

Visual Education functioned as a service unit to the established program components: job training, general adult education, and recreation. Educational and commercial films, "exhibits, still pictures, lantern slides and other graphic arts" were made available and presented by Visual Education to enhance the activities of the adult education enterprise.²¹⁸

²¹⁷Mary U. Rothrock, "Library Service," pp. 28-29.

²¹⁸TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 43.



Employees assigned to the program of visual education at the construction villages, at the administrative and technical offices and in units which serviced the reservoir clearance projects were responsible for the following tasks:

- a. Determining of film programs after receiving requests and consulting with staff members and other interested employees and patrons.
- b. Booking of both commercial and educational films.
- c. Requesting that necessary requisitions and receiving reports for all films be made.
- d. Handling of advertising for commercial pictures.
- e. Operating and caring for equipment.
- f. Receiving and reshipping films on time.
- g. Keeping an incremental record of receipts on the showing of commercial films.
- h. Providing visual instruction.

This work was such that it required familiarity with moving picture literature, such as: the catalogs of one hundred or more sources for films, reports of the Motion Picture Committee of the Department of Secondary Education of the NEA, and the Educational Screen.²¹⁹

Commercial films were used as an integral part of the recreation program at the construction villages and at community meetings held in proximity to reservoir clearance projects. In 1936, it is reported that 58,129 people viewed commercial films sponsored by the adult education enterprise.²²⁰ In 1938 in the theatre at

²¹⁹Ibid., p. 44.

²²⁰Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," p. 27.



the Hiwassee Village 11,720 people viewed commercial films.²²¹

During this same period at Hiwassee 4,857 people viewed educational films in conjunction with job training and general adult education activities.²²²

The adult education enterprise which emerged within the TVA was initiated by Chairman Arthur E. Morgan at the first meeting of the Board of Directors on June 16, 1933. At that time Mr. Morgan called for a discussion of the construction of housing facilities for employees engaged in the construction of the Cove Creek Dam.

On July 11, 1933, the Board approved the hiring of Morgan's associate at Antioch College, Mr. J. Dudley Dawson, to develop plans for a training program. Thus, a program designed to meet the social and educational needs of TVA employees and members of their families began to emerge.

The expansion of the construction operations of the Authority between 1934 and 1938, to include six additional dams, and the subsequent increase of the employee population necessitated the expansion of the program of adult education. To insure the delivery of educational services to all levels of employees within the Authority, additional administrative leadership and support was rendered by individuals including J. Max Bond, George Gant, Willard Hayes, Floyd Reeves, Mary U. Rothrock and Maurice Seay. Working

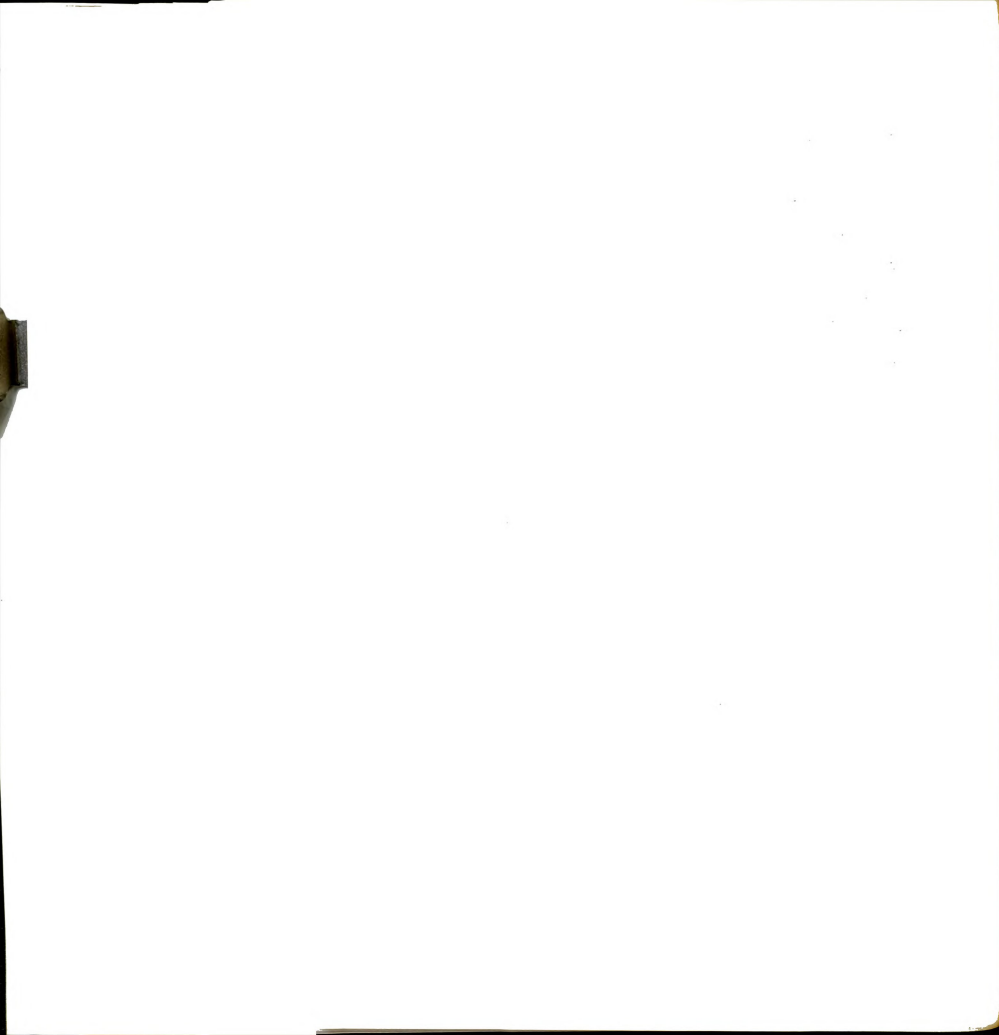
²²¹TVA Training Division, "The Training Program at the Hiwassee Project," p. 46.

²²²Mary U. Rothrock, "The Library in Relation to Adult Education," p. 46.



cooperatively, they provided a comprehensive program of adult education which included opportunities for participation in job training, general adult education and recreational activities.

Chairman Arthur E. Morgan left the TVA on March 23, 1938, at the request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. By that time, several major construction projects of the Authority had been completed, necessitating the release of employees whose services were no longer needed. These individuals had participated in a program of adult education envisioned by Morgan as fostering the continuous development of the individual equipped with new skills and a firmer commitment to strive for a better society. To this day, the Tennessee Valley Authority has remained steadfast in its commitment to the continuous development of its employees.



CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Arthur Ernest Morgan's recognition as an engineer, educator and community planner was destined to be enhanced when he assumed the chairmanship of the newly-created Tennessee Valley Authority on May 26, 1933. His interpretation of the TVA Act, which included a broad undefined mandate to "provide for the general welfare of the citizens of said area" (Sec. 22) and to bring about the "economic and social well-being of the people living in said river basin" (Sec. 23) prompted Mr. Morgan to establish within the Authority an adult education enterprise as a means of fulfilling a personal commitment to "bettering the lives of others."

This chapter will include the summary and conclusion of the study.

Summary

Prior to his appointment to the TVA, Arthur Morgan had consciously attempted to recognize a social philosophy which would give him direction and a purpose for being. His searching produced a belief that "men are born with the capacity to create a far better world than they have realized" and a commitment to bring about that realization. Mr. Morgan believed:



that no man liveth unto himself, consequently one's work should strive to bring about an improved standard of living for present and future generations;

that human fellowship, friendship and affection among people has value. A man strives to remove human tragedy through a scientific inquiry into man's environment. Life is a daily opportunity to search, to question, to plan, to revise and to accomplish;

that society is improved when men display neighborly fellowship and social-mindedness;

that a well-rounded life includes continuous attention to one's physical health, work preparation and experience, an appreciation of social, religious, economic and aesthetic values, and a purpose for life;

that each individual has leadership potential, which must be developed to improve the home, the community, and the nation.

Mr. Morgan's leadership roles in establishing camps to insure decent housing facilities for construction employees engaged in the Miami Flood Control Project of 1916, his contributions to the Moraine Park School of Dayton, Ohio in 1917 which became a model for the progressive education movement and a dramatic alternative to existing school programs, and his role as President of Antioch College from 1921 to 1933 demonstrated his capacity for fulfilling his social philosophy.

The kind of commitment to mankind which Mr. Morgan demonstrated was later identified and described by Edward Spicer in his "committed man" concept which posits that "modern life is characterized by a great outpouring of energy on the part of some people who strive to better the lives of others."

Arthur Morgan's relationship with the TVA began in late April or early May of 1933 following President Roosevelt's request



to Congress to create the TVA on April 10, 1933. The Tennessee Valley region afforded newly-elected President Roosevelt an opportunity to combine his personal and political commitments to agricultural development, the conservation of natural resources, and the development of power resources into a unified program of regional development as part of his "New Deal" government for the American people.

The enthusiasm for the project was shared by Senator George Norris who had previously led a long and unsuccessful attempt to insure government control and development of power resources on the Tennessee River. He introduced a bill to the Senate requesting the creation of the Authority and exercised undisputed leadership as the bill became finalized into law.

The TVA Act passed by the Senate on May 16, and the House of Representatives on May 17, 1933, charged a Board of Directors with specific responsibilities to insure agricultural and industrial development, to improve navigation on and flood control of the Tennessee River, to produce and distribute power, and to develop the natural resources of the region. Another dimension of the legislation was a broad mandate to "foster an orderly and proper physical, economic and social development" of the region and to work for the "well-being of the people living in the region."

Arthur Morgan was appointed Chairman of the TVA on May 26, 1933. His appointment was subsequently followed by the appointments of Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal as fellow members of the Board of Directors. The Board was duly constituted on June 16, 1933,



whereupon Chairman Morgan introduced a discussion relative to housing provisions for TVA employees engaged in construction of the Cove Creek Dam. Housing villages would ultimately form the physical setting for a part of the adult education program which he envisioned within the Authority.

On August 5, 1933, at the ninth meeting of the Board of Directors, it was clearly established that a program of adult education would be established within the Authority under the leadership of Arthur Morgan. A comprehensive program of adult education was developed to serve all employees of the Authority, members of their families and residents adjacent to the construction projects of the Authority.

Conclusions

Arthur E. Morgan, first Chairman of the TVA, viewed the Authority as an instrument for enabling him to fulfill a personal commitment to promoting the fullest development of the individual and to strengthening those values which he considered essential to the continuous development of society. To accomplish his goal, Mr. Morgan was singularly instrumental in establishing a program of adult education within the TVA which provided for the continuous development of all TVA employees, members of their families, and residents adjacent to the several construction activities of the TVA.

In this leadership role, Mr. Morgan:

personified Edward Spicer's "committed man" theory in that his actions reflected a "great outpouring of energy on the part of some people who strive to better the lives of others;"



operated according to the leadership-behavior style identified in the Cheatham County Study of Leadership Behavior in that he had a "sense of mission and a feeling of personal responsibility for changing a given social condition;"

demonstrated the manner in which an individual was able to so interpret a piece of federal legislation, in this case the TVA Act, as to enable him to develop a program which fulfilled a personal commitment.

The program of adult education which emerged within the TVA under the initiating leadership and continuous support of Chairman Morgan and his administrative staff during the interval 1933-1938 has been recorded. The three major educational components of this comprehensive program of adult education provided opportunities for the continuous development of adults in the areas of job training, general adult education and recreation.

This adult education enterprise:

warrants recognition historically as a significant adult education operation among programs of adult education in the United States;

warrants identification as a model of a multi-dimensional program of adult education designed for the continuous development of many aspects of the participant;

has incorporated a philosophy of and principles for programs of adult education.

The adult education enterprise which emerged within the Tennessee Valley Authority under the leadership of Arthur E. Morgan during the interval 1933-1938 represented a significant contribution of Mr. Morgan's social philosophy aimed at helping men "create a far better world than they have realized."

The six components of Mr. Morgan's social philosophy, earlier identified, influenced the initial development and expansion of the adult education operation.

A man's relationship to humanity, according to Mr. Morgan, is based upon the Christian belief that "no man liveth unto himself." Therefore, according to Morgan, a man should see his life "not as a separate unit but as an element of a great whole," gaining individual joy and satisfaction by improving life for present and future generations.

The TVA project itself constituted a broad mandate towards this end. Among its responsibilities were the promotion of the national defense, the advancement of agriculture and industry, the improvement of navigation, and the prevention of flooding. The accomplishment of these feats would insure an improved life and those employees so engaged would be working together for a better world today and tomorrow.

Certain policies were adopted by the Board of Directors to promote a type of relationship among the employees reflective of this commitment to the larger community. A decision by the Authority to construct villages for employees and their families provided a communal inter-relationship environment for the worker and a target population for participation in a program of adult education. Village life as it evolved demonstrated an individual and group commitment to work towards improving living conditions.

A decision to extend the activities of the adult education enterprise to communities in close proximity to reservoir construction projects extended the opportunities of the Authority to influence the relationships among people. A format of group meetings constituted the basis of educational activities.



A decision to encourage the continuous development of the professional and technical staff through participation in group discussions and group problem solving activities strived to broaden the individual's outlook to include an enlarged community of man.

The Authority sought to bring its employees into an environment where they could joyfully work together, live together, and strive together.

A philosophy of daily living, according to Mr. Morgan, requires man to identify his sources of happiness and to strive for their ultimate attainment. This requires self-examination of existing values, attitudes and beliefs.

The activities of the adult education enterprise were designed to assist in this process of examination. The employee was engulfed in a multi-dimensional educational environment which would challenge his values, attitudes, and beliefs.

The sources of happiness identified by Mr. Morgan include: human fellowship and friendship; a sense of unity of race; an appreciation of beauty; the experiences of creative effort; the fullest development of the individual potential; a commitment to the scientific method of inquiry; a desire for advancement; and a life of hopes and dreams. These same values were among the primary objectives of the adult education enterprise.

The worthy values of society, according to Mr. Morgan, included neighborly fellowship and social-mindedness, the existence of friendship based on equality and mutual respect, an appreciation of beauty, and the satisfaction of work well-done. The activities



of the adult education enterprise strived to strengthen these values among TVA employees.

The components of a well-rounded life were identified by Arthur Morgan to include physical health; training for work; actual work experience; a trained appreciation of social, religious, economic and aesthetic values; a sense of proportion; knowledge of history, literature, philosophy and science, and a life purpose. The general aims and subsequent activities of the three program components--job training, general adult education and recreation--were contributions to Mr. Morgan's components.

The foundations of a sound education, identified by Mr. Morgan to include a basic belief that educational stimuli should be initiated and maintained by the student, was incorporated in the educational philosophy of the adult education enterprise, whose activities were initiated and maintained according to employee interest. Other foundations identified by Morgan were re-stated in the guidelines and practiced in the activities of the Authority's program.

The leadership behavior of the individual, recognized by Arthur Morgan as the primary force in the home and community, was a basic objective of every program of the adult education enterprise, which strived to develop the leadership potential of each employee.

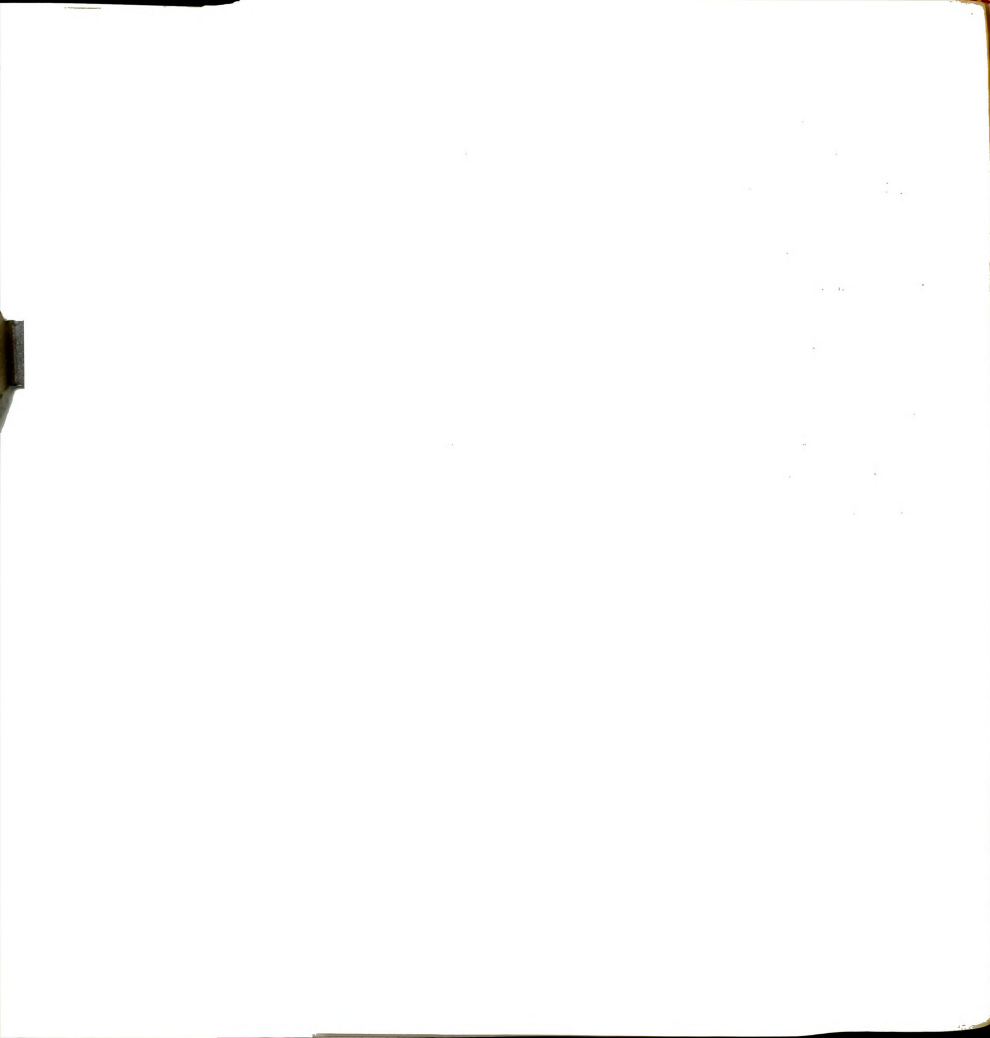
In developing a program which is reflective of his personal social philosophy, Mr. Morgan has

demonstrated the way in which an individual committed to social change can influence an emerging program to bring about that change;



achieved recognition as an adult educator within the adult education movement of the United States.

This study has examined the leadership role of an individual, Arthur E. Morgan, and the establishment of an adult education enterprise within the TVA during the interval 1933-1938. There remains for future examination within the TVA the program of adult education which operated within the Authority during the interval 1933-1938, as specified within the provisions of the Act, which provided for agricultural development and the distribution and utilization of electrical power. These programs operated under the leadership of Board Members Harcourt A. Morgan and David E. Lilienthal respectively. A complete historical record of the program of adult education from 1933 to the present time remains unrecorded.

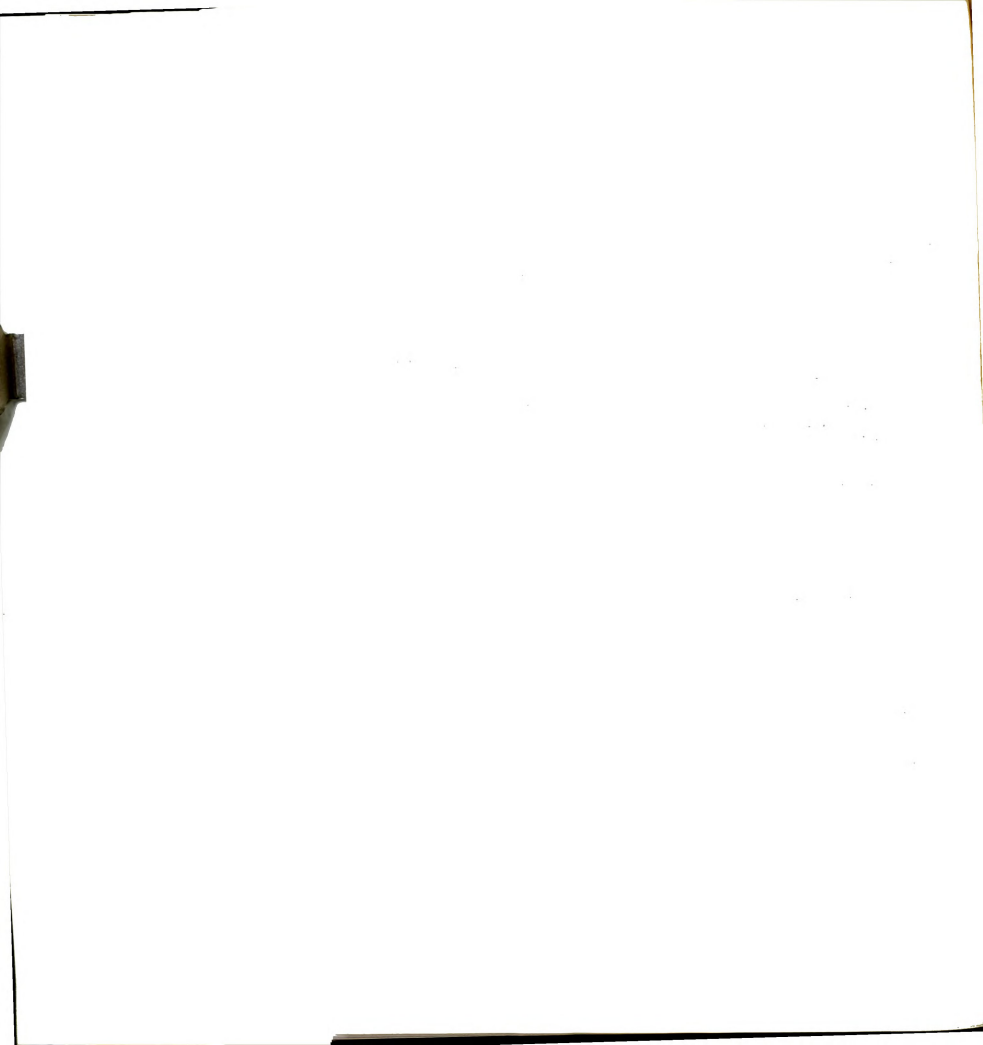


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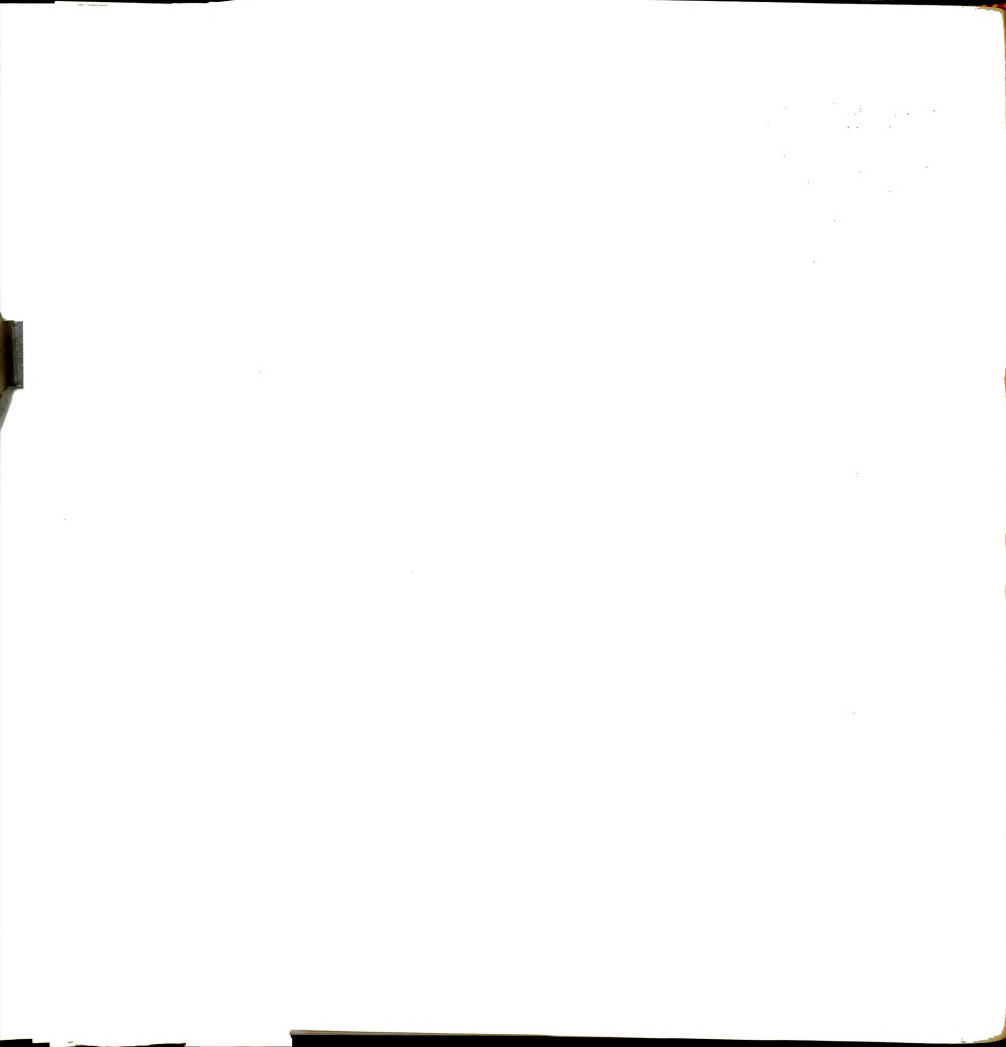
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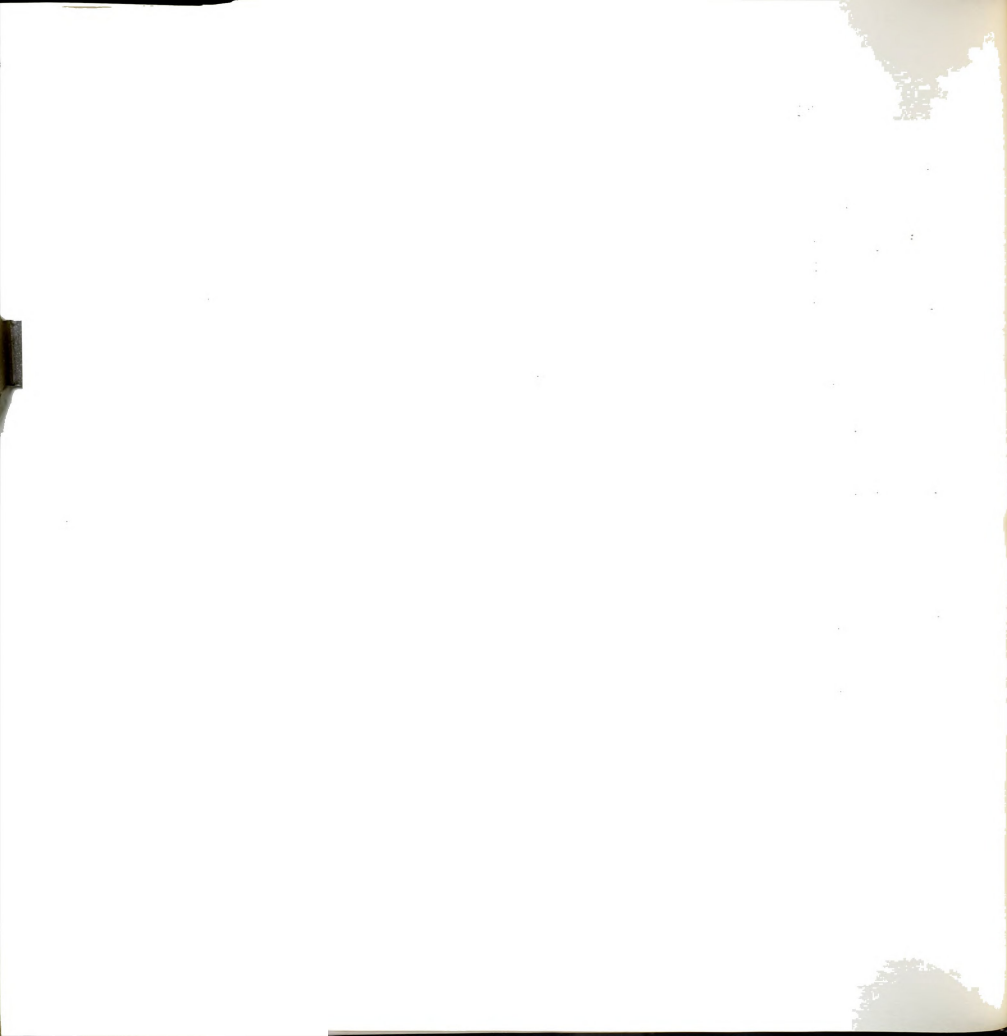
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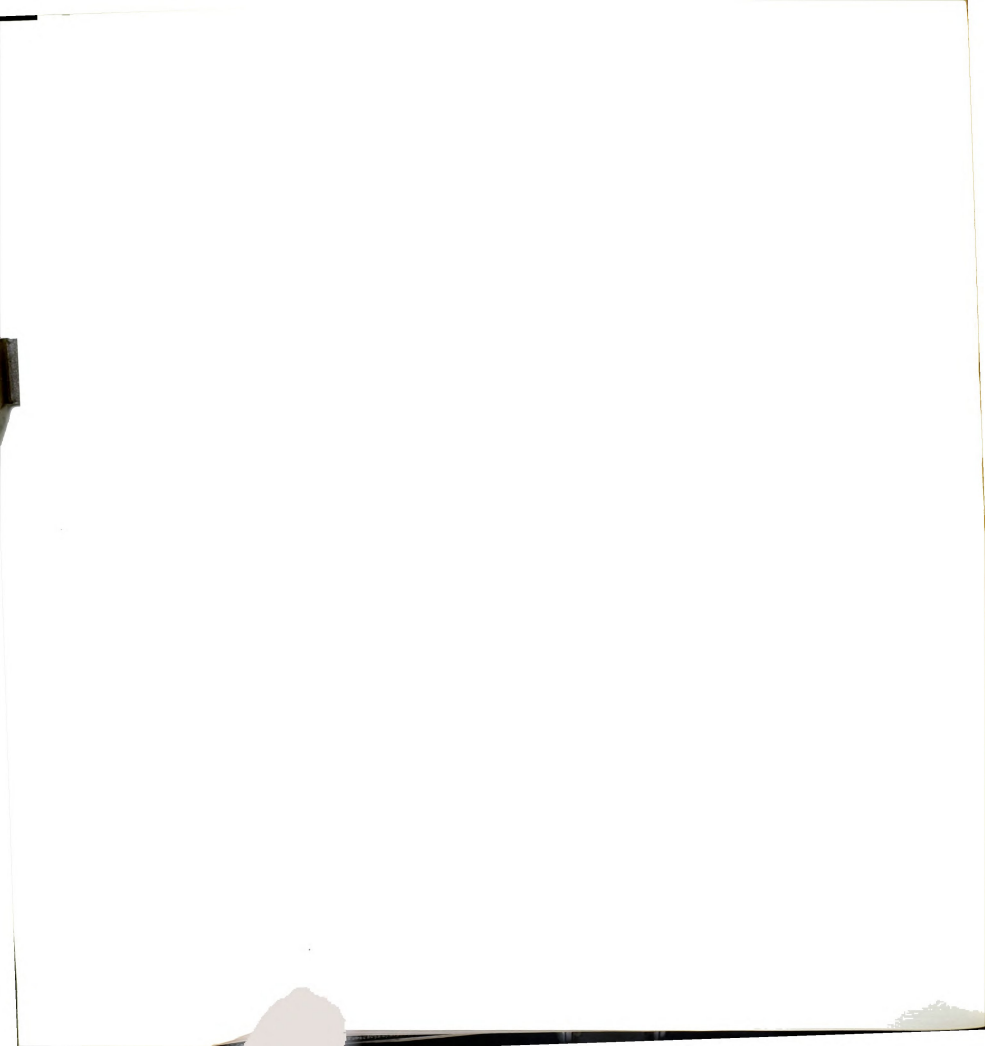
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