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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Lonnie Richard Butler entitled "Orin Benton Graff: Personal and Professional Dimensions of a Progressive Professor of Educational Administration and Supervision." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, with a major in Educational Administration and Supervision.

Mary Jesse Connelly
Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Malcolm McInnis

Robert K. Roney

John E. Dean

Accepted for the Council:

C. W. Mink
Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

ORIN BENTON GRAFF: PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DIMENSIONS
OF A PROGRESSIVE PROFESSOR OF EDUCATIONAL
ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Education

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lonnie Richard Butler

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The idea for this dissertation originated during a Department of Educational Leadership doctoral seminar at The University of Tennessee in spring of 1989. Dr. Mary Jane Connelly talked of the rich history of the department, of which she was the new head, and of the contributions to educational administration made by Dr. Orin B. Graff. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Peter M. Husen, associate professor in the department, met with me and conducted an exercise to examine the viability of a study of Dr. Graff as a dissertation. Dr. Connelly then agreed to serve as my major professor, working with me diligently from the study's beginning to its completion.

Along with Dr. Connelly, I am especially grateful to my other doctoral committee members, Dr. Malcolm McInnis, professor of higher education; Dr. Jack E. Reese, chancellor emeritus and university professor; and Dr. Robert K. Roney, professor of educational administration and supervision emeritus. As well as serving on the committee, Dr. Reese and Dr. Roney granted interviews on Dr. Graff and advised me on other sources for the dissertation; and Dr. McInnis served as my advisor during an earlier part of my doctoral studies.

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for the department as the study began, played a key role in ensuring my access to Dr. Graff's files and information on the department's history, as well as arranging the first interviews with Mrs. Erma G. Graff. And Ms. Judy Barnes, a department secretary as the study ended, was helpful in many ways toward bringing the process to a successful conclusion.

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Finally, I thank my colleagues, friends, and family members for their encouragement and tolerance. Among these, I am especially grateful to Ms. Susan Taylor-Brown, my long-time friend, and to Mrs. Clara A. Butler, my mother, for their belief in the continuing pursuit of learning.

ABSTRACT

Orin Benton Graff (1901-1980) served as a University of Tennessee professor for 28 years, plus nine years as an active professor emeritus. He was founding head of the university's Department of Educational Administration and Supervision and served as acting dean of the College of Education. The university named him among its first 10 distinguished service professors.

Graff's mentor at The Ohio State University was Boyd H. Bode, noted pragmatist and philosophical spokesman for progressive education. Studies with Bode and others led him to an unusual but highly effective approach as a professor. He guided doctoral students toward development of intellectualized personal value systems by combining emphasis on philosophy with practical, "real-world" experiences. An extraordinary number of his graduates made their own marks in educational administration.

Graff's life provided a "prism of history" for new eras of development in educational administration and at The University of Tennessee. He was an early leader in the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA) and the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (SSCPEA). He became a counter-revolutionist voice in the "theory movement," opposing his profession's move toward logical positivism; in his writings and in a 1960 NCPEA "great debate," he asserted that human values are an inseparable part of theory. At The University of Tennessee, he was a campus leader during a period when student enrollment grew from approximately 3,600 to 20,000. He was instrumental in many aspects of this growth, particularly in developing graduate education and in moving the university toward equal opportunity for minority and women students.

Graff's style as a professor reflected unusual integration of personal and professional dimensions. He combined a love of academic pursuits with a genuine sense of populism. He taught and modeled incisive humanist thinking as an intellectual foundation for qualities such as warmth, humanitarianism, and self-assurance. Along with highly personalized aspects, his career demonstrated many guideposts for effective administration and teaching at the graduate level. A revisiting of his emphasis on intellectualized personal value systems appears particularly pertinent to educational leadership, in addition to enduring as a legacy through the work of his students.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. ORIN BENTON GRAFF: INTRODUCTION	1
2. SCIOTO COUNTY	11
The Graff Family	11
Graff's Elementary and High School Years	16
Graff's Early Years as an Educator	19
3. OHIO STATE AND CINCINNATI	28
The Doctoral Program at Ohio State	28
Graff's Development as a Pragmatist	33
The Principal Tenets of Progressivism and Pragmatism	35
Two Years in Cincinnati	40
4. NORRIS	44
The Graffs' Move to Norris	44
Norris as an Ideological Enterprise	46
Norris School: An Extension of the Ideology	49
The TVA-University Contract and Graff's Administration	52
Graff's Administration of the TVA Withdrawal	59
The Sale of Norris	64
Some Lessons of Norris	65
The School	65
The Norris Influence on Graff's Individual Development	66
The Town	79
5. GRAFF'S NEW CAREER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE	71
The Beginning of a New Era	71
The Evolutionary Beginning of Graff's Department	74
Formal and Informal Steps Toward a Departmental Entity	74
The New Department's Purpose	76
Graff as Professor and Philosopher in the Early Years	78
Growth of a Departmental Culture	78
Graff's Emergence as a Mentor: Student Views and Associations	80

	Graff and His Early Colleagues	88
	Early Operational Difficulties and Characteristics	95
	Struggles of a New Department	95
	The Uneasy Coexistence of Graff and Fitzgerald	97
	Graff's Role in the Early Years of the NCPEA	101
	Graff and Pierce: Leadership in the SSCPEA	106
	A New Era of Cooperation and Cohesion in the South	106
	Major Studies of the SSCPEA	110
6.	GRAFF'S CARDINAL YEARS AS A PROFESSOR: PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DIMENSIONS	115
	Distinguishing Features and Events of a Dynamic Period	115
	University, College, and Department Structure	117
	Central Tenets and Style	120
	Advocacy and Passion	120
	Salty and Literary Aspects of Graff	123
	Eclecticism and Opportunism versus Consistency of Values	127
	Philosophical and Professorial Relationships with Students	131
	Graff's Appeal as a Speaker	131
	The Varied Settings of Interactions with Students	133
	Travels with Students	143
	Graff as a Father Figure to His Doctoral Students	145
	Student Selection and Support	147
	Recruitment and Induction of New Faculty	153
	Cherry Hill Park and Carl Van Hoozier	158
	Continuing Leadership in Graduate Education	162
	Relationships with Colleagues	168
	Special Relationships with Children	176
	Students' Children	176
	Molly	177
	Spiritual Aspects of Graff	185
7.	MAJOR PROGRAM ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CARDINAL YEARS	203
	The SSCPEA, Continued	203

Graff and Social Change	219
Harry S. Blanton and Sam H. Ingram	220
Gem Kate Greninger and Helen S. Feldman	233
Programmatic Desegregation Efforts	237
Cleveland Dennard	241
Continuing Efforts Toward Equal Opportunity	249
The University of Tennessee School Planning Laboratory	250
The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education	260
8. THE THEORY MOVEMENT AND THE "GREAT DEBATE"	276
The Theory Movement: Educational Administration's Shift Toward Logical Positivism	276
The "Great Debate"	284
The Waning of the Theory Movement	398
9. TRANSITION AND RETIREMENT	303
The Approach of a Final Era	303
The Orin B. Graff Scholarship Fund	304
A Distinguished Professorship	304
Publication of a New Book	305
Gradually Increasing Health Problems	308
Graff's Retirement as Department Head	310
Choosing a Successor	311
Perspectives of Graff During the Transition	314
Continued Work with Doctoral Students	317
Informal Leadership and Ongoing Mentorship	317
Student Recruitment and Selection	318
Student Success	321
Personal Contact with Students	326
The Giving and Receiving of Strong Personal Loyalty	328
Emphasis on Philosophy, Values, and Self-Examination	329
Graff as Acting Dean	333
Graff's Enthusiasm for the Temporary Post	334
The Tragic Beginning of a New Department	337

Stollar's Appointment as Department Head	341
Graff's Retirement Years	343
Graff's Drive to Remain Active	344
Mixed Views of Graff's Retirement Activity	345
Relations with Three Former Students as Commissioners	348
A Manifestation of Personal Loyalty and Friendship	350
Authorship in the Retirement Years	352
Other Achievements and Recognitions	358
Graff's Death	364
10. CONCLUSION	369
Graff's Professional Life as a "Prism of History"	370
Graff as an Individual	374
The Nature and Development of Graff's Personal Traits	374
Graff's Legacies	379
Conclusion	388
BIBLIOGRAPHY	391
VITA	409

CHAPTER 1

ORIN BENTON GRAFF: INTRODUCTION

No longer can the scientist point and say, "This is true," in the sense that what he is pointing at represents some portion of a reality which exists independent of man. The facts do not speak for themselves; the scientist is responsible for a public accounting with regard to his innermost values which were used in constructing the value base for his theory.

We in educational administration should not fall into the error of defining our responsibilities by restricting research to the use of mathematical models. We must include other than machine-like operations. Machines cannot reject the moral responsibility we inject into them. This freedom of choice is yours and mine. It is the "awful freedom that I can hardly face," says Bridgman.

--Orin Benton Graff, 1960¹

In August of 1960, University of Tennessee professor Orin Benton Graff and graduate assistant Arliss L. Roaden drove from Knoxville to Macomb, Illinois, to one of the definitive events in Graff's life. Their destination was Western Illinois University, site of the 14th annual meeting of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA). On August 24, after he and Roaden had worked to trim an over-prepared paper, Graff debated his chief philosophical antagonist and a leading figure in the "theory movement" in educational administration, Daniel E. Griffiths of Teachers College, Columbia University.²

"One of the greatest papers Dr. Graff ever wrote was in preparation for what was billed as the 'great debate,'" Roaden wrote of the event 31 years later. Graff asserted that human values are the foundation for the development of any theory; Griffiths argued for suspension of human values in theory development.³ A portion of Graff's 27-page paper refuted Griffiths' position by stating,

¹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," unpublished paper delivered at the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Macomb, Ill., Aug. 24, 1960, 24. Photocopy provided to author by Erma G. Graff. Graff quoted from P.W. Bridgman, Reflections of a Physicist (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), 75.

²Arliss L. Roaden, interview with author, Apr. 12, 1990.

³Arliss L. Roaden, "My Lifetime Love Affair with Education," in Reflections: Personal Essays by 33 Distinguished Educators, ed. Derek L. Burseson (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1991), 295-96.

Intelligent utilization of science to our problems in educational administration necessitates recognition of the personal assumptions of the investigator, and recognition of and respect for values and purposes of the participants in the educational process. With the significance which we in education purport to attach to the potential worth and dignity of the individual, how can we treat his values and purposes as of little consequence, or in scientific study admit them only as variables to avoid "contamination" of theory?⁴

The debate came when Graff was age 59, near the peak of a career in education that spanned 50 years and covered much of the entire history of educational administration as a distinguishable field of study. Graff was born in southeastern Ohio in 1901, and he began teaching shortly after high school graduation in 1918. He joined The University of Tennessee College of Education in 1943 as Professor of Education and Superintendent of Education at Norris, after more than 20 years in education in Ohio.⁵ He moved to the Knoxville campus as a full-time professor in 1945, as World War II was ending and just before a new influx of students entered virtually all major United States colleges and universities, including The University of Tennessee. The university's total enrollment was less than 3,500 students⁶ and the College of Education had no departments--the study of educational administration consisted of a few courses in the overall college curriculum.⁷

The postwar years were an era not only of dramatically increased higher education enrollments, but also of an escalated pace for the development of emerging fields of study. Educational administration was such a field, and Graff joined other leaders in pushing its development forward. During his first four years in Knoxville, he established the study of educational administration as a separate curriculum, and in 1949 he became the founding head of the

⁴Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 20.

⁵The Norris School District was operated by The University of Tennessee through a contract with the Tennessee Valley Authority, which had developed both the town and its school system. The contract was discontinued at the end of the 1944-45 school year, when Norris became part of a local school district.

⁶James Riley Montgomery, Stanley J. Folmsbee, and Lee Seifert Greene, To Foster Knowledge: A History of The University of Tennessee, 1794-1970 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 203.

⁷University of Tennessee, Record 49, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1946), 114-115.

Department of Educational Administration and Supervision. The department faculty consisted of Graff and three other faculty.⁸ As he shaped the department according to his own philosophy, Graff emerged as a nationally respected figure and strong southern leader in educational administration. With his colleagues, including several former students, he worked to broaden the field of study through integration of philosophy, theory, and field research. Throughout his career as a professor, he asserted that personal value systems form the baseline for administrative theory and practice, as well as other life activities, and he favored the term, "philosophic theory."⁹ By the time he entered still-active retirement in 1971, Graff had been an energetic and influential participant in dramatic change in The University of Tennessee, its College of Education, and the field of educational administration.

Graff was a person of relentless, enthusiastic energy, and his professional life was filled with developments, in addition to the NCPEA debate, that could be regarded as milestones. At least eight doctoral graduates of his department, most of whom he closely advised, became presidents or chancellors of universities or colleges. One of his advisees served as chancellor of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, having also served as chancellor for another of the universities in the system; after Graff's death, another doctoral graduate of the department with whom he worked closely became president of The University of Tennessee System. Other former students became professors, department heads, deans, state commissioners of education, superintendents, and leaders in other administrative positions. Graff was involved in founding the NCPEA, one of the major professional associations in his field. He was one of the early leaders--some saw him as a counter-revolutionist--in the "theory movement" in educational administration in the 1950s and early 1960s. He was a leader in the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (SSCPEA), the South's part of a national research and improvement program funded by the W.K. Kellogg

⁸University of Tennessee, Record 53, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1950), 251.

⁹Orin B. Graff et al., Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966).

Foundation. He advised and guided through social and administrative obstacles the university's first black doctoral graduate and later its first out-of-state black doctoral graduate, as well as the university's first women to earn doctoral degrees in educational administration. His department opened and operated with great success one of two major school plant planning laboratories in the nation. He was instrumental in beginning one of the major outreach efforts of the university, a center in Memphis. He was named a distinguished service professor by the university in 1964, one of the first 10 recipients of this appointment.¹⁰

Integral to the story of Graff's contributions to educational administration is a consideration of his character traits and human attributes. His life was uncompartimentalized; his profession, recreation, home life, spiritual interests, and avocations were an integrated whole, all permeated by his interest in philosophy and ideas. He examined the philosophic consistency of his own values and those of others in a continual stream of questions.

A calm demeanor and an air of gentleness, particularly toward students, masked Graff's inward restlessness except to those who knew him well. Students measured his levels of intensity from his habit of finger-drumming as he spoke and listened. Others, in particular a few colleagues, saw a less gentle side, although even when he was acerbic, Graff seldom engaged in vigorous protestations or confrontations.

His life was a continuing search for philosophic consistency through the exploration of ideas and self-examination. His writings, classroom discourses, and discussion of educational issues before such bodies as The University of Tennessee Graduate Council were often highly abstract, based on intricate reasoning and drawn from philosophers who had deeply influenced him--figures such as William James, Alfred North Whitehead, John Dewey, and his Ohio State mentor, Boyd H. Bode. The object of the search was the application of learning--for himself and those he taught--to a continually evolving system of personal values for expression in one's behavior and practice and for

¹⁰University of Tennessee Historian's Office, telephone interview, Oct. 17, 1991. The first five distinguished service professors were named in 1962, and Graff was among a second set of five named in 1964.

further examination on the basis of experience. Consistent with this quest, Graff sought to associate himself throughout life with people who were open to ideas and whose lives reflected a genuineness of spirit, regardless of their type of work or level of education. As a department head, he conveyed an expectation that his close associates would combine this genuineness of spirit and capacity for intellectual self-examination with diligence in their work habits.

As an advocate of development and practice of a personal value system, Graff did not flinch from arriving at judgments or making decisions, while striving to maintain an intellectual approach to these processes. He regarded human worth as an acquisition gained through mental work and self-examination, rather than as an innate condition. For the most part, he was tolerant and courteous toward those who might not share his drive for questioning and examination but who otherwise appeared honest and diligent. But he had little patience or use for persons he came to view as lazy, pretentious, self-serving, or manipulative. To persons with whom he found philosophic and spiritual empathy, he extended a loyalty, even protectiveness, that persons closely associated with him regarded as unshakable.

His former students returned that loyalty. Virtually all those who shared recollections for this study regarded Graff as a mentor, in many cases the most influential person in their personal as well as professional lives. Roaden, who became one of the highly accomplished Graff advisees, illustrated the returned loyalty and summarized Graff's influence on his life in a 1991 writing on inspirational teachers:

I recall only three or four such teachers during my schooling. The greatest of them all was one of my graduate school professors at The University of Tennessee, Orin Graff. Nobody described Graff as being a great orator--only a great shaper of lives. . . .¹¹

Graff subscribed to the idea that, "The purpose of graduate work . . . is the student's full incorporation into the professional community, and . . . this is accomplished by student and professor

¹¹Roaden, "My Lifetime Love Affair with Education," 295.

working together, shoulder to shoulder, on the problems of the profession."¹² He worked closely, almost constantly, with his students and departmental colleagues in a variety of settings, including frequent travel to professional and local school district meetings. As Ohio State professors and their spouses, in particularly the Bodes, had done for them during Graff's doctoral studies, Orin and Erma Graff regularly invited Graff's doctoral advisees to their home.

Graff's teachings and activities yielded remarkable results at The University of Tennessee, where for two decades he directed his own voice and the activities of his department's students and other professors into the development and practice of educational administration. As his most important legacy, he fashioned students' participation in these processes into learning opportunities that produced remarkably successful graduates of the Doctor of Education program.

This overview of Graff forms the basis for telling his story in the remaining chapters. Overall, the purpose of this work is not only to detail Graff's story, but also to relate the events of his life to the development of educational administration as a field of study and practice. The work consists of 10 chapters, of which four (Chapters 2-5) proceed through the first two-thirds of Graff's life in chronological intervals. Chapter 6 begins with the most intense stage of Graff's professorial career, and the format shifts to two sets of chapters (6-8 and 9) that deal with major topics within chronological periods. The divisions between periods reflect major transitions in Graff's life, according to the author's perceptions, although at times threads of the story cross these selected lines. Two chapter divisions, from 4 to 5 and 5 to 6, also reflect major changes in American society and in Graff's profession. Transitions of setting follow those of time; during his life, Graff resided in only five localities in two states (excluding his undergraduate moves to college, which were on an interval basis).

¹²Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 24. Graff quoted William G. Pollard, "The Value of Research to Graduate Instruction," paper delivered at the Southeastern Section, American Society for Engineering Education, 1955, N.p., n.d., n. pag.

Chapter 2 describes Graff's family and recounts his 35 years (except for time in college) in Scioto County, Ohio, 1901-1936. Chapter 3 covers 1936-1943, the five years of his Doctor of Philosophy studies at The Ohio State University and, more briefly, his two years of work in Cincinnati Public Schools after earning the degree. The two chapters were written to generally identify Graff's formative experiences and trace his early practice as an educator. They are the most thinly developed parts of the work, since the relationship between Graff's life and development of the field of educational administration did not become evident, to an appreciable degree, until he joined The University of Tennessee in the 1940s. This thinness by design coincided with a relative sparsity of sources on Graff's earliest years, while both the number of sources and volume of material grew beginning with the approximate time that Erma G. Pyles, who became Graff's wife, entered the story.

Chapter 3 covers a part of Graff's story in which the professional context of his education and work began to interweave with the personal happenings of his life. Expansion of the narrative to describe persons who were major influences in Graff's life became necessary as a part of tracing the direction his life was taking. These persons included professors, philosophers, and practitioners, with emphasis on Bode and Dewey.

Chapter 4 recounts the Graffs' years in the unique social experiment that was the Town of Norris, Tennessee. Graff's two years as school superintendent, 1943-45, and parts of his three additional years as a resident there were recounted mainly from letters, memoranda, and reports that he left; from Erma Graff's memories; and contextually from two works on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Graff's own voice came into greater play through his writings. The chapter was written from a sense that Graff acted as an important player in a setting that was itself intrinsically interesting--the chapter is as much about the Town of Norris and Norris School as about Graff himself. However, his spirit and philosophy were so well matched to that of school and community that their stories for the period were enmeshed.

Chapter 5 describes the beginning of Graff's story as a professor and department head at The University of Tennessee. It concentrates on 1946-54, the period of the formation of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, Graff's entry onto the regional and national stages of his field through professional organizations, and the department's "first generation" of professors and doctoral students. Graff's students and colleagues at The University of Tennessee began to contribute to the story here, largely through oral history. The period ended with the year of the Brown v. Board of Education decision of the United States Supreme Court¹³ and the eighth meeting of the NCPEA, an event in Denver that marked the beginning of the "theory movement" in educational administration.

Chapters 6-8 focus on topics from 1954-1966, Graff's richest period of professional productivity. It was the "cardinal" period of his achievements, although he left notable milestones during each period of his career at The University of Tennessee. The period included the zenith of the "theory movement" in educational administration. Graff reached his greatest personal height of regional and national influence during 1955-60, signified by the "great debate" with Daniel E. Griffiths at the 1960 NCPEA meeting. In the minds of several sources, the debate was a key signal that the theory movement was beginning to wane. Within the region and the state, Graff and his department exerted leadership in several major programmatic areas and in bringing about social change through the completion of doctoral degrees by black and women students. The end of an era for Graff and the College of Education also occurred during the period: N.E. Fitzgerald, the college's dean since Graff's arrival, departed, and E.C. Merrill, Jr., who had been a master's degree student of Graff's earlier years, replaced him. The latter part of the period brought recognition that Graff and the department had attained great stature (signified by his distinguished service professor appointment), followed by transition toward his relinquishing his formal departmental leadership role.

¹³Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

In May of 1966, Graff observed his 65th birthday, and by informal understanding within the university, the time had come for him to step aside as department head.

Graff's final years as a professor and his years of retirement are the subjects of Chapter 9. He continued as an active professor until fall 1971 and returned briefly to a formal leadership role in 1969 as acting dean of the College of Education--a position he filled with success and satisfaction, according to several sources. The first part of the period was also marked by muted but intense dissatisfaction with the style of departmental leadership that followed him and with concern over the future philosophical direction of the department.

Graff continued to advise subsequently successful doctoral students until his very last days as an active professor. He also remained very active in his emeritus years, and his activities brought a mixed reaction. They were seen by many as beneficial, in the sense that Graff's wisdom was available to younger professors and students and that his persona was something of a cultural artifact of the department. In the minds of some sources, his activities were also evidence of his trouble in "letting go" and turning the department over to a new generation of leadership.

Chapter 10 summarizes the major themes of Graff's life that became evident during the study. It is a brief synthesis of previous parts of the work written with the goal of helping readers draw conclusions or relate Graff's work to other situations and times.

Two areas of caution for both the author and readers became evident during research and writing. First, an understanding of Graff calls for a consciousness of time in relation to societal change. He lived and worked through dramatic periods of change, including two world wars and two other major international conflicts; the great depression; attempts to equalize the rights and opportunities of minorities and women; shifts in attitudes toward use of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs; and, in his own profession, the virtual creation and development of educational administration as a field. In the 1990s, both a consciousness of these changes and mental effort are required to understand Graff's life in its social context. (As examples, at the time of his high school graduation, 1918, and subsequent long-term pursuit of a college degree, the completion of high school was fairly

unusual for persons of his background. And in a later time, when the NCPEA was formed, no women or blacks were present among the more than 70 professors, and in the earlier years wives of members participated in a group called WEAPS, for Wives of Educational Administration Professors.¹⁴) Graff was a leader and an instigator of change, but at the same time he remained very much a part of the current culture, whatever its stage. Moreover, he did this with robustness, optimism, and enjoyment of life. His basic approach was to stimulate what he viewed as desirable change without completely overturning social order.

Second, the telling of Graff's story entailed instances of summarizing very complex subject matter. Examples included the ideas of Bode, Dewey, and others, as well as those of Graff himself. Several sources, while appreciating the potential value of a work on Graff, noted the danger of superficiality--particularly in view of his complexity and the holistic nature of his life.¹⁵ Although this book represents a great effort to achieve accuracy of both information and judgment, the dangers of oversimplification and superficiality are real in that complex subjects and issues were described briefly as they occurred along the path of Graff's life. The fullness of such subjects and issues may often lie beyond what is presented here as Graff's story.

¹⁴W.R. Flesher and A.L. Knoblauch, A Decade of Development in Educational Leadership: The First Ten Years of NCPEA, 1947-1956 (Columbus, Ohio: The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 1957), vii.

¹⁵For example, Larry W. Hughes, a professor at The University of Tennessee and later department head at Houston University, stated in a letter to the author, May 10, 1990, "You've taken on a very difficult task. . . . Capturing the essence of this remarkable man may not be possible."

CHAPTER 2

SCIOTO COUNTY

He said he sat in the same seat with my father in Buckeye School. He told of how they made sling shots and played games and of all the fun they had in the beautiful hills of Ohio.

-- Thelma Graff Baumgartner¹

The Graff Family

Orin Graff became identified with The University of Tennessee, but he lived more than half his life--his first 42 years--in Ohio. The first 35 of these years, except for periods of college attendance, were spent in Scioto County, his native home. In 1980 he was buried there, in a hillside cemetery at Wheelersburg facing the Ohio River bottoms about 13 miles from where he was born.

"I, Orin Benton Graff, was born in Gervais, Ohio, May 16, 1901," Graff wrote in a brief autobiography for his doctoral dissertation at The Ohio State University.² Nothing in his early circumstances readily suggested that he would ever leave Ohio or become a leader in higher education. His upbringing was in a large farm family of third-generation immigrants with a strong work ethic and sense of unity. The third youngest of four brothers and four sisters born to Smith and Mary Elizabeth Hughes Graff, he spent much of his youth on a bottom-land family farm located just across the Ohio River from Kentucky.

A two-volume family genealogical study entitled Graff Trails documented the Graffs as being of German and Swiss descent. During Orin Graff's early years his branch of the family settled into a long-term homeplace and became respected citizens of Haverhill, Ohio. The village's Methodist Church, built in 1870, is still the site of a Graff family reunion every four years.

Erma Gennevieve Pyles Graff, who married Orin Graff in 1933, described the family:

¹Thelma Graff Baumgartner, ed., Graff Trails (Fort Morgan, Colo.: Thelma Graff Baumgartner, 1984), 1:143.

²Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1941), n. pag.

They were always farmers, and they were just great people, just the salt of the earth. And these children had to work to help the farm keep going. . . . I've never seen a family closer than they were. . . . They had a nice little Methodist Church, a very old church, in Haverhill. . . . And they all attended that. . . .³

Smith Graff and a brother came to Ohio from Pennsylvania, and the brother moved on west, probably first to Iowa, according to Smith Howland, son of the youngest of Graff's seven siblings, Elizabeth.⁴ The eight Graff children were born during the period of 1887 to 1906. Cora (1887), the oldest, was followed by Julia (1889), Harry (1893), Jane (1896), Stanley (1898), Orin (1901), Carl (1904), and Elizabeth (1906). Harry, born while the family lived for several years in Nebraska, was apparently the only one who began life outside Scioto County.⁵

Harry Molen Graff, son of Harry Graff, Sr., recounted the family's Nebraska experience:

My Grandparents Smith and Elizabeth Hughes Graff were homesteading in Otoe County (near Lincoln), Nebraska, when my Dad, Harry Smith Graff, was born on August 19, 1893. . . . When Dad was three years old, my grandparents had homesteaded for five years "proving upon it." They returned to Haverhill, Ohio, because of the severe winters.⁶

The family settled on a permanent location when Orin Graff was about 11 years old.

Howland said:

The house where I grew up was what I knew as the homeplace, and that was built around 1912. That was in Haverhill. . . . They also lived in a place called Junior Furnace. . . . In the mid-1800s, the steel or pig iron producing center of the United States was in that area, and you'll find all these little towns with the name furnace.⁷

With some caution, Howland summarized the Graff immigration to America as described in Graff Trails: The Graffs descended from Jacob Graef, who was born in 1691 in Nordner, Norkeim

³Erma G. Graff, interview with author, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴Smith E. Howland, telephone interview with author, Nov. 26, 1989. During the interview, Howland discussed questions with Graff's only surviving sibling, Jane Graff Arnold, then 93, living in Wilmington, Ohio.

⁵Sources were inconsistent as to the birthplaces of two of the Graffs, Harry and Stanley. Baumgartner, 1:74, also listed a ninth sibling, Withiret Nasue Graff, who apparently died on or near her date of birth in January, 1892.

⁶Harry M. Graff, in Baumgartner, 1:101.

⁷Howland.

Ehrenburg, Germany, and Maria Phillipina Stormer, of the same town. Jacob Graef came to America in 1741 on Ship Molly. One of his five children was named John; he was also born in Germany, was married in Philadelphia, and had a son named Sebastian. The family line reached Orin Graff through Sebastian Graff's son John Eli, his son Isaac, and his son Smith.⁸

Graff Trails sketched the family's immigration:

The Graffs were Mennonites from the beginning of the Reformation. . . . Between 1762 and 1768 the first Amish and Mennonite settlers located in Somerset county, Pennsylvania. Stony Creek township, in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, was incorporated in 1792. This is the township and county [in which] our line of Graffs last lived in Pennsylvania before moving west.⁹

Howland noted that Gervais, where Orin Graff was born, was part of an area known as the French Grant Lands. "There was a population of French people there in southern Ohio. And the homeplace that was bought was part of that," he said.

The genealogical study gave additional details on Orin Graff's father, Smith Graff, and the family:

Smith and Elizabeth Hughes Graff, who were life-time sweethearts, were married and were also baptized in the Methodist Church. . . . Smith went to Nebraska and farmed . . . about 15 miles from a place called Eagle. This place was near the Oregon Trail as Julia can remember the covered wagons going by. Sometimes they would stop at the Smith Graff place for food and water.

Smith and family did move back to Ohio to farm the home place. Grandma Harriet, then a widow, lived with them part time. After Smith died his daughter Elizabeth had married Percy Howland so they lived on the farm till their death. Her brother Carl lived there with their two boys and Percy's second wife, Margaret.¹⁰

Another nephew knew Orin Graff not only as a favorite relative but also as a professor and then colleague. Guy S. Potts' mother was Julia Graff Potts. Potts was born in 1924, early in

⁸Howland read from Graff Trails (Baumgartner, 1:IV). His wariness in his references to the family genealogy appeared justified, as inconsistencies regarding specific facts were found within the study (e.g., Harry Graff's year and place of birth, the spelling of Erma Graff's name). General information presented in the study appeared accurate, insofar as corroborated by Erma Graff, Howland, and Potts. Much of the early family history as presented in the study (pre-immigration and early post-immigration) could not be corroborated, as no other sources were available.

⁹Baumgartner, 1:IV-V.

¹⁰Baumgartner, 1:74.

Graff's teaching career, and the uncle-nephew relationship was close from childhood through Potts' own doctoral degree program and career in educational administration.¹¹

Potts described the Haverhill area as he remembered it in his youth:

There used to be a field next to my grandfather's house that I always loved to get in after they plowed it and had run the disk and harrow over it, because you could find Indian arrowheads by the handful. . . . The Haverhill area used to be one of the prettiest places you could imagine. It was made up of family farms of 100, 120, 160 acres, immaculately kept, and just literally an eye-knocking place to be. Beautiful. I remember them working the farm. Two guys like that with a couple of mules and a couple of horses, it was a full-time thing to look after 160 acres. . . .¹²

His grandfather's home was a typical family farm, Potts said. "They raised wheat, corn, hay. They'd milk cattle--a few milk cows, eight or ten. . . . I think it was probably around 120 acres, as I remember."¹³

Erma Graff said the Graff home she remembered accommodated the sizable family. "It was about an eight-room house, upstairs and downstairs, just like an old farm house. . . . Of course, with that big family, you had to have a big house." She continued, "They grew cattle and they farmed and sold hay and corn . . . and lived off of it. They had a cellar, and they put everything they could down in the cellar, to live on."

I can remember one thing that I enjoyed when I went there after Orin and I were married and before. We'd be up there on a Sunday night and Orin's father would go to the cellar and get a bowl of apples, and then they'd pop popcorn, and we'd sit around the fire, and that's what we'd lunch on. That to me was great. . . . His father was always a good provider, and that was one way of entertaining people.¹⁴

¹¹Guy S. Potts, interview with author, May 4, 1990. Potts earned a Doctor of Education Degree in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee early during Orin Graff's tenure as department head, in 1954. After service with the Chattanooga City School System, Potts became superintendent of Fayette County Schools, Kentucky, and then the Fayette County-Lexington consolidated system. He served there for 23 years. Potts noted that his parents gave him the middle name of Smith, and both he and Howland were named for their grandfather, Smith Graff.

¹²Potts.

¹³Potts.

¹⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

Potts recalled that the Ohio River overflowed its banks in two major floods in 1913 and 1937 and sent six to eight feet of water over the Graff farm and into the home. "I can remember 1937 so well; I was . . . not quite 13. It occurred in late February." He recalled that floodwater covered the roads to his grandparents' home. "We came through the hills. . . . Somebody rowed us across to the railroad tracks, and then another person rowed us to the house."¹⁵

Of the eight children, all four of the women taught school for varying periods, but Orin Graff was the only male sibling to teach, Erma Graff recalled. He was also the only one of the eight to spend a full career in education.

Howland described the lives of Carl and Stanley Graff: "Carl, the youngest of the boys, was in the service and then returned to the farm, the homeplace. He never married. Stanley never taught. He operated a garage and repaired cars in Greenup, Kentucky. Then he moved to Hillsboro where he bought a farm, and he farmed and mechanicked. He always had kind of a tough life."¹⁶

One of the brothers other than Orin Graff was involved in public education, although not as a teacher. According to a Graff Trails article by his son, Harry Molen Graff, Harry Graff "served on the Haverhill School Board for a number of years, two terms as President." Harry Graff was also . . . a member of the Haverhill Methodist Church ever since his mid teen years . . . a member of the K of P Lodge in Ironton, Ohio, and a life-long Democrat."¹⁷

Orin Graff's parents were able to rear eight children into adulthood before losses in the family began to occur. Potts described the sequence:

Aunt Cora, the oldest of the children, died about a year before my Grandfather Graff. I think she died in 1934, around Christmas time, and Grandpa Graff died a few months later into 1935. My Grandmother Graff died while I was overseas in World War II. . . ." I guess the next one to die off was Aunt Elizabeth, the youngest . . . Smith Howland's mother. Then I think Uncle Harry, who was next to my mother--she, my mother, after Aunt Cora, was the oldest living, then Uncle

¹⁵Potts.

¹⁶Howland.

¹⁷Baumgartner, 1:102.

Harry, and he died right after my dad. And then Uncle Carl and Uncle Stanley. In fact, Uncle Stanley and Uncle Orin died within two weeks of one another.¹⁸

Potts' mother Julia, the second oldest of the children, lived into her 90s. "She lived until she was 93 or 94, and that was just about two years ago she died [about 1987]," Erma Graff said.¹⁹

Many of the Graff family are buried in Memorial Cemetery in Wheelersburg, near Orin Graff's grave in his in-laws' plot. The large cemetery lies across the main highway, U.S. 52, from the lower elevation of the Ohio River Valley, where the land begins to rise into rolling hills.

Graff's Elementary and High School Years

"I attended the elementary school in Haverhill, Ohio," Orin Graff wrote in his dissertation autobiography.²⁰ His elementary school years were 1906-1913. As did several other members of his family, he attended Buckeye School.²¹

Four "whole-school" pictures showed Graff and other youngsters as elementary students. Two apparently earlier pictures had groups posed in front of a wooden clap-board school building. Another pair was taken in front of a brick-walled building. In these pictures, Graff stood beside a young black student, the only black person pictured.

Erma Graff recalled him discussing the pictures:

I remember hearing him tell when he was in elementary school, there was one black boy in the whole school. That boy latched on to Orin and Orin latched on to him. Nobody could understand that, quite, you know, because there were no other black people in that neighborhood. . . . But they were fond of each other.²²

¹⁸Potts. Baumgartner, 1:74, 1:84, agreed with Potts' recollections, giving the date of Cora Graff Sieling's death as Dec. 23, 1934, the date of Smith Graff's death as May 27, 1935, and the date of Elizabeth Hughes Graff's death as Nov. 18, 1943.

¹⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

²⁰Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," n. page.

²¹Baumgartner, 1:143. Potts also recalled Graff's recollections of having attended the school.

²²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

Erma Graff did not have specific knowledge of Graff's early schooling, but she described her own elementary school experience in the same county:

Mostly, the teachers . . . taught eight grades, in one room. I was lucky to have one person who taught the upper grades in elementary school, and he was extra good. . . . He had to walk three miles to get to our little village. I remember my father and the man who ran the store in our neighborhood provided, I think it was \$40 a month extra over his salary so they could keep him, because he was a good teacher.²³

Graff summarized his secondary education in his dissertation autobiography: "I attended Forest Academy, Franklin Furnace, Ohio, for three years and the high school at Ironton, Ohio, for one year, whence I was graduated in 1918."²⁴ His daily routine for attending high school was described by Erma Graff:

Orin had to go into Ironton, Ohio . . . seven or eight miles away. . . . They had no high school there at Haverhill. . . . He'd get up and milk I don't know how many cows, then he'd get ready and walk about a quarter of a mile to the train station, get on the train, and go to Ironton to go to high school. Then he came back the same way. But he never considered that was any hardship.²⁵

Howland said that both Jane and Orin Graff had attended Forest Academy, which later went out of existence. Howland's mother and Jane Graff also attended Wilmington College as well as normal school while teaching, although neither earned a degree, he added.²⁶

Howland and Potts said that Graff's rail travel to high school was by a kind of street car rather than by train, "the interurban," Potts called it. He described Ironton as "sort of a nondescript town, dirty iron-smelling. They make coke. . . ." The trip required a changeover in a small town called Hanging Rock, the halfway point, from trolley to streetcar, for the trip on to Ironton.²⁷

Potts also recalled a particular farm incident from Graff's youth:

²³Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

²⁴Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," n. pag.

²⁵Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

²⁶Howland.

²⁷Potts.

Of course, Orin grew up a farm boy. When he was about 12 years old he was bit by a copperhead snake. There was old Dr. Massey, who was sort of the sawbones in the area. They went to Dr. Massey, and he was in Ironton, Ohio, had gone there in his horse and buggy, for some reason. Orin lay there all day, untreated, until Old Doc came in . . . and gave him an injection and so forth. (Laugh) You talk about crude medical treatment. He was bitten by a copperhead snake, which was pretty potent poison. He never cared much for snakes after that.²⁸

"The boys in the family were putting up hay," he later added to this account. "Orin was barefooted, of all things. Of course, that area of Ohio is notorious for copperhead snakes."²⁹

Howland reported memories of routines within the Smith and Elizabeth Graff household. Jane Arnold, Howland's aunt and Orin Graff's sister, said that work responsibilities were divided among members of the Graff household. "She said that each child was assigned a certain chore. I remember them talking about Julia always making the pies." He added of Graff, "One comment that was made about him was that he would very often start out with a clean shirt on and would end up going to another function with another shirt. I remember them talking about his sisters having to do a lot of ironing for him."³⁰

Graff had a love of hunting that dated back to childhood. Erma Graff laughed as she described one of his favorite recollections: "One thing I heard him talk about was a little dog named Sport. . . . He'd tell about the antics of Sport when they'd go out hunting together."³¹

Howland said, "That was something that I did with him as a child. When he would come back to the homeplace, from Tennessee, he would bring his gun and we would head for the woods. . . ."³²

²⁸Potts.

²⁹Potts.

³⁰Howland.

³¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

³²Howland.

Potts said the hunting was for small game. "About the only things to hunt around where we lived were squirrels, rabbits, or pheasants. We used to rabbit hunt a lot."³³

The Graffs lived close to the land both at work and play, Erma Graff said--circumstances that presented hardships but also taught determination and resourcefulness. "So Orin came up struggling, really, to get an education. But he knew what he wanted to do."³⁴

Graff's Early Years as an Educator

By the time he graduated from high school at Ironton in 1918, Graff had decided to become a teacher. From this point until 18 years later, he taught and served as a principal in Scioto County while pursuing a bachelor's degree and then a master's degree. In the dissertation autobiography, he summarized this period as follows:

I received my undergraduate education at the Scioto County Normal School and Ohio Northern University, from which I was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1929. I received the degree of Master of Arts from The Ohio State University in 1934. My teaching experience has included: three years as principal and teacher in the elementary schools of Scioto County, Ohio; four years as principal and teacher in the high school at Buena Vista, Ohio; two years as principal and teacher in the high school at Franklin Furnace, Ohio; four years as principal and teacher in Glenwood High School, New Boston, Ohio.³⁵

In a personal data sheet from his later files, Graff listed himself as teacher and principal in all the positions except at New Boston, where his position was given only as principal. He also served as president of the Scioto County Teachers Association in 1928 and executive council member of the Southeastern Ohio Teachers Association in 1934-35.³⁶

The shifts between teaching and attendance of normal school and college gave Graff's undergraduate education a strong experiential footing. His bachelor's degree came 11 years after

³³Potts.

³⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

³⁵Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," n. pag.

³⁶Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

high school graduation. His autobiographical summary reflects 13 years as a teacher and principal in the Scioto County Schools, all between high school graduation and his entry into a program of doctoral studies at The Ohio State University in 1936. He mixed at least six years of teaching and administrative experience with undergraduate education and then worked without interruption from the awarding of his bachelor's degree in 1929 until the conclusion of his Scioto County teaching experience in 1936, adding five years of service while pursuing the master's degree and two more years immediately after receiving this degree.

Graff began his career by passing a state qualifying test. "When he got out of high school--he was 17 or 18 then--he took a Boxwell examination," Erma Graff said. "I think that was unique to Ohio. . . . He made a score good enough so that he could go right into teaching. . . . Just think, he was able to teach without any college education at all. . . ." ³⁷

To illustrate Graff's experiences, Potts described the normal school background of his mother, Julia Graff:

She was an early elementary teacher. . . . The eighth grade was the culmination of the formal education opportunities in that area right then--and when she got to be 16 or 17 years old she went to an old normal school and took the teachers' exam. . . . They had, though, what they called a normal school, where they met a couple of weeks in the summer, and some established pedagogue or two would hold this, and then the people would take their examinations. . . . She said that before the school year started, they went to Portsmouth to the county seat to pick up their supplies. I think they got a box of chalk, an eraser, a coal bucket, a water bucket, and a dipper. Well, before they got their last check, they had to turn back in the coal bucket and the water bucket and the dipper, because they were not expendable items. ³⁸

Orin Graff's reference to "The Scioto County Normal School" seemed to indicate a county-wide institution. Potts confirmed this, giving the Scioto county seat as its location.

It was in Portsmouth. E.O. McCowen was the first county superintendent, I think in 1909, and remained there until he was elected to Congress about 1941. Then his son took over and was superintendent for 20 or 25 years. He ran the normal school. Before the beginning of the school year, though, they had a two-day session

³⁷Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

³⁸Potts.

called the teachers' institute--an inservice, early inservice. That's where they picked up their water buckets and all that sort of stuff (laugh). They did all that for 25 or 30 dollars a month. And you were at the whims and mercy of whoever the lay person was who was in charge. They evaluated the teachers, hired and fired them, and whatever.³⁹

Erma Graff had only general recollections of Graff's first years of teaching. After his first years in elementary schools, "he taught in the school where he was principal . . . when the principal left, they appointed him principal. . . . He also taught at Green Township High School in the Haverhill area."⁴⁰

As he moved into building-level administration, Graff still liked teaching, a preference that would continue in his later career, Erma Graff said. "He enjoyed high school teaching. The principalship, he didn't care much about. He'd rather be teaching."⁴¹

Teachers usually moved near their teaching sites because of the difficulty and expense of travel.⁴² Erma Graff met Orin Graff when he made one of these moves:

I lived in a little village called Scioto Furnace, Ohio. It was in the same county that Orin lived . . . 25 miles away. And he had a sister Julia living there, in Scioto Furnace. His sister's husband was working for my father there in this village. My father was superintendent of a brick plant . . . And so he came to teach school, one of his first teaching jobs that he got much money for--not much, but more. And he came there to live with her, and that's the way we met. We didn't get interested or serious about each other for several years, but we occasionally would keep seeing each other and finally got serious.⁴³

Erma Graff showed a picture of Graff standing outside what might have been a school building, a lanky young man appearing to be in his 20s, without the mustache he grew during or before his senior year at Ohio Northern. He wore a tie but no jacket and low-cut boots and rumpled shirt and trousers that suggested a physically active existence. "This [picture] might have been at

³⁹Potts.

⁴⁰Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴²Potts.

⁴³Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

Scioto Furnace, where I first met Orin," Erma Graff said. "Scioto Furnace, Ohio, where he was teaching school. . . ." ⁴⁴

Guy S. Potts' first remembrance of Graff was from this period when Graff met Erma Pyles.

Potts, who was born when Graff was age 23, recalled,

He stayed with my parents for a while. And when I was a little fellow, he visited often. He and my mother were pretty close. He and my father were extremely good friends. . . .

I think he was teaching when I first became aware of him. When I was a kid on through--oh, 12 or 13 years on until I left Ohio, he and I hunted every chance we got. . . .

At the time I was small, I was very close to him. I guess I saw more of him then than I did in later years. Still, up until he went to Columbus to work on his doctor's degree, I saw him quite a bit, and remained real close. . . .

He was always like a second father. We were always close from the time I was a little child. We hunted together, I worked with him in his garden, helped him with his yard, and stuff like that. He had a lot of interests along that line.

Graff later told him a story that illustrated some of the character of his early teaching setting and its people, Potts recalled:

He was telling me one time about when he taught at Buena Vista. This would have been when he was quite young. . . . His friend asked Orin if he'd like to have a drink. He said, yeah, he thought he would. . . . He said the guy took him out, and they went out into a corn field. He wondered where they were going. Finally the fellow found a fodder shock. . . . He had it stashed away there so his wife wouldn't find it. Moonshine, and a drink by moonlight. ⁴⁵

As his teaching career continued, Graff moved beyond normal school and enrolled in Ohio Northern University, located at Ada, Ohio. Erma Graff remembered his method of attending:

He would teach a year and go to school, at Ohio Northern. . . . That's the way it worked. And then he'd come back and teach, and if he didn't have enough money, his father would loan him enough money to go to school another year. He'd come back and pay his father off, and then he'd borrow some more to go the next year, then teach a year. That's the way he got his undergraduate degree. ⁴⁶

⁴⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁴⁵Potts.

⁴⁶Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

His love of attending school was apparent from the time she first met him, Erma Graff said:

"He would have liked to have gone to school the rest of his life, I think."⁴⁷

At Ohio Northern, Graff earned a Bachelor of Science Degree in education. He was a member of the university's debating team, fencing team, and YMCA. A picture of the university's 1929 eight-member debating squad and coach included Graff as a dapper-appearing young man, dressed in tweed suit with vest, and wearing a neatly-trimmed mustache. An article on the debating teams' activities indicated that Graff and the seven others were selected in university-wide tryouts as members of the squad to compete in the Ohio Debating League. The team competed in seven debates during the 1929 academic year.⁴⁸ Graff's personal records also indicated that he served as president of the university's education association in 1929.⁴⁹

A common belief was that Graff's undergraduate major was English; a University of Tennessee accreditation self-study listed him as having an undergraduate major in English and a minor in history.⁵⁰ These were apparently his discipline areas for the degree in education, as indicated in a statement by Potts: "Orin had an interesting major. He was an English teacher. He loved language."⁵¹

Several times Erma Graff noted her husband's love of both English and educational administration as topics of study. Among the books he left was a very old, comprehensive volume entitled Cyclopedia of Education that had belonged to Samuel J. Arnold. Erma Graff said the donor

⁴⁷Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴⁸Ohio Northern University, The Northern (Ada: Ohio Northern University, 1929), 69, 147. Photocopies of the two pages were sent to Erma G. Graff by the university's alumni office in response to a request for information.

⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet.

⁵⁰The University of Tennessee, College of Education, Accreditation Report to the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1971), Appendixes: 215.

⁵¹Potts.

was probably the father of Herman Arnold, Jane Graff Arnold's husband. An inscription to Graff was one of several in the book.⁵²

The Graff family ties to the Methodist Church may have influenced Graff to enroll at Ohio Northern, Erma Graff said, "because they were all Methodists in his family, and had a very active Methodist church in his little village."⁵³ At some point Graff went back to Ohio Northern as an alumnus to be honored, but she could remember the visit only generally:

They had Orin come to Ohio Northern . . . and they honored him and one or two others at the same time. . . . The president there had been a professor here at The University of Tennessee, and he knew Orin and knew that he had graduated from Ohio Northern, so he made a special kind of deal of this.⁵⁴

Potts agreed that, considering Graff's background--no man in the family ever having taught school or attended college and no woman ever having completed four years of college⁵⁵--going to Ohio Northern "was a pretty big step." He gave an interpretation of Graff's motivation:

He obviously was interested in pursuing education as a goal. . . . I think he was bright enough to have done anything he wanted to do. I guess he recognized that if he was going to stay in this business, the degree was essential. My guess is, as he experienced these things and obviously had some success with them, that he probably wanted to push on.⁵⁶

Upon his graduation from Ohio Northern in 1929, at age 28, Graff entered a pivotal era, signalled by several occurrences. With bachelor's degree in hand, he continued part time toward a

⁵²Henry Kiddle and Alexander J. Schem, eds., The Cyclopaedia of Education: A Dictionary of Information (New York: E. Steiger, 1876). Three notes were handwritten in the inside front cover pages of the book: "Sell for acct. of Jonah S. VanDervant" (spelling of last name unclear); "Compliments of J.S. VanDervant [spelling again unclear], Nov. 14th 1877. For Samuel J. Arnold, J.P. Elect"; and "Orin B. Graff, Read Educ. Aphorisms, p. 32."

⁵³Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁵⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989. Details of the honor were not available among the records provided to Mrs. Graff by Ohio Northern.

⁵⁵"I believe Aunt Elizabeth went to Wilmington, but . . . for only two years. . . . Mother had the one little session at Rio Grande College, and I don't know about Aunt Jane, and I don't think Aunt Cora did," Potts said.

⁵⁶Potts.

master's degree while serving as a high school principal.⁵⁷ He and Erma G. Pyles married in 1933. He was conferred a Master of Science Degree from The Ohio State University in 1934, with a major in school administration and a minor in general education. His father died in 1935. During the period, he completed more than half a decade as a high school principal, culminating this experience in a tough, steel-mill town. And, perhaps influencing his future as much as any other development, he gravitated away from finishing his career in public-school practice and toward an examination of philosophy and its role in educational administration.

Graff moved from two years of high school principalship at Franklin Furnace during 1930-32 to the more responsible and demanding principalship at Glenwood High School in New Boston. Marriage followed by less than a year into the new job, and Orin and Erma Graff began their life together in a small but attractive home on one of two main streets of New Boston. They lived one street nearer to the Ohio River than the main thoroughfare and within a mile of Glenwood High School, a large multi-storied brick building facing the main street.

The trappings of life in New Boston suggested that Graff might have entered a settled, long-term existence. Even during the early depression years, it was a time of relative prosperity for the small cities and towns of the area, where the economy centered around iron and steel industries.⁵⁸

Along with the home, one of the material features of life in New Boston for the Graffs was a series of new or nearly new automobiles. Potts thought that two of these were memorable:

If you've never seen one of them, you couldn't appreciate them, but the automobile he had was a Whippet. . . . It was almost, I guess, a compact. I remember it had a radiator ornament of a greyhound-looking type of dog . . . a whippet. It was smaller than a greyhound. . . . Of course, they're so quick and swift. And as I remember the Whippet automobile, it wasn't (laugh). I remember another car he had. He had some odd cars. . . . He had an Erskine. . . . I remember what a

⁵⁷Graff's graduate studies at Ohio State began when he became principal of Glenwood High School in New Boston, Potts believed. "I think an assistantship or a fellowship . . . made it possible for him to do that," Potts said.

⁵⁸Potts.

good running vehicle that was. He was parked there in front of that house . . . and some drunk came along and totaled it for him.⁵⁹

New Boston was "one tough little town," Potts said. "It used to be a mill town. The steel mills have folded. It's closed. But it was one tough place." He recalled that the principalship there was a demanding job for Graff:

I can remember my dad and mother talking about some of his trials. If you weren't able to take care of yourself, they'd push you into the corner in a hell of a hurry. . . . I remember he had a couple of tussles with some big students down here in New Boston. That was back in the days when it wasn't unusual from time to time for a principal or someone to have physical confrontations. He was not one that you wanted to push into a corner.⁶⁰

Scioto County was far from multicultural in those times, Potts said, speaking of the "culture shock" he himself experienced upon entering the service in 1943. Except for a small black population in Portsmouth, "There were almost no black people in this county," he said.⁶¹

In terms of lifestyle, professional status, and relative income, Graff had ample reason to continue his career in Scioto County. His job offered a niche that might have been considered a career capstone for many male educators of the period. But his love of learning, a natural restlessness and inquisitiveness, a very high level of energy, and an increased realization of the limitations of his situation combined to foster in Graff a growing notion that he had not reached the level at which he would find professional and personal fulfillment. The master's degree experience at The Ohio State University apparently accelerated the growth of this notion.

Discontent with the rough-and-tumble, confrontive style of administration demanded to survive at Glenwood High School apparently also played a major role. Potts mentioned repeatedly the toughness of the community and school and the qualities that Orin Graff possessed and used--but apparently did not like using--to administer the school. His unusual energy, strength of convictions,

⁵⁹Potts.

⁶⁰Potts.

⁶¹Potts.

and consistency seemed here and at other times in his life to conflict with a quality of gentleness and aversion to confrontation. If pushed, Potts indicated, Graff's convictions came first, to the point of putting his employment on the line:

I think if a person had ever picked a fight with Orin, he'd have gotten a hell of a surprise. He was very quiet, generally very good-natured, and very pleasant. But I also know that he could be as tough as hell. Of course, he had the philosophy that it never hurt a person to get fired, at least once. If I remember my p's and q's right, when he went to Ohio State to work on a doctor's degree, he left New Boston in a situ[ation]--he'd been under fire. . . . But I heard him say more than once that one of the best experiences a person could have was to get fired at least once. He said, of course, if you get fired too damn many times, there's something wrong with you. . . .

What he was really saying was, there comes a time when you've got to take a stand on something as a matter of principle, or you don't amount to much.⁶²

Graff was not fired, but New Boston was his final place of employment in Scioto County. His departure from Glenwood High School marked the end of his service as a teacher and principal in K-12 education.

Graff attained much greater sensitivity in the area of equal rights as well as a stronger aspiration for learning than he might have been expected to gain in the environment of Scioto County. Potts commented on this:

My guess is my grandfather and grandmother were pretty darn supportive of him and probably were encouraging to him. . . . I think it would be highly unusual that a fellow growing up in the environment he grew up in, the rural environment, with not a strong . . . high school experience. . . . But here was a fellow who was interested in poetry, who was interested in the language . . . I don't know what happened to make that. I guess he probably was just an unusually inquiring, inquisitive person who had the fortitude to push on with it. I don't think, probably until he got to The University of Tennessee, that he was even close to being satisfied with the opportunity to do what he wanted to do.⁶³

⁶²Potts.

⁶³Potts.

CHAPTER 3

OHIO STATE AND CINCINNATI

Orin Graff had studied with Boyd Bode at Ohio State University. During one of his class lectures, Graff announced that Professor Bode had died. His voice broke and he cried. I found it strange at the time that a distinguished professor would be so emotional about his graduate school mentor. But I must confess that years later when Orin Graff died, I cried.

--Arliss L. Roaden¹

The Doctoral Program at Ohio State

By 1936 Graff had weighed the limitations of his situation in New Boston against his aspirations, interests, and opportunities, and he had reached a major decision in his life. He ended his 13-year career as teacher and principal in Scioto County, and he and Erma Graff moved to Columbus, where he enrolled in the Doctor of Philosophy program at The Ohio State University.

Several factors in addition to Graff's desire for a change influenced the decision. He received encouragement from Erma Graff and other members of his family. He apparently sensed that a crossroads in his career had been reached. As always, he was driven by intellectual curiosity and interest in study, now heightened by the stimulation of the master's degree program and courses he had begun to take beyond this degree. He was attracted by the opportunity to pursue further education with at least a subsistence level of support. Of most lasting importance, he apparently felt a desire to move into an environment where philosophic values and ideas would hold sway over the more elemental demands of administrative practice.

Graff decided to pursue a doctorate in educational administration, but Erma Graff had misgivings. "I kind of questioned that, because he was so good in English. I thought he had it going to be an English professor, but he didn't want that. So he stuck by his guns and didn't let me influence him," she said, laughing.²

¹Roaden, "My Lifetime Love Affair with Education," 296.

²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

At Ohio State, Graff found a key ingredient that gave his life direction it had lacked before: mentorship. During the next five years of doctoral study and work, he came under the tutelage of several noted professors who deeply influenced his philosophy, his thinking, and the remainder of his professional career. Chief among these was one of a handful of "giants" in philosophy of education during this century, Boyd H. Bode, a friend of John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick, and along with them a leader in the "progressive" movement in education.

Bode's influence on Graff as well as many others was profound, and his stature was such that he gained recognition in the mass media as well as within his profession. Under the heading "Rebel," Time magazine presented an article on Bode after he received the William H. Kilpatrick Award at Horace Mann School in New York in 1947, when "eulogies" to him were delivered by "slow-spoken 88-year-old Pragmatist" Dewey and by Kilpatrick, then 76, the noted "fiery ex-professor of education" at Columbia. "A disturbing but kindly teacher, Agnostic Bode attracted such big classes that only the chapel would hold them," Time said, quoting an unnamed Ohio State student, "'We had to leave our souls stacked outside his door.'"³

Although Bode was not a member of Graff's doctoral committee, he became Graff's foremost mentor, and the personal interactions and invitations to the homes of Bode and other professors during these years moved the Graffs toward a future lifestyle in which professional and personal lives were fused. The professors with whom Graff worked most closely in the doctoral program were four who served on his doctoral committee, whom he acknowledged in his dissertation: Dan H. Eikenberry, his major professor; Arthur J. Klein, Dean of Education; Roscoe H. Eckleberry; and Harold B. Albery. In addition to Bode and these, others who taught and influenced Graff were H. Gordon "Hank" Hullfish, who also gained regard as a national figure in the Bode mold, and Ward Reeder, who wrote a noted handbook on preparing theses that Graff used.⁴

³"Rebel," Time, Nov. 24, 1947, 73.

⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989. Mrs. Graff referred to Ward Reeder's How To Write a Thesis (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1925). A copy of the book was still in Graff's personal files.

Erma Graff said that Graff was "especially fond" of Reeder, that Alberty, Eckleberry, Eikenberry, and Hullfish "were his main professors," and that "Klein was a person I've heard Orin speak to me about once in a while, who gave him good advice." She added,

Orin came home one day and he said he had had a conference with Klein, [who] said--I wish I could phrase it the way he did . . . "Don't hesitate when you say something, to mean it, and stand up for it. . . ." Well, Orin remembered that. That was a fine piece of advice. I wish I could phrase it just the way he phrased it when he came home, because it really made an impression on him. It probably changed his life.⁵

The collegiality that these professors of great stature extended to Graff shaped and sealed his core belief in philosophy as the underpinning of theory and practice. Several of the professors served as models for ingraining personal values and philosophy into all aspects of his life--the quest for consistency between philosophy and behavior that Graff came to stress in his own teachings, writings, and lifestyle. His development at Ohio State took on an ability to combine continuous self-examination with great energy, self-assurance, and an ongoing quest for a consistent and intellectually-based set of personal values.

More than anything else in Graff's background, the collegial relationships seemed to provide linkages that gave his life a holistic quality observed later by his students and colleagues. Erma Graff commented on how she and Graff carried the nurturing aspects of these relationships into their later lives:

Those people were so nice to us. The Albertys, Harold Alberty, was especially nice, and Eikenberry, and Klein. Orin played golf with these people. And they would have us out to their houses for dinner, and, in our poor little measly apartment, then, we returned it, . . . and they'd come. So that really made an impression on both of us; and I said, if we ever got in the same kind of position or circumstance, I would do the same . . . and I think I did. . . . And we both enjoyed it, and I think that was one of the main things that pleased the students, because they felt they were important. . . . Dr. Bode, Mrs. Bode, they used to have us come over to their house for dinner, just as if we were professors (laugh). It was a learning experience for us. It was great. It was wonderful.⁶

⁵Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁶Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

Hullfish was especially close as a professor to his more senior colleague Bode, and the two taught and wrote on philosophy in education--Bode's title at Ohio State was Professor of Principles and Practice of Education.⁷ Graff especially enjoyed his classes and associations with them. Bode was major professor for another student, Everett Kircher, who worked closely with Graff. "He got to be very good personal friends with Hullfish and Alberty, and he did staff work for Eikenberry."⁸

During this period Graff immersed himself in every kind of learning activity for which he could find time. In contrast to his master's degree program, in which he had moved toward completion steadily and in large blocks of course work, his doctoral program was characterized by exploratory excursions. He completed required classes and audited others, served first as a graduate assistant and then as an instructor in education, read extensively, and spent many hours discussing philosophies and ideas with professors and other students in both formal and informal situations.⁹

The work with Eikenberry to which Erma Graff referred consisted of two years as a graduate assistant and three years as an instructor in education. On a personal data sheet developed years later, Graff listed himself as "assistant and instructor, College of Education, Ohio State University, 1936-41." He also listed other ongoing professional activities for the period, including "group leader and participant in the cooperative development of the Ohio High School Standards, 1937 edition, 1935-37," "chairman and participant in evaluation of many Ohio high schools, 1936-39," and "active participant in state and local activities of the Ohio High School Principals' Association, 1935-40."¹⁰

⁷The closeness of Bode and Hullfish was noted by Erma Graff, Nov. 15, 1989, and is evident in a compilation by Ruth E. Seeger, ed., Writings by and about Boyd H. Bode (Columbus: The College of Education, The Ohio State University, 1951), iii, 14. Mrs. Graff's copy of the compilation was noted, "To Orin Graff with warmest regard, Boyd H. Bode," dated 12-29-52.

⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹⁰Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet.

This mixture of work, professional activity, and study was a continuation of the pattern Graff had followed in pursuing his bachelor's and master's degrees; again, it prolonged his experience, this time to five years. "It took him a long time to get his doctorate, because he had to work while he was there," Erma Graff said. "It never seemed to bother him at all--working." Graff took the assistantship and instructorship "so we could continue to live and eat," she said.¹¹

His background as an English student and teacher carried over into this part of his life, Erma Graff said:

He loved English. . . . Oh, he loved Shakespeare. We had a friend who was there at Ohio State when we were there. . . . I've seen them sit down on the floor in our little apartment, and one would recite something from Shakespeare, and the other one would just pick right up and go on, and the next one pick right up and go on. . . . That was one of Orin's outlets when he was at Ohio State.¹²

Graff's transcript from Ohio State confirmed the variety of involvements to which Erma Graff referred.¹³ He began course work beyond the master's degree during summer of 1935. With the exception of credit hours for his dissertation, he had completed all courses for the doctorate by the end of spring quarter, 1938. Along the way, he audited seven courses and drew three grades of "incomplete," all later removed.

The transcript also noted that Graff served as president of the university's Phi Delta Kappa chapter. Graff's personal records indicated that this was the Sigma Chapter, and that his presidency was in 1938-39.¹⁴ Erma Graff recalled this service, noting that Graff enjoyed it greatly but also that one professor had cautioned him against involvement in too many activities that were distracting him from completing the doctoral program.¹⁵

¹¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹³Ohio State University, Official Transcript of Orin Benton Graff (Columbus: The Ohio State University, issued July 31, 1990).

¹⁴Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet.

¹⁵Erma G. Graff, telephone interview with author, Nov. 11, 1991.

Graff devoted the period of summer quarter 1938 through spring quarter 1941 to completing his doctoral dissertation, along with working as an instructor in education. His dissertation was "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," a document of nine chapters and 269 pages (excluding appendices). Chapter IX, "Improving the Selection and Education of Secondary School Principals," concluded with 11 "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Education of Secondary School Principals in The Ohio State University."¹⁶ Erma Graff typed Graff's dissertation, and Graff included her in his acknowledgements, citing an "especial debt of gratitude . . . for her sustaining encouragement and invaluable assistance. . . ."¹⁷

Ohio State conferred the Doctor of Philosophy degree on Graff in June, 1941. In total, his transcript reflected 64 graduate quarter hours of credit in the doctoral program, bringing the total of graduate credit hours earned to 109 in the master's and doctoral degree program at Ohio State.

"It was a good experience," Erma Graff said of the five years. "It was kind of a long experience, but it was good. We got by, and we didn't owe anybody when we got out of school. So I think we were doing pretty well."¹⁸

Graff's Development as a Pragmatist

Until he entered graduate school, Graff had apparently not identified a systematic set of philosophic ideas that guided his practice as a teacher and administrator. More than two decades later, he spoke of his search for a philosophic base and a sense of uneasiness with what he first found in graduate education at that time:

At the start of my graduate work in Educational Administration (in 1930) I was introduced to a mode of opportunistic manipulation in staff personnel matters and a mode of scientific materialism in dealing with child accounting, business management, building planning, and the like. One day during a personal conference, I asked a favorite professor how he knew his concepts in business

¹⁶Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," 261-269.

¹⁷Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," ii.

¹⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

management were so true. His answer assured me that he had examined carefully the practice of business management and found them (his concepts) to be the only correct ones. My affection for him has remained undimmed in the fact of this (to me) unsatisfying answer. But his answer was characteristic of the understanding of that day. Educational Administration was just getting a respectable foothold in our great universities. Our teachers were determined to make it a respectable science--one which represented or exhibited the foremost scientific theory of the day.

At that time human behavior was considered, in Educational Administration, beyond the scientific domain. Human nature seemed too perverse to be scientifically predictable. Thus the staff needed a kind of control which might best be directed by Machiavelli's rules for short term success, as Whitehead branded the precepts of The Prince, or, more appropriately, by Dale Carnegie's beginning insights into the mysteries of mind control expressed so well in How to Win Friends and Influence People.¹⁹

In the doctoral program, Graff began to build the personal philosophic base that he had been missing or that had existed for him in fragmentary form. He pursued his doctorate during the period that "Progressive Education," of which Dewey was regarded as the father, was nearing its peak of influence, and when his mentor Bode was one of its principal leaders. In 1938 Time magazine referred to Bode as "Progressive Education's No. 1 present-day philosopher."²⁰

The progressives' philosophy, developed by such figures as Charles S. Peirce, William James, and Dewey, and further developed and taught by Kilpatrick, Bode and others, was pragmatism. It was in this school of thought that Graff's philosophy developed during this pivotal period of his life, and his ready adoption of pragmatism seemed quite natural. As a younger man, his quest for learning had been self-motivated and had been encouraged by his parents and other key persons. However, he never appeared to lose himself in his studies. Rather, his overall development seemed to follow the general thrust of progressive education in that learning and experience were integrated. The mentorship of Bode and others moved him toward tying together with a set of philosophic values his own experience, energy, and drive for learning.

¹⁹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 7-8.

²⁰"Progressives' Progress," Time, Oct. 31, 1938, 35.

The Principal Tenets of Progressivism and Pragmatism

An examination of some of the principal tenets of progressive education and pragmatism is necessary to understand how Graff was influenced by exposure to Bode and Hullfish and by the teachings of Dewey and others. In 1938, about the midpoint of Graff's doctoral program, progressive education reached its 20th birthday as an identifiable movement in the United States, according to Bode.²¹ It was one of two major schools of educational thought that were the subjects of debate, the antagonistic school being "Essentialism," which emphasized, as its name suggested, "essential" or "traditional" studies.²²

Progressivism and essentialism were difficult to define, although their general features were distinctive. In the late 1930s, George H. Gallup tried to present the essence of the two schools so that citizens could express their preferences for his Institute of Public Opinion. Gallup asked Professors William C. Bagley and William H. Kilpatrick, both of Teachers College, Columbia University, and regarded as the leading spokesmen for the essentialists and progressives, respectively, to frame one definitive question each. "After two days' travail, each of the professors brought Dr. Gallup half of a 110-word question," Time reported, whereupon Gallup "threw up his hands, [and] abandoned the idea." The magazine reported the two questions as follows:

From Traditionalist Bagley: In your opinion, should our public schools prepare boys and girls for adult responsibilities through systematic training in such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, history and English, requiring mastery of such subjects, and, when necessary, stressing discipline and obedience, with informal learning recognized but regarded as supplementary rather than central? or

From Progressive Kilpatrick: Should our schools make central the informal learning of experience and activity work, placing much less stress on formal, systematic assignments, discipline and obedience, and instead seeking to develop pupil initiative, discipline and responsibility as well as mastery of basic subjects by encouraging pupils to show initiative and develop responsibility, with teachers, while in control, serving primarily as guides?²³

²¹Boyd H. Bode, Progressive Education at the Crossroads, (New York: Newson & Company, 1938), 3.

²²Ralph W. Tyler, Perspectives on American Education: Reflections on the Past . . . Challenges for the Future (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1976), 34-35.

²³"Progressives' Progress," 31.

A similar divergence of views came from the perspective of higher education. University of Chicago President Robert M. Hutchins led traditional humanists who disputed the pragmatic tenet that truth is relative and who sought to check the growing view of education as a utilitarian enterprise. Dewey and Hutchins in particular debated the relativity versus permanence of truth. As did others, Bode joined the discussion, and in a 1933 book written with Kilpatrick, Dewey, Hullfish, John L. Childs, R.B. Raup, and V.T. Thayer, he summed up his pragmatic position:

The time was when a liberal education meant the possession of a common body of knowledge and a common outlook on life. That time has gone by. . . . Liberal education has ceased to emphasize the possession of such a common tradition. To inherit the tradition of democracy, for example, is not like inheriting the classical tradition; it is more like inheriting a lawsuit. Yet this disturbing fact offers the opportunity for regaining, in a different form, the sense of solidarity among educated persons which is so largely lacking at the present time. All education, whether "liberal" or "technical," should help to create a sense that our traditions require reconstruction and thus provide community of understandings and interests, regardless of content. . . . Real education humanizes men. It does so, however, not by moulding them into unthinking acceptance of preestablished patterns, but by stimulating them to a continuous reconstruction of their outlook on life.²⁴

Progressivism's emphasis on the experiential aspects of learning linked the movement directly to pragmatism, a philosophy that defines truth in terms of experiential outcomes. A logical extension for education and educational administration was an emphasis on democracy, reflected in the professional literature and discussions of the period--as in the title of one of Dewey's best-known works, Democracy and Education²⁵--and in the "human relations" movement in administration. (Chapter III of Graff's doctoral dissertation was titled "The Nature and Meaning of Democratic School Administration.")²⁶ A 1987 history of educational administration referred to Dewey as the "spiritual godfather of democratic administration," supported by "prominent professors" (with Bode included among the ten listed). The authors cited Dewey as a major influence in moving education

²⁴William H. Kilpatrick et al., The Educational Frontier, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933), 30-31.

²⁵John Dewey, Democracy and Education, (New York: The Free Press, 1944).

²⁶Orin B. Graff, "A Study of Secondary School Administration in Ohio," 42.

and American social thought away from the scientific movement of the early 1900s and into an era of participatory democracy.²⁷

In labeling himself a pragmatist, Dewey presented a "theory of knowing" that he said "may be termed pragmatic." He wrote:

Its essential feature is to maintain the continuity of knowing with an activity which purposely modifies the environment. It holds that knowledge in its strict sense of something possessed consists of our intellectual resources--of all the habits that render our action intelligent. Only that which has been organized into our disposition so as to enable us to adapt the environment to our needs and to adapt our aims and desires to the situation in which we live is really knowledge.²⁸

Graff, writing late in his career with three of his former doctoral advisees, discussed pragmatism as a philosophy, holding that "the real essence of ideas is to be found in their utilization as guides to action and behavior," that "the meaning of an idea is to be found in how the idea operates when it is put into practice," and that "truth can be known only through its practical consequences."²⁹ He also noted that pragmatism as a philosophy is not centrally concerned with education, although this was frequently thought because of the "functional relationship" between the two and because of Dewey's interest in developing education.³⁰

Dewey linked pragmatism and education directly with a succinct definition of education as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases the ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."³¹ Bode described learning in the same terms as Dewey defined education, but even more succinctly: "All learning,

²⁷Roald F. Campbell et al., A History of Thought and Practice in Educational Administration (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1987), 50-51.

²⁸Dewey, Democracy and Education, 344.

²⁹Orin B. Graff et al., Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), 166.

³⁰Orin B. Graff et al., Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration, 182-83.

³¹Dewey, Democracy and Education, 89.

then, is a change in experience such as to provide for increased control of behavior."³² Bode was a follower of Dewey and Kilpatrick, but he also worked to develop his philosophy beyond their precepts. "He was no meek disciple," Time wrote. "Whatever of mine goes through Bode," the magazine quoted Dewey, "comes out different."³³

By the time of Graff's doctoral education and in the decades following, popular understandings of progressive education and pragmatism departed from the original concepts put forward by Peirce, James, Dewey, and others. Progressivism became tied to connotations of permissiveness and disorder, and pragmatism commonly came to mean opportunism--its usual current meaning in popular discussion and mass media reporting on political and economic matters. Bode in particular decried the perversion of the progressive movement, having "little use for the willful children turned out in progressive education's name." He was cited as telling the story of a student who took a note from parents to teacher: "'Please don't strike Willy. We never strike him at home, except in self-defense.'"³⁴

During Graff's doctoral studies, Bode addressed these changing connotations and tried to steer progressive education back toward a more socially responsible course. In Progressive Education at the Crossroads, a book in which he sought to refocus the movement on the good of social order as opposed to concern only for individuals, he wrote:

Progressive education stands at a parting of the ways. The issue of democracy is becoming more insistent in all the relations of life. It implies a social and an educational philosophy which needs to be formulated and applied. If progressive education can succeed in translating its spirit into terms of democratic philosophy and procedure, the future of education in this country will be in its hands. On the other hand, if it persists in a one-sided absorption in the individual pupil, it will be circumnavigated and left behind.³⁵

³²Boyd H. Bode, How We Learn (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1940), 243.

³³"Rebel," 73.

³⁴"Rebel," 73.

³⁵Bode, Progressive Education at the Crossroads, 43-44.

Bode pressed this point without diminishing relativism as a cornerstone of pragmatism. He labeled as "absolutism all over again" the views of Rousseau and the instinct psychologists "in that both claimed to find in the child the only clues to an educational program." He wrote further:

If we may trust the findings of modern psychology and the social sciences, it is just as impossible to find educational objectives by inspecting the individual child as it is by looking for them in the transcendental realm. The most that the study of childhood can reveal is the nature of the raw material with which we have to work.³⁶

Bode continued to pursue this theme in other writings, including professional journal articles with John L. Childs, of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Graff took the road that Bode favored, emphasizing democracy as the introduction of social change without uncontrolled disorder, as will be evidenced in later chapters of his life. This and three other aspects of Graff's thinking that were crucial in his later career were influenced by the teachings of Bode, Dewey, and others. First, Graff gained a firm view of education as development of the intellect, with the experiential aspect functioning as part of the process in this development. Second, he reinforced and integrated into his philosophy a view of education having to do with actual or "real" problems encountered in life. Third, he adopted as a philosophical cornerstone a conviction that the personal, intellectually-developed value system of the individual is an inherent foundation of educational endeavors--teaching, learning, and research.

As to the first of the three aspects, Graff learned from Bode and others that the experiential aspect of learning provides for modifying the personal or social environment of one's life, based on intellectual analysis of experience and subsequent intelligent adjustment based on this analysis. Bode expressed this view as follows:

This whole process is called thinking, which may be defined most simply as the finding and testing of meanings. The great difference between the world of the civilized man and the world of the savage is the difference that is made by thinking. . . . It is clear, therefore, that the cultivation of effective thinking is a major responsibility of the schools. In terms of pragmatic theory, this thinking must relate itself at all times to the reconstruction of experience; the problems dealt with

³⁶Bode, Progressive Education at the Crossroads, 39.

must be "real" problems in the sense that they present difficulties in the experience of the pupil which are of concern to him in the interests of better adaptation.³⁷

The integration of personal values and factual information was carried on by other significant figures in educational administration of this era who built on Dewey's concepts. According to Jack A. Culbertson, three members of the "second generation of professors" that "came to the fore" included Arthur Moehlman, Paul Mort, and Jesse Sears. Mort and Sears had been students of George S. Strayer and Elwood Cubberley, respectively, first-generation pioneer professors in educational administration at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Stanford University. Culbertson noted that the three "joined values with facts in their inquiry, as Dewey had recommended, and as their distinguished mentors had done;" and they continued Dewey's affirmation that education must draw from other sciences for its knowledge base.

In summary, the excerpts above give samples of philosophic thinking that Graff studied and incorporated into his life during the doctoral program and beyond. Oversimplification is a danger in discussing Dewey, Bode, and other philosophers whom Graff studied. They wrote in complex styles, often presenting long and interwoven passages of philosophic reasoning. The discussion here points out only general trains of philosophic thought that continued to influence Graff and that he sought to exemplify and expand upon in his teaching and in other aspects of his life.

Two Years in Cincinnati

In 1941, with Ph.D. work completed, Graff served the summer as an assistant professor at St. Lawrence University. In the fall, the Graffs moved to Cincinnati, where he served in system-wide supervision for the Cincinnati Public Schools.³⁸ The nation's economic depression was still running its course. "Those were hard times," Erma Graff said. "There were just not any openings

³⁷Bode, How We Learn, 250-51.

³⁸Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet.

at all. So we didn't know where we were going to be. . . ."39 Within a few months of the Graffs' move, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor propelled the United States into World War II. Graff spent the first two years of the war working with the Cincinnati schools.

Graff gave his title as "curriculum assistant" for 1941-42 and as "research assistant and director of High School Victory Corps" for 1942-43. He noted that in 1941-42 he "directed a number of curriculum studies for the Cincinnati Public Schools," and in 1942-43 he "directed a number of secondary administration and personnel studies in the Cincinnati Public Schools," and "directed a program of war-time changes." For the summer of 1942, he returned to Ohio State and serve as an assistant professor.⁴⁰

Graff's service as president of the Phi Delta Kappa chapter at Ohio State apparently played a role in his selection for the Cincinnati job. A word-of-mouth network among progressive educators probably also helped, as Cincinnati's leadership was of this school of thought. The school system's superintendent was George Reavis, a national leader in Phi Delta Kappa and a major donor in his will to the organization's foundation. Erma Graff noted that "Orin knew him somewhat" from the Phi Delta Kappa association, adding that Reavis was the administrator who called Graff and "was the one that hired Orin."⁴¹

Arliss Roaden, who after his doctoral work with Graff years later served as Dean of Graduate Studies at The Ohio State University, became a friend of George Reavis. He described Reavis' commonality of acquaintances and philosophy with Graff:

George Reavis is the person who founded the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation. . . . George Reavis was much the same school of thought [as John Dewey]. He was of the same vintage of people like [John] Ramseyer, Hullfish, Graff, and Bode. He went to Cincinnati, and he had one of the model school programs going there. One of the publications on curriculum developed in the

³⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴⁰Orin B. Graff, personal data sheet.

⁴¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

Cincinnati schools later. He went on to be the editor of the World Book series with Field Enterprises and later became a dairy farmer.⁴²

During the period, Graff worked with John Herrick, who was completing his doctoral dissertation. After working with the Cincinnati Public Schools, Herrick returned to Ohio State as a professor of education. He and co-author T.C. Holy completed A Survey of the School-Building Needs of Cincinnati, Ohio, presenting Graff a signed copy inscribed, "To Orin, whose reflections build for education enduring mansions of significant ideas." The study was begun in 1943, the year Graff left Cincinnati, and was published in 1945.⁴³

"John and Mabel, his wife, were very good friends of ours," Erma Graff said. "They were living in Cincinnati at the time he did his study and his dissertation."⁴⁴ By the time the Graffs left Cincinnati, Claude V. Courter was superintendent.

Erma Graff summed up the Cincinnati experience:

It was not a good-paying job at all, but we had to live, so he went down there and took the job. But I heard him say often that he wouldn't have given up that experience for anything. . . . He dealt with all the high schools and elementary schools, mostly high schools.⁴⁵

Graff's nephew, Guy S. Potts, recalled seeing the Graffs soon after the beginning of World War II, "when I was inducted into the service at Fort Thomas, Kentucky, which was right across the river from Cincinnati. I called them, and they came over on a Sunday and we visited a while before I shipped out." He did not see the Graffs again until they had moved to Tennessee.⁴⁶

⁴²Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990. Roaden also told a story of how Reavis, in a small group of graduate students from George S. Strayer's class at Teachers College, Columbia University, went to a then-rural section of Long Island to see John Dewey. They found that Dewey was known to his neighbors only as a kind, elderly man with a garden and chickens who gave them produce and eggs.

⁴³T.C. Holy and John N. Herrick, A Survey of the School-Building Needs of Cincinnati, Ohio (Columbus: The Ohio State University, Bureau of Educational Research, 1945).

⁴⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁴⁵Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴⁶Potts, May 4, 1990.

The two years in Cincinnati gave Graff his first long-term opportunity following the doctoral program to see relationships between practice, philosophy, and theory at work in a school system. His work there gave him his only direct experience in a large city school system, and it undoubtedly provided a new system-wide perspective that came into play during the new career he entered in Tennessee.

CHAPTER 4

NORRIS

Fundamentally, we do need a return; not to specific ways and means that once were good, but to the great basic pattern of Americanism: a way for all the people concerned to think through in general terms what they want in education, religion, government, or any other phase of living. Surely we are a people ingenious enough to restore the operation of this basic pattern without sacrificing the material rewards of scientific progress.

--Orin B. Graff¹

The Graffs' Move to Norris

In 1943 Graff received a request from The University of Tennessee to interview for the superintendency of Norris School, and Erma Graff recalled that he traveled by train from Cincinnati to Knoxville. Part of the interview took place in the Town of Norris, then also called Norris Village, about 25 miles from Knoxville in the northern part of Anderson County, Tennessee. Graff was offered the job, and he accepted.²

The Norris superintendency was a University of Tennessee position by virtue of a contract with the Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA owned Norris, having created it in 1934 as a residential village for workers who were building Norris Dam. In spring of 1941 the university entered a four-year contract with TVA to administer Norris School, after TVA had operated it directly for its first eight years.³

Graff's interview was with an academic administrator with whom he would be associated for many years, Nugent E. Fitzgerald, who earlier in 1943 had become the university's second dean of

¹Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place." The School Executive 64, no. 3 (Nov. 1944): 65.

²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

³Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," carbon copy, n.d., 4, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. Graff apparently wrote this unpublished paper in 1945, based on events described and sources cited.

the College of Education.⁴ Fitzgerald was himself a founding department head in another of the university's colleges, according to a university historian: "The Department of Vocational Agriculture began at the University in April, 1919, with N.E. Fitzgerald, who many years later became dean of the College of Education, heading it."⁵ As dean, Fitzgerald continued to hold the title of professor of agricultural education.⁶

Erma Graff recalled that Fitzgerald took Graff to the "Tea Room out on Norris Lake." He later pointed out a bench where he deliberated whether they should move, because Fitzgerald had offered him the job "right then."⁷ Graff's appointment began with the third year of the contract, and with it came a dual title, professor of education and superintendent of education at Norris.⁸ "That was the start of Orin's relationship with the university," Erma Graff said.⁹

Guy S. Potts said Graff told him a similar story years later: "One time when we were at Norris, he showed me a fence, a beautiful view of the lake. And he said, 'I made up my mind to move to Tennessee sitting on that fence. I couldn't get over how damn pretty it was.'"¹⁰

With the move to Norris, the Graffs became part of a unique community in the United States, a social experiment with utopian overtones. The TVA conceived and created Norris as a planned "model" or "demonstration" village that was "built to house construction workers temporarily," Graff wrote during his tenure there. But within about 10 years the village was

⁴James Riley Montgomery, Threshold of a New Day: The University of Tennessee, 1919-1946 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1971), 139. Fitzgerald succeeded John A. Thackston, who joined the university in 1916 as a professor of education and became dean when the College of Education was created in 1926.

⁵Montgomery, 137.

⁶University of Tennessee, Record 47, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1944), 108.

⁷Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁸Graff was first listed with this dual title in The University of Tennessee, Record 47, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1944), 108.

⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹⁰Potts.

"considered a permanent community of modern, electrically equipped homes with grounds artistically landscaped."¹¹ The "experimental" terminology also applied to the educational program that Graff headed. He saw Norris School as a virtually pure expression of a "community school," notwithstanding that its operation as such was complicated by unusual and complex bureaucratic relationships--it was a remote village school operated by a major state university and owned by a huge federal agency. The larger movements of the times also reflected in the brief history of Norris as a TVA-owned village. In particular, these included the national economic depression and its accompanying mood for social experimentation, followed by a gradual reining in of this mood during World War II.¹²

The nature of the town and school were uncannily well matched to Graff's experiential educational background and the philosophic direction he had taken from his doctoral studies at Ohio State. His philosophic underpinnings were compatible with the largely unofficial ideological motivations of TVA--in particular, of Board Chairman A.E. Morgan--in development of the village: progressive, experimental, emerging, and aimed toward focusing on improvement of the lives of people in their "real" everyday pursuits. In TVA's case, the ideals gained expression in a piecemeal, sometimes unclear fashion amidst much debate, as they were caught up in the larger arena of public policy.

Norris as an Ideological Enterprise

Norris Village was small, much smaller than it was originally designed to be. The village's site was to consist of 4,500 acres where 1,000 houses were to be built; only 294 actually were built,

¹¹O.B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 2.

¹²Much attention is given to Norris Village and Norris School in the large volume of history and analysis of TVA. An excellent source consulted for this study was Walter L. Creese, TVA's Public Planning: The Vision, The Reality (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990). Another source that was less detailed overall but more descriptive of Norris School was North Callahan, TVA: Bridge Over Troubled Waters (South Brunswick: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1980). Creese referred to Norris as a "village," the term used by the TVA for this and other settlements it created. Callahan and other sources usually used the more official but at that time less descriptive term of "town."

according to Creese.¹³ Callahan put the number at 312.¹⁴ The village's population reportedly was 10,000 in the depression and was reduced to 5,000 and eventually to 1,500.¹⁵

Graff gave similar population estimates. "The normal population of Norris is approximately 1200," he wrote, ". . . and its wartime population is estimated to be 1600." However, he added, "The desirability of living conditions in Norris is noted by the long list of waiting tenants for each house."¹⁶

The diminutive size of Norris tended to belie its high level of community activity and its role as a societal mixing pot. Although the village retained the rustic character of its environment, residents included "talented people from all over the country, in fact all over the world," according to Harry Tour, mayor of the first town council. Organizations and activities included study groups, book review clubs, music clubs, and other clubs.¹⁷

Under the set of ideals from which it was created, Norris was to retain the style and rusticity of its Appalachian environment but at the same time would advance citizens' lives through application of technology and democratic ideals. The town was to illustrate the incorporation of technology--in particular, the use of electricity--into everyday life. In concert with these aims, the town sought to achieve a level of egalitarian self-government not theretofore reached in the United States, through a wide variety of activities geared toward citizens' enlightenment and participation.

Erma Graff's recollections of life in Norris reflected an intricately planned but aesthetic rural setting into which a population of intelligentsia had been infused:

It was a lovely town. It was just so quaint, and so well laid out. . . . Every house there was landscaped to perfection. . . . It was a very quiet town, and yet there

¹³Creese, 240.

¹⁴Callahan, 33.

¹⁵Creese, 263.

¹⁶Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 2.

¹⁷Callahan, 35.

were things going on all the time. . . . There were a lot of intelligent people who lived at Norris. Some of them were a little bit aloof, and some were very friendly.¹⁸

Creese linked the ideological goals for Norris to the progressive movement:

The vivacity and animation of Norris Village may be understood better if the development of Progressive ideology since 1890 can be kept in mind. [TVA Chairman Arthur E.] Morgan had had the dream of a model village in a functioning democracy in his mind for many years. Communal reshaping was part of the Progressive aim. . . . With it [the town], the adjoining Norris Dam could become a demonstration of how a democracy might set up its working monuments in a yin/yang relationship.¹⁹

Regarding the way the town's buildings combined "minimalist" design with extensive use of electrical appliances and heating, Creese wrote, "Women would be liberated by electricity. Relieved of drudgery, they could bloom."²⁰

Erma Graff recalled with fondness the house in which she and Graff lived and the peaceful nature of the community:

The kind of house . . . depended on how many were in the family . . . So we had a four-room house (laugh). But that was fine with us. It was better than anything we'd ever had. And people with one child or two children, they'd have an extra bedroom. . . . We could get up and leave our house for a week, or a weekend, or a day, and never have to lock it. They had policemen patrolling all the time. Nothing was ever bothered.²¹

The housing, landscape, and architecture were expressions of the ideological basis for Norris. Creese wrote:

The whole TVA effort derived from a democratic conviction that everyone in the nation eventually should be equal in status, condition, and capacity, but always on a comparatively high material, technical, and--at Norris at least--cultural level. . . . The house and town plans were ingenious. Their professed intent was a novel one in America: to employ architecture, planning, and landscape architecture with such a degree of dedication that an improved quality of life would result. While these arts were being exhibited with an emphasis on minimalism, due to the inadequate

¹⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹⁹Creese, 250.

²⁰Creese, 255-56.

²¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

budget, there was also an aspiration toward utopian perfectionism, toward becoming happy and effective in one's work and in family and community relationships, that surpassed that in all previous demonstration attempts.²²

Norris School: An Extension of the Ideology

During his two years as superintendent, Graff helped to develop historical records of Norris school and detailed descriptions of its operation. He issued annual reports and other periodic memoranda of information to the Norris Town Council, wrote a comprehensive report of 24 typewritten pages (apparently unpublished) on "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," and kept in his personal files copies of letters from the period. The paper on school-community relationships drew on nine sources of information, including reports and minutes that were issued on a periodic basis. The sources included "A History of Norris School," which Graff noted was written by the school faculty in 1940-41 and edited by Edith Fewell.²³

Graff wrote, "Norris School, figuratively and literally in the center of the town, was started before proper housing facilities or the town itself was completed." He described the school's beginnings:

Two hundred thirty children from the families of the construction forces at the Dam comprised Norris School in its opening year. Thirteen teachers worked in the flexible program planned to meet the needs of the new town. Classes met in rooms of temporary dwellings on Hilltop Lane. Informality was the keynote. . . .

At the end of the first school year, Anderson County consolidated two high schools with Norris High, changing the total enrollment in the high school from seventy five to one hundred eighty nine. The social problems involved in mixing Norris children from homes of secure economical and educational backgrounds with children from farm homes of meagre opportunities and little security was a challenge. Each group has learned from the other. Common experiences in the classroom and social activities have brought about mutual respect and admiration. Yes, it's often now county boy dating Norris girl.²⁴

²²Creese, 260.

²³Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 24.

²⁴Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 3.

A page of notes in Graff's files contained informational tidbits that he apparently collected for the paper. Under the heading "Visitors" were listed "Senator Norris (Nebraska)--at time of dam dedication," and "Mrs. Roosevelt--visited twice." The notes indicated that Fewell was one of the original staff, along with two other persons, and that "Other teachers were hired from Ohio, Ky., New Jersey, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia."²⁵

Graff emphasized the role of Norris School as a center of activity in "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," a 1944 article in The School Executive that was his first writing for a national professional journal. The article's subtitle, an excerpted statement by Graff, summarized his theme and one of his core beliefs: "Throwing open its doors is not enough. To be a real community center, the school must aid in defining and solving community problems."²⁶

The article mixed values with information, as Graff had been taught at Ohio State. He began with an affirmation that freedom of educational opportunity is a fundamental American principle springing from "grass-roots" democracy. He then asserted that the community school concept, properly implemented, "provides a way to get thoughtful consideration of educational policies and needs on the part of the people concerned."²⁷

Another subsection, "The Norris School as a Community Center," summarized the school's history and its expression of ideological aspects:

The Norris School . . . was planned as a community center. The following significant quotation is taken from an unpublished paper on the "History of the Norris School" prepared cooperatively by the school faculty in 1940: "It was conceived as a community school--a focal center for all the activities of the "model" town of Norris. . . ."

²⁵Orin B. Graff, untitled page of informal notes, n.d., Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. The page was placed in Graff's files with other information on Norris School,

²⁶Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 65.

²⁷Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 65-66.

At present, the building is open from 6:30 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. each day, except on Saturdays and holidays when it may be opened on request. . . .²⁸

Graff listed 15 community-oriented groups, including the Town Council, that met or held activities in the school. He added seven other organizations associated with the development of the school program (e.g., Parent-Teacher Association), along with a broad reference to other advisory groups and 18 types of adult activities held regularly (e.g., twice-weekly movies, war bond sales, canning instruction, Russian classes).²⁹

Callahan provided details on the Norris School Building:

The school in the town of Norris was distinctive. The school building was located in the town center and reflected early American architecture. Simple in construction, it fitted in with the low-mountain landscape. Constructed on a terraced slope, its walls consisted of bricks within and without and paint was applied directly to the interior.

The lighting for the building was of the soft, indirect type, yet sufficiently strong for schoolwork, as tested by a sight meter. The athletic coach served both as an instructor and "engineer" who turned switches on and off to regulate the supply of fresh air in the classrooms. The Norris school attracted wide attention and was visited frequently by outside teachers who sought to learn the effectiveness of this new educational setting. . . .³⁰

Erma Graff also recalled that the Norris years predated efforts toward racial integration of schools. She remembered when she was sick and temporarily hired a maid who was black:

She said that her children . . . had to go to a school out in the county that had a dirt floor in it . . . just had dirt for a floor. I couldn't believe this, because I'd never experienced anything like that. And then . . . they took their children over to Clinton to school every day . . . they had to provide the transportation. So that was one thing about Norris that I don't like to remember, about those times.³¹

"This was a very unusual school for him to come to," Erma Graff said. "It wasn't like any school he'd ever been in, because it was so liberal and so well financed, and people came from such

²⁸Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 66.

²⁹Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 66.

³⁰Callahan, 35.

³¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

a variety of places. . . . There were a lot of people there from Oak Ridge, when they could find a house."³²

The TVA-University Contract and Graff's Administration

After accepting the Norris superintendency in 1943, Graff received word of some of the effects of staff turnover as he prepared to begin work late that summer. A letter to him from Acting Superintendent of Education Dale E. Taylor, dated July 12, 1943, summarized the operation of the school and said, "We look forward to meeting you August 20."³³

Taylor's letter reflected that the school was in a period of disarray. He explained that a four-week summer conference had been held annually for the superintendent, faculty, University of Tennessee faculty "allocated to us by the College of Education," and interested persons who were "invited in to almost all workshop meetings." The conference was planned by a steering committee elected by the school staff, but that the committee had not been elected that year "due to the absence of a complete faculty." A workshop committee had been appointed with himself as chairman, Taylor wrote, but, "Some of the members of this committee are no longer employees of the school. Dean Fitzgerald informed me that this committee should not make any plans without the supervision of the Superintendent[;] consequently we have no program for our Workshop this year."³⁴

Taylor's letter also gave a two-paragraph explanation of the working relationship between town and school:

The Community Council, or Town Council as it is locally known, is elected by ballot. It is composed of nine members and a secretary. The secretary is not a voting member of the board. The council member receiving the great[est] number of votes is elected mayor. They work with the school through an appointed education committee, which in the past has been very active and extremely vocal.

³²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

³³Dale E. Taylor, letter to Orin B. Graff, July 12, 1943, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

³⁴Taylor.

The Town Council performs no executive function; it acts only in an advisory capacity to the Town Management; they are allotted \$2000.00 per year by the Authority, which they may use for community improvements. In the past, they have quite often supplied the money for things used in the school program, which were not provided for in the yearly budget.³⁵

He added, "Dean Fitzgerald informs me that he is sending you a list of all vacancies on the Norris staff."³⁶

Apparently high turnover was a persistent problem at the school, as Graff noted in 1945: "Not only is the student body a changing group. Even administrators and faculty change. In its ten years, Norris School has had seven superintendents. Teachers come and go. Of the present staff, only one teacher has been here since the beginning."³⁷

Graff's reports indicated that he coped with vacancies during both his years at Norris. In his year-end report for 1943-44, he wrote:

The school has had serious difficulties in filling staff positions in the commercial, science, and industrial arts fields. These difficulties continue in spite of the fact that salaries for the next year have been raised approximately \$200.00. The high school program was kept running on a high level last year only because several persons in Norris, including one person from the Bureau of Mines, were willing to assist in the instruction.³⁸

The vacancy in industrial arts continued through 1944-45. Graff wrote in his report for that year: "Since the school was unable to secure an industrial arts instructor, the Norris Shop remained closed during the school day. Provision was made to keep the shop open three evenings per week. . . ."³⁹

³⁵Taylor.

³⁶Taylor.

³⁷Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 4.

³⁸Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for 1943-44," carbon copy, n.d., 3, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

³⁹Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for the School Year 1944-45," carbon copy, n.d., 2-3, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

However, Graff apparently brought the school into a period of relative stability and progress, as evidenced in a letter from Fitzgerald in March of 1944. The dean wrote to notify Graff of his re-election as Norris superintendent for 1944-45 and "to express the appreciation of the Board and myself for the splendid work you have done in developing the Norris Educational Program for the university." He also noted that Graff was authorized to write letters notifying permanent faculty members of their re-election, and he asked Graff to "also convey to them the appreciation of the Board and myself personally for the excellent work which they have done."⁴⁰

The University of Tennessee's contract to administer Norris served the university's interest in developing its own students, faculty, and program, Graff wrote. In his "Final Report to [the Norris Town] Council," he described how the relationship benefitted the university:

From the standpoint of the University, the Norris School offered unusual opportunities for training teachers and graduate students in education in the policies and techniques of operating a real community school. The University realized, however, that its goals could not be achieved unless first attention was directed to the development of the best possible educational program for the citizens of Norris and the contiguous territory served by the School. Thus it happens that the citizens served by the School have heard much of the educational program as it relates to the education of their children and little with respect to the considerable and wide-spread effect on educational practice that came through the training of teachers and graduate students in the Norris program.

From historical accounts it appears that the first two years of the University's administration were characterized by considerable progress in the development of the School Program, although such progress was hampered by unwieldy administrative arrangements. The third year was one of clarification of both the immediate program of the school and the part it should eventually play in the training of teachers for the Tennessee Valley.⁴¹

Graff wrote in another report that three College of Education assistants worked in the school during 1944-45, carrying out projects planned jointly by members of the college and the staff of

⁴⁰N.E. Fitzgerald, letter to Orin B. Graff, Mar. 31, 1944, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁴¹Orin B. Graff, "Final Report to Council," June 30, 1945, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Norris School. "Each of the assistants made a valuable contribution to the work of the school," he noted.⁴²

In addition to carrying out the duties of superintendent of education during his first year at Norris, Graff also filled the role of building administrator (i.e., principal). The complexity and high level of activity of the school, Graff's transition to a new job, and his performance of catch-up tasks such as filling vacancies and bringing school plans and schedules up to date made for an extremely busy year. Assistance came in late summer of 1944, when the position of principal was added. Dale Wantling joined the school staff in this capacity for the 1944-45 school year.⁴³ The addition of Wantling enabled Graff to become active in his other role with the university, as a professor of education. "Then Orin was free to come in here [to the Knoxville campus] and do teaching," Erma Graff said.⁴⁴

Wantling continued as principal for at least one year beyond Graff's service as superintendent of Norris. As Graff had by then done, Wantling returned to full-time professorial duties at the university's Knoxville campus, and he later became dean of The Graduate School. He left the deanship to join an international education program about 1960,⁴⁵ early in the tenure of Academic Vice President Herman E. Spivey.⁴⁶

Overall, Graff's records reflected steady efforts to bring order to the tremendous variety of activities centered in the school, while at the same time increasing their level. He sought to bring to

⁴²Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for the School Year 1944-45," 3.

⁴³Orin B. Graff, memorandum to the Norris Town Council, Aug. 21, 1944, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁴⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁴⁵Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

⁴⁶Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 270. Wantling was succeeded in The Graduate School by Hilton Smith, "a distinguished chemist" and a key Spivey appointee, according to the authors. "Bringing genuine academic distinction to the office, Smith pushed hard and generally with success for improvement in graduate programs," they wrote.

fuller realization the original ideal of molding Norris into a successful and exemplary community school, and his writings and reports indicated his belief that he succeeded.

Graff emphasized that Norris' role as a community school went well beyond making facilities available. "Norris School serves not only as a 'meeting-place' for community organizations," he wrote. "Its functions we believe to be that of a cooperative agency in working with and helping to solve the problems of the community."⁴⁷

In support of this point, he wrote five pages giving a highly detailed account of two organizations' activities. The first of these two, the Parent-Teacher Association, branched into operational subcommittees that sponsored and conducted various school support activities. The most elaborate of these was in health and nutrition; under the direction of a health committee, the PTA supported extensive medical and dental programs for the students.⁴⁸

Graff illustrated the extent of PTA involvement in these projects:

In 1942, when crowded hospital conditions and transportation difficulties made the much needed removing of tonsils for twenty-three high school students impossible, the courageous health committee, with the assistance of the local physician, set up and conducted their own tonsil clinic. These Norris High School students were put on the road to better health.⁴⁹

A major PTA project, in partnership with the Norris Civilian Service Corp, was the opening and operation of a Norris Community Cannery. In his 1943-44 annual report on the school, Graff wrote, "Partly as a wartime measure, and partly as an adjunct to its Vocational Agriculture program, the school set up last year a community cannery." He also reported, "The school installed a cafeteria during the year adequate to serve all students. Because of the great amount of food canned by the P.T.A. last summer, the school was able to sell a well-balanced and adequate lunch for 15 cents."⁵⁰

⁴⁷Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 8.

⁴⁸Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 9-12.

⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 10.

⁵⁰Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for 1943-44," 2.

His "Report on the Norris Community Cannery" stated that production for the year totaled 9,079 cans of food, including 2,507 cans for the Norris School hot lunch program.⁵¹ Graff later summed up, "These developments show that the P.T.A. has been especially effective in fostering the school health program, which in turn has had a remarkable effect on raising health standards in the community as a whole."⁵²

The PTA also reviewed and helped shape the educational program. For example, in 1941 the organization held an open meeting to discuss the contract between TVA and The University of Tennessee for operation of Norris School, and the group voted to go on record in favor of the contract. The Norris PTA held a joint meeting with the Mountain View PTA "to better acquaint the Norris teachers and parents with the parents of those Norris School pupils who came from rural areas."⁵³

The second organization was the Education Committee of the Norris Town Council. Because Norris was a town under government administration citizens had no school board or other representative body to deal with school program and policies. The Norris Town Council in 1939 had appointed an Education Committee to perform oversight and advisement for the educational program, and the committee gained permanent status for the purpose of dealing with school and community relationships. Graff wrote four pages detailing the committee's actions on such matters as (a) whether The University of Tennessee should assume administration of the school, a development favored by the committee; (b) at Graff's request, approval for The University of Tennessee to apply for Lanham Act funds for restoration of the Norris School program to "pre-emergency" levels (addition of nursery school instruction and space, added staff to deal with increased enrollment); (c) community meetings to discuss "What can we do to improve the Norris School program?" in relation

⁵¹Orin B. Graff, memorandum to the Norris Town Council, "Report on the Norris Community Cannery," Dec. 20, 1943, 1-5, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁵²Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 12.

⁵³Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 12.

to the 1944-45 contract between TVA and The University of Tennessee; and (d) consideration of the future of Norris School in light of TVA's decision to withdraw financial support and turn the school over to Anderson County in 1945-46. Other topics included operational matters such as interschool athletics and the hot lunch program.⁵⁴

Graff detailed "Some Staff and Community Operations," through which school staff and community interacted on a day-to-day basis.⁵⁵ He also described "Some Other Organizations Having Effective Relationships with Norris School," including, among others, a Citizens Service Corps and other groups which worked to support the World War II effort and related concerns (e.g., Red Cross support, first aid training) and the Norris Religious Fellowship, an interdenominational group which operated a sub-group called "Good Neighbors" and involved members of the school staff in planning and staffing a vacation Bible school.⁵⁶ Graff also noted that for 13 days in June summer school "was discontinued to make way for the Vacation Church School in the school building. While the Church School is not administered by school authorities, about one-third of the Norris staff participated as instructors."⁵⁷

While Graff worked to organize the many school-community activities at Norris, his efforts toward order and stability were in the context of pragmatism and progressive education. He used a holistic approach that emphasized democracy, the good of the social order, and continual adjustment of the environment based on experiences. He illustrated this approach in his School Executive article on Norris:

⁵⁴Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 12-16.

⁵⁵Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 16-21.

⁵⁶Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 22-23.

⁵⁷Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for 1943-44," 2. These relationships preceded by almost 20 years the United States Supreme Court's landmark rulings on separation of church and state in school activities. However, Graff's unhesitating inclusion of sectarian, albeit interdenominational, activities within the "community school" concept is interesting in relation to his later style of dealing with religious beliefs in classes at The University of Tennessee.

Cooperative action cannot be had unless individual groups see their problems as part of larger problems common to the community as a whole. There are many examples in the history of the Norris School that could be used to illustrate community action on a high level. Last year one venture grew out of community concern over a general increase in fighting, rock-throwing, prank-playing, and property destruction on the part of children from 7 to 13 years of age. Community groups such as the League of Women Voters, the P.T.A., the Norris Religious Fellowship, the Norris unit of the Anderson County Youth Welfare League, the Education Committee, the Recreation Committee, and Town Management worked with the school in exploring the problem and in providing means for its solution.

Steps were taken essentially as follows: the school placed more emphasis on practical "citizenship" education in the elementary grades; parents and teachers held individually scheduled conferences on children's problems; the school and Public Safety Service planned together an educational approach to all cases; the Norris Religious Fellowship planned a Church School for the first two weeks in June; the Recreation Committee made a thorough study of the recreation needs of the town; using the Recreation Committee's report as a basis, the school planned, as a portion of its summer program, to instruct children in the kind of group games that they could most readily learn to organize and play without adult supervision. The very evident increase in morale among the children of the community is ample justification for the community-wide educational approach to the solution of the problem.⁵⁸

Graff's Administration of the TVA Withdrawal

Graff's second and final school year as superintendent of Norris School, 1944-45, brought to an end The University of Tennessee's administration of the school and TVA's financing of the school's operations. Graff presided over the closeout of the university's contract and the transition of the school's operation to Anderson County. During 1943-44, it became apparent that, upon the expiration of the four-year contract, TVA planned to relinquish the school. Retrospectively, Graff recorded this recognition in his final report to the Norris Town Council, stating, "The fourth and final year has been one of seeking ways and means to transfer the administration of the school to Anderson County with the least possible loss in the present program."⁵⁹ Beginning in fall of 1944,

⁵⁸Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 67.

⁵⁹Orin B. Graff, memorandum to the Norris Town Council, June 30, 1945, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Graff left a trail of written communication that traced the authority's withdrawal. Excerpts included the following:

Late in September [1944] the Tennessee Valley Authority announced its intention of withdrawing its financial support from the Norris School at the expiration date (June 30, 1945) of the contract under which the University operated the School. The University immediately made careful preparation for closing its administration of the school.⁶⁰

Graff noted that one of three broad university policies was "to aid members of the School Staff in their professional plans."⁶¹

The following month, TVA publicly announced its intention of withdrawing from the school.

Graff recalled this as follows:

November 6, 1944, at the request of Town Management, the Norris Town Council met with the Education Committee, the officers of the Parent-Teacher Association, and representatives of the T.V.A. on Monday evening . . . to discuss the future of Norris School. The town manager read a notice to the effect that at the close of the current fiscal year, T.V.A. would withdraw financial support from Norris School and the operation of the school would be turned over to Anderson County.

The Education Committee was given the responsibility of representing the interests of the Norris community to the authorities concerned with integrating Norris School into the Anderson County school system for 1945-46.⁶²

The TVA notice, signed by J. Ed Campbell, Acting Director of the Reservoir Property Management Department, did not acknowledge that Norris School had been intended as an experiment, model, or demonstration--roles that Creese, Callahan, and others cited as ideological goals for Norris Village. Instead, it put the Norris School on the same footing as educational programs for other TVA villages, and it cautioned that TVA had exceeded its policy mandate in the case of Norris School:

As many of you know, the policy of TVA has been to work with and through established agencies in most of the Authorities educational activities. . . . Where there have been concentrations of population during construction activities in

⁶⁰Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for the School Year 1944-45," 4.

⁶¹Orin B. Graff, "Report on the Operation of the Norris School for the School Year 1944-45," 4.

⁶²Orin B. Graff, "School and Community Relations in the Town of Norris," 16.

relatively isolated places, which have created school problems too large or too complex for local agencies to handle, the Authority has in a few cases operated schools. . . . When construction ended and the projects were put on a permanent operational basis, all such special arrangements have been discontinued and the local educational agencies have agreed to provide the school facilities.

In Norris, TVA support has thus far continued beyond this point. To continue it indefinitely, however, would be contrary to the policy applied at all other locations and would place the TVA in an indefensible position.

Therefore, in view of the above, the TVA must discontinue financial support after this year of all school services not directly needed because of construction activities, including the Norris School. Beginning with the fiscal year, July 1, 1945, it is planned that the Norris School will be integrated with the regular state and county school system of Anderson County. The Authority will furnish the physical plant and its maintenance. The county and state will provide the educational program which will meet accreditation standards.⁶³

On April 16, 1945, Graff sent a report to the Norris Town Council that described preparations for ending the university's administration of the school. In effect, it referred to abolition of the superintendent's position and his own upcoming departure, along with other matters:

Since Mr. Wantling's recent decision to remain at Norris next year, the majority of the members of the Norris staff have also decided to remain, if it seems at all possible to do so. . . . The University is actively assisting those staff members who have decided not to remain at Norris School to locate elsewhere. The University will continue to assist after July 1 those staff members who are unsatisfactorily located. . . .

Certain internal administrative rearrangements were indicated by Mr. Wantling's decision to remain at Norris next year. After discussion with the school staff, it was decided that Mr. Wantling would at once become the leader of the staff with respect to all internal plans for next year, with the superintendent acting in an advisory capacity to the group. . . . It may be said that this policy is working very effectively to promote the necessary transition from the present administration. . . .

As expected, many problems have arisen in connection with the termination of the University's administration of the Norris School. Gradually these problems are being solved. . . .⁶⁴

On May 3, 1945, M.A. DeVoe, assistant to the acting director, Reservoir Property Management Department, sent a detailed, bureaucratically-styled letter to Fred C. Smith, University of Tennessee academic dean, on termination of the contract. The four-page letter dealt primarily

⁶³J. Ed Campbell, "Notice to Residents of Norris: Provision for Educational Facilities for the Town of Norris," n.d., Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁶⁴Orin B. Graff, memorandum to Norris Town Council, Apr. 16, 1945, 2, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

with disposition of unobligated funds and reconciliation of the school's inventory. DeVoe also characterized the contract relationship between TVA and the university, again describing the agreement as a "service contract":

While TVA representatives have had an overall appraisal interest and responsibility to see that services called for are being provided to the greatest possible extent by the University of Tennessee, we have, as you know, not scrutinized administrative decisions in carrying out the program contracted for or the University's decisions to substitute as reasonably proximate other programs when, after persistent efforts, it could not provide the original program. It is a projection of this attitude that prevailed during the active determination of the contract that we plan to close out this agreement.⁶⁵

On June 27, 1945, the Norris Town Council sent a letter to TVA. No copy was found, but the TVA letter of reply from Campbell to Norris Mayor Sandford F. Brandt two and one-half months later indicated that the town officials had appealed for continued TVA support of the school and had inquired about the town's future. Campbell said the "delay in our response is due to the fact that the subject matter is complicated, and it was my wish to be as fully responsive as it is possible to be."

The three-page letter again attributed no distinctiveness to Norris' purpose:

Most of you are familiar with these TVA villages and know that they are not owned for the primary purpose of conducting village operations per se or of demonstrating community planning and management as such. . . . Norris village, for example, contains properties needed in the power, water control, forestry, fish and game study, and cooperative minerals research programs, as well as a warehouse, garage, and other general service facilities. The policies followed in operating and maintaining these communities must produce financial results which are reasonable in terms of the program needs served or the preservation of the public investment in village facilities. Therefore, no matter how cognizant we are of the demonstration and symbolic values which the Council's letter stresses as inherent in the Town of Norris [emphasis added], we are unable to view these as determining factors in matters which involve expenditures of TVA funds because we are not authorized to do so.⁶⁶

An ambiguous and less than prophetic part of Campbell's letter was a statement on the town's future:

⁶⁵M.A. DeVoe, letter to Fred C. Smith, May 3, 1945, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁶⁶J. Ed Campbell, letter to Sandford F. Brandt, Sept. 14, 1945, 1-2, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

With respect to the question concerning the future of Norris, the TVA has no plans for disposition of the town. If an opportunity were to present itself for making an orderly and favorable disposition of these properties, the TVA would then consider the matter carefully. In considering such a proposal, the TVA would ascertain if there were satisfactory alternative ways of providing for the program needs of the TVA now being met by these facilities.⁶⁷

Campbell enclosed a copy of the notice read to Norris residents in November of 1944, reiterating that it expressed TVA's policy on education at the town. He elaborated on this policy in a ponderous sentence:

Its application to the Norris situation was delayed because of special circumstances existing there, but delaying its application indefinitely could not be supported by any special circumstances sufficiently weighty to justify the failure to look to the regularly constituted public agency whose responsibility it is to provide public education, or to justify the substantial expenditure of TVA funds which was required by the previous arrangement for operation of the school.⁶⁸

Graff's "Final Report to Council" stated, "The fourth and final year has been one of seeking ways and means to transfer the administration of the school to Anderson County with the least possible loss in the present program." Graff spoke for the university regarding the closeout: "The University relinquishes the administration of the school with regret, but it will long cherish its experience with the Norris community in building an educational program." He went on to express the university's appreciation to the Norris Town Council, to the Town Council's Education Committee, to TVA's Local Management, to the Norris PTA, and, as "its highest tribute," to the Norris School staff.⁶⁹

Graff continued to work into early fall of 1945 to close out the university's administration of the school. The work involved many details, in particular the reconciliation of financial and inventory matters. For example, an August 9, 1945, letter from RKO Radio Pictures in Atlanta confirmed payment of \$101 for rental of seven films that had been shown as part of the school-

⁶⁷J. Ed Campbell, letter to Sanford F. Brandt, 2.

⁶⁸J. Ed Campbell, letter to Sanford F. Brandt, 3.

⁶⁹Orin B. Graff, "Final Report to Council," June 30, 1945, 1-2, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

community program. The final item of correspondence on the closeout in Graff's file was a short letter dated September 29, 1945, to University of Tennessee Treasurer J.J. Walker:

So far as I can ascertain all the financial obligations of the Norris School incurred during the administration of the school by the University of Tennessee have been submitted to your office for payment. The last of these obligations is Frances Audette's salary for the month of August, 1945. . . . [Ms. Audette had worked 10 days at the rate of \$5.56 per day.]

I hereby respectfully request that the remaining funds in the Norris School Budget be turned over to the Tennessee Valley Authority under terms of the agreement reached by your office and the office of the Manager of the Norris-Cherokee Properties.⁷⁰

From 1945-46 forward, Graff was listed in The University of Tennessee Record as professor of education. The Graffs continued to live in Norris, however, renting the same TVA-owned house they had moved into in 1943.

The Sale of Norris

The Graffs' years in Norris ended in 1948. In June of that year, TVA sold the Town of Norris to Henry D. Epstein, who headed a group of Philadelphia investors, for \$2,107,500.⁷¹ The sale of the town was held at a public auction at Norris School, where Epstein "was high bidder for the 1,283-acre model townsite of 341 dwellings having a population of 1,250." Epstein assured the gathering that residents would be given opportunities to buy their homes and that their plan was "'to continue the pleasant residential character of Norris.'" ⁷² Callahan described the post-auction setting in which Epstein made his pledge:

As he spoke, nearly every resident of Norris--men, women, and children--were on the school lawn for the auction sale. Others, hundreds of them, had driven in from elsewhere. There was emotion in the voice of George M. Baker, the TVA land branch chief, as he described the little city: "Norris is known throughout the

⁷⁰Orin B. Graff, letter to J.J. Walker, Sept. 29, 1945, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁷¹Callahan, 38, and Creese, 262-63.

⁷²Callahan, 38-39.

world as the perfectly planned community of the green-belt type," he said. "Its fame has been carried around the world by its visitors."⁷³

Regardless of Epstein's statement of intentions, the purchasers had extensive plans for "'chopping up some of the underdeveloped land for commercial development'" and "'selling a lot of vacant land for commercial development and real estate development,'" Callahan quoted former Norris Mayor Tour. These plans were held in check and the character of the area was preserved, Tour said, only because the town had set up a planning commission that "'had authority by state law to control the zoning, and to control the major thoroughfares, and set up standards for subdivision regulations and enforce them. Mr. Epstein didn't like that very well.'"⁷⁴

Erma Graff said that Epstein made good on his promise that residents would be offered the chance to buy the Norris homes in which they were living. She and Graff seriously considered doing this, as Graff had commuted to the university's main campus in Knoxville full-time since 1945-46 and part-time during his second year as Norris superintendent. With reluctance to leave Norris, they decided to move closer to the university, and they settled into a permanent home on Sherwood Drive in the Lyons View-Northshore area of West Knoxville.⁷⁵

Some Lessons of Norris

The School

In summary, Graff saw Norris School and his work there as superintendent as an expression of community school ideals, and these ideals embodied the tenets of pragmatism and progressive education that he had learned at Ohio State. He gave his own best synopsis of this expression in the conclusion of his article for The School Executive, a subsection entitled "Generalizations on

⁷³Callahan, 39.

⁷⁴Callahan, 39.

⁷⁵Erma G. Graff, Nov. 11, 1991.

Community Schools." He wrote, "Out of the experience of the Norris School come certain generalizations that may be of practical value in the development of other community schools."⁷⁶

He followed with 12 general points, including several that closely resembled educational "reform" measures discussed nationwide in later decades. Among these, he pointed out the need for a year-round school, to achieve "continuity of community enterprise" and for "maximum realization of educational objectives." (Norris School employed a 12-month faculty and staff.) He advocated broadening the concept of teacher and administrator roles to include responsibilities that "may seem unusual," avoidance of authoritarian style of control, and shared policy development regarding facility use among user groups. "The understandings gained in the democratic process of policy development will insure easy transition as needs of groups change," he wrote. Persons involved with a community school must recognize that the program will not be static and cannot maintain "machine-like precision," but will continually change in response to community needs, he noted, with stability reflected in "development of sound policies and procedures governing change."⁷⁷

Other points dealt with use of the school as a community information center, stimulation of community concern about educational problems, central scheduling of events, greater and more efficient uses of common areas of school buildings and equipment, development and management of resources to carry out such a program, and promotion of recognition of "the same or complementary interests" among community groups. "Under these circumstances there will be action," he wrote.⁷⁸

The Norris Influence on Graff's Individual Development

The concepts that Graff put into practice at Norris School largely set the tone for the remainder of his career, as he made the transition into higher education. As noted earlier, he published his first professional journal article while at Norris, "The School as the Community's

⁷⁶Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place" 67.

⁷⁷Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 67-68.

⁷⁸Orin B. Graff, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place," 67-68.

Meeting Place," in The School Executive, November, 1944. In 1945 he followed with another article, "Planning School Grounds To Serve the Entire Community," in a professional yearbook "Devoted to the Design, Construction, Equipment, Utilization, and Maintenance of Educational Buildings and Grounds."⁷⁹ The second article dealt with principles and practices generally applicable to planning grounds and equipment as part of a community school; while not about Norris School specifically, it obviously built directly on Graff's experience there.

The articles signalled Graff's entry into the professorate in terms of professional writing. They also signalled the growth of another development that became a personal hallmark, the building of a network with colleagues that he used throughout his later career at The University of Tennessee. The managing editor of The School Executive in 1944 was Walter D. Cocking, who had served as Tennessee Commissioner of Education during the term of Governor Hill McAlister from 1933 to 1936.⁸⁰ As TVA was created, and after President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed University of Tennessee President Harcourt Morgan as one of the first triumvirate of directors of the Authority, Cocking was among those identified in popular speculation as a contender for the university presidency. Among others, Montgomery wrote, "The rumor mills also added as candidates Walter Cocking, State Commissioner of Education. . . ."⁸¹

The School Executive was published by the American School Publishing Corporation, which also published The American School and University. Cocking was editor of the latter publication in 1945, and by 1947 he had become chairman of the company's board of editors. As Cocking continued to gain stature as a leader in the field of educational administration, he influenced Graff's career, in particular, through the creation of a major professional organization, as discussed in Chapter 5.

⁷⁹Orin B. Graff, "Planning School Grounds To Serve the Entire Community," The American School and University Seventeenth Annual Edition (1945), 58-61.

⁸⁰Montgomery, 115, and Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 194.

⁸¹Montgomery, 112.

The editorial advisory boards of the two publications included several influence makers and leaders who were frequently-noted figures in educational administration during Graff's career. The School Executive's board included Paul R. Mort, a noted professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Dewey follower. Claude V. Courter, superintendent of Cincinnati Public Schools when Graff completed his work there, was a member, as were professors L.D. Haskew and E.L. Morphet. Members of the editorial board for the latter publication were more specialized in relation to facilities, but they included George D. Strayer, then emeritus professor for Teachers College, and T.C. Holy, co-author with John H. Herrick of the study of building needs in Cincinnati referred to in Chapter 3.

Graff maintained his Ohio State contacts while at Norris. In what was a personal highlight for him, he arranged for Boyd H. Bode to teach during one summer for The University of Tennessee. Bode's visit came during the time the Graffs were still living at Norris but after Graff was no longer superintendent of education and not long after Bode's retirement from Ohio State, Erma Graff said.

"Bode was a pretty elderly man when we were there [at Ohio State]," she said. "He retired soon after we left the university. He came down here and taught one six weeks for Orin. Oh, that was quite an occasion--to have Dr. Bode on campus. In Orin's classes, he talked about Dr. Bode all the time." She added that Bode lived at the Arnold Hotel while in Knoxville.⁸² H. Gordon Hullfish, another of Graff's esteemed Ohio State professors, visited during their period of living in Norris, Erma Graff said. She recalled that both Bode and Hullfish visited the Graff home there.⁸³

Graff's stature as a new professor was likely enhanced by the nature of the Norris superintendency, in that he often spoke for the university in matters related to Norris School and thereby in matters of university relations with TVA in this area of contractual relationship. The

⁸²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁸³Erma G. Graff, Nov. 11, 1991.

combined circumstances of the university's small size, the uniqueness of Norris, the intensity of involvement between Norris community and school, and the high level of attention given to TVA endeavors undoubtedly propelled Graff to a higher level of recognition than a new faculty member would ordinarily have reached. The Norris service also gave Graff first-hand experience, perhaps unique among professors, in progressive, community education. His key role in managing the university-TVA relationship at the same time also initiated him in dealing with interrelationships between complex, and in TVA's case highly bureaucratic, organizations. The Norris superintendency apparently marked Graff with the same positive and negative aspects of reputation often generated by the progressive nature of the town and TVA. As Archie R. Dykes, one of his noted doctoral advisees of a later time, said, "When he ran the Norris School--of course that was much before my time--I think some of the things they did were not well received in the educational community, because it was perceived to be far too liberal for the orthodoxy of education."⁸⁴

An interesting sidelight was the power positioning that former agriculturists achieved within the university. As noted earlier, N.E. Fitzgerald, the dean of education who in effect hired Graff and remained in the deanship for 19 years of Graff's university career, was a founding department head in vocational agriculture. Harcourt Morgan, president of The University of Tennessee from 1919 to 1934,⁸⁵ was appointed as one of the first three directors of TVA primarily because of his expertise in agriculture.⁸⁶ A later long-time (1946-1959) president of the university during Graff's Career, C.E. Brehm, also rose to the chief executive position from the College of Agriculture.

The Town

Graff, the school, and the town were closely related in spirit, and the town and school were tied so closely together in their operations and activities. Creese attempted a critical analysis on the

⁸⁴Archie R. Dykes, interview with author, Apr. 12, 1990.

⁸⁵Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 409.

⁸⁶Creese, 4.

exemplary value of Norris using its size as a negating factor, but he wavered in this effort. "Really, the manifestation was too tiny to serve as a basis for any broader judgments," he wrote of Norris. "And the exemplar was never to be repeated in further tests. This model was tucked away within the woods."⁸⁷

However, he added that this position was tempered by "the circumstance unique at the actual moment of creation," which in TVA Chairman Arthur E. Morgan's mind gave Norris Village and Norris Dam equal weight of importance. He quoted Tracy Augur, supervising planner of Norris, as asserting that the village "epitomizes the TVA, much more than the Norris or any other dam. . . ." And, Creese continued, "Others put the village on a still higher pedestal. Donald Davidson of Vanderbilt declared that Norris Village was the only bright light he saw in the whole TVA!"⁸⁸

Creese's doubts returned later: "Too great expectation may have placed too great a burden of performance on the little village. Norris was a large model interpreted in a small way."⁸⁹ This analytical tack was directed more toward TVA's level of support than toward the efforts of the management or the activities of the townspeople, he indicated several times, as in his summative comments on the 1948 sell-off of the village:

It was not only the eagerness of Congress to jettison Norris Village, or of the TVA management to "localize" it, that mattered in its dissolution, but also the fact . . . that Norris had been regarded, even by its creators, as a single-phase "demonstration" town. What was patently illogical was that Norris had not been allocated a sufficient budget even for that initial demonstration.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Creese, 240.

⁸⁸Creese, 240.

⁸⁹Creese, 249.

⁹⁰Creese, 263.

CHAPTER 5

GRAFF'S NEW CAREER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

A leader has two sources of power, respect and affection.

A leader seldom uses the power of position (prestige factors or command of materials) to influence people.

A leader always takes a stand on the important issues of the day.

A leader has a consistent philosophy of life. This philosophy is revealed through a consistent set of operational beliefs in every area of living.

A leader is influenced to change his concepts only through intellectual consideration of conflicting points of view.

--Orin B. Graff¹

The Beginning of a New Era

Graff moved to The University of Tennessee's main campus in Knoxville as a full-time professor in fall of 1945, as he closed out the last of his duties as Norris superintendent of education. The change coincided with the end of World War II, just as he had earlier left Ohio State for Cincinnati Public Schools near its beginning. A new era was beginning for the university as well as for Graff. The post-war years brought new leadership, rapid enrollment growth, problems associated with the growth, the beginnings of program expansion--particularly at the graduate level--and additions to the campus and its facilities.

For Graff, entry into the full-time professorate was the beginning of a new career, although he had begun the transition while at Norris. The era was one in which he became a professor of distinctive style and note, head of a new department, and a regional and national leader in educational administration. At the age of 44, however, he arrived far removed from fledgling status, bringing to his new work great depth of experience as a teacher, principal, system supervisor, and superintendent. From the beginning, he demonstrated self-assurance as to his personal and professional identity, his methodology for examining his own values, and the direction he would take to promote the development of graduate students.

¹Orin B. Graff, "State Responsibilities in Providing Higher Education," carbon copy, n.d., 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Graff's move to the Knoxville campus coincided with the beginning of a nationwide boom in higher education. The return of servicemen from World War II and the availability of G.I. benefits for them dramatically changed higher education institutions. At The University of Tennessee and elsewhere, "The trickle of ex-soldiers that reappeared on campuses grew to a flood by 1946."²

A major period of development in educational administration paralleled Graff's coming out as professor and department head. Graff's tenure as head of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision overlaid the rise and decline of a new "theory movement" in educational administration. Two major organizations were created as part of the movement and the general era of change and growth, and Graff was a significant participant in both. The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA) was the first, beginning in 1947;³ the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA) was the second, beginning in 1950. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation funded the latter, which took the form of a nationwide set of regional CPEAs; Graff was a prominent figure in one of these, the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (SSCPEA).

A professorial network also characterized the field of educational administration. Before 1934, over half of all dissertations in the field came from Columbia University, where the first "definitive training program" in educational administration was founded at Teachers College early in the century.⁴ A network of graduates from the "Columbia Barons" spread to other universities such

²Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 203.

³Beyond the time period of this study, the word "Conference" was changed to "Council" in the NCPEA's name, according to Peter M. Husen, associate professor in the Department of Educational Leadership at The University of Tennessee. Husen was serving as NCPEA secretary and treasurer as this study began, and he had earlier served on the NCPEA Planning Committee.

⁴Roald F. Campbell et al., A History of Thought and Practice in Educational Administration, (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1987), 4. The 1915-1929 period was titled "The School Executive and His Professional Preparation" by Raymond E. Callahan and H. Warren Button, "Historical Change of the Role of the Man in the Organization: 1865-1950," in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration: The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 73-93. The authors cited the leadership of Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University and George Strayer of Teacher's College, Columbia University.

as Chicago and Ohio State, over time creating "webs of mentors and their former students," Roald Campbell and coauthors wrote.⁵ These webs were still prevalent as Graff became department head and the postwar era began. Department Professor Truman M. Pierce was a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University,⁶ and Graff himself was a part of the network by virtue of association with Bode, Hullfish, Reavis, and others, who in turn had close relationships with Dewey, Kilpatrick, and other members of the original circle. A direct descendant of the "Columbia Barons" was Andrew D. (Andy) Holt, who became one of The University of Tennessee's most esteemed presidents. Graff and Holt had become friends before Holt joined The University of Tennessee in 1950, and the friendship continued as Holt later served as vice president and then president. Holt completed his Ph.D. at Teachers College, Columbia University, during the period of 1929-1934, when the faculty there included professorial giants such as Dewey, Kilpatrick, George S. Strayer, and others.⁷

Two yearbooks published by The National Society for the Study of Education illustrated the changing era. The first, in 1946, Changing Concepts in Educational Administration, was referred to by Daniel E. Griffiths and coauthors as "a book so mistakenly named," in that it signalled the end of an old era rather than the beginning of a new one. "The 1946 yearbook represents the high-water mark of insularity in educational administration," they wrote.⁸ By the time the second yearbook was published in 1964, the insularity was broken.

⁵Campbell et al., 4.

⁶Ralph B. Kimbrough, interview with author, May 10, 1990, noted in relation to his own participation in the SSCPEA Cheatham County studies that "Dr. Pierce had had some rather unusual rural sociologists that had taught him at Columbia University, and he became intensely interested in community studies."

⁷Martha Holt, interview with author, Feb. 22, 1992.

⁸Daniel E. Griffiths, et al., "The Theme," in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration: The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 1-3.

The Evolutionary Beginning of Graff's Department

Formal and Informal Steps Toward a Departmental Entity

Graff's department, Educational Administration and Supervision, grew out of largely informal, loosely coupled, collegial processes. Formal departmentalization had not reached the College of Education when Graff became a full-time professor, as reflected by course and faculty listings in *The University of Tennessee Record*. Rather, the college was "just a collection of professors and of courses," as Graff later described it to former student William H. Baker.⁹ Annual editions of the *Record* from fall 1943, the date of Graff's initial employment, through the remainder of the 1940s reflected the evolution of the college into departments. The 1943-44 *Record* listed Graff as advisor for three of the nine graduate curricula listed, even though he was also working full-time at Norris. He was sole advisor for the curriculum for "public school administrators (county and city superintendents)" and shared advising duties for curricula in "public school supervisors" and "public school principals."¹⁰

A specific set of courses appeared under the heading "Educational Administration and Supervision" in 1946-47. Ten courses, including a three-course series for problems in administration, were all at the master's degree level¹¹. However, faculty members were still listed in one college-wide group.¹² In 1949-50, faculty were listed under departmental headings for the first time. Graff headed a four-faculty Department of Educational Administration and Supervision comprised of Pierce and himself as professors and Bascom H. Story and John Gilliland as associate

⁹William H. Baker, "U.T.'s College of Education and Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, 1950-1980," in *Proceedings of The University of Tennessee Department of Educational Administration & Supervision Graduates 30 Year Anniversary Conference*, ed. Angela C. Fryer (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1980), 21. Baker earned a Doctor of Education Degree from the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision in 1971 and was serving as dean of university development at Tennessee Technological University at the time of his presentation. He noted that he had discussed the history of the department with Graff in preparing his speech.

¹⁰University of Tennessee, *Record* 47, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1944), 112-113.

¹¹University of Tennessee, *Record* 50, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1947), 203-204.

¹²*Record*, 1947, 190-191.

professors.¹³ Story had joined the college faculty in 1946-47 as an acting associate professor of education;¹⁴ Pierce was added in 1947¹⁵ and Gilliland in 1949.¹⁶

The Record did not relate the informal and evolutionary nature of the department's development and did not pinpoint the time at which Graff actually began carrying out department head duties. Baker, reflecting discussion with Graff, said, "The planning year of 1946 led to the naming of Dr. Graff as departmental head and as professor of what Dr. Graff describes as 'all sorts of courses.'" He added that Graff "arrived on the university scene with an appropriate idea and a definite plan for implementing a department of educational administration." Eugene A. Waters, who was appointed dean of the graduate school in 1948 after earlier serving as assistant dean, worked with "eight or ten representatives from those areas interested in beginning doctoral programs," including Graff. Graff regarded Waters as "a very influential person, 'a great man,'" Baker said.¹⁷ He added:

The E.A. & S. program at UT really got under way when the first graduate [Louis G. Swanson] completed this work in 1950. This department was very prominent in the University's total effort to establish doctoral work. Dr. Graff told me that a few doctorates were being offered at that time, but there was not a formal structure such as exists today [1980]. Dr. Graff served as chairman of the committee to reorganize the Graduate School and to develop the Graduate Council. Across the campus, various units were struggling to start or to improve graduate programs. Dr. Graff and other leaders on the campus worked with Dr. Waters to pave the way for dramatic changes in graduate education at the University of Tennessee.¹⁸

¹³University of Tennessee, Record 53, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1950), 251.

¹⁴Record, 1947, 190.

¹⁵University of Tennessee, Record 51, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1948), 218.

¹⁶Record, 1950, 251.

¹⁷Baker, 21-22. According to Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 222, former education professor Waters was named by Fred C. Smith, who had moved from dean of the university and dean of the graduate school to vice president. When Smith retired in 1953, President Brehm named two vice presidents, Waters and Holt, who had joined the university as an assistant to the president in 1950.

¹⁸Baker, 23.

Baker noted the early addition--after Pierce, Story, and Gilliland--of a young professor named Kenneth E. McIntyre, the return of Dale Wantling from the principalship at Norris to the college faculty, and the addition of Woodrow W. Wyatt to the college faculty. "Dr. Graff, in reminiscing with me about some of these distinguished professors, modestly called them a 'pretty effective group,' Baker said. "Many of them worked closely with Dr. Graff in the University's total efforts to develop doctoral programs."¹⁹

The New Department's Purpose

Graff initially saw the purpose of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision as meeting the needs of elementary and secondary schools and schools systems. "During the decade of the forties, our programs carried the implicit assumption that our efforts should be confined exclusively to the preparation of principals and superintendents of schools," he wrote in a retrospective view years later."²⁰

Baker spoke of this purpose:

When Dr. Graff was asked who would be trained in the new doctoral program in administration and supervision, he commented that the department would train individuals for the superintendency. Although some folks laughed at the explanation, Dr. Graff told them to look for a lot of difference in the next ten years. Sure enough, within five years, the superintendents started hiring doctoral candidates as assistant superintendents. . . .²¹

However, this view of the department's purpose soon broadened, Graff wrote later:

Studies showing the need for fewer principals and superintendents resulting from the consolidation of both schools and school systems caused the departmental staff grave concern, since the student demand for admission was high and staff expansion was in progress.

During the decade of the fifties, we acquired a truer perspective by ascertaining the kinds of positions our graduates were accepting. With some shock we became aware of the proliferation of positions in the superintendency and the principalship; the expanding number of new educational administrative positions in

¹⁹Baker, 21-22.

²⁰Orin B. Graff, "The Profession of the School Superintendency: A Perspective," mimeographed copy, n.d., Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

²¹Baker, 22.

business, industry, government, and armed services, and the demand for professional preparation for administrative positions in higher education.²²

The "truer perspective" apparently began to develop quite early in the 1950s, as reflected in a departmental document written by Graff. "A Statement Regarding the Work of the Department of Educational Administration," issued April 3, 1951, gave two lists of "Types of positions for which students who take work in the Department are preparing." The first, titled "Primary responsibility of the Department (Master of Science and Doctoral level students)," listed superintendents, assistant superintendents, school principals, assistant school principals, supervisors of education, college teachers of educational administration and supervision, state department of education administrators, and college administrators. The second list, titled "Secondary responsibility of the Department," included 11 categories of secondary teachers, elementary teachers, attendance teachers, college teachers, guidance workers, library workers, health educators, curriculum directors, and college department heads.²³

Another document, in draft form and apparently written later than the above, revealed a deeper layer of Graff's philosophy on the department's purpose. Titled "State Responsibilities in Providing Higher Education," it started with six brief paragraphs headed "A Series of Basic Assumptions," with the first two setting the tone:

The function of higher education is to educate leadership for the most critical tasks in directing and enriching our culture.

Higher education is not oriented to the transmission of a selected cultural heritage but rather is concerned with the improvement, the enrichment, the direction, the creation of the culture. Higher education in the best sense deals with the "growing edge" of our times.²⁴

²²Orin B. Graff, "The Profession of the School Superintendency: A Perspective," 2.

²³Orin B. Graff, "A Statement Regarding the Work of the [University of Tennessee] Department of Educational Administration and Supervision," carbon copy, Apr. 3, 1951, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

²⁴Orin B. Graff, "State Responsibilities in Providing Higher Education," 1. The manuscript was stapled to a mimeographed copy of a memorandum by doctoral student Clarence E. Greever, "Notes taken from talk at Phi Delta Kappa Meeting," Nov. 10, 1954. "For Dr. Graff" was pencilled at the top of the copy. The speaker at the meeting was E.A. Waters, university vice president.

Two succeeding paragraphs were an outline that appeared to summarize the bases from which Graff led his department and conducted his own life during his years as department head. They read:²⁵

General Characteristics of Leaders to be Educated in Higher Education

A leader has two sources of power, respect and affection.

A leader seldom uses the power of position (prestige factors or command of materials) to influence people.

A leader always takes a stand on the important issues of the day.

A leader has a consistent philosophy of life. This philosophy is revealed through a consistent set of operational beliefs in every area of living.

A leader is influenced to change his concepts only through intellectual consideration of conflicting points of view.

Problems Higher Education Should be Concerned About

1. Self discipline
2. Understanding of self
3. Providing continuous education for all
4. Understanding the physical world in which we live ["Getting rid of the myopic view" was added in handwriting.]
5. Understanding the world of ideas (developing a consistent philosophy of life)
6. Meeting the two problems that prevent integral personalities
 - a. Competing of philosophical theories in our culture
 - b. The intense specialization encouraged by the basic disciplines
7. The development of leadership in all the important jobs in our culture

Graff as Professor and Philosopher in the Early Years

Growth of a Departmental Culture

Graff and his colleagues quickly began to build a departmental culture based on informality, long work hours, and close, continual out-of-class interaction with students. Graff was a pervasive presence, and he and the other professors closely advised and worked with students--particularly doctoral students in residence--with more limited than usual regard to official advisement roles. Informality and interaction were accentuated by the department's physical arrangement. The university's expansion of facilities did not reach the College of Education during the period of 1946-1954, and Educational Administration and Supervision was housed in "Barracks A,"²⁶ one of 34

²⁵Orin B. Graff, "State Responsibilities in Providing Higher Education," 1-2.

²⁶"Barracks A" was used by Bascom H. Story, letter to Orin B. Graff, Apr. 6, 1951, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. Various sources referred to the "barracks."

prefabricated ex-military barracks that the university added to those already placed on campus to serve troops during the war.²⁷ Graff and Pierce shared an office in the barracks home of the department, worked closely together, and assigned doctoral students to help other students.²⁸ Former students remembered an open, common work area of the barracks called the "bullpen." Coffee was always ready, and the area was the scene of many "bull sessions" among students. Professors often joined the sessions, as well as using the area for cooperative, informal work with students.

The new three-professor department was exceptional in having two faculty members--Graff and Pierce--of great stature, energy, and ability; Story was also "dynamic in teaching and as a person," former student Bennie E. Carmichael said.²⁹ Both Graff and Pierce had differences with Story, but this was part of an atmosphere that was "just tremendously stimulating," he said. "Their arguments and stimulation of students were very healthy. . . ."

They had a loose kind of management administration, which you can attribute to Dr. Graff. He didn't get in the way of anybody excelling, which is important in administration and management. And for a period of time there, they grew tremendously. . . . The loss of Dr. Pierce [to the SSCPEA in fall of 1950] was one of the greatest losses, because he had a stabilizing influence to anybody and everybody who worked with him.³⁰

While both professors were extremely capable both in terms of concept and practice, their working relationship was that Graff tended toward the former and Pierce the latter. Essentially, Graff taught and worked from a foundation of basic values with a layer of fluidity overlaying them

²⁷Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 212. The various barracks served as classrooms, office space, and a student center; in addition, the university built a housing project for 248 families from barracks of a former prisoner-of-war camp that had been located at Crossville, Tennessee.

²⁸Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

²⁹Bennie E. Carmichael, interview with author, Dec. 15, 1990. Carmichael was one of four students of the department who served as Tennessee Commissioner of Education. Before serving in this post, Carmichael was superintendent of Chattanooga City Schools for a number of years; after the commissionership, he served as assistant to the president at East Tennessee State University. He earned a Master's Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee in 1949 and then a doctorate in the same field from George Peabody College for Teachers, with Truman M. Pierce as his advisor for both degrees.

³⁰Carmichael.

insofar as application and use in expansion of knowledge was concerned. "Dr. Pierce was the leveling force for Dr. Graff," Carmichael said. Pierce also held and followed intellectually-based values, "and he could insert the practical application to Dr. Graff's verbalization. He could do that. And Dr. Graff needed a lot of that. He really did."³¹ At the same time, Graff's stimulation of his students to develop abilities to think, remember, and analyze conceptually was a tremendous gift, Carmichael added.

I just have to attribute that to him. Now, Dr. Pierce, on the other hand, would make you practice that, or if you didn't practice it, he'd be questioning it. . . . He was a person who expected you to live and practice those kinds of things to the nth degree. But I think getting in that mood of approaching life, I think I'd have to go back to Dr. Graff. And I personally don't think there is anything more important.³²

Out-of-class experiences involving students and professors were a key part of the department's culture from the beginning. Graff and his colleagues took students to professional meetings as well as involving them in special projects and ongoing service to school systems. The department's role in school surveys--team visits to help school systems evaluate needs for administrative changes such as consolidations, building programs, etc.--was a key source of such experiences. A course in this area was a regular and important part of the department's offerings, and doctoral students regularly accompanied professors who led or participated on teams conducting the surveys. Similarly, students traveled to meetings of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the NCPEA, and the SSCPEA. Students and professors working together in combinations of collegial and tutorial relationships in a variety of settings became a key and lasting aspect of the department's culture.

Graff's Emergence as a Mentor: Student Views and Associations

From this setting and approach, Graff gained within the university a reputation as a teacher and philosopher similar to that of his Ohio State mentor Bode. From the beginning of his full-time

³¹Carmichael.

³²Carmichael.

professorate, he became known for emphasizing to students and colleagues the integration of philosophic values into one's conduct of life. His day-to-day philosophic interactions in the classroom and other settings began to inspire long-term student remembrances.

Five of his students from the late 1940s and early 1950s³³ remembered vividly the energy and enthusiasm that Graff brought to this aspect of teaching and how he delighted in unsettling views and beliefs that had previously gone unquestioned. They described his approach as one of enabling and encouraging students to dismantle their value systems and then to reassemble them based on philosophic thought and intellectually-based self-examination.

Bennie E. Carmichael and Edward C. Merrill, Jr. Carmichael, who first encountered Graff in a senior-level course in philosophy of education, recalled Graff's unsettling effect:

He would frighten you right out of your boots with the kinds of things he would reveal and cover in philosophy and the schools of psychology. He imprinted on me the most profound kind of pattern, really. . . . He would cut loose with both barrels, and some of us country kids who had never been exposed to that kind of thinking and were oriented primarily to religious teachings and philosophy, I remember just virtually rebelling. "Who are you to talk that way?"³⁴

At the same time, Graff's desire to stimulate philosophic self-examination by students was coupled with genuineness and great care, Carmichael said:

He had the ability to shake you up without destroying you, and that was one of his primary objectives throughout life . . . at the same time showing the greatest degree of respect for you and care for you. It was just a wonderful kind of attitude that he would display toward you. . . . I've often said, and others . . . would often say, it didn't matter what course he was teaching, it would be philosophy. . . .³⁵

E.C. Merrill, Jr., used the term "dialectic" to describe Graff's teaching style. "In other words, he didn't lecture all the time. He wanted to . . . have the student express himself."

³³The five former students who served as sources for this chapter, all of whom later served with accomplishment in educational administration, had several characteristics in common that were representative of the time and place: They were white males who had returned from World War II service either to take up or resume college education, and all were either already married or became married while pursuing graduate study.

³⁴Carmichael.

³⁵Carmichael.

He would always raise questions and get students to react to them. Then he would very often try to get a student to state an inconsistent position or one that had philosophical implications that [the student] didn't see. Dr. Graff, when he got a student like that, would get very excited. One time he had a little mustache, and he would do this way [rubbed mustache repeatedly], and he would do this way on the table [drummed fingers rapidly], because he knew that this student would learn something, because [the student] would have to defend the position he took that was really not consistent with values he had expressed earlier.³⁶

Like Bode, Graff believed in having students read directly from the works of philosophers.

"He wanted students not to read something about Alfred North Whitehead, but to read Alfred North Whitehead, and then to translate that, if possible, into what it means in educational terms and in leadership terms," Merrill said.³⁷

Both Carmichael and Merrill favored the program Graff headed at The University of Tennessee, where they earned master's degrees, over the educational administration program at Peabody. (These views were notwithstanding their career success following attainment of Ph.D. Degrees in Nashville or their deep allegiance to Pierce, who served as major professor for both after moving there.) Carmichael said:

We used to say, in comparing entering the doctoral program at UT under Dr. Graff's chairmanship with that of Peabody, that . . . [Peabody's] philosophy seemed to be that they were going to use every means at their disposal to knock you down and flunk you out. Whereas if you entered the program at The University of Tennessee . . . you were assured when you were accepted that "We're going to do everything in our power to increase your potential. . . ." And that was such a contrast. I think the latter is a far better way to prepare educational administrators. And I would say frankly that if I had not had some of that background, which I got a great deal of from Dr. Graff, I don't think I could have weathered the other. I think I'd have blown up and told them to go to hell. But I thought I understood both sides of the question pretty well, and I could shrug off theirs because of the superiority of feeling that I think Dr. Graff and his staff gave.³⁸

³⁶Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990. Merrill's graduate education was very similar to Carmichael's in that he earned a Master's Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee in 1948 and then a doctorate in the same field from George Peabody College for Teachers in 1953, with Truman M. Pierce as his adviser for both degrees. He returned to The University of Tennessee as dean of the College of Education in 1961, after service as a professor at Auburn University, the University of Rochester, and the University of North Carolina. After eight years as dean at Tennessee, he moved to Gallaudet College as president, serving there for 14 years until his retirement in 1983.

³⁷Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

³⁸Carmichael.

As did Carmichael, Merrill talked of the stimulation of learning that grew from Graff's inclusion of close working relationships with students in his personal philosophic values:

That was the beauty of working with Dr. Graff. When he took you on as a student, you were almost a peer of his, and you felt that. And he was very intellectually honest. . . . His classes were a challenge. They weren't the kind of thing where you cover the next ten, twenty pages and come in and talk about that. You'd never know what you were going to be hit with. . . . He would get up and pose a problem, get you to react and ask you what you would do; and then he would devastate you, in a polite way, if you didn't have any consistency in your approach to that. He would make you think. . . . That's the way he taught. He loved it, and he had quite a sense of humor. . . .³⁹

Calvin M. Street and Ralph B. Kimbrough. Two of Graff's early doctoral advisees, Calvin M. Street and Ralph B. Kimbrough, achieved special note. The first to return as a member of the department's faculty and then to become a noted professor in his own right was Kimbrough.⁴⁰

Street held the distinction of working more closely with Graff than any other associate in putting into the literature of the period Graff's and his own philosophic views (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Street was also the first and most distinguished exemplar of Graff's adoption of his higher-level doctoral students as philosophic partners. He was mentioned in terms of respect and affection by sources on Graff. His role was to facilitate and stimulate the expression of philosophic ideas that reflected Graff's thinking.

Street was a surprise to Graff and others, as he entered the study of educational administration from a background of industrial training at Memphis State College, before the institution's elevation to university status. Erma Graff described him as very closely aligned to Graff's philosophic thinking, as "very thorough in everything he did," and "a deep thinker and a good one."

³⁹Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

⁴⁰Kimbrough was awarded a Doctor of Education Degree in 1953, after earlier completing bachelor's and master's degrees at The University of Tennessee. After a year in West Virginia, he served for four years in Graff's department as an assistant and then an associate professor. He then moved to the University of Florida for a long career as professor and department head; after retiring there, he served on the faculties of East Tennessee State University and, as of this writing, Georgia Southern University.

Graff and Street began to work closely together when Street came to Knoxville to study full-time for a year.⁴¹ Merrill remembered Graff and Street "had respect for each other and grew together." He noted that Street was the first of many students with whom Graff worked closely because they "could play ball with him intellectually."⁴²

"I would classify [Graff] more as a philosopher," Kimbrough said. "Although he knew administration, obviously, well, he was so interested in this whole question of values." Graff spoke often of Bode, a "very noted philosopher and scholar," he added, with a recollection of Graff's teaching that resembled Carmichael's:

One of my first courses was . . . his favorite course. I think it was called 522 in those days. . . . It was a course in design very much along the lines of some training he had, I think, at Ohio State University. . . . This course was one in which and at a time in which he challenged a lot of people to think about what they believed. This course was . . . one in which I became intensely interested and was my introduction, really, to philosophy and humanities in the field of educational administration.⁴³

Kimbrough had an opportunity to see the Graff-Bode relationship from a new perspective at that time. His wife-to-be, on the suggestion of N.E. Fitzgerald, her advisor, took Bode's course during the summer when he was a visiting professor at The University of Tennessee. "She kept her notes and told me a lot about what he had taught them. Of course, that appealed to me and helped me in my interaction with Dr. Graff. . . ." Graff and Bode were "very much the same on sharpening issues," he said.⁴⁴

⁴¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

⁴²Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

⁴³Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁴⁴Kimbrough also told of later working with Bode's daughter: "I knew Dr. Bode's daughter, who was on the faculty at the University of Florida, and Gladys and I were very close to her. She'd have us out to dinner once in a while. One night we got up in the second floor and got to looking at letters that Dewey and Bode had written to each other during the period in which they were having all these intellectual clashes with other points of view, with people like Hutchins in Chicago, and Breed, who was a realist, and other idealists. I don't know what ever happened to those letters. I wish I knew."

As Kimbrough went on to work on his master's degree, Graff became his advisor. Graff viewed the work with great seriousness:

If people didn't want to deal in ideas, they didn't find him very good company. And so that was the real difference. [Students] had to write these theses, and he would use us to work with the people that needed a lot of help in writing a master's thesis. I learned a lot from that. . . . He always insisted that you didn't just work as a graduate assistant. He looked upon graduate assistantship as a way to help people go to school, not to get work out of them. He always insisted that everybody, whether they were on a graduate assistantship or not, ought to do some shared work around the department. He was very strong about that. I remember we had a lot of discussion about that. He didn't single out graduate assistants to plunder them, like a lot of people will do.⁴⁵

Kimbrough also recalled that Graff's considerateness of students did not signal any abandonment of firmness or straight talk:

He was a fellow who would put it right out on the table about what he thought. I was writing along on my dissertation, and I had material in there that I called figures. He said, "Ralph, I believe those would be more appropriately called tables." Well, he and I got into an argument, to put it mildly, about whether they were figures or tables, and I kind of went out of there mad. So I went over into my office. I had an office across from his. I was sulking in there. It came lunch time, and he walked in and he said, "Now, Ralph, you can call those figures if you want to, if you want to stay around here another year or so." As the old saying is, I never had it explained to me quite like that. He was right. He was correct. So we called them tables.⁴⁶

Fred R. Thornton. A participant in the mid-1940s higher education rush was Fred R. Thornton, who returned from World War II service and enrolled in Graff's department, combining his studies with teaching at Stair Tech--Knoxville City's vocational school before Fulton High School--until he was awarded a Doctor of Education Degree. Thornton first met Graff when Graff was still at Norris and had begun teaching part-time, "probably evening and Saturday morning classes." He recalled:

I came back from the Navy and decided to go back to the university and finish the master's program. I got out of the Navy in December of '45 and registered in January of '46 for the winter quarter. It was just a coincidence that

⁴⁵Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁴⁶Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

my registration broke the high enrollment they had had previously. That high enrollment was about 3,600 students.⁴⁷

Gilliland served as Thornton's major professor, as he had joined the university by the time of Thornton's doctoral studies, and Wantling had returned from Norris and served on his committee, along with Graff and another professor. As did other former students, Thornton noted that Graff did not see the graduate school setting as limited to the classroom:

I probably learned as much out of the classroom with Dr. Graff as in the classroom. Many times we had opportunities, particularly in groups of two or three people, to sit and talk about current educational administration problems and situations. I think, of my experiences with Dr. Graff, probably the most rewarding times were those spent outside the classroom environment, discussing current educational concerns.⁴⁸

Guy S. Potts. Graff's nephew, Guy S. Potts (see Chapter 2), completed his master's degree in the department during the summers of 1948-50, returned for doctoral courses beginning in 1952 (having spent the previous summer at George Peabody College for Teachers), and completed his residence and Doctor of Education Degree in 1954. Running through Potts' many memories of Graff was a theme of combined gentleness and toughness, as in his description of Graff's views on administrators saying "no":

He was as tough as hell, but he was very, very nice, even when he had to say "no." . . . This was the one thing I found in school administration that I talked to him a long time about on several occasions. . . . I don't see how in hell school administrators can survive if they aren't willing to say "no." . . . I know Orin and I talked about that, and he was very good at being able to say "no" to an individual, or to let a person know that he thought his ideas were wet and wouldn't fly, that sort of thing.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Fred R. Thornton, interview with author, Dec. 14, 1990. Thornton was awarded a Doctor of Education Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision in 1954. He then moved to Florida, serving first as director of a technical high school and then with the Florida State Department of Education as state consultant for technical education, a position that involved him in development of technical curricula for community colleges. He later returned to Tennessee to head training programs for Tennessee Eastman Corporation, Kingsport, and retired while holding this position.

⁴⁸Thornton.

⁴⁹Potts.

Although Potts and Graff enjoyed a very close relationship, they muted their ties during Potts' time as a graduate student. "In the bull sessions, I never heard any student speak disparagingly about him. I think he was just about as universally liked as a person and respected professionally as most anyone."⁵⁰

Upon receiving his doctorate, Potts joined the Chattanooga Public Schools' central staff and worked for Lawrence Derthick, Sr., who left Chattanooga to serve as U.S. Commissioner of Education during the second term of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1956-60.⁵¹ It was then, when knowledge that he was Graff's nephew circulated, that he began to realize the extent to which Graff was known: "Of course, Lawrence Derthick knew that Orin was my uncle. Orin had a lot of friends in the Chattanooga Public Schools. Then I found out how well known he was throughout the state."⁵²

Louis G. Swanson and Others. In the informal climate of Barracks A, two students of Scandinavian descent raced to earn the first Ed.D. degree in Educational Administration and Supervision. The successful candidate, in 1950, was Louis G. Swanson, an advisee of Pierce, whom Potts described as "an old Swede bachelor from Michigan." As did Potts later, Swanson worked in the Chattanooga Public School System upon graduation, afterward joining the University of Kentucky and continuing his career there until his death.⁵³ The other contestant was Arnold C. Tjomsland, an

⁵⁰Potts.

⁵¹Lawrence Derthick, Jr., telephone interview with author, Apr. 28, 1990. The younger Derthick completed two degrees in The University of Tennessee's Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, a master's in 1954 and a Doctor of Education in 1957, with Gilliland as his chair and Graff serving on his committee for both.

⁵²Potts. Based on knowledge gained in his service as superintendent of Chattanooga, Carmichael also spoke of the Graff-Derthick acquaintance: "They knew each other quite well, I'm sure, but I don't know that they had any professional relationship. They were not the same kind of people by any means. Lawrence, with all due respect, was an entrepreneur. He was of that vintage, and Dr. Graff knew that."

⁵³Potts. Carmichael recalled that when Swanson joined the staff at Chattanooga, he and Derthick "were immediately in great conflict," although their differences were not aired openly. "Louis was not a conflict-type personality, but philosophically there was just no way they could avoid it," Carmichael said, because of the contrast between the approach Graff had taught Swanson and Derthick's "entrepreneurial" style."

advisee of Story and a Washington State native whom Potts believed to be of Nordic descent.⁵⁴

Tjomsland graduated in March, 1951, and later served as a professor at Washington State University.⁵⁵

The first Doctor of Education graduate whom Graff officially served as major professor was apparently Alf Walle ('51), later dean of education at Ashland College in Ohio.⁵⁶ Lawrence Derthick, Jr., remembered that Graff also served as major professor for a former Tennessee Commissioner, James A. Barksdale, during the period.⁵⁷

Graff and His Early Colleagues

Ohmer Milton. Newly-arrived psychology professor Ohmer Milton became one of Graff's closest collegial friends at The University of Tennessee just as the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision was taking shape. The two remained close throughout the remainder of Graff's life, enjoying a friendly contentiousness in which they frequently exchanged frank critiques and shared advice on educational problems. Milton remembered their meeting:

I came in the fall of 1949, just after finishing my [Ph.D.] work at Michigan. . . . And, of course, UT was just getting cranked up then, and there was a shortage of faculty. There was a bunch of young bucks such as myself who had been in the army and armed forces. . . . We met by accident in Alumni Gym . . . and we hit it off immediately.⁵⁸

Despite his collegial status and his work in a different college, Milton, by 17 years the younger of the two, said, "I considered Orin one of my mentors." He shared Graff's sense of optimism, his robust enjoyment of life, and his level of energy; and he laughed heartily in recalling

⁵⁴Potts.

⁵⁵Information on Tjomsland and other graduates was found in The University of Tennessee Department of Educational Leadership files on preparation for the Department of Educational Administration & Supervision Graduates 30 Year Anniversary Conference, held in Knoxville in 1980.

⁵⁶University of Tennessee Department of Educational Leadership files.

⁵⁷Derthick.

⁵⁸Ohmer Milton, interview with author, July 7, 1990. Milton joined The University of Tennessee faculty in 1949, served as a professor of psychology until 1965, and directed the Learning Research Center from 1965 until his retirement in 1983.

their common experiences during the early years⁵⁹ (Several of these experiences are recounted later in this chapter and in Chapter 6.)

Milton described Graff's struggle to relate the department's program to disciplines within other colleges:

Let me be very blunt. I was in the College of Liberal Arts all along. I had the distinct impression, in part, if not entirely, because of Fitzgerald, that the College of Education didn't have much of a reputation. I know it didn't in the minds of liberal arts faculty and anyone connected with it, therefore. I remember Orin trying particularly to get more help from the Department of Psychology than he was getting. I shared his views very much, and it just went for naught. . . . He worked awfully hard at working with the other departments, especially in the College of Liberal Arts. But I don't think he got very far.⁶⁰

Earl M. Ramer. Graff's earliest colleague as a department head in the College of Education, other than Fitzgerald, was Earl M. Ramer, who joined the college's faculty in 1947. He became head of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in 1954 and continued in that role until the year of Graff's retirement, 1971.⁶¹ "All of our relationships were so beneficial--pleasant and beneficial at the same time," He said, adding that Graff "was a leader because of his ability, and he obviously represented us, all of us, very well indeed."⁶²

Ramer and Graff served on many doctoral committees together, along with research and statistics professor Woodrow W. Wyatt, as students of their respective departments took courses across departmental and college lines. Another collegial friend of both Graff and Ramer was Ira Chiles, a professor in the college who offered a program of courses in higher education long before formation of a department in that area.⁶³

⁵⁹Milton.

⁶⁰Milton.

⁶¹Earl M. Ramer, interview with author, June 7, 1990. In 1971 Ramer moved to the newly operational Department of Continuing and Higher Education and served there as professor until his retirement. He also served for many years as The University of Tennessee's faculty representative to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, and he was president of the NCAA for two years, 1971 and 1972.

⁶²Ramer.

⁶³Ramer.

Kenneth E. McIntyre. A professor who served only one year in Graff's department and soon afterward gained national stature was Kenneth E. McIntyre. He recalled his brief association with Graff as an asset to his career:

I first met Dr. Graff during a summer session when he and I were doing some work at the University of Omaha. I think it was about 1950 or 1951. He asked me to join the faculty at the University of Tennessee, which I did. I taught there for one year, 1951-52. I left Knoxville to go to the University of Texas at Austin in the late summer of 1952, and I taught here from 1952 to 1984, when I retired. . . .

I remember [Dr. Graff] as a fine person, easy to work with, and very scholarly. He introduced me to the world of educational theory and philosophy, for which I am exceedingly grateful. Since I was only 34 years old at the time, with five years of experience as a public school teacher and superintendent, plus three years as a university faculty member (at the University of South Dakota, at Vermillion), I was in need of a model like Dr. Graff to emulate. As I recall it, Dr. Graff, John Gilliland, and I were the only three faculty members in school administration at Tennessee at that time. . . .

I am still very appreciative of Dr. Graff for taking a chance on me by bringing me to the University of Tennessee and introducing me to the national scene.⁶⁴

Lawrence M. DeRidder. Another eventual department head colleague of Graff was Lawrence M. DeRidder, who joined The University of Tennessee in 1952. DeRidder did not become acquainted with Graff immediately upon beginning work with the university. His first impressions--that Graff was a highly intelligent, gentle person--came through the secretarial staff and other people in the college. His knowledge of Graff soon grew through colleagues and through the many students who took courses both in educational administration and educational psychology. He described Graff as always being "a really strong member of the college."⁶⁵

"If he didn't like something, he really spoke up about it," DeRidder said. As an example, he recalled that Graff for years resisted introduction of a non-thesis master's degree program,

⁶⁴Kenneth E. McIntyre, letter to author, Mar. 5, 1990. McIntyre published frequently and became well known in the field, particularly in the area of selection and professional development of educational administrators. His career included a year as Planning Committee Chairman (equivalent of chief executive officer) of the NCPEA in 1963.

⁶⁵Lawrence M. DeRidder, interview with author, June 1, 1990.

because he believed that a major research study facilitated development of leadership skills. "I did not see that relationship, but that was his judgment," DeRidder said.

For a long period of time, everything that was discussed, any changes that took place in programs within the college, came before the whole faculty. Dr. Graff was sufficiently respected and competent that his ideas prevailed frequently. He wasn't at all comfortable with the sixth-year program. It took us eight years to get a sixth-year program approved. And finally we also turned to both thesis and non-thesis. He could still require a thesis in his department if he wanted to, but other departments could go ahead with the non-thesis option. And the sixth-year program finally got approved after about eight years' discussion. But things take a while. Dr. Graff had a mind of his own and was prone to express his feelings, which was perfectly logical and appropriate.⁶⁶

One of Graff's obvious great strengths was as a mentor, although the word was not in use then, DeRidder said, recalling Graff's influence on the individual development of students, his efforts to place them in responsible administrative positions, and his continuation of helping them advance and grow. Graff's students conveyed his "strong philosophical orientation," and the obvious high levels of competence of "Archie Dykes and a batch of others" attested to Graff's and his department's strength.⁶⁷

Many students in educational psychology and curriculum and instruction took the master's-level program entry course that Graff taught, "where they had an introduction to educational administration and supervision." Students in Graff's department and in curriculum and instruction tended to take educational psychology courses in the psychology of learning or in guidance.⁶⁸

Andrew W. Halpin. With the arrival of Andrew W. Halpin to the College of Education's faculty in fall of 1949 began one of Graff's most unusual personal and professional associations. He and Graff entered a close friendship apparently based on mutual respect of intellectual power, for they were vastly different in demeanor, philosophy, and reconciliation of their personal identities.

⁶⁶DeRidder.

⁶⁷DeRidder. Dykes was a 1959 recipient of an Ed.D. Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision; his relationship to Graff is described in Chapter 6.

⁶⁸DeRidder.

As one of the "young turks" mentioned by Milton, Halpin castigated Fitzgerald at any given opportunity, apparently to Graff's delight:

Andy was very, very outspoken. He used the English language very well. He was very clever with it. I got the distinct impression that Orin thoroughly enjoyed what Andy was doing, raising hell in the College of Education, especially with Fitzgerald. I have to get very personal about Andy, and I don't do this in any condemnatory way, but rather a descriptive kind of way. He was an extremely narcissistic person, and this was obvious to anyone who knew him. . . . Orin and I used to laugh about how narcissistic Andy was.⁶⁹

Kimbrough described Halpin as an "extremely brilliant man. One of the things you always find is that the more intelligent, thoughtful people will sort of begin to collect together on the faculty, and that was why Dr. Graff and Halpin were so friendly."⁷⁰

Ramer also spoke of Halpin's great intellect and ability to incite:

He struck fire at a number of points, and that's not entirely to his discredit. . . . I'd like to say that some of the difficulty that Halpin aroused may have come from the acceptance that he really built through his ability. He could also strike some sparks, you see. . . . I think Dr. Graff was one of those who appreciated him in a very fine fashion. I think Dr. Graff knew exactly what he was trying to do and what he was trying to say. . . . I think their work was mutually acceptable.⁷¹

As the theory movement geared up, Halpin's professional relationship with Graff continued from a distance and usually from an antagonistic stance, as the two were far apart in their schools of thought. More remarkable than their professional involvement, however, was the personal relationship that ran parallel to it. During Halpin's two years at The University of Tennessee, he developed a personal bond with Graff and Milton that led him to repeatedly seek out the two professors as personal advisors throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s.

Milton recalled that Halpin went from the University of Chicago to Montana State. "In the late '50s, he used to come by here [Knoxville] regularly . . . to seek the counsel of both Orin and me on personal matters." On one particular crisis, he recalled, "Orin and I used to sit and listen to

⁶⁹Milton.

⁷⁰Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁷¹Ramer.

him separately by the hour, and then we would compare notes. Orin got more provoked than I did at what struck both of us as pretty childish behavior on Andy's part."⁷²

This personal relationship, which was known to few, apparently had little effect on the professional thinking or expressions of either Halpin or Graff, as they diverged sharply in their contributions to the theory movement. Although the parallel relationships began in 1949-51 at the University of Tennessee, they became more pronounced as the two men reached prominence in the theoretical and philosophic debates that began to sharpen in 1954.

Andrew D. Holt. Graff's circle of friends came to include future University of Tennessee president Andrew D. (Andy) Holt before either of them began work in Knoxville. Holt served as executive secretary of the Tennessee Education Association (TEA) from 1937 to 1950, and Graff's acquaintance with him began during the Norris superintendency years. As well as a personal liking for each other, they enjoyed a professional affinity based on studies in pragmatism and progressive education. "Andy had done his work at Columbia in school administration. So they had that common bond," Martha Holt, the late university president's wife, said.⁷³

Mrs. Holt remembered her introduction to Graff when she and Holt were preparing to move to Knoxville:

We came up to a TEA meeting, and he was going to take us to see a house that he thought we would like. Andy was leaving [the TEA], and they had given us a new Pontiac sedan. So Andy said he'd take Orin and they'd go see the house. When they got down there somebody had run into the car, and they couldn't move it (laugh). So that's the first I knew about Orin.⁷⁴

"Andy was very fond of Orin, and the other way around, too," Mrs. Holt said. She recalled occasions of neighborliness and social enjoyment. One of the latter occurred when the Graffs gave emergency lodging to the Holt family. "One time when the power went off--as it often did in the

⁷²Milton.

⁷³Holt. Andrew D. Holt also served as president of the National Education Association (NEA) just after World War II, during his service with TEA.

⁷⁴Holt.

50s, because we had some awful ice storms--the whole five of us went up and spent the night with the Graffs. They were very hospitable." The Holts then lived on Westland drive, west of Knoxville and without city water lines at that time. She also noted that Graff, an avid gardener, gave the Holts a fig tree for the yard of their later home, "and he wouldn't let us plant it. He planted it himself. . . . He loved his garden."⁷⁵

Mrs. Holt noted that both Graff and Chiles were part of a circle of long-time family friends. They were ushers in her daughter's wedding, she said, noting that the Graffs "were very sweet to my children, too. They really were."⁷⁶

Mrs. Holt disclaimed sufficient knowledge to characterize educational discussions between her husband and Graff but said, "Andy had great respect for Orin. We saw a good bit of them." She added, "I do know that he was a very intelligent man. And he did have strong opinions. But he thought."⁷⁷

The personal friendship between Graff and Holt was kept in perspective in their professional interactions, according to Archie R. Dykes, who worked closely with both:

Dr. Graff was also very circumspect about that relationship. . . . They were friends; that was one thing, but the relationship in the university was quite another. The fact of the matter is that he was a professor that Dr. Holt often talked to and used as a sounding board. . . .⁷⁸

The relationship was reflective of Graff's broader role, Dykes added:

He was a power center at the University . . . just an extremely important person in the total scheme of things. He was very close to President Holt; he was very close to people in the other academic units. Generally, he was very close to the strongest deans and people who were the real leaders in the university."⁷⁹

⁷⁵Holt.

⁷⁶Holt.

⁷⁷Holt.

⁷⁸Dykes was a Graff doctoral advisee who subsequently served as a professor and then as chancellor of the university, as described further in Chapter 6.

⁷⁹Dykes.

Early Operational Difficulties and Characteristics

Struggles of a New Department

The early years were a time of a small department that was struggling to deal with rapid growth in an activist manner despite lean economic times and in the face of faculty turnover. Work papers in Graff's files from the early 1950s summarized departmental enrollments and activities for two different academic years. As 1950-51 began, for example, Pierce left the university to become director of the SSCPEA. His vacancy, combined with the growth of the department, created a heavy work load for the remaining professors. Graff's description of this effect appeared characteristic of this period, also revealing some of the early history of the doctoral program:

Due to reduction in the staff of the Department for the 1950-51 year, some of the projects which were defined and slated for action have necessarily been deferred. A good example of this is the proposed School Board-Superintendent Relationship Study for which the State Department allocated \$1200 for expenses. . . .

Professors in the Department have been heavily weighted with the direction of Master's theses and doctoral research. One year ago, Dr. Louis Swanson was nearing completion with the first doctoral thesis in the Department [Graff went on here to note also the completion of dissertations by Arnold Tjomsland and S. Belt Keathley, plus another dissertation nearing completion by an unnamed student.]

In addition to the doctoral research, there have been approximately 50 Master's theses completed under the direction of the staff of the Department during the past four quarters. As indicated above, the professors in the Department are heavily involved in the direction of student research. They have had little time to conduct special researches of their own. Some research, however, has been done by professors without the assistance of students in the areas of county supervision, philosophy of educational administrators, and the techniques of school surveys.⁸⁰

Graff included a listing of courses and numbers of students enrolled for summer 1950 through spring 1951. He included 14 sets of field services for the year (e.g., assistance in surveys, workshops, accreditation visits) along with several sections on other activities of the department.

⁸⁰Orin B. Graff, "A Statement Regarding the Work of the [University of Tennessee] Department of Educational Administration and Supervision," 3.

An earlier Graff document for the same year, a "Statement of Anticipated Out-of-State Travel for Departmental Staff, 1950-51," indicated participation in professional organizations that appeared typical for the period. Graff himself planned to attend four conferences, including the NCPEA's annual meeting, a Rural Superintendents' Meeting, a Regional meeting of the Philosophy of Education Society, and the annual AASA Meeting in Atlantic City.

Story left The University of Tennessee at the end of the 1950-51 academic year to accept a professorial position at Memphis State College. He had intended to leave a year earlier but changed his plans, possibly eyeing a promotion, as reflected in a letter from Graff to Fitzgerald in June, 1950:

In conference with Dr. Story this morning, I found that he had decided to remain as a member of the Department . . . for the coming year. You will recall that we did not specifically discuss the question of salary and promotion for Dr. Story in view of the fact that you were considering him as a potential Head for the Department of Curriculum and Instruction.⁸¹

Graff went on to recommend a raise in salary and rank for Story as of July 1, 1950. However, Story carried through his plans to leave the following summer, with continued hesitation. He wrote to Graff detailing his plans but labeling them as "tentative," adding, "In the event that I do resign, I would like to know that I would be taking this step with your approval and good wishes."⁸² Story wrote again four days later proposing specific arrangements for the separation and asking Graff to forego an oral agreement that he would teach that summer. Graff replied, "We shall miss the many fine things that you have done for the Department, the College and the University. . . . I want you to know that you will leave the University with the best wishes of the Department."⁸³

⁸¹Orin B. Graff, letter to N.E. Fitzgerald, June 23, 1950, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁸²Story, letter to Orin B. Graff, Apr. 6, 1951.

⁸³Orin B. Graff, letter to Bascom H. Story, Apr. 11, 1951, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. Graff also wrote to Fred C. Smith, university vice president, Apr. 11, 1951, regarding budgetary resources with which to pay Story in full at the end of the academic year; Graff mentioned \$5,416.67 budgeted as ten months salary for Pierce that had not been expended.

A "1953 Work Load Analysis" prepared and signed by Graff gave types of data similar to those cited earlier. With both Pierce and Story gone and Graff devoting time to SSCPEA work, the number of course offerings apparently dipped for a time. Graff noted in the report, "This proposal is essentially the same as services rendered for 1951-52 except that one member of the Department [apparently himself] gave approximately two quarters to research and consultative service to Kellogg Foundation."⁸⁴

A memorandum from Fitzgerald reflected a difficult budgetary period for Graff's department and the college as a whole. Among other points, Fitzgerald stated that the "pay scale, as adjusted January 1, 1952, will remain in effect for the fiscal year 1953," and "Operating expenditures must be kept at a minimum with no appreciable expenditures for equipment."⁸⁵

The Uneasy Coexistence of Graff and Fitzgerald

Graff and Fitzgerald, the dean who had interviewed and hired him in 1943, entered into a long-running period of antagonism during the late 1940s. The dean's style of micromanaging college operational details while giving less attention to educational issues quickly galled Graff. His relationship with Fitzgerald became strained and contentious, and it remained so throughout their joint tenure.

Administrative reasons for the contention, from Graff's point of view, appeared in an untitled manuscript, unsigned but apparently written or compiled by Graff during his early years as department head. It began, "The most crucial problem facing the College is one of administrative organization. The statements below express the opinion of the department regarding several facets of this problem. . . ." The manuscript continued with a listing of 10 points (A-J) that called for more communication, greater delegation, and more consultation in administrative decision making. Item A

⁸⁴Orin B. Graff, "1953 Work Load Analysis," carbon copy, Mar. 17, 1952, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁸⁵N.E. Fitzgerald, memorandum to Heads of Departments, College of Education, The University of Tennessee, carbon copy, Mar. 5, 1952, 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

cited the need for "internal administrative operation only through departments," except in interdepartmental matters; item B cited a need for "'bona fide' consultation with departments in assignment and supervision of personnel"; in three items, needs for "clean-cut policies" were mentioned; and the last item called for "regular meetings of the Dean, Department Heads, Chairmen of major committees" for discussions. The manuscript concluded, "The department is in favor of a pre-school conference next September to deal with the problems of administrative organization as set forth above."⁸⁶

Milton recalled an exchange that pointed to a basic reason for Graff's discontent:

To illustrate what went on between those two, one summer when I was . . . on Orin's payroll, I was sick, and, I guess, was home a couple of days. I called Orin and told him I wouldn't be in. You know, this was an informal thing. Well, when I came back, he said, "Where is the excuse from your doctor?" (Laugh) Well, this turned into one hell of a joke. Until he died, almost every time he would see me, "Where is that excuse from your doctor? I've got to get my record straight." Well now, the point of this was, that was Fitzgerald. You kept the record straight, and to hell with the rest of it. Of course, Orin didn't pay any attention whatsoever to those things. They were of no moment at all. But that illustrates in a funny way the rift between those two. Fitzgerald would get in Orin's way about the kinds of things that Orin wanted to do in the department and the two made no bones about the way they felt about one another.⁸⁷

Ramer, whom Milton described as a "prince of a fellow" and who was disposed to speak well of his colleagues, cautiously acknowledged differences between Graff and Fitzgerald. He said the two "did have close planning relationships. And for the most part, they were congenial relationships, but there was no hero worship of any kind involved in it." He later added, "They were not close personally and socially" and "did not have mutual admiration. Let me put it that way."⁸⁸

⁸⁶[Orin B. Graff], untitled manuscript, carbon copy, n.d., 1-2, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. Graff was assumed to be the author, as the paper was stored in his files and spoke from the point of view of "the department."

⁸⁷Milton.

⁸⁸Ramer.

Two memoranda from Fitzgerald to Graff illustrated the dean's management style. In the first, Fitzgerald notified Graff that the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision's operating budget for 1949-50 was approved at the level of \$1,000, a cut from the previous year's \$1,600. "All operating budgets have had to be reduced this year because of a decrease in the allocations estimated in March," Fitzgerald wrote. He added a postscript: "P.S. We suggest that you cut down on mimeographing and long-distance telephone calls (especially the \$3 and \$4 variety) as a means of staying within your budget."⁸⁹

In the second, Fitzgerald responded to a protest that Graff had apparently made to Waters regarding a departmental schedule change the dean had made in Graff's absence:

I have a copy of your letter of December 7 to Dean Waters concerning the dropping of Education 583 - School Finance - from the Winter Quarter schedule of classes.

We had hoped, since the matter was talked over with Dr. Gilliland during your absence in West Tennessee at the time schedules were due, that you would go along with the original schedule, especially since we removed Education 341 from the class load originally assigned to Dr. Gilliland. I certainly do not want to put Dr. Gilliland in any bad position; I merely am trying to service the students who come to the University for work in Education.

We are approving the dropping of Education 583 as there seems to be nothing else to do, even though Dr. Gilliland expressed a willingness to teach the course in an effort to help the students. I would like to say that this schedule arrangement was neither an "oversight" nor an "error."⁹⁰

Fitzgerald had carbon-copied the memorandum for Waters, who apparently was the arbiter of this and other disputes between Graff and the dean. Kimbrough noted this role of Waters and commented on how the respect Graff enjoyed from university administrators helped him to survive his running professional disagreements with Fitzgerald:

He knew all the people in administration. They all liked him. They all respected him. He knew the president, and he knew the vice president. Of course, E.A.

⁸⁹N.E. Fitzgerald, memorandum to Orin B. Graff, July 12, 1949, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

⁹⁰N.E. Fitzgerald, memorandum to Orin B. Graff, Dec. 9, 1950, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Waters was vice president there and a very close friend of Dr. Graff, and he was the one that protected Dr. Graff a great deal from his difficulties with the dean.⁹¹

Kimbrough also said, "Dr. Pierce told me the reason he wanted to get Dr. Graff so heavily involved in the SSCPEA, he thought it [the situation with Fitzgerald] was even affecting his health."⁹²

Merrill pointed out that Fitzgerald "never really fully understood the role of the Department of Educational Administration and was a frustration to Dr. Graff as he tried to develop it."⁹³

Milton also made the point that Graff's and Fitzgerald's differences were not of a professional, intellectual nature--a type of dispute he said Graff welcomed and respected--but were more on an administrative and personal plane. "Other than Fitzgerald . . . I'm sure there were some that Orin didn't think much of, but other than Fitzgerald I don't recall anyone with whom he had open warfare. And with Fitzgerald, it was open warfare." He suggested that their common dislike for Fitzgerald helped to form the bond between Graff and Halpin. "Andy and Orin used to regale themselves about Fitzgerald."⁹⁴

In fairness, the growth of discontent with Fitzgerald on the part of Graff and others in the College of Education did not discount that the dean was viewed by others as a strong leader. This view was evidenced in an account by university historian James Riley Montgomery. When Harcourt Morgan was university president, one of his major goals was to extend university assistance to public elementary and secondary schools throughout the state, according to Montgomery. "Morgan envisioned the faculty conducting educational activities somewhat equivalent to the extension and experiment services of agriculture." After Morgan had moved to TVA, President James D. Hoskins "also felt the need to exercise leadership in education throughout the state," a primary reason that he promoted Morgan's former agricultural colleague Fitzgerald to dean of the College of Education.

⁹¹Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁹²Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁹³Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

⁹⁴Milton.

"Moving [Dean John A.] Thackston to the Summer School position to make room for N.E.

Fitzgerald was only another step in a continuing effort to strive for aggressive leadership in the state."⁹⁵

Graff also held a strong conviction that the university should move out into the school systems and serve the entire state (as will be discussed further later in this study). Despite the sharp differences between dean and department head as to appropriate administration of department and college, this shared conviction must have been an area on which they largely agreed.

Carmichael also spoke admiringly of Fitzgerald, without detracting from his deep respect for Graff. While acknowledging, "Dean Fitzgerald was a controversial figure during that whole time," he added, "He did more for the College of Education than any other person has ever done."⁹⁶ This view reflected Fitzgerald's leadership of the college through war-time retrenchment, post-war growth and departmentalization, and continuing program and facilities expansion (including planning and construction of Claxton Education Building in 1957).

Graff's Role in the Early Years of the NCPEA

In summer of 1947, less than two years after he had left the Norris superintendency and while the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision was still being organized, Graff participated in what had been widely regarded as one of this century's significant events in educational administration. A group of 72 professors and other professionals, including Graff and Pierce, met to form the NCPEA.

"With the organizing of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration in 1947, and the establishing of the CPEA in 1950, educational administration became a field of

⁹⁵Montgomery, 139-40. Thackston, the first dean of the College of Education, continued to administer the college's summer quarter operations--which enrolled large numbers of practicing teachers and other students--until his retirement in 1949. Montgomery discusses in greater detail this period of the college's and the summer school's history on pages 138-42.

⁹⁶Carmichael.

study as never before," wrote two professors in the opening of a later landmark book.⁹⁷ Another wrote, citing the NCPEA founding along with the CPEA's beginning and the AASA's push for further professionalization, "If a date is selected to mark the beginning of a 'ferment in school administration,' 1947 is probably the best choice." .⁹⁸

The organization took shape in the general postwar surge of enrollment and activity in higher education. It was aimed toward providing a national perspective. As the editors of a later NCPEA publication put it, "Immediately after World War II, professors of educational administration became restless with the relative provincialism of different universities' preparation programs for educational administrators."⁹⁹ The NCPEA quickly gained acceptance as a higher education forum for expressing national concerns in educational administration--a type of organization that had existed in the AASA for public school superintendents. The NCPEA differed in structure, however. Although influential from the beginning, it remained small in membership and informal in operation, choosing not to set membership dues or elect officers, except for a planning committee.

Formation of the group began in Atlantic City in March of 1947, during the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. "Under the chairmanship of Walter Cocking, the [AASA] Committee on Arrangements secured 'Homestead,' the country club of the International Business Machines Corporation in Endicott, New York, free of charge for use for a ten-day meeting in August, 1947," the compilers of an early history of NCPEA wrote. Of the 72 professionals who

⁹⁷Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), foreword.

⁹⁸Hollis A. Moore, "The Ferment in School Administration," in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration: The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 11.

⁹⁹J. Donald Herring and Rudolf E. Klimes, eds., Walter D. Cocking Lectures: The NCPEA Series of Prominent Papers in Educational Administration (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Center for Studies and Services in Education, Andrews University, 1976), foreword.

participated, 56 were from 43 colleges or universities in 30 states.¹⁰⁰ The meeting had two major purposes:

The primary objective . . . was to achieve among Conference members a better understanding of the problems in developing leaders in education. A secondary objective was to bring about through cooperative study . . . a common approach regarding the methods and techniques needed for the more effective preparation of educational administrators.¹⁰¹

Graff and Pierce served in leadership roles as the organization began. Graff was a member of the NCPEA Planning Committee, which ranged in size from seven to nine members, for the first three years, 1947-1949. Pierce served on the committee during four subsequent years, 1951-1954, after moving to George Peabody College for Teachers to direct the SSCPEA.¹⁰² In the 1949 meeting, held at Clear Lake, Michigan, Graff was named to chair a Subcommittee on Philosophy, or Point of View, as part of a Special Study Committee for a year-long research study of how to improve preparation programs. Pierce was named to chair the Committee on Institutional Programs for the Preparation of Administrators, one of seven study committees that worked during the conference.¹⁰³ In the 1953 meeting, held at East Lansing, Michigan, Graff drew on the topic of his SSCPEA work as well as his own special interest, chairing a special interest group on "Competencies Needed by School Administrators," one of six special committees for the meeting.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰W.R. Flesher and A.L. Knoblauch, A Decade of Development in Educational Leadership: The First Ten Years of NCPEA, 1947-1956 (Columbus, Ohio: The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 1957), ix-x. The Arrangements Committee also included AASA Executive Secretary Worth McClure and U.S. Office of Education Deputy Commissioner E.B. Norton, but Cocking was regarded as the "father" of the NCPEA. Other than professors, persons attending included three city school superintendents, four state superintendents or their representatives, four officials from the U.S. Office of Education, two elementary school principals, an NEA staff member, and a professional journal executive (Cocking).

¹⁰¹John E. Marshall, ed., Developing Leaders for Education: A Report of a Work-Conference of Professors of Educational Administration at Endicott, New York, August 20 to 30, 1947 (Charleston, W.Va.: National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, n.d.), 10.

¹⁰²Flesher and Knoblauch, 58-59.

¹⁰³Flesher and Knoblauch, 18-19.

¹⁰⁴Flesher and Knoblauch, 39.

Graff's published professional writing during his early years as department head consisted of only two short articles, both related to the NCPEA. The first was a philosophical position paper published in January, 1948. Titled "On Final Authority," it appeared in a "By Way of Comment" section of Educational Administration & Supervision. Graff affirmed his convictions on democratic administration, discussing the "final authority" concept as

. . . part of an administrative system for education hastily conceived with the overthrow of the district system and "borrowed" from the administrative systems of big business and the military. . . . The system placed in the hands of administrative personnel the functions of policy-making, planning and evaluation as well as direction of execution. To teachers and other personnel was accorded the function of executing administrative directives.¹⁰⁵

He saw the concept as "a tradition definitely in conflict with intelligent administrative theory and practice of today" but lamented that progress toward democratic practice "is tragic in proportion to our need." He also noted the philosophical foundation for progress put in place by Dewey, Bode, Kilpatrick, and others, and cited practices that gave signs of hope. He ended the article,

And of great promise for democratic administration appears the work of the Conference of Professors of School Administration held last summer at Endicott, New York. It may be that those who specialize in the exercise of "final authority" in education are in for a hard life or a fundamental change in operation.¹⁰⁶

The second article, a report from Graff's NCPEA Subcommittee on Philosophy, or Point of View, was written with associate chair Harlan L. Hagman of Drake University and was only one-half page in length. It appeared in 1950 in The School Executive, of which Cocking was chairman of the board of editors. Graff and Hagman simply enumerated the purposes of the committee in four points and stated, "Each member institution in NCPEA has been asked to send in a statement of its point of view or philosophical approach." They referred to the need for an institution to formulate a philosophical point of view, in terms of a democratic-authoritarian continuum, as a basis for

¹⁰⁵Orin B. Graff, "On Final Authority," Educational Administration & Supervision 34, no.1 (1948): 28-29.

¹⁰⁶Orin B. Graff, "On Final Authority," 28-31.

designing a preparation program. "If an educational program is to be consistent and purposeful, it must be based on an intelligently formulated point of view."¹⁰⁷

Graff and Hagman summarized in a table the results of their inquiry to member institutions in the report of the fourth meeting of the NCPEA, held at Cornell University in summer of 1950. It went on to reflect Graff's philosophic point of view as follows:

To be appropriate for democracy, a philosophy of educational administration must express a common core of beliefs derived from democratic principles and the best practice of democratic administrators. It is essential that institutions preparing school administrators hold such a philosophy, well defined, if education is to make a maximum contribution to the democratic way of life.¹⁰⁸

The importance of the work by Graff and others in philosophy was reflected in the introduction of the report from the fourth annual NCPEA meeting: "The first two conferences of the NCPEA were devoted to formulating a philosophy of educational leadership. The third conference explored some of the implications of this philosophy for professional education programs."¹⁰⁹ A statement of purpose was formally accepted by the Conference in 1950; it was restated in a later history of NCPEA, where it was noted, "Whether consciously or not, these few paragraphs have characterized the progress and programs of NCPEA."¹¹⁰

Graff continued as a very active member of NCPEA throughout the 1947-54 period, attending all annual meetings except the final one during the period (the eighth). He was later listed as one of 35 persons who were the "Backbone of the NCPEA," having attended more than half the

¹⁰⁷Orin B. Graff and Harlan L. Hagman, "The Philosophy of the Program," in "The Preparation of School Administrators," The School Executive (July 1950): 48.

¹⁰⁸Clarence A. Newell, ed., Programs for Preparing Educational Administrators in 1950, A Preliminary Report: The Report of the Fourth Work-Conference of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 1950 (College Park, Md.: National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, n.d.), 7.

¹⁰⁹Newell, 3.

¹¹⁰William L. Pharis, ed., National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration: The Second Ten Years, 1957-1967 (Auburn, Ala.: The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 1967), 3.

annual meetings during the first 20 years of the organization's existence.¹¹¹ Ironically, the first NCPEA annual meeting that Graff missed, at Denver in 1954, was regarded by many sources as a major turning point in the theory movement. A new theoretical movement, logical positivism, replaced the concept of "final authority" as the view to which Graff became philosophic antagonist. Rather than authoritarianism, he turned his voice in opposition to the concept of a value-free, mathematically provable administrative theory base and continued to champion a system of democratic school of administration based on intellectually-derived personal values. The NCPEA provided a forum for this expression, as well as to the expression of his opposition, during the 1954-62 period.

Graff and Pierce: Leadership in the SSCPEA

A New Era of Cooperation and Cohesion in the South

In fall of 1950, the makeup and role of Graff's Department underwent a major change that affected its long-term future and the character of educational administration throughout the South. Pierce, Graff's closest colleague, left for Nashville to become director of the SSCPEA. Pierce selected as his associate director A.D. Albright, a former staff member at the Tennessee State Department of Education who had just completed a Ph.D. at New York University.

The SSCPEA, headquartered at the George Peabody College for Teachers, was part of a nationwide network of regional cooperatives jointly titled the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA) and funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. The project came into being after three years of developmental work, beginning with a meeting of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA)¹¹² in 1947 and thereafter including five major conferences. The National Council of State School Officers, the Department of Rural Education of the NEA, and the

¹¹¹Pharis, 40.

¹¹²AASA was founded as a national association for superintendents of schools.

NCPEA also played roles in evaluating the project's proposal.¹¹³ Five regional centers opened in 1950, and four others, including one in Canada, began later.¹¹⁴ After the initial Kellogg Foundation grant for the centers expired in 1955, the foundation granted a four-year extension. The SSCPEA decentralized at this point, with projects coordinated through Auburn University (where Pierce had become dean of the College of Education) and with smaller grants going to 10 other universities, including The University of Tennessee, and two state departments of education.¹¹⁵ Forty colleges and universities in 10 southern states participated in SSCPEA, as did 11 state departments of education. Six southern universities conducted special research projects: the universities of Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia.¹¹⁶

"The comparative success of this venture is one of the more significant, and least advertised, accomplishments in the educational history of our nation," Graff wrote in a six-page retrospective view of the SSCPEA. "At no time in the nine years of SSCPEA's operation did the spirit of cooperation recede, although its growth rate varied significantly among various institutions and types of institutions."¹¹⁷

The SSCPEA was a setback to the development of the new department at The University of Tennessee in that it split the powerful professorial team of Graff and Pierce. Except for the

¹¹³Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," photocopy, , unpublished paper, n.d., 1, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. This and other more detailed historical information on the SSCPEA was also found in the comprehensive book by Truman M. Pierce and A.D. Albright, A Profession in Transition (Nashville: The Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, 1960). Graff's paper was written later, as he cited Pierce and Albright.

¹¹⁴W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Toward Improved School Administration (Battle Creek, Mich., 1961), 13-15. The seven other United States centers were located at Teachers College, Columbia University; Harvard University; the University of Chicago; the University of Texas; The Ohio State University; the University of Oregon; and Stanford University. The Canadian center was located in Toronto.

¹¹⁵"Toward Improved School Administration," 13-14.

¹¹⁶Pierce and Albright, 208-209. State departments of education of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia participated. At least two higher education institutions from each of these states participated, with the exception of Virginia, which had no college or university participants.

¹¹⁷Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 2.

SSCPEA, Carmichael said, Pierce "would not have left [The University of Tennessee] at all," because he and Graff led a tremendously strong department.

However, the complementary strengths of the two professors continued to work well for the new cooperative, which opened a new and more broadly influential working relationship between them. Officially, Graff served several important roles in the SSCPEA. He was one of four consultants who were listed as members of the Program Center Staff, covering the area of "Program in the Preparation of Education Administrators." He was a member of the Regional Planning and Policy Committee of the Associated Programs in Educational Administration (APEA), which became the SSCPEA's name during the Kellogg Foundation's four-year grant extension. He was a member of the Tennessee State Committee on Educational Leadership. And he served the first year, 1953-54, as SSCPEA's Director of the Special Research Project for The University of Tennessee, turning the position over to Kimbrough for 1954-55.¹¹⁸

In the informal workings of the organization, Graff's role was perhaps even more important. "Dr. Graff was a sort of right-hand man, almost a staff member, for the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration," Carmichael said. "Dr. Pierce leaned on him heavily and had the greatest respect for him in educational administration."¹¹⁹

Albright knew both Graff and Pierce well. He also saw their working relationship in terms of conceptual/practical emphases, although both shared basic values generally consistent with the thinking of Dewey, Bode, and the progressive school as defined by Bode. They certainly shared Dewey's philosophy "with reference to the role of education in a democracy, [and] the matter of individual growth and development . . . ," Albright said.

¹¹⁸Pierce and Albright, 205-208. Merrill and Carmichael were coordinators on the Program Center Staff, for "Program in the Preparation of Educational Administrators" and "Program in the Administration of Local School Systems," respectively. Galen N. Drewry, another Peabody doctoral student who later became a professor in Graff's department, was coordinator for "Program in State Educational Administration."

¹¹⁹Carmichael.

I sometimes thought that Dr. Pierce might not have been as close to Dewey as Dr. Graff was. And probably Dr. Pierce was able to apply certain concepts that he and Dr. Graff shared more readily than Dr. Graff was. Dr. Pierce had a sensitivity to social, educational, and economic issues that stemmed from work out in the field with people. He, too, was a wonderful fellow.¹²⁰

Albright, who went on to a career that established him as one of Graff's most eminent associates,¹²¹ reflected at length on the philosophic lessons Graff imparted at the SSCPEA and at The University of Tennessee:

As far as his thinking was concerned, he was a revered person. . . . Dr. Graff had a fundamental philosophy that did not solely apply to education. Education was one element, but it applied mainly to democracy. And while a lot of people think that in democracy you just do what you want to, as an individual, Dr. Graff would not subscribe or allow you to subscribe in your thinking to a notion that democracy is a laissez faire approach to living. Democracy has to have some structure to it. It depends upon . . . really, two orientations. One, the social good, put another way, is the concept of social obligation. Social contract is the old term for it. And every one of us has a social contract. Whether or not we live up to it determines how well the whole organism functions. And that is then dependent on individuals and groups of individuals. If an individual puts himself first, then the social structure doesn't function so well. It also means that if I do not contribute a bit more than I receive from this social organism, then I become to that extent parasitic. And if more of us continue to do that indefinitely, it means the sucking of the life of the social organism out, and eventually there is collapse, or at least a serious weakening. I have a sneaking notion that that message has more pertinence now than it did when I heard Orin Graff talk about it.

Dr. Graff knew John Dewey's works quite well, but he was not necessarily a close follower, as I understood him, of John Dewey. For instance, I never felt that Dr. Graff really grabbed onto John Dewey's intuition concept. Dr. Graff was a great believer in the method of intelligence as an approach to problems. And I guess the method of intelligence is equated with the scientific method, a certain orderly approach to the consideration of a problem and then the solution to it--hypothesizing, gathering information, classifying, and drawing conclusions. He thought, I believe, that the use of the method of intelligence was critical to a

¹²⁰Arnold D. Albright, interview with author, Feb. 8, 1991.

¹²¹Albright became acquainted with Graff before joining the SSCPEA. He served with the Tennessee State Department of Education after earning an A.B. Degree from Milligan College in Johnson City, Tennessee, and an M.S. from The University of Tennessee. He joined the SSCPEA upon completing his Ph.D. at New York University on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship. His service after the SSCPEA included the following: president of the University of Kentucky (interim); president of Northern Kentucky University; president of Morehead State University; executive director of the Kentucky Council on Higher Education; Fullbright Lecturer in Belgium; Planning Committee chairman for the NCPEA (1957); at varying times for the University of Kentucky, executive vice president, provost, vice president for institutional planning, and executive dean for extended programs; and holder of various other trustee, honorary, and consultancy/advisory designations. During the time of this study, he was completing interviews for an oral history of the University of Kentucky.

democratic society, and again, not just with reference to education, but to nearly any aspect.¹²²

While Albright did not use the word "mentor," aspects of mentorship were apparent in his relationship with Graff, who was 12 years older:

I recall that we were talking one day and I brought up the fact that I had had an offer for a position with an organization that was not educationally connected, or education was not central to it. And he asked me why I was thinking about it. . . . He then threw a series of questions, somewhat Socratically, and got me to a point where I thought that wasn't the thing for me to do. He never told me or didn't hint, except you could tell by the sequence of questions where you were going to wind up if you followed it. One time he said something that I've remembered all through the subsequent years. I think there was a preliminary statement, and this was the punch line: "A.D., you're capable of great good. You're also capable of a lot of bad. It's a question of where you want to make your contribution." That's all he said. I assume that he thought, when he used the word capable, that I had some promise (laugh). Anyway, I still remember it, and that had an impact.¹²³

Graff held reciprocal views, expressing his respect for the director/associate director team heading the SSCPEA. "Pierce and Albright were well skilled in cooperative ways of working with educators," he wrote, recounting in a list the councils, committees, and programs they had been "heavily involved" with in the three years before the SSCPEA was begun. "It was entirely predictable that they would seek the cooperation of the profession throughout the Southern Region in planning SSCPEA programs."¹²⁴

Major Studies of the SSCPEA

In January, 1951, more than 80 educational leaders from throughout the South attended an SSCPEA planning conference in Nashville. The meeting had "provided an opportunity for open and frank discussions of doubts and suspicions regarding cooperative sharing in the efforts of the Center," Graff wrote. Two major operational assumptions emerged: "trust in the intelligence of those

¹²²Albright.

¹²³Albright.

¹²⁴Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 2.

concerned," and "the inherent right and responsibility of those (individuals and institutions) involved (or affected) to seek educational improvement for the common good."

Thus the improvement of educational administration was not to be entrusted only to those who held status positions in educational institutions or to self-appointed (anointed may be more appropriate) leaders in the field.¹²⁵

The entrustment principle extended particularly to students. Over 200 graduate students were to be assigned "substantial responsibilities" in SSCPEA projects, and 101 of the students earned doctoral degrees in educational administration. Of these 101, however, under 10 percent became school superintendents, and only 27 went into public school administration; almost two-thirds became faculty members or administrators (or both) in higher education.¹²⁶ Graff's department was typical of this career pattern for doctoral graduates, as noted earlier.¹²⁷

The Competency Pattern. Graff observed that the SSCPEA Center staff also "felt the need for a theoretical framework which would encompass the various elements involved in administrative performance to be used as a general guide in directing the work of the Center." What emerged was the "Competency Pattern," a concept that was the centerpiece of Graff's work during the theory movement and, in his words, "was a focal point of intellectual effort in the total work of the SSCPEA."¹²⁸ The Competency Pattern established Graff's leadership in setting the philosophic direction of the SSCPEA and was one of three major projects in which The University of Tennessee would be heavily involved during the center's history.

¹²⁵Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 3.

¹²⁶Pierce and Albright, 181.

¹²⁷Robert L. Canady, at the time head of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of Virginia, said in a telephone interview with the author, Aug. 18, 1990, "I have noticed UT places more of their graduates in college teaching than most universities that I know of. Nearly all of our graduates go to public schools. . . . I've often thought, how did UT do that? At one time I could name 20 or 30 people who were UT graduates teaching in educational administration programs in various colleges and universities." Canady was a later advisee of Graff, earning his Ed.D. in Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee in 1970. One might hypothesize that a major factor in this difference between the two universities was the historical pattern extending from the SSCPEA, since the University of Virginia did not participate in the project.

¹²⁸Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 4-5.

The pattern reinforced acceptance in the South of Graff's view that philosophic values are a part of theory and that intellectual use of this cohesion provides a practical, flexible, and usable guide toward achieving effective administration. Pierce and Albright expressed the general thinking, "Competency cannot exist in the abstract," and the pattern was developed to consist of three identified elements of competency that ranged from tangible to intangible: theory, job, and know-how.¹²⁹ The theory element was an adaptation of the Critical Incidents Technique, developed during World War II by John C. Flanagan and others "as a means of training men to do a new job with a satisfactory degree of competence." The technique held that once a person mastered an essential "critical incident" of a job, the person could "turn his attention to learning the actual behavior requirements of other critical incidents."¹³⁰

Graff summarized the background and rationale for the SSCPEA's initial development of the Competency Pattern:

Beginning about 1947, the year in which NCPEA was founded, it became common practice for those interested in educational administration to produce lists of competencies required of educational administrators for effective performance. At the time of the Nashville Conference (January, 1951) this practice was in vogue; consequently the voluminous report of the conference had many long lists of administrative competencies, each with considerable breadth, yet each reflecting personal understandings and value commitments. In appraising the work of the Nashville Conference, one thrust was directed at making sense out of these statements of competencies. They were first sorted into categories relating to value assumptions, functions, tasks, knowledges, skills, etc. From these initial efforts the Competency Pattern gradually evolved, with statements of competencies organized into a whole with three basic dimensions: (1) the value or theory dimension, which included ideas of competence related to the basic goals of our culture and their specific implications for educational administration; (2) the job dimension, which included ideas of competence related to the tasks of educational administration and the methods of task performance; and (3) the know-how dimension, which included ideas of competence related to knowledges and skills (general and specific know-how) essential for administrative performance.¹³¹

¹²⁹Pierce and Albright, 64-67.

¹³⁰Pierce and Albright, 62-63.

¹³¹Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 4.

Several students in Graff's department produced doctoral dissertations on the Competency Pattern. Early among these was Street, in 1953.¹³² As described earlier, his dissertation and other work in doctoral residence propelled him into a working relationship with Graff, and he subsequently was a coauthor for Graff's three most noted published works. Their writing on values and the Competency Pattern reached fruition in 1956 and 1957.

The Cheatham County Study. An SSCPEA project that Pierce and Albright listed as "local research" was "The Cheatham County Study." With the exception of one University of Tennessee doctoral student, the SSCPEA Program Center staff and its Peabody students (including Merrill) pursued the study, which was aimed at finding and analyzing the sources of educational leadership in a small Middle Tennessee County.

Kimbrough was the sole University of Tennessee participant, and he attributed his acceptance in the project to Graff:

Dr. Graff, of course, pushed for me to be in on these studies. So I was a member of that first team that went out to Cheatham County, which is a little county of about 10,000 population. . . . We had several meetings, of course, and he and I would go out there and participate in planning these studies. We didn't know at the time how to go about studying the political structure, because nobody had really ever done that. . . . We had, though, a lot of consultants. We had money and we could bring consultants in, and those consultants helped us a great deal. . . . To make a long story short, I spent a lot of time planning what I was going to do, working with Dr. Graff.¹³³

"I was very privileged that he made . . . the participation in the SSCPEA possible. If it hadn't been for him, I wouldn't have been in there. I'm sure of that." He added, "That's been most of my research, politics of education."¹³⁴

Kimbrough's participation was also an example of Graff's flexibility when he saw an opportunity for a student. "I planned the study, and I hadn't finished my course work yet. I hadn't

¹³²Calvin M. Street, "The Development of a Competency Pattern with Application to the Area of Industrial Arts Education," (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1953).

¹³³Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

¹³⁴Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

even started my course work. Here I was doing my dissertation, and I hadn't ever started my course work."¹³⁵

Other Studies. In the SSCPEA's early years, Graff wrote, the Competency Pattern "provided considerable unity and reduced fragmentation of effort among the various projects sponsored by the Center for the improvement of educational administration." He cited a lengthy list of experimental practices reported by professors for the first five years of SSCPEA, lauding the evidence of unity in efforts of professors to improve preparation programs.¹³⁶

As the 1945-1954 period ended, individual university projects were under way. The foundation discussed as examples programs at the universities of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Mississippi. Graff categorized The University of Tennessee project as an SSCPEA effort to improve administrator preparation programs. A major component included the design, use, and continued refinement of an instrument that became well-known as "The Tennessee Rating Guide."¹³⁷ The bulk of work by Graff and his students on the project came between 1955 and 1960.

¹³⁵Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

¹³⁶Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 5.

¹³⁷Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 5.

CHAPTER 6

GRAFF'S CARDINAL YEARS AS A PROFESSOR:
PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DIMENSIONS

He was a kind of shepherd, I thought, in reference to his graduate students. He wanted to be as sure as possible that they got what they were there for, but in doing so, that their horizons were raised. Well, I don't mean he was standing around with a crooked staff, shepherding, but I think the students sort of regarded him that way.

--A.D. Albright¹

Distinguishing Features and Events of a Dynamic Period

Graff was fond of talking about "the good life," according to Arliss Roaden, "what the good life was." He saw it as a life of reaching beyond material comfort to seek fulfillment through ideas and values:

What I learned from Orin Graff is that when you make enough money, you don't need any more, and it oughtn't be a motivating factor. You don't need to make a lot of money. Those are the kinds of values that he shaped which are almost shocking to people today. If you follow them, they make for the good life.²

Across a span of approximately 12 years, Graff realized the full extent of his powers and gained a high plane in the practice of his profession and enjoyment of "the good life." During the period of 1954 through 1966, he became a seasoned, respected figure among professors of educational administration, as the zenith of his own development converged with an unfolding of professional events and opportunities. The 12 years formed Graff's richest period of professional productivity and the height of departmental achievements during his tenure at The University of Tennessee. An argument could logically be made, as cited from Bennie E. Carmichael in Chapter 5, that the department's greatest years were those of the joint tenure of Graff and Pierce, two gigantic figures in their profession in the South during the post-war higher education surge. However, several measures of productivity--turnout of successful graduates, participation in professional

¹Albright.

²Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

publication and dialogue, and programmatic achievements--all indicated that this later time was the period of centrality in Graff's professional life.

The period reflected continuity as well as the onset of major new developments. In particular, the SSCPEA was nearing the end of its existence under that name, but it would continue in a revised structure with no reduction in impact until the end of the decade. On the national scene, the United States Supreme Court set into motion an historic restructuring of education and society in general with the landmark decision, Brown v. Board of Education.³ A second event, far less momentous generally but cataclysmic within educational administration, was the eighth meeting of the NCPEA, which stimulated an intensely discussed new phase of the "theory movement." These developments reached into Graff's professorial career and the development of his department to produce a new era of student achievement, programmatic development, and participation in social change.

It was a time when Graff's energy and breadth of interests seemed to stir enthusiasm in those around him, particularly his students. Archie R. Dykes, one of his closest and most noted doctoral advisees, said:

He tended to bring out the best of people. If you had it in you, he tended to make you achieve and to give you ambition in the best sort of way. . . . I think the exposure to Dr. Graff and what he involved you in doing in the process of going through school . . . caused you to think about the larger issues. . . . So you began to see the larger world and to think about the larger issues, and the first thing you knew, your horizons had expanded, your consciousness had expanded. . . .⁴

³Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

⁴Archie R. Dykes, interview with author, Apr. 12, 1990. Dykes earned a Doctor of Education Degree in 1959, with Graff as major professor. He began doctoral studies while serving as a rural East Tennessee principal, of Church Hill High School, and as studies ended became Superintendent of Greeneville City Schools. He then served as the first director of The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education and as chancellor of three universities: The University of Tennessee at Martin; The University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and the University of Kansas. He then moved into the private sector as an insurance executive and, as of this study, was president and chief executive officer of Education Corporation of America, in Nashville.

University, College, and Department Structure

The period was one of key shifts in leadership at The University of Tennessee, and two top university-wide changes related directly to Graff. Andrew D. Holt, with whom Graff had already formed a personal and professional friendship (described in Chapter 5), became president in 1959, as C.E. Brehm retired. Holt quickly followed his own ascension with a key move: "One of Holt's greatest achievements was certainly his selection of Herman Spivey as academic vice president," university historians wrote.⁵ Graff enjoyed mutual admiration with Spivey, an academic leader who commanded great power through respect. The two worked closely together in establishing a graduate education center in Memphis and in bringing about out-of-state racial integration of the doctoral program. In 1963, a future president of the university and doctoral student of Graff's department joined the university. Joseph E. Johnson, whom university historians described as "bright, energetic, aggressive, and amiable," became Holt's executive assistant.⁶ Within the College of Education, a change of deans occurred in 1961, much to Graff's delight. E.C. Merrill, Jr., former master's degree student with Graff and advisee of Truman M. Pierce at both The University of Tennessee and George Peabody College for Teachers (as discussed in Chapter 5), became dean in 1961. He served eight years, through the remainder of Graff's tenure as department head.

Graff's department began the 12-year period with four faculty and ended it with eight, with only Graff and Gilliland serving the entire span. Five of the department's own doctoral graduates returned to serve as faculty during the period, with their tenures varying considerably. Also as the period began, Kimbrough was the first of the department's doctoral graduates to become part of its faculty. He joined Graff, Gilliland, and acting professor Miles Carey, who was serving his second year apparently as a result of the departure of Pierce, Story, or McIntyre. Quill E. Cope was listed

⁵Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 256.

⁶Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 260.

as a department faculty member on leave of absence, as he had been the previous two years.⁷

Cope's leave continued until the late 1960s, covering service as Tennessee Commissioner of Education and president of Middle Tennessee State University. Except for the departure of Carey,⁸ the department faculty was unchanged in 1955-56.⁹

The department faculty also remained the same for the next two years, except for one important addition. Galen Drewry, an SSCPEA program doctoral graduate of Peabody, joined Graff, Gilliland, and Kimbrough.¹⁰ Although never a student at The University of Tennessee, Drewry was closely connected to the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision both through SSCPEA and subsequent experience in Chattanooga, and he performed an important faculty role during his four years in Graff's department.¹¹ In 1959, Elbert Curtis Henson, an Auburn University doctoral graduate whom Pierce had served as major professor, joined Graff's faculty.¹² His arrival was near the time of Kimbrough's departure to join the University of Florida faculty, at

⁷University of Tennessee, Record 58, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1955), 295.

⁸According to Guy S. Potts, Carey had been a doctoral student with Graff at Ohio State and then served as principal of William McKinley High School in Honolulu. "That was before Hawaii was a state. He was a federal employee." After the Japanese attack of Pearl Harbor, the federal government brought Carey back to the states as an employee--perhaps a director--of one of the relocation camps for Japanese, Potts continued. "He felt the greatest injustice that he'd ever known was the forced incarceration of the American Japanese. . . . It was interesting to hear them reminisce," he said of Carey and Graff, adding, "Carey spent almost his entire career there as principal at the high school in Honolulu."

⁹University of Tennessee, Record 59, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1956), 316.

¹⁰University of Tennessee, Record 60, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1957), 321.

¹¹Galen Drewry, telephone interview with author, July 13, 1991. Pierce served as major professor for Drewry at Peabody, and Drewry studied with Merrill, Carmichael, and Kincheloe. In Chattanooga afterward as director of research, he worked with Potts. Following his four years with Graff's department at The University of Tennessee, he served on the faculties at Auburn, Rutgers, Georgia, and Alabama, moving into academic administration at the latter university and retiring there. Drewry served on Michael Y. Nunnery's doctoral committee and later worked with him at Auburn University. Drewry was a vice president at the University of Alabama at the time of his retirement.

¹²E. Curtis Henson, telephone interview with author, July 13, 1991. Henson served four years with The University of Tennessee, moving then to the University of Missouri at Kansas City. During his Tennessee service, he became acquainted with Chattanooga City Schools Superintendent John Letson (who succeeded Lawrence Derthick, Sr., and preceded Bennie E. Carmichael), and he later served long-term as assistant superintendent of Atlanta City Schools after Letson moved there as superintendent.

that point leaving Graff's faculty at four persons.¹³ Two years later Drewry departed, and one of his doctoral advisees, 1959 Ed.D. recipient Howard F. Aldmon, joined the faculty. Also serving briefly during the period was an acting assistant professor named Cunningham, on whom no information became available during the study.¹⁴

Then, in 1963, the department expanded greatly in size. Two additional University of Tennessee doctoral graduates, Dykes and Michael Y. Nunnery, joined the faculty. Dykes, eventually to serve as chancellor of two University of Tennessee campuses and then the University of Kansas, was named associate professor and director of the newly-organized University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education. An assistant professor, Harry F. Hodge, was named to join him there. Two other assistant professors who became long-term members of the faculty also began service. Dewey H. Stollar, who was later to serve as department head for 14 years, joined the faculty as a new doctoral graduate of The Ohio State University, and Frederick P. Venditti, who would serve on the faculty for 26 years (including one and one-half years as interim department head following Stollar), came as a new doctoral graduate of Colorado State University.¹⁵ Aldmon, Dykes, Nunnery, Stollar, and Venditti played significant roles in the department in relation to Graff's life.

As Graff's department head career came to a close in 1966-67, Dykes left the Memphis Center first for a fellowship and then his first chancellorship, and he was succeeded by another graduate of the department, John M. Crothers. Three other faculty members were added at Knoxville during the same approximate period: Larry W. Hughes, Charles M. Achilles, and Gary C. Ubben, doctoral graduates of The Ohio State University, the University of Rochester, and the

¹³University of Tennessee, Record 61, no. 3 (Knoxville, 1958), 244. Beginning with the 1958 publication, The University of Tennessee for a period of several years combined the Record and the General Catalog and changed the schedule of publication, with the result that staffing changes became more difficult to pinpoint from that source.

¹⁴University of Tennessee, Record 64, no. 6 (Knoxville, 1961), 144.

¹⁵University of Tennessee, Record 68, no. 1 (Knoxville, 1965), 152.

University of Minnesota, respectively. The four were first listed in the 1968 Record of the University, along with Stanford University doctoral graduate Francis M. Trusty, the department head who succeeded Graff. The faculty numbered 11 at that time.¹⁶

Central Tenets and Style

Advocacy and Passion

From the time of his studies with Bode, Graff's philosophical grounding included advocacy along with the use of intelligence. Thus, within the holistic nature of his life, his intellectually-derived values and views also became areas of professional passion. Various former students and colleagues noted his gentleness, particularly with students, and his avoidance of forcing his views once he had provoked intelligent examination of values on which ideas were based. But his gentleness knew limits, particularly with colleagues--limits that took definite form at the edge of his personal values. These were the limits at which his intellectually-derived ideas became passions, his personal and professional commitments.

Michael Y. Nunnery, who earned an Ed.D degree in 1958 with Kimbrough as his major professor, gave a broad, candid view of some of the subjects of Graff's passions:

The thing I saw in Dr. Graff was, he could be gentle, he could be most considerate, but if you hit one of his biases, he could be the hard-nosed, stubbornest, arrogantest, son-of-a-bitch you ever saw in your life. He could be vicious, and sometimes he wasn't even rational. . . . There were certain things which he was just negative about. Illustration of point: He had absolutely no tolerance for pretentiousness. He had no tolerance for mindlessness, people who didn't think. Sloppy thinking, sloppy writing, he couldn't stand. Professors who were greedy, first looking at the consultant buck and not doing their job. Professors who failed to keep their commitments, administrators who didn't have the guts to make the tough decisions, inconsistencies in people. . . . When he got to these sorts of things, he didn't think. He operated strictly from raw emotion, and he wasn't gentle. He wasn't gentle. . . .

He had some things to which he was very much committed. He was totally emotional in defense of these things. He was a firm believer in public education. Public education first, foremost, and always. He was totally committed to the concept of pragmatism. He was committed to equal opportunity. He was committed to the professorship, that department, to his wife, totally committed to

¹⁶University of Tennessee, Record 71, no. 1 (Knoxville, 1968), 126.

his friends. Ralph Kimbrough used to tell a story. . . . The point he had in that story . . . was that Graff was totally loyal to the people he liked. . . . I think there was one characteristic in the people he chose to be close to. By and large, they were bright; they were aggressive; they were people that didn't fear a hell of a lot. They kind of had an "I don't give a damn attitude." They were people with little or no pretense. . . . But when he committed himself emotionally to you as a friend, you could do no wrong. So that was another kind of commitment he had. So those things he was passionate about in a positive way.¹⁷

Nunnery was among the first and most classic examples of Graff's "second-generation" students, as well as one of Graff's close friends and later a noted professor and academic administrator in his own right. He was one of two students often mentioned in terms of a father-son relationship with Graff, whom he always referred to either as "Dr. Graff" or "the old man." An ex-Marine whose profundity as a professor was highly regarded by his former students and colleagues, Nunnery spoke in terms as salty and perhaps more blunt than Graff would have used. He continued by summarizing Graff's cardinal principles of philosophy, the intellectually-derived tenets that served as his sources of professional passion and guides to behavior:

He was basically committed to two or three cardinal principles of pragmatism. First. . . you must rely on data as a basis for making decisions, but you evaluate those data in terms of your own values, and you do your own . . . reflective thinking. Out of that you create reality. In other words, the data do not speak. . . . His second basic concept [was] . . . there is no reality outside of what society creates as interaction with environment. . . . He really was committed to that . . . the need for the administrator to make some kind of order out of the ambiguity that surrounds organizations. . . . All is gray, and you create. . . . The third thing to which he was committed . . . was the belief that you made value decisions about what was good, bad, right, or wrong. . . . He basically accepted the proposition axiologically that, when you made a decision about what was right or wrong, good or bad, proper or improper, you did it on the basis of what was in the best interest of the greatest number of people. In other words, you judge an action by its consequences for society.¹⁸

¹⁷Michael Y. Nunnery, interview with author, June 15, 1990. After he completed his doctoral work at The University of Tennessee, Nunnery joined the faculty of Auburn University, where he worked with Pierce. He returned to The University of Tennessee as a faculty member of Graff's department in 1963, serving there until 1968, when he joined Kimbrough at the University of Florida. His career of more than 20 years at Florida was nearing an end as of this study, as he planned to retire after the 1990-91 academic year. A native of West Tennessee, Nunnery had served as a teacher and principal there until joining the U.S. Marines in the early 1950s. He earned a master's degree from North Carolina State University during his Marine service.

¹⁸Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

The complexity of these excerpts from Nunnery pointed to the difficulty of classifying Graff, as well as other thinkers, into a well-defined school of theory or philosophy. Roaden issued a caution on this point, as did Dykes and Daniel E. Griffiths, Graff's antagonist in debating the place of personal values in theory. Roaden said:

I think he called himself a pragmatist, always did, but using those kinds of classifications of philosophy leaves a lot to be desired. I would classify him as a person who believed that the first order of business was shaping the innards of mankind. . . . He just wanted people to know where they stood and why they stood where they stood, and to be able to articulate it, and then build their lives around that.¹⁹

Operationally, another of Graff's pronounced characteristics was his belief in long hours and hard work, on the part of both himself and his colleagues. His associates attested to the hard work that Graff did and expected. Henson, whose 1959-1963 period on the faculty came when the department was typically small, remembered, laughing, "They worked the tar out of us in those days. I was carrying ten committees and serving on about 25 others, plus all the master's theses. Everybody had to write a master's thesis in those days." He estimated his student load as 200 or more, which, coupled with field service, made for long workdays.²⁰

John M. Bogert and George M. Roberts, who earned Ed.D. degrees in 1963 and 1964, respectively, with Graff as major professor, had similar memories. "I wouldn't want to have worked in that department," said Roberts, whose major professor was Aldmon. "Because they would get there at 8:00 o'clock and leave at 10:00 o'clock at night an awful lot." He also noted that the university had Saturday classes during this period.²¹

¹⁹Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

²⁰Henson.

²¹George M. Roberts, interview with author, Apr. 12, 1990. Roberts was an advisee of one of Graff's "second-generation" students, Howard F. Aldmon. A native of Maryville, Roberts earned an undergraduate degree at Maryville College followed by a master's degree at George Peabody College for Teachers. After serving in the Army, he taught and coached basketball in Indiana, moving back to Tennessee each summer to continue graduate work. He eventually chose The University of Tennessee over Peabody to complete his doctoral work, supporting his effort through the G.I. Bill and an assistantship in the School Planning Laboratory. Like Bogert, he was a director with the Tennessee Higher Education Commission as of this study.

Bogert agreed: "I've left the library when they would close at 10:00 and given Howard Aldmon a ride home and wondered, what is the faculty doing here?" He compared Graff's drive with the emphases on excellence and quality in the late 1980s and early 1990s: "I think of things like excellence, because he was so determined that that department would be of high quality, that the instruction would be of high quality, your books would be of high quality. He just seemed to always have that focus on an excellent program."²²

Salty and Literary Aspects of Graff

Among students and colleagues, Graff gained a reputation for saltiness, particularly in discussions with individuals and small groups. Equally well known, and often combined with his saltiness, was a love of classic literature in which he was both retentive and humorously creative. As with philosophical questioning, this occasionally resulted in his pushing against the edges of conventional propriety. The saltiness and other informal features of Graff's personality came through particularly in his travels and professional relationships. Three characteristics were evident. First, Graff concerned himself only incidentally with maintaining appearances or a sense of conventional propriety *per se*--such matters were dependent upon genuine relationships and were undeserving of attention in their own right. Second, as noted earlier, he believed in hard work himself and expected and got the same of his departmental colleagues. Third, directly related to the first two points, when social occasions were held or were a part of work, it was natural to Graff that they be robustly enjoyed.

Associates who were fond of Graff enjoyed this side of him. Jane Smith, a close personal friend of the Graffs as well as a graduate of the Ed.S. program in Educational Administration and Supervision, frequently associated with Graff through their Sunday school class and as a student, recalled, "He was a good story-teller, and now and then he would tell a story that was a little bit

²²John M. Bogert, interview with author, Apr. 12, 1990. Bogert was a director on the staff of the Tennessee Higher Education Commission as of this study.

racy, and nobody seemed to mind. He was a charming man and had a real charisma about him."²³

Those who found Graff's vernacular disquieting often, it seemed, linked it with other areas of discomfort, such as his questioning of personal value bases, administrative practices, and the like.

His younger colleague Galen Drewry recalled, with a deep laugh, such an incident from his years as a professor in the late 1950s, involving Graff and Dean N.E. Fitzgerald:

He used to cuss occasionally in class, and some student--I think it was a student--reported that to the dean. The dean told the academic vice president about it. It so happened that the academic vice president was a good friend of Orin's. That was Herman Spivey. He called Orin, or maybe Orin went over to his office, and told him about it. And Orin said, "You tell that son-of-a-bitch that's just a goddamned lie." There were always things like that going on with him.²⁴

Drewry noted that saltiness of language came naturally to Graff. "I don't think he ever knew he was cussing or that it might offend somebody. It just kind of flowed from him." He noted at the same time:

He was actually a very kind person. I guess to lots of folks he didn't seem that way, superficially. But he always went to bat for those of us who worked for him and tried to do whatever he could to help us. Of course, I think he was quite a brilliant person.²⁵

Another incident combined Graff's saltiness with his emphasis on the use of intelligence to solve problems. Henson, whose career as a young professor with Graff overlapped the end of Drewry's, described a remembrance that he thought almost perfectly characterized this aspect of Graff:

I'd been at the university a short period of time, and I was assigned a doctoral student named Floyd Cunningham, who is long since deceased. We were working on a dissertation on the use of computers in public schools. . . . There was going

²³Jane Smith, interview with author, Dec. 20, 1990. Smith's undergraduate degree was in humanities from Agnes Scott College, and in her late 30s, following child-rearing, she became an advanced placement English, French, and Latin teacher at West High School in Knoxville. She completed an Ed.S. degree in Graff's department in 1964, foregoing pursuit of an Ed.D. degree for a reason signalling a distinctive story of her own: She chose to avoid the doctoral residence requirement so she could better support the studies of her four sons, all of whom graduated from The University of Tennessee Medical School in Memphis. Graff entered into a close friendship with her husband, Ralph Smith, in special circumstances that are described in Chapter 10.

²⁴Drewry.

²⁵Drewry.

to be a workshop in Poughkeepsie, New York, for universities and those who were working in the field of computers in administration. And since Floyd Cunningham was asked to be a presenter, it was agreed between the dean, Graff, the IBM representative, and my student that I should go, representing the university. Floyd told me about it, but Graff or the dean never did mention it to me. It was on a Wednesday before the meeting, and Floyd called me one morning and said the IBM representative was in his office, and they had to know or the space would be canceled. I went in to talk with Graff about it. He was sitting there writing and didn't even look up. I said, "Dr. Graff." He said, "Yes," and he kept right on writing. I said, "Floyd told me that you and the dean had agreed that I should represent you at Poughkeepsie." He said, "That's right." I said, "Well, no one has said anything to me about it, officially, except Floyd, and I have no travel plans, I have no approval, and I have classes on Saturday." He said, "You can go sit on your ass and feel sorry for yourself, or you can use your intelligence and be on the plane." I died laughing. And then he looked up from his desk for the first time. He didn't even know what he'd said. The conversation with me was just way down the line in comparison with what he was writing. When he looked up, I laughed. I was on the plane. I went to Poughkeepsie, and I represented the university well. I've told him that story 20 times since then, how that has helped me through my whole professional life. When things get tough, I can hear him, I can see him, looking up with those glasses down on his nose, and the old bald head. I can see that, and I can hear him say, "You can sit on your ass feeling sorry for yourself, or you can use your intelligence to solve your problems." That was Orin Graff to me.²⁶

Graff frequently used his saltier side as a part of his good sense of humor. At various times when socializing with friends, colleagues, or students, he would reel off ballads and limericks, some of the latter both original and humorous. Fred Thornton remembered such an occasion about 1956, when he was chairing the school principals' association in Duvall County, Florida, and invited Graff as consultant for a two-day workshop:

The principals had arranged a fish fry at one of the men's homes there on the St. Johns River, an outdoor affair. I suppose there were 35 or 40 people there that evening. After eating, we sat down in a circle and started informally and in a relaxed way to ask Dr. Graff some questions regarding our concerns for the Duvall County School System. Well, they found out soon that he had a very humorous side. Dr. Graff liked to quote limericks. So he spent about an hour with that group quoting limerick after limerick after limerick. Needless to say, in a little while he just had that group in the palm of his hand. It was an unusual and delightful evening, and I think demonstrated a relaxed, pleasant side of Dr. Graff that one wouldn't really experience in a classroom setting.²⁷

²⁶Henson.

²⁷Thornton.

Graff occasionally created impromptu verse styled loosely and humorously after Shakespeare, whom he also loved to quote. Guy S. Potts laughingly remembered a ribald verse. Graff's interest in poetry went far beyond the racy, however, including ballads and traditional hymns as well as works of noted and lesser poets.

His love of ballads and limericks combined with his predilection toward other strong personalities in his friendship with a noted Virginia educator, William Seawell. Nunnery remembered Seawell as a "big figure" in Graff's time, both at the University of Virginia, where he was professor and department head for educational administration, and in the local school districts there. He recalled:

Norfolk . . . needed an interim [superintendent] and called Bill Seawell; he put his department chairmanship on hold at the University of Virginia, and he went down and served as superintendent at Norfolk. That's the kind of guy Bill was. Bill Seawell is a huge man . . . 300 pounds, 6 foot 8. He had been kind of a vaudeville performer in his younger days. He played the guitar beautifully. Bawdy stories, bawdy songs. But he also had a fine education from the University of Virginia. He had that classic Albermarle County, Virginia, accent that you had to listen to carefully to understand. He and Orin Graff hit it off. I can still remember Orin Graff and Bill Seawell--we were sitting at Ohio State, in the Continuing Education Building. . . . These guys got to quoting poetry, old ballads and old stories, things like that. One tried to outdo the other. This went on for hours. I was just thoroughly fascinated. . . . His relationship with Seawell was very close . . . and it was built around the love of classic literature and poetry.²⁸

Seawell went to many of the SSCPEA meetings at his own expense, as the University of Virginia was not participating and would not cover his expenses, two other doctoral graduates of the same period remembered. "Dr. Graff admired him," former Graff advisee William L. Evernden said. "He was a very rough, woodsman type guy. . . . He didn't look or act like an intellectual."²⁹

²⁸Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

²⁹William L. Evernden, interview with author, Jan. 26, 1991. A Canadian, Evernden enrolled in The University of Tennessee to complete a master's degree, but Graff persuaded him to stay for the Doctor of Education program. Following completion of the degree in 1958, Evernden joined the faculty of Auburn University, working there with Truman M. Pierce. He later moved to East Tennessee State University, serving a long professorial career there until his retirement.

"One that you wouldn't expect to be at the University of Virginia," William T. Acuff, another Doctor of Education graduate of the department, added. "He certainly didn't fit the prototype."³⁰

Graff and Seawell's mutual respect and friendship continued through Graff's career. Later in Graff's career, their relationship played a role in the career of another department head at the University of Virginia.

Eclecticism and Opportunism versus Consistency of Values

In his work with doctoral students, the tenet Graff advocated most strongly was consistent adherence to one's personal framework of values, once the framework had been formed through study and intellectual self-examination. He strongly opposed administrators' yielding to the temptations of short-term or expedient solutions--in short, to opportunism and eclecticism.³¹

Graff directly stated his views on this topic in a paper on the school superintendency, in a subsection titled "A Personal Guide for Administrative Behavior":

Administration in our rapidly moving culture, including educational administration, has used various devices for escaping the need for intellectualized values as a necessary part of its leadership equipment. Prominent among these during this century were: the attempt to fix administration as management, thereby escaping the responsibility for facing policy level decisions, and a companion attempt to separate administration from the field of political action to avoid participation in political decisions. In recent years we have realized the crippling effects of these evasive tactics on our administrative leadership. The administrator does not achieve leadership status by "buck passing," involving himself in the details of management, assuming "this too shall pass," or acting in self-interest. These characteristics of behavior are appropriate for an opportunist, or his sophisticated counterpart--the eclectic, but they will provide no person in an administrative position with a continuing and increasing leadership status among professionals in his group or beyond it. An administrative leader is one who has gained a position of influence through a consistent record of facing issues with courage and integrity,

³⁰William T. Acuff, interview with author, Jan. 21, 1991. Acuff completed a master's degree in Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee in 1952, having attended four summers, and then returned to earn the Ed.D. degree with John Gilliland as major professor. Like Evernden, he retired as a professor of education at East Tennessee State University. One of his higher education positions was a one-year visiting professorship at Ohio State when Arliss Roaden was dean of graduate studies there.

³¹Chapter 8 provides a more rounded discussion of the value framework in relation to Graff's participation in the "theory movement" in educational administration.

seeking their resolution in terms of a personal, intellectualized, and socially oriented value system.³²

B.E. Childers, who earned the Ed.D. degree in 1964 with Graff as major professor and later became head of one of the nation's regional accrediting agencies, remembered vividly Graff's remonstrances against eclecticism. He noted it first among the subjects that immediately and obviously irked his major professor. Graff directed his students to learn about various philosophies, Childers said. In doing so, he made it plain that people who tried to pick and choose various philosophical elements for the sake of convenience ranked lower in his estimation than did philosophers with whom he disagreed:

As a matter of fact, some of our required readings were works by other people with whom he had had . . . a disagreement of philosophy. He always started out with the idea that you've got to determine what their philosophy is, then you can understand why they are saying what they are. He said the people you can't understand are the eclectics who take a little bit of this and a little bit of that, and you wind up without anything solid in the whole structure. . . .

He couldn't stand eclecticism, and that's the reason he would always push you very hard as to why you made a decision on something, and what is the basis of it. . . . And this was one thing when I started out that I really disagreed with. I thought there were some things you needed to be an idealist on and some things you needed to be a pragmatist on. . . .

But he was very emphatic that, in fact, you don't mix philosophies. It's not a matter of what you say you believe. . . . Your philosophy is what you do, not what you say. . . . I think this was one thing that really irked him more than anything, was people trying to mix philosophies. . . . He said you're not being honest. He could not abide dishonesty. . . .³³

So strongly did Graff imbue this view in his doctoral students that several of them who were sources for this study, 30 and more years later, gave quick clarifications when it appeared they might have hinted at favoring eclecticism or expediency. One such case was Gem Kate Greninger, the first

³²Orin G. Graff, "The Profession of the School Superintendency: A Perspective," 5-6.

³³B.E. Childers, interview with author, May 25, 1990. At the time of the interview, Childers was serving as executive director of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), having earlier served as executive director of Commission on Occupational Education of SACS. Childers became an instructor in electronics during Korean War military service, having earlier earned an undergraduate degree in English. After military service, he completed a master's degree at Memphis State University and decided to pursue doctoral work at The University of Tennessee on the recommendation of Bascom Story, one of the three original professors in Graff's department, who was then serving as graduate dean at Memphis State. On Graff's recommendation that he acquire public school experience, Childers served as principal of two high schools, Halls, in Knox County, and McMinn County, while completing his doctoral work.

woman recipient of an Ed.D. Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision. In describing Graff as a pragmatist, Greninger noted that she also saw in him a trace of existentialism, related to his deep concern for people as individuals. "I'm not saying that Dr. Graff was an eclectic," she injected. "By no means."³⁴

However, Jane Smith also recalled Graff's tendency toward existentialism, expressed both directly and through his intense concern for the individual. She studied with Graff during a period of heightened interest in existentialism, in the early 1960s, and he was obviously intrigued, she said:

He never would take any labels. But from his endorsement of that philosophy, the way he mentioned existentialist views from time to time, I always thought that he was interested in that. I know once, in the seminar, he asked me to do a discussion on existentialism and Camus. . . . I looked into it very carefully in order to help reinforce my information, my previous background on it. I remember his questions to me were so helpful, that I could discuss it. He brought out the strength of existentialism in the end. . . .³⁵

Smith added again that she could not label Graff, however. "You would say, 'Are you existentialist,' and he would push it away."³⁶

Nunnery, following up with a comment on Graff's cardinal principles, said, "Now I'm not saying he wasn't to a degree eclectic. But eclecticism was a cuss word to Orin Graff."³⁷

Graff's admonitions against eclecticism and opportunism tied directly to his definition of pragmatism, an expanded view that, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, linked to Bode's later work in its inclusion of concern for the broad social good as well as for the individual. Robert K. Roney,

³⁴Gem Kate Taylor Greninger, interview with author, May 26, 1990. In 1957, Greninger (her surname then being Taylor) was awarded the first University of Tennessee Ed.D. degree in Educational Administration conferred on a woman. With Graff as her major professor, she completed her studies and dissertation as part of the Kellogg SSCPEA program. Earlier, while serving as a school system supervisor in Virginia, she took a summer term course with Graff and decided to seek a doctorate at The University of Tennessee, having already been admitted to the University of Virginia. After completing the doctoral degree, she became a professor of education at East Tennessee State University, serving there until her retirement in 1985.

³⁵Smith.

³⁶Smith.

³⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

who also associated with Graff as both student and colleague, echoed key aspects of Nunnery's summary of cardinal principles as he described this link:

He was definitely a people person. He was your quintessential pragmatist. I remember Dr. Graff being very non-pragmatic in a way, but very adamant about the distinction between pragmatism on the one hand and eclecticism on the other. He said . . . some people define pragmatism as, just do what works. He said that the thing that's left out of that is this idea of doing the common good. Now the definition of what works is what's best for me, that may be eclecticism--take a little here, take a little there, and try to stay ahead of the game. As a matter of fact, he would equate eclecticism to opportunism. Whereas pragmatism, based on the philosophies of Dewey and even earlier people . . . was based on the idea of, yes, let's do what works best for the society as a whole, or at least for the most people possible.³⁸

Dykes' thoughts were similar to those of Roney, Nunnery, and Roaden, as he focused on Graff's striving for consistency:

In terms of categorizing [him] by a school of thought, I'm not sure that I could. . . . It's not fair to say that he picked and chose. He didn't, really. It isn't fair to say that he was eclectic. He certainly wasn't. But he didn't fit the mold of things. He thought very deeply about most issues, and he had a coherent pattern to what he believed, and the pattern was consistent. But it would be very difficult to put him into any commonly accepted category. The great strength of being around Dr. Graff was to see how his ideas affected what he did, because he was predictable. If you once knew what he believed in, you could predict always what he would do or what his view was going to be of a given subject. . . . Because he really thought about what he believed in, and it became a way of life for him. . . . That, I think, is the thing that set him apart from other people. He was always consistent. He always related to people in the same way.³⁹

Graff's essential opposition to eclecticism and opportunism, then, appeared to be based more on inconstancy than on initial combinations of ideas from different major philosophies, if such combinations were intellectually derived and stood the test of logic. But he apparently saw such

³⁸Robert K. Roney, interview with author, Nov. 30, 1989. Roney, a Doctor of Education graduate of the department, retired as professor of educational administration and supervision at The University of Tennessee during this study. He earlier served as one of the three directors of The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education, as described in Chapter 7, and the university's director of institutional research. He pursued doctoral studies during the latter part of Graff's tenure and later, as a young faculty member, was assigned a next-door office to Graff, then professor emeritus. He and Dr. Graff were also members of the same church and Sunday school class for a time. Roney was initially an advisee of Nunnery, with Dewey H. Stollar becoming his major professor of record when Nunnery joined the University of Florida.

³⁹Dykes.

combinations as subject to special scrutiny, in terms of their metaphysical workability. Beyond this, he believed that, once an individual underwent the rigor of study and self-examination to arrive at a personal value framework, that framework should be the individual's behavioral guide for dealing with the large questions of administration and of life. He conveyed this idea to one of his latter advisees in the doctoral program, Joseph Westbrook, as follows:

I remember one of the last conversations we had before I left the Hill. . . . He said, "Well, remember your objectives don't vary. But the means by which you have to accomplish them may vary." He simply said because your means have to vary doesn't mean that you have changed your objectives or that you vary your objectives. . . . Simply because it becomes difficult or you don't think you can do it, you don't change and try to do something else. Maybe you look at different ways that you can do the same thing.⁴⁰

More broadly and in a context of relativism, Graff expressed the same type of thought in his paper on the superintendency:

In a static culture, there is usually a single way or a "how to do it" answer for a particular situation. But in our culture there are always logical alternatives for the small questions and, frequently, no acceptable alternatives for the large ones. Thus, we do not nor could we determine a person's leadership status by how closely he adheres to answers once considered good or by how closely he agrees with our individual answers. We do not expect that our leaders will approximate our behavior; rather, we want assurance that they are acting in our interest with courage, integrity, intelligence, and conviction on every important problem and issue that faces us. Those who perform in this manner are accorded respect and honor, the foundations upon which individual leadership is built.⁴¹

Philosophical and Professorial Relationships with Students

Graff's Appeal as a Speaker

Beyond his capacity as a thinker, Graff's effectiveness in teaching and leadership grew in large part from his ability as a speaker in give-and-take situations. His style in this regard was particularly suited for personalized and small-group professorial work. He did not display classic oratorical skills, as did his friend Andrew D. Holt, but former students and colleagues talked of his

⁴⁰Joseph Westbrook, interview with author, Jan. 20, 1991.

⁴¹Orin B. Graff, "The Profession of the School Superintendency: A Perspective," 6.

ability to mesmerize audiences of educators. He talked with students informally, in down-to-earth, often salty language, yet many of his doctoral students regarded him with fatherly, or often more, reverential, affection. He was considered deeply intellectual, yet his colleagues acclaimed his penchant and ability to talk persuasively with educational practitioners and decision-makers--school board members, superintendents, principals, teachers, and citizens.

Several former doctoral students described his professorial method as socratic. The characterization reflected his preference for give-and-take and the personal requirement that the interchanges have some basis in philosophical thought. It also linked to Graff's detailed examination of the specificity of ideas and the requirement that others who wished to understand him try to follow his lead in this respect. His method did not suggest an inability to deliver a thoughtful and effective speech; indeed, Graff did so many times. The effectiveness of such deliveries, however, appeared to rest to a large degree on his ability to create an inner dialogue among those who could listen with some degree of understanding. Dykes described this:

It wasn't that he was a good speaker. He wasn't. But his speeches would hold your attention and hold teachers' attention, because they were about things that were important. He had a pattern of leaning on the podium and drumming his fingers on the top of the podium, just a real rhythm. He'd do that in class, too, but he did it when he was speaking even to large groups. I never saw him have notes. He just didn't do it. Yet he could make a cogent, cohesive presentation without any outline. . . . He could stand up, and it would be just an unfolding of a kind of intellectual panorama, and when he got through, you knew he was through. He was at the end. It was a pattern, a coherent discussion of some important issue pertaining to education. It was fascinating to watch him. People who were really serious professionals always appreciated him most. People who weren't really serious about teaching or really didn't have the intellectual capacity to understand him didn't really appreciate him. But he related well to the best elements in the profession. That was where he was at his strongest.⁴²

This ability to draw people into his world of philosophy characterized the professorial Graff. It puzzled those who could not understand him and enthralled those who did. This dichotomy of reactions was observed by former students. Helen S. Feldman, for example, noticed early that some

⁴²Dykes.

saw Graff as a guru-like figure, although her own development of an appreciation of the reasons for this took time:

Dr. Graff would drop into some of the classes that I was enrolled in, and at some point somebody said, "You ought to take Philosophy of Education with Dr. Graff." I replied that the course would be too deep for me. Anyway, I enrolled, and it was interesting. . . . Sometimes when he would sit and talk . . . I would think, "What on earth is he talking about?" I would ask some of the other students and they'd say, "Just wait, just wait." Because I couldn't understand the devotion, I guess for a lack of a better word, that some of the students had for Dr. Graff. I thought, well, he's a nice person, but I really don't know why they hang on every word he says--you know, a guru.⁴³

In her own later classes and student-major professor relationship with Graff, she too approached the point of almost hanging on his every word, she added.

The Varied Settings of Interactions with Students

Doctoral students were present in the various settings of Graff's life. They visited often at the Graffs' home on Sherwood drive, a comfortable one-story house located on a large, partially wooded lot in suburban West Knoxville. There various students helped him with his favorite avocation of annually raising a lush vegetable garden, worked with him to complete the paperwork attendant upon a graduate program professor and department head, and partook of the many meals and snacks that Erma Graff delighted in serving.

The same openness he and the students enjoyed there carried over to other settings, as Graff created give-and-take with students wherever he found them. Discussions occurred during chance campus meetings, the travel of school studies and other project and service work, departmental work areas for faculty and graduate assistants, and--less important than the other settings in the minds of many former students--the classroom itself.

Contact with students was Graff's source of energy and satisfaction, according to Erma Graff. "I know he had several opportunities to leave here and go into administration," she said.

⁴³Feldman.

"And he'd look at them, but not seriously. He wanted to teach. He wanted to be that close to the students. So being head of the department was as far away as he wanted to be from the students."⁴⁴

The Graff Home and Erma Graff's Role. Graff's students remembered Erma Graff and the Graffs' spousal relationship as exemplary of the "good life." Erma Graff's interest in and contributions toward student success were appreciated as being on a par with her husband's, within the social context of their time and roles. She took joy in her role:

I really believe that I had all the students Orin ever had in this house to feed them, or to give them a cup of something. We both enjoyed it, and I think that was one of the main things that pleased the students, because they felt they were important, really. . . . It was our pleasure. It really was.⁴⁵

Smith saw the value of this role as well as the pleasure Erma Graff took in it:

I don't know of any wife ever who was more reinforcing to her husband. Whenever . . . his students would come back to town, they'd stay there. They'd be at Erma's house. They'd eat dinner there. She fed more students at the university, I suppose, than any other faculty wife who has ever been there. Because they didn't have children, he almost adopted his students who were going through one of the doctoral programs. So they were at their house regularly, and Erma fed them and made them fudge and sent packages home to the children. . . .⁴⁶

Beyond the pleasure, though, Erma Graff also knew from her own experiences that the personal attention and social mingling gave a valuable boost to the overall growth of many of the doctoral students.

Some of these people . . . became close to us, because they liked the treatment they got here, from Orin. . . . But they were just kind of clingers. We all came through that. . . . They hadn't been out in a place as big as the University of Tennessee. Maybe they came from villages or somewhere from a rural area. And they couldn't believe that anybody would take such a personal touch with anybody who was a student, as Orin did with them. But that's what he liked, and that's what he was going to do. That's the reason he didn't want to get out of teaching.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989. One offer was to become dean of education at the University of South Carolina, as discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁵Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

⁴⁶Smith.

⁴⁷Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

Thus, the pattern of doctoral students' visits to the Graff home varied according to individual needs for support. A case in point was John M. Crothers, who left his wife and children at home in Memphis as he moved to Knoxville to complete his doctoral program in the early 1960s:

I was one of the few people at the time I studied within the department . . . who did not bring their family with them or live close enough to regularly commute on weekends. . . . There again, the relationship I had with him as one of his students was unique and special. I frequently found myself as an uninvited guest filling a chair at a dinner table in his home. But Mrs. Graff, Erma, and Orin both, knowing my circumstances, caused me to feel like an adopted son, in a very genuine way. The hospitality of their home--again, you couldn't read it in a catalog--was very supportive. It was a very supportive thing to a mature, 38-year-old person not living close enough to regularly be with his family on weekends or whenever he wanted. It went beyond an academic experience.⁴⁸

Crothers also asserted that the Graffs' team-relationship approach, as well as being a key to Graff's success, served as a model for students' integration of their family and professional lives as they advanced from their doctoral programs:

First of all, they had a marriage that was exemplary, which is always good for students. She wasn't interfering, but she was proactively interested in his career and fully supportive of him. . . . God knows behind the scene what a moderating influence she surely has been with him. Because Dr. Graff was a decisive man, a decision-making man. . . . The pride they showed one another was mutual, and thus set a good example for people. . . .⁴⁹

He later added, "This was a characteristic that his faculty and staff picked up on." Thus, it set a departmental tone for camaraderie and a level of socialization among faculty, students, and their spouses.⁵⁰

⁴⁸John M. Crothers, interview with author, June 22, 1990. Crothers earned a Doctor of Education Degree in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision in 1965, with Graff serving as his major professor. Following doctoral studies, he served as a faculty member of Graff's department and as director of the university's Memphis program, the Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education. Subsequently, he served as department chair and then dean of public service at the University of Tennessee at Nashville, joining Tennessee State upon the merger of the two universities. As of this study, he was on leave from Tennessee State University to serve in Tennessee state government as director for high technology development, Department of Economic and Community Development.

⁴⁹Crothers.

⁵⁰Crothers.

Dorothy Aldmon was one of the spouses, first as her husband Howard F. Aldmon was a Doctor of Education student in Graff's department and then as he became a professor and academic administrator with the university. She recalled:

Mrs. Graff was very gracious, and she and Dr. Graff often had students out. Of course, students are always poor, and they would have us out for meals--they would have us out for dessert or dinner. It was always a lot of fun to be there. Dr. Graff told great stories and seemed to be interested in everything. And Mrs. Graff [was] very charming and the perfect hostess. So we knew them socially for the years that my husband was in school. And then the last year that he was in school, he came over for the full year, and I was teaching.⁵¹

With those who did have families, the Graffs also extended their caring and hospitality to spouses and children, as Kimbrough recalled from his time as a Graff advisee:

Mrs. Graff and Dr. Graff were a team who worked together. I couldn't tell you the innumerable times that they had my wife Gladys and me out to dinner to mosey around that beautiful place they have out there in West Knoxville. . . . And of course, Mrs. Kimbrough says--she still says--that Mrs. Graff taught her a lot. We were young and inexperienced, so it worked both ways. He was teaching me while she was teaching her.⁵²

The back porch of the Graff home became familiar to Harold Wayne Gentry, who spent time there during three years he worked as Graff's graduate assistant. "Occasionally, I spent a summer night on his back porch while he was reading dissertations," Gentry recalled. "He'd read a while, and then we'd talk awhile." Gentry remembered those back-porch talks and other informal times with Graff as the paramount incidents of his graduate education:

I think he had a way of getting close to you, so that you could sit down and have serious talks. I think the informal association I had with him was probably of more value than the formal association in the department. There were nights on the back

⁵¹Dorothy Aldmon, interview with author, Jan. 28, 1991. The Aldmons were teaching in North Carolina, having attended Western Carolina University together, when Howard Aldmon began taking summer courses in Graff's department in the mid-1950s. Dorothy Aldmon moved to Knoxville to begin teaching there when her husband entered into doctoral residence, and she continued her teaching career in Knoxville City and later Knox County Schools. Howard F. Aldmon, upon completing Ed.D. work in 1959, served on the faculty of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision and then as an administrator, first as assistant dean for the College of Education and later as vice chancellor for student affairs. Drewry served as his major professor.

⁵²Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

porch of his house when I would just sit and listen to him discuss various issues. Those meetings were probably more valuable than any formal instruction.⁵³

Graff's Garden. At his home, Graff's other favorite place was his annual, sizable vegetable garden, where he also shared work, ideas, and advice with students. His students remembered sessions with Graff there that were therapeutic to him and to them. Dykes recalled:

He used to invite some of us out to his house now and then. He always loved working in his garden, and we would work in his garden then sit down and drink beer, and he would talk about things that were just fascinating. I used to do that a great deal.⁵⁴

Roaden remembered at least one visit when Graff described the garden as an outlet for the feelings of frustration that he seldom displayed:

I have seen him when he was impatient, and that was rare, because the guy would work around the clock and then he would go home and work in his garden after dark and before daylight. He had a great productive garden back then. . . . He and Dean Fitzgerald, who was dean at the time, were friends. But I guess it's the pattern for faculty members not to think much of the dean, because the dean is sort of distant. I remember one day I said, "Dr. Graff, you're here all day working with students, and then you go home and work in your garden till late at night. Why do you do that?" He said, "It's great therapy for me. It's great therapy. I take my hoe out in that garden and I start busting those clods." And he said, "I bust them, and after a while those clods start looking like deans' heads."⁵⁵

The garden was a high-producing enterprise that Graff was proud of, as he shared vegetables from it with friends. To some, it was also symbolic of his values and background and how the two came together. Smith saw it in that light:

He had that real country-boy veneer that made you think he was just like anybody else, and I think in his heart he was down-to-earth in his values. He was a farmer, and he liked the earthy, plain values of life. They were so wholesome. He used to bring me cabbages . . . Big heads of cabbage, just so impressive. He was so proud of them, and I would say, "The cabbages are beautiful and so big," and he would

⁵³Harold Wayne Gentry, telephone interview with author, Dec. 15, 1990. A native of Mountain City, Tennessee, Gentry was conferred the Ed.D. Degree from The University of Tennessee in 1957, with Graff as major professor. He joined the faculty at the University of Georgia in January, 1958, serving first as professor of education and later, for approximately 18 years, in academic administration. He was serving as associate dean for graduate education when interviewed, and he then indicated in a letter to the author in spring 1992 that he had retired.

⁵⁴Dykes.

⁵⁵Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

say, "They are beautiful." He was just so down to earth and plain-spoken that you felt very comfortable around him. It was not a veneer of simplicity. It was just a manner of reaching you on a one-to-one basis with no masquerade of "I'm a professor and you're a teacher" or anything like that. He felt that you were just a family member. . . . He was so reachable.⁵⁶

Classroom and Campus Interactions. As Bennie Carmichael and others noted earlier, Graff's primary method of teaching was to create dialogue involving examination of ideas, including students' self-examination of their own core values and beliefs. He brought to this method physical mannerisms that suggested reflection and questioning, the effort and sometimes anguish of inner conflict. As noted by many, he continually drummed his fingers. He rubbed his head, which had become quite bald on top by his latter years. In earlier years as a professor he wore a moustache, and he made vigorous downward rubbing motions on it during class. At other times, he continually smoked a pipe or cigars. He was noted to have an ability to split his attention between different depths of thought, and he would occasionally appear inattentive--even so far as reading a newspaper, one advisee noted--as students spoke or presented material in class; then he would rejoin the discussion with detailed recall.

As he conducted his classes, Graff evoked memories with his mannerisms. Smith, for example, said one of her primary images of Graff was "seeing him sitting in front of the class . . . that picture of him sitting there thinking."

He would rub his hand across his bald head . . . then he would sit drumming those fingers and shift in his chair a little bit as he seemed to think. I can see that image of him now, pushing his hand across his forehead and drumming his fingers and coming out with a very profound statement.⁵⁷

"When he was deep in thought," Bogert said, "he would just absentmindedly twiddle his thumbs, tap his hands on the table, roll his fingers. . . . In class or in committee, or wherever. . . ."⁵⁸

⁵⁶Smith.

⁵⁷Smith.

⁵⁸Bogert.

Graff's finger-drumming gained occasional notice and mixed reactions elsewhere, as in an example remembered by Gentry:

When I first came to Georgia, we had a dean by the name of [John] Dotson, and I was talking with him one day. I was telling him how much I thought of Dr. Graff and how helpful he had been. . . . Dean Dotson said, "I like him, but he sure messed me up one time. . . . I went to a meeting with him and I sat by him, and I had my tape recorder on. You know Dr. Graff had a habit of drumming his fingers on the table. . . . When I got home and tried to listen to the tape of the proceedings, all I got was drumming on the tape."⁵⁹

Nunnery described what he considered the most frequent style of class session that Graff would conduct:

He usually came to class with an idea of where he was going. But it was what I would call, "You're on one end of the log, and I'm on the other." So he would start off with something in class that was relevant to the assignment, and his basic teaching technique was lecture. . . . But his lectures were often not tightly organized, and he frequently would get on a point and totally lose where he was going, particularly if he got some questions that moved him in that direction. . . . I would call him a rambling lecturer. Today's students, with the rating system we use, would either be totally intrigued with the way he taught, and his mind, and give him outstanding ratings, or they would give him horrible ratings.⁶⁰

However, Graff's tendency to ramble did not signal disorganization or difficulty in communicating, Nunnery added:

He was a very well organized administrator. He was a very articulate man. . . . He was bright. He was a good thinker. But he had a tendency to ramble. . . . Because he had so damned much on his mind that he just thought he had to let you know about it. . . . He tried to do a little grouping work and things like that in some of his classes, I recall. He put us in groups to discuss questions, that type thing. But I think that was kind of the style of the day. He never did do that very well. He was really at his best when he got wound up on a subject which was value-related. Probably his greatest influence in teaching was not what he did in the classroom.⁶¹

Smith also noted how easily students could draw Graff away from a class subject, but she saw within the apparent rambling a framework of methodology and skill:

⁵⁹Gentry.

⁶⁰Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁶¹Nunnery.

In class, he was easily led off to talk about something that wasn't the subject of the day. I've seen people bait him. . . . I'd think sometimes that he was letting himself just get led astray, but then I'd see that he had a method in it all, that he was leading the person back around. . . . He really had a lot of wisdom in what he was doing. He helped me a lot in my understanding of the role of a teacher.⁶²

As E.C. Merrill noted earlier, Graff expected that his students would become acquainted with philosophical thinkers as original sources. To this end, one of his usual exercises was to bring a selection of these books to class for students to borrow and read. "I remember he would usually bring in a huge pasteboard box absolutely full of books, and this was kind of his recommended reading list," recalled Bogert. "They were pretty much all philosophy books. Paperbacks, hard books, just a wide variety from his personal library." The box included books from writers such as William James, Alfred North Whitehead, John Dewey, Boyd H. Bode, I.N. Thut, and others, Bogert said. "You were expected to go by and select," he added with a laugh.⁶³

Graff's primary classroom technique remained as it was earlier described by Carmichael and others, to draw students out to reveal their values, so that they would have an opportunity to view their own strengths and weaknesses of thought. His goal was to do this without confrontation or destructiveness. Smith said he did this in a "Socratic way" and "without offending" when challenged.⁶⁴

Feldman's said, "He was trying to get people to think for themselves. . . . He didn't let his challenges become a personal thing."⁶⁵ Dykes recalled the process in much the same way, emphasizing Graff's interrogatory abilities:

He would start asking you questions, and pretty soon you would have a fairly uneasy feeling that you had stepped off the bridge. You wondered where this was going to end, because the logical sequence pretty soon was no longer sequential, and

⁶²Smith.

⁶³Bogert.

⁶⁴Smith.

⁶⁵Feldman.

he was leading you way out, and suddenly you realized you had just made a fool of yourself.⁶⁶

"He would lead you down the path to where there was no escape," Bogert said.⁶⁷

"It was a group dynamics approach," said Childers. "He asked leading questions. He would never ask a question for which there was a simple answer."⁶⁸

Roberts added, "He would just pick out people that were overconfident in any area or any way--he was almost mean to them, in a way. . . . He just tried to probe and make them think."⁶⁹

Joseph E. Johnson, who became president of The University of Tennessee during the course of this study, took two classes and a seminar with Graff on his way to earning an Ed.D. Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision in 1968. He remembered the respect that Graff received and the atmosphere of the classes. "It was always very relaxed. I think everybody in the class or in the seminar respected him; you looked to him for guidance. . . ." He continued:

I never did see him lecturing from notes. He'd come in and sit down and, largely what he did in class was get everybody talking and discussing, and then he'd sit there and sort of monitor the discussion--which I thought was a good way to teach. . . . What I'm here to do is help you, to stimulate you to think about what you've read and studied and what you might feel about a given issue.⁷⁰

⁶⁶Dykes.

⁶⁷Bogert.

⁶⁸Childers.

⁶⁹Roberts.

⁷⁰Joseph E. Johnson, interview with author, May 7, 1990. Johnson became president of The University of Tennessee System shortly after the interview, during summer, 1990. He had earlier earned an M.S. Degree in Public Administration in 1958, having worked toward the degree in a Southern Regional Training Program while serving in the U.S. Army. He began his career with The University of Tennessee serving for two years as an instructor and research associate in the Department of Political Science and Bureau of Public Administration. He then served with state government for three years as senior budget analyst, director of the Budget Division, deputy commissioner for the Department of Finance and Administration, and executive assistant to Governor Buford Ellington. After moving to The University of Tennessee in 1963, he held various high-level positions in addition to those previously mentioned, including three vice presidential positions, chancellor of the university's Center for Health Sciences in Memphis, and interim duty in another vice presidential position which was vacant due to a leave of absence. Johnson began work on the Ed.D Degree after moving from state government duties to the university. He worked closely with Graff and his major professor Aldmon, and he and Graff frequently discussed issues throughout the remainder of Graff's active years.

The theme of operating from a system of personal values was almost constant with Graff,

Johnson said:

What I heard from him, time and time again, the first thing you've got to do if you're going to get something done in education . . . you've got to place some value on it. You've got to believe in it; you've got to believe that education is a way to help people be better, and to help the country to be better, and to help the community to be better. . . . That was this constant issue, that you've got to be in sync on your values. . . . That's one reason, as I often said, having Orin Graff one time or ten times, it was Orin Graff. And that's important, because what he was really doing wasn't teaching from a textbook. . . . He really was giving you Orin Graff and what he believed in and what he thought was important about structure and about relationships and about people. The other thing I think that always came through was that you've got to treat people with decency and respect. He was very intolerant of people who were arbitrary and capricious. He really kept stressing, you've got to deal with people where they are, and you've got to respect that, and then try to move them. . . .⁷¹

Although Graff's department moved from the barracks on the Hill to the new Claxton Education Building in 1957, he and his colleagues worked to maintain the closeness of interactions that their former quarters, though primitive, had stimulated. Childers noted the air of closeness that still existed:

One of the arrangements we had there was that each group of graduate or doctoral students was given offices, and you had about five or six in each office. . . . What that gave us was an opportunity to argue through concepts. I wasn't too conceptual, more practical. I was a vocational educator, of course. I taught electronics. It was my opportunity to really rub shoulders with some public educators that I hadn't had in the past. I really appreciated the fact that Orin had organized that structure to allow you to have that "rub shoulders" opportunity.⁷²

Merrill observed as dean of the College of Education, as he had earlier as a student, Graff's conversion of chance meetings into educational settings:

If he ran into a student in the student union, or two or three of them, he would sit down and probably have one of the best classes [they'd] ever had. He didn't think that the classroom was the only time to learn, and he did involve students and give them responsibilities in meetings, helping to plan meetings, and helped them to get involved.⁷³

⁷¹Johnson.

⁷²Childers.

⁷³Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

Travels with Students

Former doctoral students who traveled with Graff to various work settings especially valued the opportunities for informal conversation and sometimes social enjoyment these occasions had brought them. Doctoral students often accompanied Graff and other members of the department on school studies, consultation visits on facilities and other administrative matters, professional meetings, and deliveries of speeches. Although Graff retained his philosophical bent on such trips, the tone was more personal, and the levels of give and take and humor were memorable, several former students said.

Dykes recalled that he spent considerable time traveling with Graff. These were times that gave students opportunities to talk with Graff one-to-one and at length and also to see others' responses to him, Dykes said, recalling two such instances:

I remember especially he asked Bill Evernden and me to go with him to a teacher's conference in Rogersville, Alabama. We drove down there one afternoon, had dinner together, and spent the night in a little local motel. Then Dr. Graff made his presentation to the assembled teachers the next morning, and we got to ride back with him, a long time to talk with him and share experiences. He was a very unusual person. . . .

He was always discussing ideas. . . . It was a real learning experience to spend three or four hours with him in the car going somewhere, because he would talk and ask you what you thought about things, and it was a great learning experience just to be with him one on one. Absolutely. He was always stimulating to be around. There was not any small talk. Where he was invited to speak, the invitations came from people who had heard him somewhere, or who had met him, or who had been exposed to him and were, like I was, fascinated by his ideas.⁷⁴

Dykes and Graff on one occasion drove together to commencement ceremonies at Church Hill, the small, rural East Tennessee high school from which Graff had recruited him as principal into the doctoral program. He had arranged for the principal who followed him to invite Graff as commencement speaker:

We drove up there, and that was another one of these chances to be with him, to spend a lot of time just riding and talking. He would reminisce on the people in the area. He had a real love for people, and he liked to reflect on their peculiarities

⁷⁴Dykes.

and differences. He could talk about these people, and East Tennessee was sort of an interesting culture. . . .⁷⁵

Graff's facility with language and the needling he sometimes dealt Dykes regarding his native East Tennessee speech were part of their interactions:

Dr. Graff had a real skill in, a real use for, the language. He used to gig me on that, because I didn't at the time, and never did, have it like he did. But I would use a word, and he would sort of gig at me, "That's East Tennessee, isn't it, Archie?" If you didn't know that really basically he liked you and really cared for you and really wanted to help you, you could really be offended. He was very acerbic sometimes.⁷⁶

On other occasions, a long day of work with a local school system might be followed by a "bull session" in a motel, Nunnery recalled from his student period. The occasion might typically be a small town where "there wasn't a hell of a lot to do," Nunnery said. "We'd get a six-pack and have a couple of drinks . . . I'm not going to say this was a bunch of drunks. That would not be right. But it was customary when you got through a hard day's work--we did a lot of work in those rural school districts--we went back to the motel and got something to eat and went in the hotel and spent two or three hours 'BSing' and drinking beer. Certainly, let me make it very clear, I never saw any immoral behavior in any way out of Orin Graff or anything like that, or anybody else in that group." On such occasions, Nunnery said, students might bait Graff a bit on his troubles with the dean: "Well, Dr. Graff, what did old Fitz do today?" When this worked, they were treated to a rare display of Graff's temper. "He was a human being, and he had his warts just like anybody else," Nunnery said.⁷⁷

Roberts' doctoral study came during the beginning years of the School Planning Laboratory, when Graff was particularly active in participating on teams and working with Gilliland. Roberts

⁷⁵Dykes.

⁷⁶Dykes.

⁷⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

traveled with Graff on several occasions on facility planning visits, and he recalled, laughing, a visit to a small college near Greenville, South Carolina:

The thing that stands out in my mind about that trip, aside from just the general fun, is that Dr. Graff was sort of a kid, too. He brought something that he was going to introduce to us, that he had just heard of. A new drink. Kumquat and Old Crow. He bought some damn kumquats, and he squeezed them into some Old Crow and put in some ice, and that's what we would drink. . . . I don't know where he got this. . . . I've never heard of it since.⁷⁸

This experimentation was only part of the overall congenial atmosphere Graff helped stimulate when traveling, as Roberts indicated. The trip seemed to exemplify his pace, his enjoyment of locale, and his approach to helping host institutions find their own solutions, as in the case of the college:

They'd had a building burn down. It was not a big place, probably about 800 people. They just had us there as guests for the large part of a week, helping them and their board decide what to do. Of course, I was the writer and he was editor for all this kind of thing. . . . And Dr. Graff did most of the talking, to decide about whether it was best to rebuild an old building or build a new one, that kind of thing. There's always the potential for raising money if you leave the same name on an old building, on that small a campus. And then we did an assessment of need, which they obviously had. . . . We helped them think through what they wanted to do. And, you know, we would end up driving to Greenville to eat and doing things like that. . . . We stayed up and watched Johnny Carson . . . and just talked. . . . He loved apples and peanuts. . . .

Then the diverticulitis came along, and he quit all that stuff in his later years. . . . I can't remember the sequence of that, but later on he gave up peanuts. He may have eaten peeled apples. I don't know, but he did have diverticulitis very severely for a while.⁷⁹

Graff as a Father Figure to His Doctoral Students

A.D. Albright figuratively referred to Graff as a shepherd, and others noted that, at least to some of his doctoral students, he filled the role of father. The paternal influence was a backdrop in many instances for Graff's saltiness, humor, and high personal expectations of students. "Many of his students tended to regard him as a father figure," said Frederick P. Venditti, who joined Graff's department faculty in 1963. Nunnery and Aldmon had completed doctoral degrees and become

⁷⁸Roberts.

⁷⁹Roberts.

professors, and Venditti noted the paternal influence with them in particular: "They are two good examples. They both were students of his, and I think both looked at him or upon him as a father figure. And maybe with special reason." He recalled that the two were without fathers for at least most of their youth. Although the relationship was especially close with Nunnery and Aldmon, it was also common with other students, he said:

I think it was rather general among his students, and, in one sense, it's kind of interesting, because Orin didn't demand, or didn't seem to demand, a lot of respect. He was outwardly very informal. He was salty. He had a very salty vocabulary. But there was something about his relationships with his students, I think, that, even so, conveyed to them his feeling that he was the teacher, and that they should respect that or respect him for that reason. But on the other hand, he was extremely informal in his interaction, so that I think, generally, students didn't feel too intimidated by him. It was kind of a paradox. I think in one sense they felt intimidated, and in another sense, they didn't.⁸⁰

Nunnery said another factor in his relationship with Graff was his own youth: "I was the youngest professor there. I guess I was the youngest doctoral student. I was only 26 years old when I went there, so I was really a kid." Nunnery did not see Graff as more of a father figure to himself than to some of the others. Except for this, his closeup view of this aspect of Graff closely matched Venditti's more detached version:

He was a father figure. That's the way he portrayed himself. He liked that. I think he looked at many of us, those with whom he kept a relationship, as sort of his foster kids. . . . Some of the people who were closest to him either had no fathers, or their fathers were absent, or something like that. You see, my father was dead. My father got killed when I was 18 months old. Hump (Howard) Aldmon's dad, he never really knew. . . . In fact, Jack Gentry had no father. These are people . . . who were particularly close to him, I guess which is more important. Yes, part of it was father substitute, I think.⁸¹

The students who experienced these close relationships with Graff gained a more complete view of his humanness. This broader view supplemented their professorial, philosophical feelings of awe--awe being a frequent reaction of students to Graff. Nunnery added:

⁸⁰Frederick P. Venditti, interview with author, June 8, 1990.

⁸¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

I think a lot of students were awed by him. . . . I probably was awed by him. But you see, I saw him, and some others of us saw him, in a different light, because we saw him with his hair down. Personally, he was what he was. He never worried how he appeared. He was generous with both his time and money. A hard worker. Well organized administrator. Well above average for his time as a researcher. He knew how to use others. Not a major scholar, judging by his publications, etc.⁸²

Bogert, sharing recollections with Roberts, described himself as one of the "awed" students noted by Nunnery: "I rarely saw Dr. Graff in a social situation. I didn't have the opportunity. I usually approached him with a little bit of awe and a lot of fear. I was very, very quiet in my approach."⁸³

Student Selection and Support

Carmichael earlier spoke pointedly of the commitment of Graff and his department to the success of students, after admission to the program had been gained. That emphasis continued, apparently related not only to Graff's personalized approach with students but also to development and use of the Tennessee Rating Guide (a University of Tennessee SSCPEA project that is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7).

Graff and Kimbrough addressed aspects of this topic in a 1956 article, "What We Have Learned About Selection," published in Phi Delta Kappan. While the bulk of the article dealt with development of the Tennessee Rating Guide and its uses with master's degree students, the authors concluded with a selection outlining three "important implications for the selection program." The first tied directly to the purpose of the rating guide; the second grew from Graff's student-participatory, democratic orientation; the third, at point here, exhibited the commitment to student success. Graff and Kimbrough stated:

First, we need to be keenly aware of the characteristics that people exhibit in defining and solving problems and in helping others do the same. Second, we have come to believe that no professor or group of professors can determine adequately selection in any specific instance without the participation of the student under consideration. The student must be involved intelligently in his own selection. . . .

⁸²Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁸³Bogert.

Unless this principle is followed, there is not an immediate involvement of the student in the process of understanding himself in relation to the job for which he intends to prepare. Third, we consider that selection is the beginning of the guidance process which must extend throughout the entire preparation period of the student, both pre-service and in-service. It is almost impossible to detect the dividing line between selection and guidance.⁸⁴

Of major significance in the selection process was a consideration of personal characteristics of the candidates, as revealed in the Tennessee Rating Guide. The Tennessee program was so personalized--the lives of professors and doctoral students were so continually and intensely intertwined--that scrutiny of all applicant characteristics related to later success were highly important in deciding whether the effort would be justified. Robert Roney, based on his conversations with Graff and without reference or apparent recollection of the rating guide, drove home this point:

I've heard him say this, when talking about students: "You admit a son-of-a-bitch, and you'll graduate an educated son-of-a-bitch." Meaning that you've got to take into account the personal characteristics of an individual as well as the intellectual capacities. And of course, as he said, the personal characteristics are difficult to assess.⁸⁵

Once admission was granted, the commitment was almost complete, as Bogert said in approximating the views expressed by several doctoral graduates:

I was struck by the fact that admission into the program was highly restricted, and it was almost equally difficult to not graduate. Because they made such a total commitment to a student once selected that the whole faculty was supposed to be involved in helping that person succeed and get a degree. As far as I know, most of the people who were admitted to EA&S are graduates.⁸⁶

The selection process and the commitment that followed it were but the first among highly personalized program features that, as indicated throughout this study, flowed from Graff's personal values and personality and were tied to ensuring student success. The facility arrangements for the department, the SSCPEA and other projects that were designed for teamwork, the degree to which

⁸⁴Orin B. Graff and Ralph B. Kimbrough, "What We Have Learned About Selection," Phi Delta Kappan 7 (Apr. 1956): 296.

⁸⁵Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

⁸⁶Bogert.

students participated in their own selection and designed their own programs, and the intense "shoulder to shoulder" work with professors and each other were all part of the pattern.

The commitment to student success included doctoral students helping and teaching each other, both in formal and informal arrangements. In some instances, they taught graduate classes with little supervision; they helped each other and master's degree students complete dissertations and theses; they sometimes extended each other loans of housing and money; and, most importantly, they worked in teams, both formally and informally. As to the professor-student work, Nunnery said, "I didn't know I was a student. . . . I dealt with those people every day. It was very different from what it is today, because no student of mine in the last 30 years has known me like I knew those people."⁸⁷

Childers noted the importance of these program features to his own development, including Graff's arrangement for student mentorship:

Arliss [Roaden] was my mentor. One thing that Orin did when new graduate students came in, especially in the doctoral program, was . . . assign another student, a more senior student, to work with the individual new people just to orient them, help them through registration and all the little details that are necessary. Arliss was the one assigned to me by Orin. Arliss was one of Orin's favorites.⁸⁸

Childers later added:

Another way he would provide for that experience: I served on several master's committee orals, which was good experience too. Either you were sitting in for someone else on the faculty, or he just asked you to sit in on those discussions. When I would see weaknesses in others, I would recognize those same weaknesses in myself, which was a help.⁸⁹

Roaden also noted that he had served on committees and had taught for Graff, an expression of Graff's confidence, he believed:

He asked me to help him teach. So I taught one of the very few graduate courses that was ever taught independently by a graduate student. I taught theories of

⁸⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁸⁸Childers.

⁸⁹Childers.

educational leadership several times to other doctoral students during that two-year period; also, I got involved in summer school studies. Dr. Graff encouraged his students to have good relationships and good contacts all over the state. . . . The kind of confidence he placed in me . . . I'm not even sure was in keeping with the rules. I also was able, as a doctoral student, to serve on student committees, and I'm sure that was against somebody's rules. I later became a graduate dean, and it was certainly against my regs. I wouldn't have let me do that (laugh). But he did. As an assistant, I had gotten involved as a colleague in the profession and in the department.⁹⁰

Graff also occasionally pushed beyond other conventional regulatory boundaries, as in asking students of high ability to pull others out of trouble. For example, Nunnery told of such help extended to an elementary principal (whose name is omitted here):

_____ had a hell of a time getting out of school. In fact, I think the old man finally had Jack Gentry and me to write _____'s dissertation. He was prone to do that. If he had a student who had trouble, he would take some of us around there and say, "Now you get out there"--He talked with a funny little old drawl--"Mike, and see if you can get something down on paper with _____ that we can get by Dale," the dean of The Graduate School, etc. That's the kind of the way he approached things. So _____ got his degree. . . .⁹¹

Thus, the informal "inner circle" of doctoral students, as they were sometimes called, were not persons of special privilege *per se*. Rather, they were accepted in practice somewhat as an entry-level set of professors, entrusted with extra confidences and responsibilities, with an implicit understanding that they had gained the conceptual and technical abilities to advance the social good on both practical and conceptual planes.

His commitment to student success directly related to several other of Graff's convictions and efforts. He believed in a doctoral residence period devoted exclusively to studies. He made great efforts through projects, assistantships, and all other possible means--including reaching into his own pocket--to provide financial support to students while in residence. He was convinced that students should move through the program and on into practice quickly. And he had notable success

⁹⁰Roaden.

⁹¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

in gaining students placement, both initial and advanced. A.D. Albright, Graff's near-contemporary and noted colleague, linked these areas in a statement of perspective:

Some of what's going on now I think would bother him. . . . Ten years to get a doctorate, by working on it just in and out and so on. I think he would probably consider that to be, in part, wasted time, in terms of what that person's goals were. . . . That raises another point. I don't believe that Orin Graff ever thought that getting a doctorate was the complete package. Rather, I think he looked at that as a way of getting some mooring, some woof and warp, some approaches, to a continuous kind of use of the scientific methods or a use of the method of intelligence in the solution of problems. And as a way, he would see it, of creation of an awareness of people and surroundings, and what some of the problems were, and how these could be approached and tackled. . . .⁹²

In no instance were Graff's trust of students, concern for individual success, and interest in interdisciplinary studies better illustrated than in his serving as major professor to Addie Suggs Hilliard, a 1964 Doctor of Education graduate. Hilliard's doctoral dissertation was titled "Shakespeare's Botanical Imagery: Its Meaning to the Elizabethan Audience and Its Dramatic Function in the Plays."

Graff's latitude insofar as the absence of relationship between Hilliard's dissertation and educational administration was most likely linked to several factors. She was in her mid-50s in age and teaching English at Huntingdon High School in West Tennessee when she was admitted to the doctoral program. She came to the program on a scholarship but was primarily interested in continuing to teach rather than aspiring to a new, late-in-life administrative career. She recalled, "I was married and had a daughter who was graduated from high school, and I got a scholarship for all expenses. It was all right with my husband for me to go to Knoxville and get my doctorate, and I went."⁹³ Her field of study was also especially close to Graff, who was always interested in encouraging studies across disciplines.

⁹²Albright.

⁹³Addie Suggs Hilliard, telephone interview with author, Apr. 11, 1992. Hilliard said she earned her bachelor's degree in 1932 and her Ed.D. degree 32 years later, in 1964, at age 57. Between the two, she also earned master's and Ed.S. degrees in education.

An addition was made to the usual doctoral committee arrangement. Along with Graff as major professor, English professor Bain T. Stewart served as director of the thesis. "He was my Shakespeare teacher," said Hilliard, 85 years of age and living in Nashville in retirement as of this study. She laughingly said that many people had noticed the unusual nature of her study. "He was a great inspiration to me," she said of Graff. "But he had very little to do with my dissertation except to read it."⁹⁴

Hilliard's dissertation appeared masterfully done in terms of research and writing, and it also included color illustrations of the flora in Shakespearean plays. Hilliard recalled that the study came out of an assignment in one of Stewart's classes:

We had to write a paper on Hamlet, and I wrote about the plants. Dr. Stewart handed me back my paper and said, "I'd like to see you in my office." It nearly scared me to death (laugh). He wanted to know how I got such an idea. I said I had taught biology for a number of years in high school, and I just loved the outdoors, so it just came natural to me. I said, "How about my doing my dissertation on the plants?" He said, "Go to it."⁹⁵

Stewart later told her that the dissertation had been put on display for a month, presumably in a lobby area of the graduate library. "I don't know whether it was on display for the pictures or for the writing," she said laughing.

Shortly after graduation Hilliard joined the English department faculty at Western Kentucky University. Representatives of that university visited The University of Tennessee in recruiting teachers, she recalled: "Dr. Stewart called me and asked me if I would come up to the university for an interview, and I went. That night the head of the English Department called me, and when I hung up the receiver I had a job." She taught English at Western Kentucky until 1972, retiring early because of her husband's poor health. When she began at Western Kentucky, she taught one Shakespeare class per year, and when she left she was teaching three classes per semester.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Hilliard.

⁹⁵Hilliard.

⁹⁶Hilliard.

She was never called upon to establish or justify a direct relationship between her doctoral research and educational administration, Hilliard said. "When I brought up the subject, they discussed it in a committee meeting and decided that it was all right for me to do it." Although her research was not directly related to education, except for detailing "how people grew in their knowledge of plants in England," it was an individual interdisciplinary success story in that it opened a new career for her, Hilliard said. "It was all a pleasure, the research and everything."⁹⁷

Recruitment and Induction of New Faculty

During his long tenure as professor and department head, Graff brought in many relatively new and young professors to serve on his faculty. An early example was Bascom Story, whose interactions with Graff in leaving the university were described in Chapter 5. Two later examples were Dewey H. Stollar and Frederick P. Venditti, who became faculty members of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision in 1963, soon after completing their doctoral degrees, and remained until their retirements in 1986 and 1989, respectively. Stollar spent the last 15 years of his career as head of the department, achieving a length of tenure in this position that only Graff had exceeded as of this study.⁹⁸

Venditti clearly remembered not only the period of his arrival at the university, but also what he had learned of Graff's reputation beforehand. He gave a lengthy account that reflected Graff's professional yet less familiar acceptance of a junior colleague from beyond the usual range of his network:

I'd been told about the position by a former professor of mine in the doctoral program at Colorado State College . . . now the University of Northern Colorado. . . . He said, "I think it might be a good place for you to start. I recommend it especially because of the department head. His name is Orin Graff. I've been very impressed with him. . . . The man is somewhat atypical. He's very interested in philosophy, and he's an intellectual. . . ." I was invited down for an

⁹⁷Hilliard.

⁹⁸The Department of Educational Administration and Supervision was merged with the Department of Continuing and Higher Education to become the Educational Leadership Department during Stollar's tenure as department head.

interview. . . . Orin met me at the airport. . . . He said, "Call me Orin". . . . From that day until he died, he was always "Orin" to me, and that was not generally true, I found out very quickly. Most of the people--particularly, certainly, students and a lot of his colleagues, including John Gilliland, who was his contemporary--all called him Dr. Graff. I never did. And I think in one respect that was somewhat indicative of the kind of relationship that I had with him. . . . I came here in the fall of 1963. Before I came, my wife came down to look for housing. We had three children, all of whom were in school. . . . She stayed with the Graffs while she made her search here. I was still working in Wichita. They were, of course, extremely thoughtful of her and, again, that was another indication of what our relationship would be like. It was very close in many ways. My wife and Erma Graff were good friends. . . .⁹⁹

What his professor in Colorado had told him of Graff's bent toward philosophy proved true.

Venditti said:

He was interested, of course, in formal philosophy. . . . But in another sense, this bent that he had, I think, was manifested more generally in the kind of interest he always had in ideas. I seldom met anyone who had more interest in pursuing ideas and in discussing ideas than Orin. . . . He loved to consider the implications of theory and not just in connection with administration, but in general. And this was, I think, revealed most explicitly in the way he approached educational administration. . . .

He was very devoted, dedicated, committed to the idea that administration had to have a theoretical base, that otherwise any approach to administration was trial and error, was not efficient, that the cookbook approach wouldn't get the job done, that unless there was a good theory underlying the administrative approach that an individual might employ, he would be at a loss a lot of times as to what to do.¹⁰⁰

Graff was "very definitely" a pragmatist, even though as the 1960s advanced the philosophy had fallen out of favor among many educational professors, Venditti said.

Now, some of his colleagues in the College of Education, particularly some young professors, assistant professors, that I happened to know in educational foundations, were somewhat disdainful of Orin's philosophical orientation. They felt that his view, which they considered to be very mechanistic, had long since been discredited by professional philosophers or specialists in philosophy. So, they considered Orin to be a little old-fashioned with respect to his philosophical outlook. I don't know that it ever bothered Orin. I don't think it did.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Venditti.

¹⁰⁰Venditti.

¹⁰¹Venditti.

Venditti also remembered from his early years that the overall relationship between Graff and Dean Merrill, his former master's degree student, was one of mutual respect and frequent communication, in contrast with Graff's earlier coexistence with Dean Fitzgerald:

He seemed to feel very comfortable with Pete [E.C.] Merrill, seemed to consider him to be competent. He seemed to feel that he did a good job as dean, and as a matter of fact, I think Merrill very often consulted with Orin. There were many times when the dean, who had an office directly over the one I occupied when I first came here, would call down, and Orin would disappear and go upstairs and be gone sometimes all morning, sometimes a brief period of time. But there was a tremendous amount of consultation that went on, and I think it took place because Merrill valued Orin's mind. He valued his views, and since Orin was probably more closely connected with the field than almost anyone else in the college, the dean prized and valued that.¹⁰²

In contrast to Venditti's personal remembrances of meeting Graff and joining the university, various letters revealed the trail of Stollar's recruitment.¹⁰³ The trail of letters ranged from early March to mid-summer of 1963, with a visit by Stollar for an intense two days of interviews occurring during the period, apparently in late March.

Perhaps the most telling letter was to Graff from John A. Ramseyer, professor of education in the Center for Educational Administration at Ohio State. A nationally respected professor and scholar in the field, Ramseyer had less than three years earlier served as the second member of Graff's team in "the great debate" with Daniel E. Griffiths at the 1960 annual NCPEA meeting. Ramseyer wrote of Stollar, "There are several other colleges looking at him, but frankly I would rather see him come to Tennessee and work with you than to go anywhere else in the United States. . . . Nothing would please me more than to see you two get together."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Venditti.

¹⁰³Stollar was retired from The University of Tennessee and had moved back to his home area of Waterford, Ohio, at the time of this study. He expressed support of the study by letter but chose not to serve as a source because of his desire to devote full time and attention to his wife, Lois Stollar, who was severely ill.

¹⁰⁴John A. Ramseyer, letter to Orin B. Graff, Mar. 18, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

The letter also revealed that an earlier telephone conversation on Stollar had occurred, briefly described Stollar's personality, and indicated the area of expertise in which he was to become well known:

This is to follow up on our telephone conversation regarding Dewey Stollar, a man that I have complete confidence in. . . . Dewey has a very disarming way about him. There are times when, because of his modesty, he would give the impression that he is a complete novice in his field. However, upon working with him you discover that he is just one of the brightest young men that has come along in the area of school finance in a long time. . . .

I suspect the best recommendation that I can give him is that I feel certain at this point the you would be as pleased with Dewey on your staff as we are about Arliss [Roaden] on our staff.¹⁰⁵

Roaden, who since earning the Ed.D. Degree with Graff in 1960 had moved from assistant professor at Auburn University to director of graduate studies in education at Ohio State, also sent a recommendation of Stollar. He wrote to Graff, "I believe John Ramseyer called you about Dewey Stollar as a possibility for the person you need in finance and to work with the PSCR [Public Schools for Cooperative Research] superintendents. It seems to me that Dewey is cut to order for that job. . . ." Roaden went on to give further details of Stollar's work at Ohio State, expressed hope that he and Graff could "plan some time together very soon," and added a postscript: "Since dictating this letter, I have talked with Dewey Stollar. He is extremely interested."¹⁰⁶

After Stollar's visit to Tennessee, he wrote Graff with warm praise for the program and appreciation for his treatment:

First, I want to thank you for the wonderful hospitality of Mrs. Graff, yourself, and the entire staff. I cannot remember a time when a group had made me feel so at home. It seemed as if I had known all of you for years. You can be very proud of your faculty and the program. it shows that you have worked very diligently at Tennessee. The fine things that Dr. Ramseyer had told me about you were reaffirmed when I met you.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵Ramseyer.

¹⁰⁶Arliss L. Roaden, letter to Orin B. Graff, Mar. 14, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

¹⁰⁷Dewey H. Stollar, letter to Orin B. Graff, Apr. 7, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

His wife, Lois Stollar, apparently also wrote to express her thanks, as Graff mentioned in another letter how "Erma and I enjoyed Mrs. Stollar's letter. It was kind of her to write such nice things about the visit here." Graff noted the favorable impression Stollar had made during his visit, adding, "Vice President Spivey said he thought you had a fine contribution to make to the university. Incidentally, this is very high praise from him."¹⁰⁸

An official offer of a joint assistant professorship between two colleges, with tenure, went to Stollar in mid-April under two deans' signatures.¹⁰⁹ Concurrent with the deans' letter, Graff wrote Stollar noting that the offer was coming and expressing high hopes that the younger man would join his staff. "If you do, we will do our best to give you a real professional opportunity," he wrote, also informing Stollar that Nunnery would rejoin the department from Auburn and that Venditti "also is coming." Graff saw historical magnitude in the possibility of having the three young professors come aboard at the same time: "If you decide to come, we will have a fine, well-rounded staff for the first time in the history of the Department."¹¹⁰

The personal and collegial warmth between Graff and Stollar continued through other letters. Graff invited Stollar to send specifications for desired housing to circulate to other professors for referral assistance. Stollar sent a listing of "essential" plus "desirable" features, and Graff wrote again on June 1 to discuss the housing search and other departmental matters. He noted that the summer semester of 1963 "will be as big a rush as usual, with as many as fourteen doctoral students in the Department working actively on their dissertations. I believe that as many as ten of them have an opportunity to graduate this summer." He went on to share personal bits of information: "My

¹⁰⁸Orin B. Graff, letter to Dewey H. Stollar, Apr. 9, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

¹⁰⁹Frank B. Ward and E.C. Merrill, Jr., letter to Dewey H. Stollar, Apr. 17, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. Ward was dean of the College of Business Administration, Merrill dean of the College of Education. They offered, and Stollar later accepted, a position as assistant professor of education and business administration in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision and the Department of Business Education and Office Administration.

¹¹⁰Orin B. Graff, letter to Dewey H. Stollar, Apr. 16, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

garden is doing fine, although I have little time to work in it. Erma has been real busy framing six of her pictures, two of which will hang in the McClung Art Gallery at UT this summer."¹¹¹

Cherry Hill Park and Carl Van Hoozier

The area of Knoxville that Stollar moved into was called Cherry Hill Park, a suburb in Northwest Knoxville. He had listed "professional neighborhood" as an "essential" in his housing specifications, and it happened that his move there placed him in proximity with Nunnery, Aldmon, and, a few years later, Charles M. Achilles, another beginning and eventually long-term department professor.¹¹² The Graffs visited the neighborhood often to attend parties given by their younger colleagues, and Graff developed an especially close friendship with a businessman whose social and political philosophy contrasted sharply with his own, according to Nunnery.

"We all lived there together, and we were all younger, and we were a party neighborhood in those days. Dr. Graff used to come over to our parties," Nunnery said. Erma Graff, along with Graff as much as 25 years older than the others, also attended. The parties often generated long discussions that ran into the morning hours, sometimes long after Erma Graff was ready to leave, Nunnery recalled. During his visits Graff met Carl Van Hoozier, who had moved into the neighborhood from Maryville as his business success in Knoxville advanced. Nunnery recalled:

Carl Van Hoozier was one of the most insecure men I've ever met about his education. He could buy and sell most people I know, one of the brightest guys I've ever known. . . . He considered himself a self-made man. . . . Orin Graff and Carl Van Hoozier developed a relationship second to none. . . . He used to talk about his professor buddy. . . . He saw Orin Graff as his professor buddy. Now Orin Graff could get along with Carl Van Hoozier. This is a hard nosed, rightist, John Wallace, John Birch-loving, East Tennessee businessman. . . . But they got along well.¹¹³

¹¹¹Orin B. Graff, letter to Dewey H. Stollar, June 1, 1963, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

¹¹²Achilles joined The University of Tennessee in 1968 after earning an Ed.D. Degree from the University of Rochester, New York. He left in 1988 to join the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

¹¹³Nunnery said that Van Hoozier began work as a tire changer with Tinsley Tire Company "and ended up owning about half of it," achieving wealth from this and other business ventures, including East Tennessee Recapping Company. He was serving as a special consultant for a major tire company in Atlanta as of this study, according to Nunnery, and was heading a Knoxville heavy-equipment tire company.

Van Hoosier remembered that either Nunnery or Aldmon introduced him to Graff at one of the neighborhood parties, probably in 1963. Their first conversation "probably was politics," he said, although he could not remember precisely. "Whatever it was, we just enjoyed talking with each other. . . . We just kind of clicked and hit it off and were dear friends. . . ." ¹¹⁴

The neighborhood parties were attended both by various people unconnected with the education profession as well as professors who were part of the Graff circle, but Van Hoozier was often the target of friendly jibes and baiting. "They all picked on me, because I was the conservative of the group," he said, laughing. "They enjoyed jumping me. . . ." ¹¹⁵ However, Van Hoozier did not think of his friendship with Graff in liberal-conservative terms, nor did he think of Graff as especially liberal:

In his type of business, he'd have to be a little bit more liberal than me. He'd have budgets to get in, taxes to get in, to do his thing. And I've got to go out and make some money to pay those taxes. . . . I think he was a highly educated person who was in the mainstream of life in this country . . . not that far to the left like some, not that far to the right like I am. He was more of a mainstreamer that people could relate to and, in my estimation, get along with. ¹¹⁶

Graff's ability to communicate at various levels was a quality that Van Hoozier admired greatly, referring to it as "that gift that God gave him, where he could get on other levels and, with his personality, think as other people do, see their side of it." He added:

He never lost his temper in my presence. I'm sure he had at some time or another, but never in my presence. He was just a-grinning and a-talking, never at a loss for words. He was a very good conversationalist. . . . Could talk to anybody, I mean any level . . . the highest president of a corporation or the lowest worker. . . . ¹¹⁷

In several areas Graff was a teacher to him as well as a conversationalist and friend, Van Hoozier said, noting that Graff showed him how "to be more tolerant with my ability to control my

¹¹⁴Carl Van Hoozier, interview with author, Jan. 31, 1991.

¹¹⁵Van Hoozier. When he attended Nunnery's daughters' wedding, Van Hoozier said, Nunnery introduced him as "the most ultra-conservative person who ever lived."

¹¹⁶Van Hoozier.

¹¹⁷Van Hoozier.

temper when I'm working with people I disagree with." Relatedly, Graff helped him hear other people: "Once upon a time I wasn't very good at being a good listener. I think Orin helped me with that more than anything."¹¹⁸ The lessons in listening came in their conversations, with Graff characteristically using questions to explore sequences of thoughts for logic and consistency. Van Hoozier said:

He'd take you right through to see what was in depth in you. Sometimes you have to probe it out of people, and I guess I'm one you have to probe it out of. . . .
 "Hear me out, and let's talk about it." I guess he taught me that about as much as anything, that there are two sides to every story, and he could see my side too. Many times I could see his. He'd say, "Well, we just do it different ways." So we got along great.¹¹⁹

Through Graff and others at the parties, Van Hoozier gained an interest in The University of Tennessee and came to know a number of faculty and staff and more about the institution itself; and his children graduated from the university. All this did much to change his opinion about the value being returned from his tax dollars. He said:

I guess if anything he explained to me more what went on in his field, which I didn't know. I thought all those bureaucrats over there were just taking the money. He told me what they did and how they did it, working with their students--plus all their outside work, which was enormous, with various school departments and districts around the state, and in other states, and other colleges and universities. I guess he gave me more of an insight to what goes on over there than anyone I was ever around, including Aldmon and Nunnery both. He would talk to me about a certain one, "Ah, he's lazy. I'll never get anything out of him." One of his professors. And another one, he'd say, "I can't even slow him down. He just keeps going." He was evidently a very good department head, and probably tough to work for, because he loved to work. . . . He was a workaholic, really. He was busy all the time. Here I didn't think they worked, but he certainly did. . . . He probably expected a lot out of people.¹²⁰

Their conversations were not confined to the parties, as Graff often visited Van Hoozier's office, and the two took turns buying lunch. They talked of the full range of current events, including politics and sports, and Graff also talked of his youth in Ohio. The transmittal of his

¹¹⁸Van Hoozier.

¹¹⁹Van Hoozier.

¹²⁰Van Hoozier.

philosophy was what Graff saw as his central role in life, Van Hoozier thought--a role that he performed with naturalness and ease, particularly as a conversationalist:

I'm not a real great big gabber, and he'd keep me going pretty steady. . . . He did it with outsiders too, in a way that you didn't even realize he was doing it, though. He was doing it all the time, to keep the conversation going, wide open. . . . Of course, he could get his point over so that when you would walk away, you would remember it. But I would call him a mainstreamer. I really would. Tolerant of everybody. . . . His way of life was to put his philosophy over, and he did a good job of it.¹²¹

Graff's relationship with Van Hoozier was especially close, but he also had other non-educator friendships, Nunnery indicated. Potts agreed, recalling that Graff also frequently visited a Knox County farmer:

We'd go to old Mr. Mathis' farm out in the Raccoon Valley area of Knox County and do target practice. Mr. Mathis was an old German farmer. His son, who was a doctoral graduate of UT and a principal in Chattanooga for a long time, was friends with both Orin and me. Mr. Mathis was a typical old German farmer. Uncle Orin would get along just as well with him as he could any individual.¹²²

Graff also took young Molly Leach, the next-door neighbor child with whom he had a special relationship, to the Mathis farm to learn about production of milk and its pasteurization.¹²³

Along the same lines, Nunnery recalled that another close friend of Graff was a vocational shop teacher at Rule High School, whose name he could not recall. "He'd go out to that shop and sit and BS with that guy by the hour," Nunnery said, underlining a tenet of Graff: "You'd better not get yourself in a damn ivory tower. So I'd say he modeled more than he taught."¹²⁴

Both Van Hoozier and Nunnery recalled, coincidentally, that Graff brought each of them a special gift, a bottle of Virgin Bourbon, on his last visit. "I've never opened it," Van Hoozier said.

¹²¹Van Hoozier.

¹²²Potts. Graff served as major professor for George L. Mathis, who earned the Ed.D. Degree in 1955. Mathis later joined the Coca-Cola Company as a public relations director, a position from which he retired.

¹²³Molly Leach Pratt, interview with author, Dec. 22, 1989. Graff's special relationship with Molly Leach is described later in this chapter.

¹²⁴Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

"I doubt if I ever will open it. There were several of those through the years, but he brought that one his last trip to our house."¹²⁵

"I guess the last time he visited Gainesville he brought a bottle of Virgin Bourbon," Nunnery said. "I'll never forget it. I probably still have that bottle at home. We had a big party. . . . My wife and I were about 20 years the youngest couple there, and we were in our 50s."¹²⁶

Dorothy Aldmon, wife of the late Howard Aldmon, also remembered how much Graff enjoyed social occasions such as the neighborhood parties. "Oh, I remember how much fun he was," Dorothy Aldmon said. "He and Mrs. Graff were a lot of fun. They were good conversationalists, very interesting. And he was a good storyteller."¹²⁷ She added:

Dr. Graff loved to go to a party. . . . He always liked to sing. We'd get out the guitars and find someone who could play, and he always led the singing. The first one to start and the last one to stop. . . . It was a group sing. Yes. And we weren't very good (laugh). We were loud.¹²⁸

Graff's favorite types of songs were gospel and country, Aldmon said:

He liked songs like "Amazing Grace." . . . He and my husband always sang. . . . And I remember Dr. Graff's favorite song. It was "Precious Memories." And he really like to harmonize on that one. . . . When we got together, they always had to sing "Precious Memories." I don't think they knew all the words, but they liked to sing it.¹²⁹

Continuing Leadership in Graduate Education

The leadership role in graduate education that Graff had established within the university in the late 1940s carried forward through the time period covered here. Jack E. Reese, who later served as dean of The Graduate School and then as chancellor of The University of Tennessee,

¹²⁵Van Hoozier.

¹²⁶Nunnery. Roney explained, "Virgin Bourbon is a rather poor quality Kentucky whiskey which Graff liked to present to people as a novelty." Graff often made joking comments about its name.

¹²⁷Aldmon.

¹²⁸Aldmon.

¹²⁹Aldmon. Roney remembered that another Graff favorite was "Life Is Like a Mountain Railroad."

Knoxville, for 17 years, saw Graff in this role. Reese moved from the English Department faculty to become assistant dean of The Graduate School in 1965.¹³⁰ His perspective of Graff began there in the relationship of a young higher education academic administrator to an elder statesman among the faculty. Reese recalled:

I think I remember him first from his service on the Graduate Council when I worked with Hilton Smith, who was dean of The Graduate School and later vice president and vice chancellor of The Graduate School. So I served on the council and attended all the meetings, and Orin was a very active member of that group, very outspoken. . . . Orin was always outspoken. I never knew him to be anything other than that (laugh). But I also just have very pleasant memories. He and I, I think, became good friends. There was some difference in age, but he always treated me very kindly, very well, in spite of my junior status.¹³¹

From his Graduate School position, Reese said he had "some general notions" about Graff's relationships with and regard by top university administrators:

He was really very widely respected, and he was someone who would be known by Andy Holt or Ed Boling or Herman Spivey and certainly Hilton. He would be the kind of person I'm sure they would consult from time to time about matters affecting the university, particularly matters affecting doctoral degrees. Somehow or other in those days, there was a right small core of faculty who were looked upon as kind of leaders. It was a fairly small group, and it was a pretty consistent group--that is, the same people kept showing up again and again, people like Leroy Graf, who was head of the History Department; Woody Fuller, who was a professor of German; Tony Spiva in economics; Bill Cole in sociology. Orin Graff was always a member of that circle. It was an informal circle, not an official one, but it was very effective.¹³²

The combination of other qualities that supported Graff's outspokenness lent a special strength to his presence as well as his speech. He communicated independently and with great skill, and he demonstrated high expectations of others. Reese said:

He could tailor his remarks to a particular audience. He did that awfully well. Some of the most interesting sessions I had with him were just the one-on-one sort

¹³⁰"Four New Heads, Research Professor Appointed at U-T," *Torchbearer* 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1965): 2. Reese joined the university's faculty in 1961. After his move to The Graduate School and service as dean there, he served as chancellor of the university from 1973 to 1990. He was continuing his service as chancellor emeritus and university professor as of this study.

¹³¹Jack E. Reese, interview with author, Aug. 7, 1991.

¹³²Reese.

of gossip sessions. I didn't have as many as his colleagues or people around the college, I'm sure, but they were interesting sessions. He was fairly contemptuous of notorious inefficiency, or notorious ignorance, or notorious arrogance, for that matter, on the part of public officials--and that included university officials. He did not have a lot of patience with fools. That would be his phrase, I think. . . . He was never rude, but he was very much his own person. I never saw him being political, in the sense of deliberately shaping his ideas or his language to a particular situation. He simply had gotten to the point where he thought he didn't have to do that. . . . He was simply very outspoken. He would--attack is a kind of strong word, but he really would--attack incompetency if that's the way he saw it. He was pretty contemptuous of inadequate people who were holding important jobs.¹³³

From a different perspective than Reese, as a young assistant professor who had joined Graff's department without any previous connection to the university, Venditti formed similar views. As one of the university's founders in graduate education, Graff, while conducting himself as a gentleman, often did not extend his gentleness and tolerance to College of Education colleagues.

Venditti said:

As I recall the history of the university, Orin had played a leading role in the establishment of graduate education as an entity, as a whole in the university. And I think he was respected by people outside of the College of Education for that reason, among others. But he had played a leading role. . . . The Department of Educational Administration was respected highly throughout the university as a whole. And for many years, I think that one of the reasons why the College of Education was never held in the low esteem that it is in some universities was because of the leading role that Orin had played in establishing the graduate program on a campus-wide basis. The kind of contributions he had made. This was reflected, certainly, in his outlook on the university and his outlook on the College of Education. He just felt that most of the faculty in the College of Education, while they may have been competent practitioners and may even have been good teachers, were not doing a good job as researchers and as faculty for a graduate program.¹³⁴

In concert with his critical view of the research efforts of College of Education faculty in general, Graff pushed his own department faculty to involve themselves continually in applied school research. His relationships with his colleagues revolved around this as well as other areas of high expectations, Venditti said:

¹³³Reese.

¹³⁴Venditti.

I would say that he prided himself a great deal on his selection of members of the department. Consequently--and Orin was a proud man--he felt that his departmental colleagues were highly competent academicians, and, more than that, capable of being practitioners, particularly in public education, and K through graduate school, for that matter. He expected a lot of his colleagues. He constantly emphasized that ours was a graduate department. Graduate education was based on the idea that research underlies what goes on. Research is very important. Research and writing, and that the professors in a department like ours ought to model that kind of behavior. So he had high expectations. He, I think, was much more interested in what some might call action research--research with a practical kind of application--than he was in basic research, which is sort of interesting. Certainly, with his interest in theory, you might assume it would be the other way around, but he was very interested in theory with a very practical application.¹³⁵

The research that Venditti described was a major point where Graff's love of ideas integrated with his philosophy of pragmatism. Graff's own definition of his philosophy held that "the real essence of ideas is to be found in their utilization as guides to action and behavior," that "the meaning of an idea is to be found in how the idea operates when it is put into practice," and that "truth can be known only through its practical consequences."¹³⁶ This view translated into an approach to departmental research on Graff's part that was specific and somewhat narrow, Venditti said, focusing primarily on school facility planning--which moved for the most part to John Gilliland's operations over time--and other operational aspects of school district organization and administration:

He was perfectly satisfied if the research and writing that was done pertained to very down-to-earth sorts of topics. There was a lot of work just before I came and after I got here for a number of years on so-called school surveys, and also, of course, a lot of work on school plant planning. I think as far as Orin was concerned, if students or professors worked in those areas and wrote in those areas that was fine. . . . He was much more interested in quantitative and qualitative research that had a direct bearing on the operation of school systems. So . . . while his expectations were high, he didn't seem to feel that research in any type of esoteric sense was important.¹³⁷

¹³⁵Venditti.

¹³⁶Orin B. Graff et al., Philosophic Theory & Practice in Educational Administration (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), 166.

¹³⁷Venditti.

Regardless of the scope of inquiry, Venditti said it was clear that Graff believed very strongly in the conduct of research by graduate faculty and looked with disdain on those who neglected such involvement. Within other departments of the college, this stance evoked some feelings of dislike and fear, as opposed to the respect that came from key professors in other disciplines:

While he had a great respect for the people in our own department, . . . he felt that probably most of the faculty of the College of Education was not sufficiently engaged in writing and research. In fact, he was even contemptuous of a good many of the members of the faculty and college in general. I think that he considered that there were probably only about a half dozen faculty members in the college at large who were really functioning as graduate faculty ought to function. . . . So his judgment of his colleagues in the college at large was really quite harsh. He just didn't feel that they measured up. . . . And it was probably for that reason, I think, that he was somewhat disliked by members, many members, of the faculty. . . . Despite the fact that Orin was extremely humble in his approach to people, . . . they sensed that he felt that they didn't measure up professionally. And they may have held it against him.¹³⁸

At the same time that he may have been a harsh judge of others within the college, the rigor with which Graff pursued greatness within his own department and with which he acted as his own philosophical taskmaster was evident, Reese indicated. The strength of the department and the contributions of its graduates were obviously great legacies of Graff. He said:

There isn't any question that that department at one time was one of the leading departments of its kind in the country. That was due in no small measure just to the force of personality of Orin Graff. Another legacy, frankly, is just the significant number of very, very well trained, very highly qualified people who went through, many of whom went into very, very responsible positions. And somehow or other, there was a ferocious kind of loyalty to Orin himself among those alumni.¹³⁹

Such loyalty probably grew in part from Graff's efforts to bring dignity and status to the profession itself and to the educational administration jobs that graduates aspired to hold. His professional reputation and personal qualities were also important, Reese added:

People recognized that he was known nationally, and there would be some sort of innate instinct to be affiliated with people who have that kind of reputation. I think

¹³⁸Venditti.

¹³⁹Reese.

that's always at play in any graduate program. . . . And he was a very warm person, who was obviously successful in gaining somebody's trust and respect, and ultimately somebody's affection. My general impression of Orin has all those ingredients in it. I respected what he did, I was amused by him, but I had a lot of affection for him. He was very, very likeable and could be very warm and complimentary. I suspect that had something to do with the kind of loyalties, too, that were attached to him. He was very kind and very generous to me. I was a junior administrator, but he indicated clearly he was interested in me and supported me and encouraged me--things like that. And I'm sure he did that with other people . . . Mike Nunnery, Arliss [Roaden], Archie Dykes, all those people. . . .¹⁴⁰

In all the settings in which he observed him, Reese said, Graff bore himself as a philosopher. It was a role Graff loved, although at times his ideas were hard to follow:

There were times when I suspected Orin just obfuscated. He loved the role of philosopher, and his language always sounded philosophical. There were occasions, frankly, in which I didn't understand what in the world he was saying; and my guess is at those times . . . Orin didn't either. He sometimes cloaked his expression in rhetoric. . . . In public utterances--that would include Graduate Council and other meetings--he did have the rhetorical habit of trying to sound like a philosopher.¹⁴¹

"He loved the role," Reese reiterated. "In some ways, he reminded you of . . . that old concept of the teacher sitting on the other end of the log. He really liked that role, the philosopher-teacher." However, Graff's rhetorical habits did not signify gamesmanship or any lack of conviction or sincerity, but perhaps instead a visible struggle to relate matters of a given moment to a base of philosophical values, Reese emphasized.

I always got the idea that he was a very, very introspective person. And he sort of agonized after solutions, after answers. Maybe that was the reason that sometimes he was just notably incoherent. He was struggling with ideas that were just beyond. . . . That's a good side. Again, that's a lot healthier than a facile administrator who has about ten canned responses in all situations.¹⁴²

Reese interpreted Graff's questioning of religious values as part of this struggle, opining that, rather than simply a teaching device, it signalled the nature of Graff: "I assumed it was part of his questioning, inquisitive kind of character and personality. I don't think it was phony at all. I

¹⁴⁰Reese.

¹⁴¹Reese.

¹⁴²Reese.

don't think he displayed that for shock purposes. . . . I think that always Orin was very, very honest." Lack of genuineness was something Graff "would have protested," he said.¹⁴³

Relationships with Colleagues

Graff continued his relationships with other major educational administration leaders throughout this period, although his participation shifted somewhat toward a decrease in national meetings as his efforts in the South increased through SSCPEA (described in Chapter 5) and other forums. While he was present at all of the first seven NCPEA annual meetings held from 1947 to 1953, for example, he attended four of the thirteen meetings of the 1954-1966 period.¹⁴⁴ One of the four, in 1960, however, was a key event in his life.

Erma Graff accompanied her husband to most of the NCPEA annual conferences, as the organization maintained auxiliary organizations for spouses and children and planned activities for them. Among these trips, she particularly remembered traveling with Graff and Roaden to Western Illinois University for the 1960 meeting, described in Chapter 8.

"We went in our car. . . . That was the 'great debate.' I remember that Arliss rode up there with us, and it made it a very pleasant trip."¹⁴⁵

She did not travel with Graff to the AASA conferences in Atlantic City, but one year she made an emergency trip there to bring Graff home after he was stricken with pneumonia. She received a call from Ohio State professor John Herrick, who roomed with Graff at the conference: "He said, 'You need to come over and be with Orin, because he's not able to come home right now.'"

"I'd never flown before," Erma Graff recalled. Her itinerary called for switching to a small plane in Pittsburgh.

¹⁴³Reese.

¹⁴⁴Pharis, 116.

¹⁴⁵Erma G. Graff, telephone interview with author, May 30, 1992.

Of course, I was very concerned about even flying, because I'd never flown before. . . . Then we got into a big snow storm, and I was on one of those little commuter planes. We had high winds, awfully high winds, and I was lucky to get in there. They had to bring me a blanket to cover up with to keep warm. (Laugh) Yes, it was a new experience for me. In that little plane in those high winds, they were not stopping at some of the little stops on the way.¹⁴⁶

She also accompanied Graff often to the annual Southern Regional Council on Educational Administration meetings in Atlanta. "That was a different kind of group. . . . There were a lot of people in the South who came to those meetings. Sometimes Orin would drive a university car and take other people with him. Sometimes he would drive his car and take people. I did go to those meetings quite often."¹⁴⁷

Travel to the NCPEA and Atlanta meetings required considerable time, but both the trips and the associations at the meetings were congenial and pleasant, she remembered. Itineraries were carefully planned, the roads were pre-interstate, motels and hotels were usually of a local rather than chain affiliation, and the amounts of time available for interaction seemed greater than in succeeding decades. Other than to the NCPEA conferences and to Atlanta, Erma Graff said she did not usually accompany Graff on professional travel.¹⁴⁸

In February of 1960, several months before his "great debate" at the NCPEA annual meeting that year, Graff was a participant in honoring the "father" of the organization. He was among a throng of noted educators present at The Walter Cocking Testimonial Dinner, entitled "As We See It," held at the Traymore Hotel in Atlantic City. As did many others, Graff wrote a testimonial letter to Cocking as part of a collection presented to the honoree. Graff recalled a 1950 session with Cocking (noted earlier in Chapter 5):

Dear Walter:

Among the many things that cause me to treasure your friendship are the opportunities to "talk big." Do you remember the evening session at the University

¹⁴⁶Erma G. Graff, May 30, 1992.

¹⁴⁷Erma G. Graff, May 30, 1992.

¹⁴⁸Erma G. Graff, May 30, 1992.

of North Carolina in 1950? It was a rich and rewarding experience that would be impossible to forget! Since that time a major share of my life has been directed toward some synthesis of ideas of the great thinkers and doers of our time, as these ideas "demand" educational reform.

I have mentioned only one of the ways in which you have acquired such a vast wealth of friendship. Please actively enjoy it to the full, but don't forget to "talk big."¹⁴⁹

Relationships with educational administration leaders occurred in the role of host as well as traveler. Dykes, for example, recalled a visit to Knoxville by one of the noted figures of the educational administration professorate:

People were coming in at different times. I remember the first time I ever met Roald Campbell; he came down to do something for Dr. Graff. Dr. Graff invited me and five or six other graduate students to go down to the Regas Restaurant and have dinner with him. So we all went down and had dinner and sat around for three or four hours. Two of the really good minds of the profession at that time just sat there talking.¹⁵⁰

Along with Pierce, Albright, and Seawell, another pioneer figure in educational administration in the South with whom Graff became well acquainted was R.L. Johns of the University of Florida. Working with his colleague Edgar L. Morphet, Johns gained note as an expert in educational finance. He and Morphet were almost direct contemporaries of Graff. Morphet was among those participating in the founding meetings of the NCPEA in 1947 and 1948, and he and Johns published their first major work on educational finance in 1952. Morphet soon thereafter moved to the University of California at Berkeley.

While Graff was known to be publicly outspoken in a gentle way, Johns spoke out much more sharply. Potts said Graff was in basic philosophical agreement with and "very fond" of Johns:

They got along extremely well and enjoyed one another very much, but they were as different as day and night. . . . I got to know Dr. Johns. He did a lot of consulting work with the Kentucky Department of Education. . . . But he and Orin were as different as day and night in many respects, and yet they had mutual respect and liking for one another. . . .¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, letter to Walter D. Cocking, Dec. 18, 1959.

¹⁵⁰Dykes.

¹⁵¹Potts.

Kimbrough and Nunnery, following their respective moves to the University of Florida, both came to regard Johns as another great professorial elder of roughly the same stature as Graff. Johns was aware of the relationship and, unlike Graff, was vocal about such matters. Nunnery recalled:

There was a lot of relationship, historically, between The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and the University of Florida. There was a fellow named Joe Leps who came up and taught one summer. His department was small too. It had Lyle Johns. . . . He and Orin Graff liked each other, and yet they were friendly rivals. Johns used to tell me, after I came down here, "Mike, when you got in this business there wasn't but four professors of note in the whole South: Me"--Johns always put himself first; Johns was known for his ego (laugh)--"A.D., Truman, and Orin." These were A.D. Albright, at the University of Kentucky; Truman Pierce; and Orin Graff. So that relationship was there. Graff was [at Florida] off and on to do, say, a week or two week thing on several occasions.¹⁵²

Kimbrough, who moved to the University of Florida only five years into his professorial career and worked with Johns for many years, openly regarded both Graff and Johns as mentors:

I have two fathers in educational administration . . . Orin Graff, first, and R.L. Johns of Florida, second. Both of them were extremely able men, very different men. Dr. Graff was deliberate; Dr. Johns was very direct--but extremely intelligent, both of them. Both of them very different, but both of them taught me what I know.¹⁵³

Nunnery also recalled the summer when Kimbrough and Graff exchanged homes as visiting professors at their respective universities. It was a time when the Graffs and Johnses became acquainted and that friendship between them began to grow, Nunnery said.¹⁵⁴

Potts recalled a story that revealed Johns' nature, as he and Johns invoked Graff's name:

I got into it with Dr. Johns pretty good one time after a speech he made in which I thought he got a little off base. I wrote him a letter. He was consulting with the Kentucky Department of Education and came to the annual superintendent's meeting. I thought he got far afield on equalization. . . . He wrote me back a letter, and he thumped my ass real good. And he closed it by saying, "And your uncle would not agree with you." So I wrote him back, and I said, "Dr. Johns, I didn't intend to make you angry, which obviously I did. But I believe, by God, if Uncle Orin had heard you the other day, he'd have taken you to task like I did."

¹⁵²Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁵³Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

¹⁵⁴Kimbrough, May 10, 1990. The visiting professor switch between Graff and Kimbrough is described from another point of view in the subsection "Molly."

(Laugh) I got a real nice letter back from him. He said, "I guess you're right."¹⁵⁵

Andrew W. Halpin continued as an visitor to Graff and Ohmer Milton through the late 1950s, sometimes seeking personal counseling and advice. This was after the unexpected death of Halpin's first wife, a particularly unsettled period for an already unpredictable personality, both Milton and Erma Graff recalled. Beginning in the early 1960s, neither Milton nor Graff had much contact with Halpin, who took up his last professorial post at the University of Georgia. "Along in the late '60s, I gave an address at Georgia and visited briefly with Andy," Milton added.¹⁵⁶

Halpin's personal relationship with Graff, which Nunnery described as "dependent," contrasted sharply with their professional interactions, described later in this study during discussion of the "theory movement" in educational administration. Nunnery commented on the personal relationship of the two professors:

Andrew was one of these guys who went through a series of personal misfortunes, and was hotheaded, arrogant. He always liked me . . . I guess because I was one of Orin Graff's boys. His favorite during his latter years was Harold Wayne Gentry in Georgia. Every time Andrew Halpin would get in trouble he'd call Orin Graff. . . . This went on for years . . . not many people know that. . . . Orin Graff had a kind of love/hate relationship with him. . . .

He and Graff were kindred spirits. Andrew Halpin was a vicious thinker; vicious, meaning he could cut you. When he was a young man, he could cut you one end to the other with that tongue of his, and, God, he had a good mind. Graff did too, and I guess they developed a kind of mutual respect. . . . They had mutual hate for Fitz [Dean N.E. Fitzgerald], and they also were much of the same cut in terms of the fact that they were both very good thinkers, very cold thinkers. But I think there were times Graff got totally disgusted with Andrew and his behavior. I don't know the details. . . . Some of the things he'd read Andrew did, he'd get madder than hell at them. But every time there was some big crisis in Andrew Halpin's life, he would call Orin Graff. So I would say there was a kind of big brother/younger brother relationship, or older cousin/younger cousin, or something. They were not in constant communication, to my knowledge. But if there was some crisis, I would hear the old man say, "Well, Andrew called me last night."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵Potts.

¹⁵⁶Milton.

¹⁵⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990. "People who don't know me call me Andy. My friends call me Andrew," Nunnery recalled Halpin saying.

Through former advisee Gentry, Graff played a role--although the extent of his influence was not known--in placing Halpin in the last position of his nomadic professorial career. Halpin's brilliance had gained him posts at several respected universities after he left The University of Tennessee, including the University of Chicago and The Ohio State University. His moves continued, however, reportedly due in large part to his abrasiveness and outspokenness. As Halpin anticipated leaving one of his last prestigious career stops, he apparently called Graff to ask for reference help. Gentry recalled:

Dr. Graff called me one day and told me that Andrew was at the Claremont Graduate School in California. Dr. Graff said that Dr. Halpin was looking to move and asked if we had anything at the University of Georgia. I said I would talk with the dean. That was in the early '60s, and we were really beginning to expand. I talked to Dean Joe Williams about it but never heard any more, until one day I looked up and this small fellow walked into my office and introduced himself as Andrew Halpin. I forget just how long Andrew stayed at the University of Georgia, maybe five, six, or seven years.¹⁵⁸

Halpin's arrival at Georgia was typically brash, according to Acuff and Evernden's recollections of Graff's comments. "Halpin was the one who went down to Georgia and occupied an office without being hired or anything else," Acuff said.¹⁵⁹

Evernden added, "Well, that's what Dr. Graff contended. Just moved in and said, 'I'm on your faculty.'"¹⁶⁰

Gentry already respected the magnitude of Halpin's work, and he also came to enjoy Halpin as a friend during their years together at the University of Georgia. He noted the contrast, as did others, between Halpin's physical stature and strength of personality:

Andrew was, I would guess, 5'6" or something like that. A very engaging man. I really liked him. We got along very well. He made some important contributions to the field. The main one I remember is his work on organizational climate. I

¹⁵⁸Gentry.

¹⁵⁹Acuff.

¹⁶⁰Evernden also recalled that Halpin once provoked the ire of his and Acuff's East Tennessee State University colleague and former Graff advisee Madison Byar, who took exception to a "view from Mount Olympus" Halpin speech in Atlanta.

used the instrument he developed several times and had dissertations and articles based on it before I left teaching. . . . Andrew was a very bright fellow, but he could be very tough when he wanted to. He could put you down with the best of them. . . . I really enjoyed him; I did. I didn't have any real great differences with him, except the way he approached people.¹⁶¹

The University of Georgia position was Halpin's last, after which he retired in Tucson, Arizona.¹⁶²

The diverticulitis to which George Roberts referred required Graff to undergo surgery in spring of 1960. Graff's medical difficulty became an instance that illustrated a bantering collegiality between himself and personally close colleagues. Evernden and Nunnery, both on Auburn University's faculty at the time, teamed with another professor there, John T. Lovell,¹⁶³ to send a post-operative telegram to Graff. Evernden recalled:

The slightly irreverent banter in the telegram grew out of the fact that . . . it was widely thought that Dr. Graff was an atheist. I never really believed that he was; I would refer to it as his "agnostic period." Whether he was actually wrestling with the problem of his own beliefs, or whether it was a well-used teaching technique on his part, Dr. Graff practically FORCED all people with theistic beliefs to be able to explain, clarify, and justify them. To my knowledge he never tried to change anyone's beliefs, but anyone who professed Christianity, Judaism, Islam, one of the far Eastern beliefs, or no belief at all (and we had them all!) was forced to DISCUSS them and to JUSTIFY them in his/her own thinking. He truly practiced the idea that ". . . the unexamined life is not worth living."¹⁶⁴

The telegram to Graff, addressed to University Hospital, Knoxville, read, "Confucius say no atheists in fox holes or philosophers going under anaesthetic. Please direct all questions about the hereafter to Reverend (Billy) Graham." It was signed, "Bill, Mike, and John."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹Gentry.

¹⁶²Gentry. In a later letter to the author, Mar. 18, 1992, Gentry wrote that Halpin had died earlier that month in Tucson, and his body "was returned to his home place in New York for burial." Gentry also wrote that he had retired from the University of Georgia after fall quarter, 1991.

¹⁶³Lovell, noted for his work in instructional supervision, later served as dean of education for the University of Bridgeport, in Connecticut; he joined the faculty of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee after Graff's retirement and served as professor of education there until his own retirement.

¹⁶⁴William L. Evernden, letter to author, Jan. 26, 1991. Evernden provided the anecdotal note and copies of correspondence during an interview with the author, although they served as attachments to an earlier letter to the author, Dec. 3, 1990.

¹⁶⁵Evernden, letter to author, Jan. 26, 1991.

Graff replied on April 19, 1960, beginning, "Dear Unholy Triumvirate: I am not certain that this is an appropriate address, but after re-reading your telegram I could think of none other that would approximate the spiritual development of a group that would send a guy in the hospital such a telegram." He recommended appointing a committee of deans to investigate, quoted Confucius and the Bible on the doing of evil, and, after completing this "appropriate philosophical dissertation for the benefit of you three," offered "the perceptions of certain persons involved in the operation in the form of exact quotes":

1. The family physician: "As usual, nothing but the unusual happens to him."
2. The surgeon: "Ah, heck! It was more like a delivery than an operation."
3. Erma: "He took a turn for the worse and went to the hospital; he took a turn for the nurse and I brought him home."
4. My own (on first observing the results of the operation while still under the influence): "It looks like a true Picasso which might be entitled 'Red Belly with Auxiliary Button Cut on the Bias'."
5. Dan Griffiths (or any other logical positivist): "All I can say for certain is that he has much less guts than formerly."¹⁶⁶

Graff wrote Evernden again three days later to thank him for his "kindness and consideration during the past weeks." He added, "It was good to hear from you fellows, but you should know better than to make one laugh so hard when his tummy is in such a condition." He regretted that he would miss an upcoming evaluation visit to Auburn and expressed hope that he and Erma Graff would have a chance to see Evernden "before you take off for Newfoundland," apparently at the end of spring term. "My recovery has been astonishingly rapid," Graff wrote. "I do not feel ill in any way. In fact, I feel much better than I have for many months except that I do not yet have my full strength back. . . . All good wishes from Erma and me."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶Orin B. Graff, letter to Michael Y. Nunnery, William L. Evernden, and John Lovell, Apr. 19, 1960. Photocopy provided to author by Evernden.

¹⁶⁷Orin B. Graff, letter to William L. Evernden, Apr. 22, 1960. Photocopy provided to author by Evernden.

Special Relationships with Children

Students' Children

Orin and Erma Graff had no biological progeny, but his doctoral students were noted to have been surrogate adult-age children. However, the Graffs also deeply loved child-age children, a love that was both emotional and, on Graff's part, an integral part of his philosophical base related to the vitality of the social order.

The relationships the Graffs enjoyed with students and colleagues were clearly analogous to those of a family, Roaden said, and the two took special delight in giving attention to the children of his students. "My little daughter loved Dr. Graff. We'd be going somewhere in the car on a school study or somewhere and, on occasion, my daughter would climb over the seat to be with him. He had a great affection for little kids."¹⁶⁸

Roberts also had such memories:

We went back after graduating and kept up with them, and, of course, they just were almost overbearing on people who didn't have any kids. We took our kids there, and they would try to give them something every time they were there. I remember they gave them some kind of silly-looking doll that they had there. And we called that doll "Orma," for Orin and Erma. Orma finally expired probably, but we had a doll named Orma in our house for years.¹⁶⁹

John Crothers linked Graff's love and appreciation of children to his sense of social order:

Among the wide range of people he could relate to was children. I have never known anyone who had a keener interest in children, who viewed them more for what they are, that is, human beings in their own right. The future of a community or a nation or a school or whatever endeavor they were talking about, but more than that, just beings. . . . Even today when I correspond with Mrs. Graff . . . she's always inquiring, just as he did, about my children. She inquires about them by name. . . . This is a manifestation of a point I made a while ago. Very few people would call Dr. Graff a religious man. They would call him a spiritual man, because, once again, in your religious literature, I don't know how anyone could emphasize more than Jesus emphasized in his teachings the importance of children, and I have never known any peer of mine that did any better job than Dr. Graff did in recognizing children. Not in any vain sense, but for the importance that he

¹⁶⁸Roaden.

¹⁶⁹Roberts.

would show them. . . . I never ever saw him fail to pause and recognize children, if the setting was such that he had opportunities.¹⁷⁰

Molly

An unusual long-term aspect of Graff's affinity for children was that he found in a next-door neighbor child both an outlet for this love and also an opportunity to illustrate his philosophy of learning at work. The child was Molly Leach, who was born in 1955, near the beginning of this era of Graff's story and when he had reached the age of 54. From her infancy through his retirement, Graff talked of his and Molly's joint experiences continually in his classes and conversations. As Joseph Johnson put it, "Molly has been used more times, to make more points, than anybody else that I have ever, ever known."¹⁷¹

Memories of Graff and Molly were legion among his acquaintances, from students to the highest-placed university officials. Martha Holt remembered her well from the Holts' visits with the Graffs: "Oh, she was crazy about him. She followed him like a shadow. . . . Whenever he was in the yard, she was right behind him."¹⁷²

Kimbrough remembered Molly as "the little red-headed girl. . . . Dr. Graff called her Molly B." He remembered the play time shared between his son Bradley and Molly during the summer the Kimbroughs and Graffs exchanged homes as part of a visiting professor switch.¹⁷³

Ohmer Milton recalled Graff's exuberant affection:

We used to laugh at him in class. He talked about Molly. He was wild about that kid. He watched her develop. He was a keen observer. He was very curious about the way she learned. Oh, gosh! We used to get so tickled we didn't know what to do (laugh). . . . He just talked about Molly all the time.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰Crothers.

¹⁷¹Johnson.

¹⁷²Holt.

¹⁷³Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

¹⁷⁴Milton.

"I always thought Dr. Graff gave her the affection he would have given his own children, had he had any." Dykes said. "She was a very much a child of Dr. and Mrs. Graff. They had an extremely close relationship."¹⁷⁵

Childers also remembered Molly both as the subject of Graff's illustrations and as surrogate daughter or granddaughter:

He used her in illustrations continually. She was almost like a granddaughter to him. . . . I remember him using her as the basis of his illustrations of development. . . . She was an influence on him. I'm sure he influenced her, too. . . . There were cute little things, like granddaughter or grandchild things. . . . Molly was truly almost like a grandchild to him. I said almost--she was like a grandchild.¹⁷⁶

"Guy [Potts] was too damn old and ugly to be treated like a child, so Molly got all of Graff's affection," Nunnery said. "Anytime you were at Graff's, Molly was liable to be over there, so she saw all of us. I'm surprised she remembers any of us by name, because she was just a child."¹⁷⁷

Recollections such as these were implanted in virtually all Graff's students during the years of Molly's youth. Roberts emphasized: "There was never a week where he didn't somehow talk about her. . . . There probably was no one who took his classes "that doesn't know her name, anyway."¹⁷⁸

Molly Leach Pratt herself was nearing the age of 35 and had recently moved to Washington, D.C., with her husband, press secretary for a U.S. Senator, as of the beginning of this study. She had previously worked in Nashville as a legislative liaison, or lobbyist, in the field of health services, and she had maintained her close ties with Erma Graff.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵Dykes.

¹⁷⁶Childers.

¹⁷⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁷⁸Roberts.

¹⁷⁹Pratt.

Pratt said that as she reached adulthood she came to understand her role as an illustration of learning and development for Graff, but the understanding never caused her to question the genuineness of Graff's affection:

I think it was a dual relationship, looking back on it as an adult. And I think that although I was almost like a grandchild, I was also a guinea pig, and I think his students were guinea pigs. I think that he was constantly learning himself, and I think he was constantly interested in challenging people and watching them learn and in turn he learned from their learning. . . . I don't think that it was something he could separate out. I think that he was a student of people as well as being a teacher, and I think that he constantly was intrigued by personalities and people and how they processed things and how they reacted to things. I think that he believed that learning went beyond the classroom or anything else. . . .¹⁸⁰

She felt strongly, however, that her personal relationship with Graff would have been the same no matter what craft or profession he might have followed:

Perhaps the way that he taught me would have been different, but I still think that there would have been a strong relationship no matter what. . . . I think he was basically a very intelligent person and a very smart man and a very caring person, and that no matter who he had studied with or whatever his philosophy would have become, he still would have been a very generous, giving type person.¹⁸¹

The Graffs had lived in their West Knoxville home on Sherwood Drive about eight years when the Leaches built next door, where the yards of the two homes connected. Pratt's own father was about 15 years younger than Graff, she estimated, and Graff "felt very fatherly toward him." She had an older brother and sister, and at about age five or six, an addition was made to the home and a great aunt and grandmother joined them. So the Leaches themselves had extended family, and the Graffs were considered extended family also. "I really never thought of them as not being a part of my family, because they were, from the time that I came home from the hospital."¹⁸²

Her statement that the Graffs were present from the time of her birth was literal, Pratt emphasized. "The day I was born he came down, because my mother went to the hospital around

¹⁸⁰Pratt.

¹⁸¹Pratt.

¹⁸²Pratt.

four or five o'clock in the morning. . . . I came home from the hospital and Erma and Orin were there." From the time she began to support herself in the crib, she became a visitor to the Graff home. Pratt said:

I think Orin liked to tell this story more than anybody, but it has been confirmed by others: When Orin would come in the door, and I'm talking about how babies will pull up and stand up in a crib and walk around the crib hanging on, six months, eight months, I would go over . . . and pat on the cupboard, because I would want them to get my snowsuit out so he would bundle me up and take me up to his house. So from the earliest memories on, even memories I don't have but Erma and Orin tell me about, I was up there at their house. . . . Except when they would go away, or Orin would go on his trips--and I would still go up and see about Erma--I spent at least two or three hours a day with him, easy.¹⁸³

The story of Graff's relationship with young Molly, as told by her, was the unfolding of a one-to-one saga of progressive education. Continually, Graff and she together discussed and agreed upon experiential activities from which they both learned. The settings, primarily, were the Graff home, including the garden, yard, and patch of woods as well as the interior. There were also various Knoxville sites to which the two would go on "excursions."

Usually daily, sometimes twice daily, regardless of weather, "Unkie Wah," as she called Graff, "would bundle me up and would take me up to their house."

I had toys at their house. I had dolls that stayed there, that did not go home. And I had this play place where I would go . . . I think some of his students would be tickled to think of Orin Graff down crawling on the floor with me. We would make tents. We would have pallets. We would have secret fortresses, and Erma would always come in and assist or she would come in and act, "Oh, isn't that wonderful?" It was some towels draped over the chairs in the dining room.¹⁸⁴

At other times, Pratt said, "I would sit on his lap for hours and he would read to me. And he would ask me questions about what he read, and we would talk about what that meant, and we would talk about things that four- and five- and six-year old children would not talk about."

Erma Graff's role was always supportive and selectively participatory:

¹⁸³Pratt.

¹⁸⁴Pratt.

She would play along with us, but she wouldn't play with us. Now we painted together, and then he would come in and we would talk about what we painted. . . . He was very encouraging of that, although he did not paint with us. We would bake cookies or we would do other things, and he was very encouraging. And, I think all the time he was watching me. He was watching my hand and eye coordination. I think he was watching to see at what level do children do what, and could he or Erma do things that brought me along faster?¹⁸⁵

Although she was not conscious of the arrangement at the time, under Graff's guidance all the activities over the years took on a certain overall structure, she realized later. Beginning with one "excursion," she described this:

We went to this bar mitzvah . . . we went up to the synagogue. We talked about where we were going and why we were going and why they were different and what this meant. There was a great deal of discussion about it, before and after. There was preparation to everything that we did, in a very interesting way, and you never knew that you were being taught anything. But we would pick something, whatever it was, whether it was weather, and we'd talk about what made weather the way it was. . . . Or we'd talk about birds. And then for several weeks there would be a little book on birds that we would get and we would study. . . . But he always finalized everything in a way that there was a conclusion, but there was always an avenue for further explanation. . . . There was always a point where consensus was made, a conclusion was drawn, but possibilities were still on the threshold to continue on another day or some other point in time. . . . But we never just left things. There was always a reason for stopping and a promise of tomorrow.¹⁸⁶

Dialogue and questions, a "talking through" of activities, ran through their educational play, Pratt said.

He used the "W" words all the time. "Well, what about? Well, what if? Why do you think? Well, what do you think would happen if it was done this way instead of this way?" And that is really a gift to give somebody. . . . Everything was very well thought through. The interesting thing too, was that there was almost always an explanation for everything, even if it was an explanation that we made up. Why is this this way? We always talked about why it was a certain way, and then we agreed upon or agreed not to agree upon, the answer. But there was process, a thought process.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵Pratt.

¹⁸⁶Pratt.

¹⁸⁷Pratt.

Graff's questions were open-ended, as when building fortresses or other structures in the Graff home:

It was never, "Let's take the towel and drape it here." It would be, "Let's take the towel and let's drape it here," and "What do you think this looks like?" or "How would you like it if we put it over here? What do you think? What kind of castle do you think this would be? What country would we be in, if it was a flat-top roof versus if we make a little pitch in it? What do you think that would be like? Do you think that would be more like England and France? And if we make it a flat roof, will it be more like the Middle East?" There was always an alternative and a possibility in what weighed and balanced.¹⁸⁸

"I think that's where he believed the real teachers were," Pratt said. "Not that you taught somebody the answers . . . but you inspired people to look for more. And in looking for more . . . you learn more and the more you learn the more you look. . . ."

Another setting for Molly was familiar to Graff's friends of all ages:

He had his garden which he loved, and we would work down in the garden. For every adult thing that he had, I would have a child-size item to go along with it. Down below our house--today it looks very small, but when I was a child it looked enormous--there was a little patch of woods. We named that our special forest and we would go down there and we would see elves and things. No one else would see them, of course. We would talk about them and where they came from and we named them all. We had bees one summer. We got into bees. He had his bee-keeping veil, and I had a little veil. . . . We learned about bees. Actually, I think we probably learned more about human beings, but we didn't know at the time that we were learning about that.¹⁸⁹

The word "excursions" was a Graff selection that Molly agreed upon. It suggested experiential, educational activities that took place away from home:

We used to go off on excursions, and that's what he called them. We didn't call them shopping trips, or anything else; we would go on an excursion. We would buy records, and we would buy poetry books; or we would go and get a book on Egypt when we were talking about the pharaohs. . . . We would go get whatever it was. The other thing he did, we got into reading. I don't know where it came from, but he bought me Bobsey Twins books. He would go on a trip and he would always bring me a present back. For a long time he would buy me a book; and he would buy me one of the Bobsey Twins books.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸Pratt.

¹⁸⁹Pratt.

¹⁹⁰Pratt.

As she continued to accompany Graff, Molly became accustomed to meeting educational figures. She particularly remembered one excursion on which she met the university president:

The one person that I remember the most, beyond some of the students, Ralph Kimbrough, was Andy Holt. . . . We went to something at the Coliseum, in the theater part . . . the symphony . . . because it might have been a time when we were talking about music. . . . We were talking about flutes versus drums and percussions and all the different parts of the orchestra and where everybody sits. . . . Andy Holt was there. I couldn't have been six, maybe seven years old. I remember at one of the breaks . . . I can still [see] those gold velvet curtains and those gold seats . . . we went down front and Andy was there. Orin . . . introduced me in a very formal way, a very grownup way. I shook Andy Holt's hand and I said, "It's so nice to see you. I've heard so many nice things about you." And Andy Holt fell out, and I remember thinking at the time, I couldn't understand why he was laughing. He was laughing because here was this little miniature adult that was with Orin that was saying things that a six-year-old wouldn't say, very precocious; and we talked and we discussed things for a while, and I remember Unkie Wah coming back and complimenting me later, and how charming Dr. Holt had thought that I was, and how interested he was in who I was, and this relationship. . . . He and Martha on occasions later on were at the Graffs, and I remember him always, whenever I would see him from that point on.¹⁹¹

She remembered well the six-week summer Florida-Tennessee professorial exchange of Graff and Kimbrough, primarily because of her unhappiness at Graff's absence:

The only thing that really made it acceptable to me--and I was very unhappy about it--was that the Kimbroughs had a little boy named Bradley. Bradley was someone for me to play with while Orin was gone. . . . There was not that same quite open-door policy that there had been with Orin and Erma, but there was some flexibility. Bradley was there and we played. It turned out to be an OK summer, but I remember being so excited when they returned. I just thought that they had been gone forever, and it was very disappointing to me that he--why would he want to go off and spend all summer in Florida and leave me? Particularly, in the summertime.¹⁹²

Many other experiences were part of the story of her younger years with Graff, Pratt said. They created "Fairyland Forest," inhabited by an elf Ichabod, named from their readings from Washington Irving. They discussed and accepted joint responsibility in working and caring for the bees, and Erma Graff helped plan the painting of the queen bee's wings. Graff would bring presents upon returning from trips, and teasing, question-and-answer games would ensue as he would try to

¹⁹¹Pratt.

¹⁹²Pratt.

"remember" the presents and where he might have misplaced them. There were many other excursions, readings, items purchased and used, creations and dialogues, all cast into a loose, experiential-educational structure growing from the tenets of pragmatic learning that were a part of Graff. The teaching aspect was so integrated, subtle, and natural that she was unsure that Graff was always conscious of it:

We developed over the years a lot of rituals. . . . We initiated and then followed up on traditions . . . from birthdays all the way down to just roles that we played out. . . . There was a pattern to our traditions that we would always follow. He would always ask the question and I would answer him, or we'd answer, and then we'd move on. There was process involved . . . a lot more process than I probably realized at the time. . . . I don't think it was . . . a planned thing . . . like, "Now, I think it's time that Molly learned about X, so I'm going to create," like a teacher would create a lesson plan. I think it just kind of evolved and happened. Then as it happened, he would either reflect back on it or at the time, he would get into that second level and the teacher in him would come out. . . . I think his teaching was a very loosely organized, innate thing, that he was a teacher by profession and also just by personality. I don't think he really realized himself what we were learning, until we got into it. Sometimes we would learn even more than we had even hoped to learn. It just never occurred to him, I think, that he was actually teaching me, but at the same time his higher intellect was telling him that he was.¹⁹³

Her years of regular visits to the Graff home brought Molly some acquaintanceship with many of the doctoral students. Beyond that, she also gained an inside view of some aspects, particularly those of a one-on-one nature, of graduate education. She later wondered to what extent, on a different scale, the learning activities she shared with Graff paralleled those of the doctoral students. She ventured that they were largely the same:

I don't know if . . . there's a way to draw the conclusion that he in fact gave us the same things, and that what he gave us was something that spanned age. I think he probably did. I think . . . his philosophy and his approach are applicable to everybody. . . . I wonder if some of them thought, "Some of the things that he does with the little red-headed girl, little Molly, his student on Sherwood Drive--I wonder, isn't that the same thing I'm learning with him?"¹⁹⁴

Pratt's observations appeared valid, as the experiences Graff created and shared with her perhaps served to clarify his pragmatic, progressive approach as a professor in the higher education

¹⁹³Pratt.

¹⁹⁴Pratt.

arena. Certainly he pursued an experiential, all-settings approach with both Molly and his graduate program. The Graff house, the yard and garden, and the excursions might be seen as roughly analogous to the classroom, the out-of-class local environs (including campus and Graff home), and such project involvements such as SSCPEA, school studies, and the School Planning Lab. Returning to the general analogy later, Pratt offered a more firm view:

To kind of sum it up, I think he probably treated me . . . in the same way he treated his students, but he treated me that way on a three-year-old level or a five-year-old level. . . . I think that it pleased him, probably, if he were to have thought about it--and I'm sure he probably did--that his philosophy cut across all ages. It was not something that only worked with graduate-level students. It was a process and a philosophy that pretty much embodied how you can operate within just life itself.¹⁹⁵

As well as sharing experiences and an affectionate relationship with the Graffs, Molly was an observer of the students and other visitors who came to their home. In this light, she saw other aspects of their lives--how Graff seemed to view his students along different levels of aspirations and abilities, Erma Graff's role in her husband's profession, and the beginning of the Graffs' affiliation with the Church Street Methodist Church--a development she believed she influenced. Her perceptions, gained in youth but reported from the later perspective of adulthood, were markedly similar to the observations of Graff's students and colleagues.

Spiritual Aspects of Graff

Graff's core belief in philosophical self-examination and development of a personal value system naturally brought the values that were often most personal--those of a religious nature--into his professorial arena. Since it was his view that personal values permeate all of life's endeavors, reckoning with them was an inevitable and necessary function of setting direction for other growth and development. In this holistic approach, his own religious values, history, and crises became an inseparable element of his story, as these dimensions were enmeshed with his total being.

¹⁹⁵Pratt.

By the end of the time period covered here, Orin and Erma Graff had become regular church-goers at the Church Street United Methodist Church in Knoxville, and Graff took frequent, sometimes extended, turns in teaching an adult Sunday school class. Earlier in the same time period and in the previous one, many students who passed through his classes at The University of Tennessee viewed him as an agnostic or atheist. Neither of these labels nor a label that might derive from his church activity would affix to Graff with a high degree of precision. His religious views were as complex, as highly reasoned, and as much--probably more--a subject of continual self-examination and questioning as any other area of his life.

Two of his accomplished former students struck important tones for examining Graff's religious journey. Roaden, who along with Street worked as closely with Graff on matters of philosophy as any associate, began with a caution: "Edgar Dale used to say, 'Labels can become libels.'" Actually, Roaden proffered the quotation in speaking of Graff as a pragmatist, but he quickly turned in the same discourse to Graff's firm conviction of the need for a "good value base," a sense of direction. He said:

I'm not talking about any dogmatic form of reference at all--as a matter of fact, he was a great warrior against dogmatism of any kind. . . . Dr. Graff was not one that I would classify as being a great religious person. He had an affection for religion. As a matter of fact, I've heard people call him an atheist--people whom Dr. Graff was trying to get to examine their own set of values and beliefs. That was the worst bum rap I've ever heard. You certainly couldn't classify him as being a great champion of a particular brand of religion, but the message that he had was oftentimes more powerful than the message of the church about shaping a sound philosophy of life and living by it. So if you lived by his code, it looked an awful lot like the best that religion has to offer. He spoke at a number of churches. Some of the greatest friends he had were theologians. As a matter of fact, he was a friend of anybody who had ideas and would sit down and share them and explore them.¹⁹⁶

Nunnery, who experienced at close range the most irreverent and least traditionally religious aspects of Graff, offered a lengthy explanation, considerably excerpted here, that keyed on a rebellion against religious doctrine earlier in Graff's life:

¹⁹⁶Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

There was a puritanical streak in Orin Graff. You're damn right there was, a mile wide. Orin Graff grew up in southern Ohio in the early part of this century, raised in a fundamentalist Methodist background. In spite of his rejection of his doctrine on an intellectual basis when he became an adult--I don't know whether that occurred before he fell under the influence of Boyd Bode or after. . . . He rejected the Bible. He rejected some of the things that he thought were silly. I don't know that I ever discussed this with him, but I am sure . . . I'm sure he grew up in a home where alcohol was frowned upon, because of that Methodist background. He rejected that sort of thing. You know, Orin Graff was a two-fisted drinker. Just fill'er up Mike, just don't put it on top of the ice. . . . Again, those days are long behind us, a long time ago. He never gave up those basic fundamental precepts, if I can use that word. For example, he had absolutely no tolerance for immorality, on the part of men. I mean, I think he would have personally tried to beat my ass if I had run around on my wife. He didn't have any time for that sort of thing. He very much frowned on divorce. He . . . was a strong believer in family. . . .¹⁹⁷

Nunnery recalled anecdotes that illustrated the "puritanical streak." In one example, he said that Graff refused admittance into the Ed.D. program to a woman applicant because he was convinced, considering her individual circumstances, that the residence or the degree itself would lead to a breakup of her family.

That was the reason. Now, none of us thought she was brilliant, but we didn't turn her down on an intellectual basis. . . . Now these things are as illegal as hell, in this day and time. . . . That was a different time and a different era. You'd better believe he had a puritanical streak in him. If anybody doesn't . . . they've forgotten the Orin Graff I knew.¹⁹⁸

"Now, by the way," Nunnery said, "Orin Graff was also just passionate in his defense of equal opportunity of education for women, blacks. . . ." His illustration was of a values conflict in which the one more deeply ingrained--the "puritanical" one, as he thought of it--held sway.

In the sense of family heritage and precepts noted by Nunnery, Graff's joining the Church Street Methodist Church was a return home. The center of his native village of Haverhill, Ohio, was a beautiful country Methodist church built in 1870--still the site of Graff family reunions as of this study--and as Erma Graff said in Chapter 2, the Graffs "all attended."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷Nunnery.

¹⁹⁸Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁹⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

Information on Graff's early life available for this study was far too scant to provide evidence or even basis for speculation on particulars of any early religious crisis. One hint of doctrinal or social limitations on drinking was the "moonshine by moonlight" story that Potts laughingly recalled in Chapter 2, when Graff accompanied a friend to take a drink from a bottle "stashed" in a fodder shock. However, such limitations would have been typical for a rural or small-town area such as Haverhill and its environs, as would covert ways of dealing with them among those of social and recreational spirit. A reasonable assumption can be made that Graff might have readily taken part in the full range of activities available, including those of a somewhat more covert nature, considering his robust energy, outgoing nature, and lifelong inclination toward active involvement in the communities where he lived. Considering his bent toward study and philosophical reasoning, it is also reasonable to assume that he began early to question the linkages between doctrine and socially useful behavior, but no record of his expression of such questions was available. The environment of Scioto County would likely have offered him limited opportunity to discuss such questions.

If Graff had not reached an appreciable level of expression for questions regarding doctrinally-controlled behavior before he reached The Ohio State University, there is no doubt that he found such an outlet there. Boyd H. Bode, his chosen mentor, had undergone his own more severe crisis, which directly reflected in his teachings.

Several parallels existed between Bode and Graff. Both came from rural midwestern fundamentally religious backgrounds; both were intellectuals who were drawn toward philosophical thought and reasoning; and both resolved inner conflicts by eventually turning to the philosophy of pragmatism. Bode's background was the more restricted, however. Whereas Graff was a member of a large family headed by apparently loving, good-natured, and broad-minded parents, according to Time magazine, Bode was the "son of a Calvinist preacher," in his own words, "'brought up to be a good 16th Century Calvinist.'" The magazine article, which was titled "Rebel" and at one point referred to its subject as "Agnostic Bode" (in a portion of text included in Chapter 3), continued:

At school in Illinois, he dutifully mastered his catechism, the doctrines of predestination and a high tariff. At home one day, young Bode remarked that something might be said for Evolution. His father rushed out of the house, hitched up his horses, and drove all day, praying for his son's soul. "For me," said Bode, "it was a period of unmitigated suffering. . . ."

His father wanted him to become a professor of theology, but Bode turned to philosophy. At the University of Illinois, he got a job teaching logic ("horse sense made asinine," Bode now [1947] calls it). A few years later, he was appointed professor of education at Ohio State University. Wherever he went, his agonizing doubts shadowed him. Though not by temperament a rebel ("I tried to be a good boy"), he could find no authority for moral standards in traditional creeds or dogmas. In desperation, he turned to the works of William James and Dewey, first to criticize, then to be converted.²⁰⁰

While apparently accurate in pointing out Bode's skepticism toward and rebelliousness against organized religion, the Time article may also have been overly dramatic and to a degree mistaken in linking too strongly questioning with disbelief. In doing so, the magazine perhaps sold short the elements of hope, optimism, and the personal nature of religious choice as having a place in the philosophy of pragmatism. James, for example, examined deeply such topics as varieties of religious experience, "the will to believe," and other aspects of religion and morality in relation to pragmatism. He acknowledged a general need for religious belief as a basis for hope, writing:

Meanwhile the practical needs and experiences of religion seem to me sufficiently met by the belief that beyond each man and in a fashion continuous with him there exists a larger power which is friendly to him and to his ideals. . . . I think, in fact, that a final philosophy of religion will have to consider the pluralistic hypothesis more seriously than it has hitherto been willing to consider it. For practical life at any rate, the chance of salvation is enough. No fact in human nature is more characteristic than its willingness to live on a chance. The existence of the chance makes the difference, as Edmund Gurney says, between a life of which the keynote is resignation and a life of which the keynote is hope.²⁰¹

At a far more personal level, James also sent a poignant letter to his dying father holding forth hope for a life beyond for his parents. He wrote, in part:

You are old enough, you've given your message to the world in many ways and will not be forgotten; you are here left alone, and on the other side, let us hope and pray, dear, dear old Mother is waiting for you to join her. If you go, it will not be

²⁰⁰"Rebel," 73.

²⁰¹William James, Essays in Pragmatism, ed. Alburey Castell (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1948), 139-140.

an inharmonious thing. . . . As for the other side, and Mother, and our all possibly meeting, I can't say anything. More than ever at this moment do I feel that if that were true, all would be solved and justified. And it comes strangely over me in bidding you good-bye how a life is but a day and expresses mainly but a single note. It is so much like the act of bidding an ordinary good-night. Good-night, my sacred old Father! If I don't see you again--Farewell! a blessed farewell!²⁰²

Graff brought directly to his own work as professor and department head the religious skepticism and examination of James, Bode, and others, no doubt in large part as a product of Bode's teaching and mentorship. He also brought then-retired Bode himself to The University of Tennessee for a summer session, as noted in Chapter 4. Carmichael, in Chapter 5, described from his studies during the late 1940s the disturbing effects of Graff's questioning on himself and student colleagues, many of them from rural backgrounds and having never experienced an examination of the basic values from their upbringing.

Inherent in the Socratic nature of Graff's teaching was his setting aside or leaving uncertain his own value stances during class discussions. He was interested in promoting student self-examination, and announcement of his own views or other indications of preoccupation with himself might have hampered this process. Accordingly, he was often seen by many as an elusive questioner, as expressed by Smith:

Now, he wouldn't be nailed. . . . You couldn't nail him on anything, because he refused to take a position on something which was not factual. You would say, "Are you existentialist," and he would push it away. You could not paint him into a corner.²⁰³

Thus, the provocative discussions of religion generated puzzlement among students on Graff himself as well as promoting the self-examination he desired of them. "I was never sure," Evernden said, "whether he was fighting a battle with his own beliefs or whether he was using it as a teaching technique. But he would insist that you discuss and analyze your religious beliefs."²⁰⁴

²⁰²William James, The Philosophy of William James, ed. Horace M. Kallen (New York: Random House, 1953), 318.

²⁰³Smith.

²⁰⁴Evernden.

Thornton, looking at Graff from his earlier period as a student as well as later, described his uncertainties:

It was difficult to know what his opinion or position was regarding the situation being discussed. Of course, that was his technique in having those discussions. . . . Often subjects might touch on the moral and spiritual elements involved. And for a long time, I just wondered about Dr. Graff's status on moral values. Of course, later, as I got to know him better, I found out that he was a very active lay person in the Methodist church and was highly respected for his church affiliation. I mention that merely to illustrate what seemed to be his technique in working with graduate students on different subjects, to lead the individual in that discussion to express an opinion or to try to draw a conclusion, and then he would enter in and ask, "How do you support that conclusion? How do you support that opinion? What facts do you have to back that up?" So I think that analysis skill and educational philosophy were the most interesting and rewarding qualities of his leadership in the graduate school program.²⁰⁵

In a related sentiment, Carmichael recalled how he never felt he reached closure with Graff, although the self-examination process benefited him enormously:

I've always regretted that, once I arrived at a reconciliation with my religious beliefs, I didn't go back and talk it through with him. I don't know what his reaction would have been, and I have always regretted that I didn't somehow, sometime, have the chance to do that, because I never fully understood him. I thought I did, but I never had a way of knowing that directly or personally from him, and I would have liked to have done that.²⁰⁶

The whole approach, Merrill thought, yielded great educational benefits in terms of producing administrative leaders:

It was tremendously challenging and that's why the department grew. And the philosophy was basically progressivism and pragmatism and questioning one's own values. Dr. Graff was pretty hard on idealistic people in some ways, very hard on people who couldn't defend their values, who very often had religious values and would say that was their source of truth. Now, I know Dr. Graff went to church, but at the same time, for operational principles, you had to be more practical. He wanted to know where values were, as the basis of leadership.²⁰⁷

Graff viewed the quality of a doctoral degree in educational administration as depending in large part on a program's inclusion of this process of value examination, according to Evernden:

²⁰⁵Thornton.

²⁰⁶Carmichael.

²⁰⁷Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

He told me one time--I guess he told all of us--that the problem with training school administrators in the Northeast was . . . the student body and the faculties were about even[ly] . . . divided among protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews. And, he said there isn't any way that they will sit down and discuss their beliefs with each other. And, he said, as a result, they ignore them in their training programs. They ignore values and that sort of thing . . . he said that's why you can't get a decent doctor's degree in the Northeast.²⁰⁸

From his own experience, Graff obviously knew that philosophical self-examination that included one's basic religious foundations was unsettling, even agonizing. He viewed it as a necessary stage of metamorphosis for his students who would become high-level leaders. In his professorial acting out of these views, he generally proceeded with gentleness in dealing with students as individuals while expressing himself more provocatively with students as groups. He at times inflamed class members and opened spirited discussions, as in Carmichael's recollection of students "just virtually rebelling" (Chapter 5). Former student William T. Acuff said, "One thing that I've always remembered that he said: He felt that Christianity was the worst thing that had ever been imposed upon society. . . . He said that in class numerous times. . . ." ²⁰⁹

Such statements "got a lot of reaction" from class members, Evernden said, particularly when the classes included, as they occasionally did, members of the clergy and others with church affiliations. Graff's skill with series of questions in such instances led not only to individual consternation but to serious examination of students' bases for their beliefs.

He would insist that you discuss and analyze your religious beliefs. And you couldn't get away from it. I mean, he'd push you into a corner. . . . He'd push you right to the wall on what you believed. Now I don't think he ever tried deliberately to get anybody to change their beliefs to fit his, but he wouldn't let you alone until you could tell him why you believed what you did.²¹⁰

Many people had basically the same difficulties with Graff's questions on religious values that they had with his drive for consistency and opposition to eclecticism, Carmichael said:

²⁰⁸Evernden.

²⁰⁹Acuff.

²¹⁰Evernden.

I think we are a society that has a definite weakness toward gimmicks and expedient ways of solving problems and are unwilling to stick with the level of uncertainty that's involved in a course such as Dr. Graff takes. You're uneasy, you know. I see it in religious fields particularly. Any religion that leaves T's not crossed and I's not dotted is upsetting to some persons. The same applies in most behavior, and following Dr. Graff's line of thinking, you'd never reach that point. There is no way to reaching that point.²¹¹

A remarkable ability Graff had, according to Smith, was to pursue a dogged line of questioning with an individual in a non-confrontational way, maintaining diplomacy, "not offending:"

Letting him paint himself into a corner, I suppose, is what he would do. . . . His answer was not to take offense or force his argument, but to ask a person, "Explain what you mean." A little bit further, he would end up being the one who pushed the person to explore his own question further until he began to see that his challenge was an empty one, was not valid.²¹²

Graff supported and deeply respected moral decisions that were based on the "examined life," and he did not preclude the need for religion among some who might choose it through self-examination as a basis for moral decision-making. Evernden recalled a story that illustrated this:

There was a nuclear scientist in Oak Ridge. . . . He became a cleric in the Episcopal Church as a sort of, I guess, sideline. I think he was involved in the construction of the original atomic bomb. And it haunted him, the fact that he had contributed to such a destructive event. Eventually he left the field of nuclear science and devoted his life to religion. He went through the University of the South and became an Episcopal or Anglican priest. Dr. Graff had tremendous respect for that man. He admired him. He couldn't quit talking about him, really. . . . Dr. Graff used to use that as an illustration of the fact that values were universal and could be based on something other than a theological basis. Some people needed a theological basis and others didn't. . . . He used to say something to the effect that you have an obligation to treat people right simply because they're people and for your own self-respect. And you don't have to have any kind of a mystical basis for it.²¹³

To his friends and the students who worked with him most closely, Graff's spirituality was reflected in the good that he did and promoted, rather than in religious doctrines he may or may not have believed. It was in this vein that Martha (Mrs. Andrew D.) Holt, naturally and in the course of

²¹¹Carmichael.

²¹²Smith.

²¹³Evernden.

discussing her husband's friendship in a non-religious context, referred to Graff as "a fine Christian."²¹⁴ Former students took the same tack even when addressing the question of his religious values directly. For example, Johnson spoke of his basic goodness:

If you have to tell people how good you are, you're probably in trouble, and he never had to tell anybody how good he was. If you stayed around him very long, you knew that. Good in terms of good person, ethically, morally, philosophically, intellectually--he was a good person. And if you were around him a while you knew that.²¹⁵

Dykes gave a similar view, adding that Graff's own qualities seemed also to promote goodness in the actions of others:

He had a profound belief in the basic value of people, the basic goodness of people. Because he had that kind of basic belief, he tended to get what he believed in from people. They responded like he thought they should respond. It was a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy so far as the behavior of people around him was concerned, because he brought out the best in them, and they did very well what he expected them to do, what he thought they would do.²¹⁶

Along the same line, Crothers added emphasis on Graff's belief in acquired, rather than innate, goodness:

By a narrow definition of religion, you wouldn't classify him as a strongly structured religious person as much as you would see a man who reflected strong spiritual values. . . . No doubt about it. You could detect this as he told about people in his community when he was growing up. There were worthless ne'er-do-wells. . . . See, Dr. Graff did not teach that all men have dignity and worth. He taught that all men have the potential to obtain dignity and worth in life, and there is a difference. But once again, he is teaching what is taught in ancient scriptures.²¹⁷

In the early 1960s, the Graffs began attending the Church Street United Methodist Church. Molly Leach Pratt, whose unique relationship with Graff was discussed earlier, believed she had a role in influencing the decision. She recalled from one of her almost-daily visits with Graff during childhood:

²¹⁴Holt.

²¹⁵Johnson.

²¹⁶Dykes.

²¹⁷Crothers.

I remember one day out of the clear blue, asking him--it must have been a Sunday afternoon. . . . I remember getting into a great discussion with him about religion. I wanted to know why he didn't go to Sunday school. I won't say that a five-year old or a six-year old could necessarily shame a grown man into going to Sunday school, but apparently it was of some concern to him that this had been something upsetting to me, that I didn't know. And I wasn't old enough to understand that sometimes you can have religion without having formal religion. . . . But he and Erma must have had a long conversation about it, because not too much later they started going to church. I don't know if it was just the innocence of a child's question that made them examine what they did practice or did not practice but believed, or whatever it was, but they started going to Church Street Methodist Church, which is where my family was going at the time. I remember being so pleased that he and Erma were going to church, and going with them on several occasions to early church, or to Sunday school and to meet them at the church service. . . .

But I remember a conversation with him about, "Well why don't you and Erma go to church? Do you want to come to my church?" . . . Even as a child I remember thinking of that as an accomplishment, that Erma and Orin were now going to church because I had, not prodded them, but obviously had raised enough questions as a child in very innocent ways that made them decide that maybe they needed to do it.²¹⁸

Erma Graff could not recall but did not dismiss the possibility that Molly had played a significant role. "I don't know whether Molly talked Orin into it or not, but she may have," she said with a laugh. "They always had their heads together." However, their settling on Church Street United Methodist Church actually was an evolution of a long-term search for such an affiliation, she said:

We had shopped around after we left Norris. We went to the Norris fellowship there. We shopped around many churches here in Knoxville, and we weren't happy with a lot of them--what we saw, you know. Not that we were that discriminating. It just didn't please us, what we were seeing. We went to Church Street. I'm still there.²¹⁹

The fellowship at Norris was interdenominational, served by a Presbyterian minister who was Scottish. "Of course, he had that brogue. He was a very, very fine person, just excellent." A small Catholic church in the community served the few residents of that denomination. "I think

²¹⁸Pratt.

²¹⁹Erma G. Graff, May 30, 1992.

everybody else just came to that fellowship."²²⁰ Graff was thought of as Unitarian by several sources, partly because of his views and in several instances related to uncertain memories of their attending a Unitarian church, which Erma Graff said she had "almost forgotten":

We tried the Unitarian Church, but we didn't settle into that at all. I know we went a few times when they were in temporary quarters down near the university, and they later built that nice church on Kingston Pike. . . . We never were members. We were just trying to decide where we would go. We were kind of serious about the Unitarian Church.

Thus, the Graffs did not enter into a decision to join the Church Street United Methodist Church hastily or lightly. Robert Roney, for a time a member of the church as well as a former Graff student and a professor in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, recalled a conversation with Graff as he discussed Graff's consistency between values professed and conduct of life:

It went over into his spiritual life. I remember him talking about joining Church Street Methodist Church. He said he wasn't sure he could buy everything Church Street Methodist Church stood for, so he went to the preacher and told him, I'll join your church under these conditions. And he defined it, and the preacher said, OK, fine. That's not exactly our creed, but close enough. So he wasn't going to wimp around on that either, and pretend to believe something he didn't believe.²²¹

In effect, the Graffs' decision to join Church Street United Methodist Church combined Graff's use of the "method of intelligence" and a fortuitous combination of circumstances to produce an optimal result in several respects. The Graffs re-affiliated with the church of their youth; they demonstrated their respect, love, and sensitivity to Molly; and, more broadly, they found an individual church and a group within that church with a broad enough outlook--albeit with considerable uneasiness in other circles, at times--to accommodate Graff's pragmatic approach to spiritualism. The relationship between Graff and the church was a kind of serendipity, as he found a new avenue to further his own growth in a continuing examination of ideas, to work for the social

²²⁰Erma G. Graff, May 30, 1992.

²²¹Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

good through helping others find solutions to or acceptance of problems, and to host and participate in enjoyable social intermingling that he and Erma Graff found to be part of "the good life."

Roney recalled the Sunday school class in which he and Graff were members--the Fellowship Sunday School Class--as a philosophical discussion group. It was said that the class did not have a teacher per se, but rather had someone who presided, Roney noted, recalling that it was referred to as "a Unitarian class meeting at the Church Street United Methodist Church."²²²

He certainly didn't believe in things like divine revelation and . . . predestination. He didn't believe in any of that sort of thing. He didn't believe that anybody ought to go to church and turn their mind off on Sunday. That's one reason he was active in the Sunday school class and didn't go to church that much, where he had to sit and listen to somebody preach to him. He went to a class where ideas were discussed and there was a lot of activity and challenging of ideas and this sort of thing back and forth.²²³

Once each month members of the Sunday school class had dinner together, Roney recalled, and this provided additional opportunity for social interaction and discussion. (Roney later discontinued his attendance of the church but maintained communication with some of the other members as well as Graff.)²²⁴

Smith, later a Graff student, said her acquaintance with the Graffs began when they joined the Church Street United Methodist Church. She was already a member of the same Sunday school class--the "famed Sunday school class," as she put it. She described Graff's involvement with the class at length, noting that he "was so active in it and taught so many years."²²⁵

Smith agreed with the "Unitarian" description of the class that Roney recalled. "That's a good term for it," she said. She said Graff's new participation was surprising to some:

In fact, I have another friend who was on the faculty at UT, one of the deans, who said, "Dr. Graff in church?" He couldn't believe we were enjoying Dr. Graff. But

²²²Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

²²³Robert K. Roney, telephone interview with author, May 27, 1992.

²²⁴Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

²²⁵Smith.

he was a very strong member. It's just that he wasn't a traditional Methodist or traditional Christian. He simply had Christian values without having to buy the Christian mythology, as he would call it. He had such nice tactful words, and he didn't step on anybody's toes (laugh).²²⁶

The Sunday school class was large, with 60 or more members at times, Smith estimated. Its members were of diverse occupations and life-styles, but its overall educational level was high: "I suppose over 50 percent were college people," Smith said.

The teacher of the class at the time Graff joined and continuing on for a time was Ira Chiles, a friend of Graff, higher education professor at The University of Tennessee, and also a personal friend of the Smiths. Smith described the class:

The Fellowship Class at that time grew into quite a large segment of our church population. We had a lot of faculty, many academic people, and we were the class who were looked at a little askance because we would discuss questions that were not religious, like a political stand on abortion, or a political stand on candidates for president. In fact, there was a big split in our class once over Goldwater, and then the Vietnam War was one of those things that people didn't agree on. . . .

Ira Chiles started it, and he withdrew after a while. He got older, and Orin was one of the fill-in teachers. He would take it for a series of six or eight sessions. Then we would have another member of the class take over the class for three or four weeks or a month or so and teach a book or teach a session. When Orin had it, he would open it up for just anything. You wouldn't even know the subject of the discussion, truly. It was like a seminar. You'd walk in and he'd start in. He had a funny little habit as he'd talk . . . He'd drum this way, and you could tell he was thinking, because those fingers would go like that. We liked that. I found him remarkable. . . .

He was the peacemaker. He could have everybody agreeing at the end of the hour. Because it was a discussion class, people would open up. . . . But he made everybody know that he accepted you.²²⁷

Although a faithful teacher, Chiles was more conservative and fundamental in his religious beliefs than the group as a whole, according to Smith:

Dr. Chiles was so reliable. He was there every Sunday, every Sunday rain or shine. . . . When I went in the class, he had already retired. He lived a bachelor's life on his retirement. . . . But every Sunday he was there to teach the class. He was conservative. But because people were drawn to each other and liked the discussion-type class, he did lead a discussion class. Ira was one of Orin's friends, so Orin and Erma came. Orin did not at all buy the religious philosophy of Ira

²²⁶Smith.

²²⁷Smith.

Chiles, but they did buy him as a personal friend; and Ira loved the Graffs, but he was certainly not a supporter of Orin's free thinking. But Orin was not confrontational with Dr. Chiles.²²⁸

An area of peace-making in which Graff was instrumental was maintaining accord between the class and Chiles, who occasionally suffered barbs from class members. Smith illustrated the "literalist" nature of Chiles' beliefs by recounting his desire for and belief in a heavenly reunion with his late mother, whose memory he revered:

He would keep saying, "I know one day I'm going to meet my dear mother when I get to heaven. My mother will be waiting for me. . . ." And somebody would say, "Well, what do you think heaven's going to be? Do you think there's a gate up there, and she's going to be swinging on the gate? Where is your mother going to be?" That sort of thing. There was one time when he became very hurt because somebody confronted him like that, and Dr. Graff would smooth those things out, when people would ask specific things like that. He'd say, "That's within the individual. It doesn't matter what a person anticipates; that's his philosophy. . . . As far as Dr. Graff was concerned, there is no battle there. If you want to be a literalist, OK. If you want to be a reconstructionist, OK. . . . It's the way you treat your fellow man and the way you live your life, and it's your values. He said, really, you're just hitting at windmills; you're not doing anything to answer those questions, because those are questions you don't find an answer for. . . . But Orin and Ira remained very dear, close friends, and certainly were at opposite poles in their religious concepts. Their values were the same, but their religious views of who God was and where we got our religious, ethical laws were poles apart."²²⁹

Graff's friendship with Chiles was beneficial to the retired professor well beyond the diplomacy and considerateness shown in the Sunday school class, Smith indicated, as Chiles became more flexible and enjoyed life much more in his latter years. "I think truly that Orin was a great supporter of Ira Chiles and helped Ira Chiles over some of his very strict religious ideas into becoming a more liberal man."²³⁰

Combined with Graff's diplomacy as a Sunday school teacher were two other qualities from his professorial teaching: his belief in the philosophy of pragmatism and his Socratic style of conducting a class. Just as he respected divergent points of view as to doctrine, as in Chiles'

²²⁸Smith.

²²⁹Smith.

²³⁰Smith.

references to a reunion with his mother, he also continually de-emphasized their importance in the present-day world, Smith said. Values are more important than literal prescriptions or interpretations, he taught, and the merits of religious thought and practice are vested in their effects on the human condition. Smith said:

It's just that the sacredness of the world's being created in six days and then God rested, or the virgin birth, were trivial discussions. If you want to believe it, OK. That was Dr. Graff's view. But just those weren't matters to discuss. . . . So what difference does it make if you believe it or don't believe it?²³¹

As he did at the university, Graff would walk through series of questions with class members who were confrontive or were seeking pin-point answers. Smith cited examples:

Somebody would say, "Well, God wouldn't like that. Do you think God would want you. . . ?" So he'd say, "Now, your God or my God? Are we talking about the same God?" "Well, when you say God, I say, 'My God.'" "Well, you tell me who you think God is." The other person would just back off. . . . He was just so smooth that I was always impressed with his method. I learned a lot of the methodology of technique for handling discussions in class from him.²³²

Another example, which illustrated Graff's diplomacy, was reminiscent of Bode's crisis with his father on the question of evolution:

We had a wonderful discussion about Ardrey's The Genesis of Mankind--Dr. Robert Ardrey's book, I believe. He was showing how evolution had taken place back through millions of years of evolution of the animal kingdom up to humankind. Some people in the class were taking great offense to the study of this unit . . . which absolutely denied the creation of the world by Jehovah in six days. I remember that the person who was teaching the class, Oran Culberson, a scientist in nuclear energy, a brilliant man. Some of the people in the class took great offense with what they were doing to God. Orin helped us through that. It was very troubling to some of the people in our group, because we had such a wide range of lifestyles, careers. . . .²³³

Roney also described the diverse and intellectual mixture of the class membership, which he specifically recalled including scientists from Oak Ridge, two engineering professors and an English professor from The University of Tennessee, other educators, and other members of the business and

²³¹Smith.

²³²Smith.

²³³Smith.

public sectors. "You were challenged at least as much intellectually in that Sunday school class as you were in school work." For example, English professor Allison R. Ensor provided a stimulating experience: "I never will forget, he led a series of Sunday school lessons based on Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. It was more of an intellectual series. . . ." The class had several "mavericks," Roney said, including one ultra-conservative, since-deceased, business man, an "extreme law-and-order, 'if they don't work, don't let 'em eat,' type of person," who "almost served as the foil," for other members.²³⁴

As Roney earlier noted, the other important setting for the Fellowship Class was the monthly meal together, a "monthly potluck dinner," Smith said, at class members' homes. Graff's de-emphasis of dogmatic or doctrinal restraints and his belief in acting out what ought to be or ought not to be important carried over to these meals on the occasions when he and Erma Graff were hosts. In a bold move, considering that the setting was a gathering of a religious group from a traditional denomination in Knoxville in the early 1960s, the Graffs served wine during the gathering. The availability of wine was not put forward by the Graffs as a breakthrough or an act of unconventionality, however; it was merely there for those who cared to enjoy it, as part of an occasion of social fellowship and in keeping with Graff's belief in helping make possible what "ought to be" without fanfare. Smith described the occasions at the Graffs:

Going to the Graffs was always quite an adventure. . . . He . . . would just be so cordial as a host. There was never any sign of weariness or friction with anybody. I suppose the crowd was the largest at his house of any of the parties that we would have, because nobody wanted to miss the wonderful time at the Graffs. In fact, I believe Orin was the first one who served wine at our Sunday school dinner. Being good Methodists, that was just sort of a thing a bunch of us would do after we would have the Sunday school dinner, go somewhere and maybe we'd all sit around and have a drink after dinner. But anyhow, Orin would put wine glasses and bottles of wine out at his house; and it is still, today, the custom with us when we have our Sunday school dinners, we have wine beforehand or during, whenever you want it. He was one of the ones who opened that up. . . . That was very bold. It was right after we became a wet county. . . . Right after that, people began having wine at home, so the Sunday school class began serving it at our dinners, much to the

²³⁴Roney, May 27, 1992.

dismay of some of the other church members who heard that this wicked discussion class who didn't even study the Bible were drinking wine.²³⁵

The monthly potluck dinners were also occasions during which Graff displayed his fondness for old church hymns, just as he enjoyed country and western music and poetry in other social gatherings. "He loved the old songs like we used to sing in the churches, the Methodist churches," Erma Graff said, laughing.

He loved to sing, but he really couldn't sing. But he loved to sing with people, round the piano, and all. . . . There were about four or five people in there who could play the piano. And after we'd have our monthly Sunday school feast . . . they'd all gather around the piano. First one'd play, then another, and another, and everybody'd get up there and sing these songs.²³⁶

Friends would often persuade Graff to also recite from folksy, old-time poets whom he enjoyed. Smith remembered in particular his fondness for "Surrey with the Fringe on Top" and other works of "the Hoosier poet," James Whitecomb Riley, along with the poetry of Edgar Guest, and "old ballads."

He knew a number of those, by heart, and he could recite them. . . . You'd get him talking, and you'd persuade him to recite a poem . . . and he'd have whole stanzas of them. We had other people in the Sunday School class--two of them I know, particularly--who would recite stanza after stanza of the Jesus hymns, the old-time religious hymns. He could quote a few of those, but . . . those old folk things--he could recite those.²³⁷

Graff's peace with his personal value system and philosophical underpinnings transmitted itself to others, Smith said. She remembered a picture that, to her, portrayed this,

. . . the loveliest picture that my husband took of Orin and Erma one day at church. Erma was all dressed up, and there's Orin and he's so smiling, and they looked so happy. . . . He was a happy man and very secure in himself. . . . That was one of the strengths that Orin had to give, that he was so secure and unthreatened. Then, since his ideas were solid and would hold up, he seemed to supply strength to other people.²³⁸

²³⁵Smith.

²³⁶Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

²³⁷Smith.

²³⁸Smith.

CHAPTER 7

MAJOR PROGRAM ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CARDINAL YEARS

He always gave you that quizzical look, and you knew he was thinking. He always impressed me as only living in the present as a basis for a line to establish the future. I can recall he was always talking about what "ourght to be." He had that Ohio brogue--what "ourght to be," not "ought to be." What "ourght to be." A person "ourght to. . . ." And he believed that, given the opportunity, a person could become, and he always seemed to me to be interested in removing what he perceived as being social or legal barriers to a person becoming. This is the impression I got of him: He saw you as becoming--not restricted, or not already there; he gave you that feeling because of the way he treated you and because of his expectations of you. They were always very high.

--Harry S. Blanton¹

The SSCPEA, Continued

The Competency Pattern was gaining recognition as the major SSCPEA contribution to the "theory movement" at approximately the same time in the mid-1950s that the movement turned in the direction of logical positivism. These two developments within the movement converged in a way that cast Graff, who became known as the lead articulator of the Competency Pattern, in the role of chief philosophic spokesman for the then-established late progressive mainstream of educational administration.

Graff's leadership in articulating and further developing the Competency Pattern produced several effects. In terms of national debate within educational administration, the pattern embodied several pragmatic tenets that he held: It featured loose, intellectually derived, non-mathematical definitions that linked theory to practice; it incorporated advocacy in the sense of promoting and attempting to measure administrative behaviors that "ought" to occur, as opposed to simply studying in a value-free approach the actual practice, or "is," of such behaviors; and the pattern's status as the South's cornerstone contribution to the theory movement was a major factor, along with other leadership activities, in the emergence of Graff, Truman Pierce, A.D. Albright, and perhaps two

¹Harry S. Blanton, interview with author, July 21, 1990.

other professors as regional leaders in the profession. As the South was apparently the sole region where logical positivism made few inroads, their leadership status was perhaps enhanced within and at the same time to a degree restricted to a regional basis. For Graff individually, along with co-author Street, the pattern provided the grist for his first and probably most widely recognized full-length book, Improving Competence in Educational Administration.² For Tennessee, the pattern became the subject of further development in the form of an instrument called the Tennessee Rating Guide, which came into widespread use within the state and provided graduate students at The University of Tennessee--including at least 12 who completed doctoral dissertations and several others who completed master's degree theses--with the topics and substance of advanced study.³

As described in Chapter 5, development of the Competency Pattern began early in the SSCPEA's history, and four years of study gave the pattern its general shape before the SSCPEA decentralized and became the Associated Programs in Educational Administration (APEA) in 1955. The result was a pattern that conceived administrator behavior as interaction among three major elements: job, theory, and know-how. Each of the three elements was broken into smaller criteria (i.e., "critical task" areas for job) for application of the pattern.⁴ The pattern was first articulated in a book edited by Pierce and E.C. Merrill, Jr., and published by the SSCPEA in 1955.⁵ Merrill recalled development of the book:

I served merely as the editor. Pierce was the author, and I edited it and put it together to try to develop a competency pattern. And the big problem with that, of course, was to try to be practical enough to pin down the job the superintendent did and then to try to have some way to relate values to those tasks. And that was an

²Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street, Improving Competence in Educational Administration (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1956).

³Pierce and Albright, 226-229.

⁴Pierce and Albright, 64-67.

⁵Truman M. Pierce and E.C. Merrill, Jr., eds., Better Teaching in School Administration (Nashville: Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, 1955).

effort that we had a lot of difficulty trying to do. Dr. Graff was very helpful in that, all the way through.⁶

Merrill later said that Graff and Street's 1956 book "grew out of much of that work. I went on into other things, and they picked up that competency background and did much more with it. Actually, what we did was to get it together pretty primitively when we published that one thing, and they wrote their book."⁷

In their 1960 comprehensive record of SSCPEA and APEA, Pierce and Albright described Graff and Street's book:

The Competency concept has been rather fully elaborated in a publication by two of the leaders in the SSCPEA. In the minds of the SSCPEA participants who developed the Competency Pattern, the concept or idea obviously had broad implications. It did not have to be applied as a fixed design. It was basically a concept that was subject to many interpretations and applications. But it offered for the first time a comprehensive criterion by which educational administration could be improved and evaluated.⁸

Pierce wrote the introduction to Graff and Street's book, and he described it in landmark terms:

The character of this book is distinctive. It represents something new and different in the field of educational administration. . . . It should be considered a high-water mark in the struggle of educational administration to achieve the status of a discipline. . . .

The authors were among those who contributed much to the work of the SSCPEA group. Their functions were those of creating, designing, and interpreting. In this book they have continued the exercise of these functions to the point that the idea of the Competency Pattern is both broadened and expanded far beyond the original concept.⁹

Although Graff and Street covered the presentation of a conceptual subject in practical, applied terms, they did not follow a prescriptive, "how-to" approach. Using a more comprehensive strategy, they roughly followed their own themes of job, theory, and know-how in dividing the work

⁶Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

⁷Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

⁸Pierce and Albright, 73.

⁹Graff and Street, Improving Competence . . ., xi-xii.

into four parts. These dealt with "Developing the Pattern of Competent Behavior," which traced and defined competency as an historical as well as modern theme of human study and behavior; "Foundations of the Competency Pattern," which examined the concept of competency in relation to schools of philosophy, psychology, and the scientific method; "An Application of the Competency Pattern," which described the structure, tasks, and know-how of the pattern and the setting, planning, and relationships aspects of its use; and "Utilization of the Competency Pattern Concept," which discussed more specifically various possible uses of the pattern.

Even though the Competency Pattern provided a structure, it was pronouncedly flexible and amenable to adaptation for various professional and personal uses, as Pierce, along with Graff and Street, pointed out. The Deweyan flexibility and loose definitions extended into the use of formulae in relation to the pattern, as in the authors' discussion of "Richard's Formula for Job Success," originally developed in vocational education. Graff and Street described it as "pseudo-mathematical" and

. . . designed to seek out and place in perspective the qualitative factors which constitute the personal equipment needed for job competence and occupational success. As was pointed out in the discussion of competence as an interacting constellation of factors, the behavioral influence of each factor is constantly fluctuating and operating with varying degrees of intensity. Under such conditions it is impossible to devise a quantitative formula as is required in mathematics. Nevertheless, the formulas are useful as a pattern or outline to discover the elements necessary for job success, and it was for this purpose that they were devised.¹⁰

Although Graff and Street related competency to three schools of philosophy--idealism, realism, and pragmatism--in the "Foundations" part of the book, they left little doubt that the third of these represented their view of the universe and the appropriate philosophic backdrop for the Competency Pattern. They depicted idealism and realism as rigid, "closed-end" concepts of knowledge and contrasted these features in detail with the flexible, "open-end" nature of pragmatism. "Idealism and realism regarded competence as strict observance of rigid laws and truths," whereas, in relation to pragmatism, competence becomes situational, referring to "a quality of behavior, and

¹⁰Graff and Street, Improving Competence . . ., 34-35.

not to any perfect behavior." They illustrated this point: "A competent explosives expert never drops a bottle of nitroglycerine. A competent druggist may occasionally drop a bottle of chemicals."

Thus, competence is not a real and perfect idea from the other world of perfect ideas (idealism); nor is it an eternal and real law discovered through objective study (realism); it is nothing more than an abstraction derived from that sum of human experience which represents man's efforts at successful problem solving.¹¹

In their final chapter's summary, Graff and Street reiterated this pragmatic approach:

The Competency Pattern is, by and large, a tool designed to make theoretical notions and practical experience complement each other and to facilitate the solving of everyday human problems. . . . The Competency Pattern reduces all these notions to definite behavioral terms. At the same time, it escapes the stigma of being purely prescriptive advice, because it allows each person the privilege of setting up his own beliefs and his own methods and skills consonant with those beliefs.¹²

A series of major occasions for developing the Competency Pattern and for gaining and reinforcing its acceptance consisted of annual SSCPEA conferences in the resort town of Gatlinburg, Tennessee. Referred to by the Kellogg Foundation as "a highlight of each year in the South," the conferences were broad in purpose, acting as a setting in which regional leaders "laid plans for improving educational administration in the South." The Kellogg Foundation's report stated, "These programs have created a regional unity among all concerned with school administration that never before had been approximated. The achievement of regional unity alone may have been an accomplishment sufficient to justify the undertaking."¹³

William H. Coffield, who later served as dean of the College of Education at The University of Tennessee, remembered that he first met Graff at one of the Gatlinburg meetings when he was serving on Truman Pierce's faculty at Auburn in the mid-1950s.

I came up with Truman and several other people from Auburn to Gatlinburg. It was during the Christmas Holidays. . . . That's the first time I ever met him. I

¹¹Graff and Street, Improving Competence . . ., 117-120.

¹²Graff and Street, Improving Competence . . ., 289-290.

¹³W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Toward Improved School Administration: A Decade of Professional Effort To Heighten Administrative Understanding and Skills (Battle Creek, Mich., 1961), 60-61.

was very, very impressed with him. . . . I recall as we drove back to Auburn discussing him with some of my colleagues from Auburn. Pete [E.C.] Merrill was one of them. We discussed Orin Graff most of the way back--his manner of operation.¹⁴

Coffield said Pierce, with whom his first association was as an undergraduate, was "a very brilliant man" and "one of his best friends and one of the men most highly respected by Orin."¹⁵

In general, educational administration professors of the period, except those who were embracing more positivist tenets, received the Competency Pattern concept favorably. As did several other writers of the period, Richard Wynn of Teachers College, Columbia University, cited the SSCPEA as having best defined competencies needed in the field: "Perhaps the most careful statement of competencies required of the professor of educational administration is made in a report from the Southern States CPEA center."¹⁶

Two New York professors, Walter A. Anderson of New York University and Richard C. Lonsdale of Syracuse University, linked the Competency Pattern to the development of values and democratic processes in graduate programs, an area in which Graff exerted strong leadership. Under the subheading, "Educational Values and Objectives Are Receiving Greater Emphasis," they wrote, "Although this trend is not yet as prominent as some of the others, there is evidence that more institutions are recognizing the importance of helping prospective and practicing administrators develop more articulately their educational values and objectives." They cited the Competency

¹⁴William H. Coffield, interview with author, May 24, 1990.

¹⁵Coffield, a native Alabamian, completed undergraduate studies at Troy State College during a period when Pierce served there as dean. After he later earned a Ph.D. at The University of Iowa, Coffield was serving on the faculty of the School of Education at Auburn when Pierce left the SSCPEA to become dean there. Subsequently Coffield served as the first associate executive director of the University Council on Educational Administration at The Ohio State University, where he worked with doctoral student James McComas, another future dean of The University of Tennessee College of Education. Coffield then served as the first dean of the College of Education at Kansas State University and vice president for academic affairs at Youngstown State University. He joined The University of Tennessee in 1970, serving first as head of the Continuing and Higher Education Department, as dean of the College of Education from 1976 to 1982, and then as professor of higher education until his retirement in 1988.

¹⁶Richard Wynn, "Organization and Administration of the Professional Program," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 493.

Pattern books edited by Pierce and Merrill and authored by Graff and Street as outlining a theory on educational administration which dealt with values:

In part, this report [from SSCPEA] analyzed certain "core values which constitute the idea of democracy" into assumptions about the individual, about social organization, and about the individual's responsibility in society.¹⁷

They cited the same two works in later stating:

The admission that too many programs in educational administration have concentrated on job-related knowledge rather than job-related behavior in part led the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration to design "the competency pattern in educational administration" as a basis for improving current preparation programs in the South.¹⁸

The two authors also described the summer school work of Graff, Ohmer Milton, and Ralph Kimbrough as they wrote of the importance of education in human relations and group process skills in preparation programs. They quoted a memorandum from Graff:

From the University of Tennessee, Graff Reported:

During the summer session of 1955 we experimented for the first time in making our beginning students in educational administration on the master's level aware of some of their fundamental characteristics and then helped them: (1) relate these to the general field of educational administration; and (2) study processes of personality development which would reveal how they developed such characteristics. This beginning experiment will be continued next year. We are trying to help students understand and relate themselves better to educational administration and hence take more responsibility for their own development. . . . Responsibility for the program was taken by a professor of psychology and a professor of educational administration and supervision.¹⁹

The work of the SSCPEA and of Graff and Street also received responses of skepticism and occasional criticism, particularly from those who tended toward positivism or more rigorous theoretical definitions. Daniel E. Griffiths, who became Graff's archival regarding the place of human values in administrative theory, took issue with the alignment of the Competency Pattern's

¹⁷Walter A. Anderson and Richard C. Lonsdale, "Learning Administrative Behavior," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 436-437.

¹⁸Anderson and Lonsdale, 438.

¹⁹Anderson and Lonsdale, 441.

three elements--job, theory, and know-how--and their coverage of 52 critical tasks in eight critical task areas with John C. Flanagan's work. After examining an excerpt from the pattern, he wrote:

As can be seen from the above (which was a random selection) there is a question as to how critical are the Critical Tasks. While reference was made to Flanagan's Critical Incidents Technique, there was nothing to indicate that his methodology was adhered to. There is also some question as to how theoretical is the theory. In what sense is, "Provide a clearinghouse for pupil activity programs," theoretical?²⁰

Andrew W. Halpin, still Graff's personal friend but by this time a professional antagonist, referred to Graff in differentiating between theory as used in science and in philosophy: "'Theory' in this context refers to theory as defined in science, a hypothetico-deductive type of theory to be distinguished from value-theory as the latter is conceived in philosophy." Here Halpin entered the following endnote: "For example, the term 'theory' is used in the philosophical sense by Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street. . . ." ²¹

A discussion of ways of measuring organizational climate also led Halpin later to offer a criticism of Graff's work by way of a chapter endnote. Halpin referred to an "unsophisticated way of tackling the domain of organizational climate" by generating "elaborate lists of adjectives which presumably can be used to describe a host of possible aspects of organizational climates." He wrote further:

Precisely why does this tactic lead to a dead end? Because the aspects of organizational climate chosen for study, and the adjectives chosen to define these aspects, are determined not empirically and not by means of a strict theoretical formulation of the nature of organizations, but are determined solely by armchair speculation. . . . He [the researcher] has no way of knowing whether the aspects are mutually exclusive, whether--in a semantic sense--they fall at a comparable level of ordinality, or whether it is possible to identify sets of observable behaviors which correspond to the respective aspects that have been chosen.²²

Here Halpin inserted an endnote:

²⁰Daniel E. Griffiths, "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 372-373.

²¹Andrew W. Halpin, "A Paradigm for Research on Administrator Behavior," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 200.

²²Andrew W. Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: MacMillan, 1966), 142.

It is instructive, for example, to compare the type of categories used by Graff and Street, in examining the performance of educational administrators (Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street, Improving Competence in Educational Administration . . .), with the type of categories used by Hemphill and his colleagues, in dealing with the same domain. (John K. Hemphill et al., Administrative Performance and Personality, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962.) The Graff and Street effort is methodologically primitive. Contrariwise, Hemphill et al. derive their categories of principals' performance empirically.²³

Notwithstanding these critical observations from pro-logical positivists, the influence of the Competency Pattern was considerable and lasting. From a national perspective, Graff and Street's Improving Competence in Educational Administration probably made a greater contribution toward sharpening the debate on human values in administrative theory--by examining competence as a value-laden concept interwoven into societal history and into theory, philosophy, and psychology--than toward influencing adoption of actual application and utilization of the pattern. Together with Graff and Street's contribution to Administrative Behavior in Education, the book linked pragmatic and progressive education views to theory development, a linkage that Griffiths and other logical positivists found incongruent and counter-revolutionary to the theory movement. Continued expression of the two points of view after publication of Better Teaching in School Administration (1955), Improving Competence in Educational Administration (1956), and Administrative Behavior in Education (1957) set the stage for a "Great Debate" between teams led by Graff and Griffiths in 1960, described in Chapter 8.

In Tennessee and to some extent other parts of the South, the Competency Pattern was put to use in specific applications. Graff and his department developed, tested, and used the most noted of these, an instrument called The Tennessee Rating Guide. The Kellogg Foundation noted the broader development and summarized this major Tennessee project in its 1961 report on the total network of CPEAs:

Several projects based on the Competency Pattern were completed in Southern Universities after the expansion of the program in 1956. For example, the

²³Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration, 239.

University of Tennessee had become interested in the determination of behavioral characteristics of effective and ineffective school administrators. Behavioral patterns which might differentiate effective and ineffective performance for school administrators were identified. Behaviors which seemed basic to the personality structure of the individual were defined. These behavior definitions were structured in terms of the job of the administrators, and the statements which emerged were incorporated in an instrument which became known as the Tennessee Rating Guide. Under the grant from the Foundation, the University of Tennessee conducted a series of studies to test the validity and reliability of the instrument. As a result of these studies, the reliability of the instrument was established and revisions were made which reduced the cumbersomeness of the instrument and improved its validity.²⁴

In his post-SSCPEA summary, Graff wrote that the Tennessee project was part of an effort toward improvement of preparation programs for educational administrators. He summarized the effort:

Here the staff of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, assisted by other professors from the behavioral sciences, became involved in an experimental project aimed at redefining and restructuring their preparation program. Their first task was to design an instrument for the selection of potential school administrators. The instrument was later named The Tennessee Rating Guide (Characteristics of School Administrators). The TRG is basically an adaptation of the Competency Pattern to provide a rating device expressed in terms of effective-ineffective administrative behavior. It is interesting to note that the TRG was not static, although constantly used as a criterion throughout the period of the SSCPEA; it experienced several revisions, the last (1961) two years after the Center closed its doors.²⁵

Graff's involvement of colleagues and doctoral and master's degree students in various aspects of work on the Tennessee Rating Guide was extensive. Within the department, the colleague who worked most closely on the project was former student Kimbrough, who had joined Graff's faculty after completing his own doctoral research through the SSCPEA and then working in West Virginia. He recalled:

I was involved with Dr. Graff and some other people on the development of The Tennessee Rating Guide. I did a lot of the leg work in the first studies we did with it. That was a good guide. . . . Nothing wrong with it at all, a very good

²⁴W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 47.

²⁵Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 5-6.

observational instrument. It was an instrument [with which] we could observe and report behavior of school principals.²⁶

Kimbrough recalled that Milton (apparently the primary figure in Graff's reference to "other professors from the behavioral sciences") worked "heavily with us" in developing and using a battery of tests in the project. To Kimbrough, the rating guide was an example of Graff's attention to administrative practice:

He wasn't just a philosopher. He had a lot of common sense about administration. He thought a lot about practical matters of administration. . . . The idea he had about the behavior of school principals and the Tennessee Rating Guide, those were valuable contributions and were basically his ideas.²⁷

Like Graff, Kimbrough recounted the continued refinement and revision of the guide, noting his understanding that this proceeded after he left to join the University of Florida faculty.²⁸ In this process, the rating instrument itself was the subject of continued study by Graff's students.

Michael Nunnery provided one of the most complete accounts of the background and purpose of the project in his 1958 doctoral dissertation. He traced the project to the beginning of The University of Tennessee affiliation with the SSCPEA and the broader aims implicit in the Competency Pattern to validate both effective and ineffective characteristics of administrators, to effect program changes toward developing the effective characteristics, and to "round out and fill in the pattern of studies" of the SSCPEA in meeting its goal of improving educational administration.²⁹ Nunnery also identified as basic background material reports from two organizational meetings that Graff referred to earlier, the 1948 second work-conference of the NCPEA and the May, 1951, work-conference of the SSCPEA, both of which produced lists of desirable characteristics for administrative leadership. Based on these early reports, Graff's department "selected, refined,

²⁶Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

²⁷Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

²⁸Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

²⁹Michael Y. Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests in Determining Effectiveness and Ineffectiveness Among Practicing School Administrators," (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1958), 1-2.

restated, and classified certain pertinent characteristics, developing a rating device which was designated as 'the rating guide.'³⁰

The rating guide illustrated the breadth of Graff's view of a marriage between theory and philosophy. It was another of his numerous expressions of seeing supposed differences between the two fade away with application of the method of intelligence. In the realm of philosophy, the guide was based on an assumption that "a school administrator would be more effective and render a greater service if he followed a pattern of democratic leadership rather than utilizing other methods," Nunnery wrote, and thus its items were structured to allow qualitative judgments and provide amenability to rational, metaphysical analysis. At the same time, the guide reflected attention to and respect for the scientific method, in accordance with a second basic assumption stated by Nunnery, that "behavioral characteristics for effective and/or ineffective school administrators could be identified and stated."³¹ This latter characteristic was evidenced in a Likert-type, scalable structure of response items which, though varied and intricate in expression, provided a highly quantitative, statistically testable aspect to the rating guide's response data.

In examining this aspect, Nunnery first described how the instrument, once developed, "was then submitted to members of the University of Tennessee Department of Psychology for suggestions on how it might be improved. Then the 'revised' Rating Guide was submitted to various educators in the area for further suggestions and revised a second time."³² Second, he recounted how the guide was subjected to repeated tests of validity and reliability in studies that were a part of several graduate degrees at The University of Tennessee. Among these, he cited tests of reliability by doctoral student Charles R. Moffett and master's degree student Phyllis Coker, in 1954 and 1956,

³⁰Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 39-40.

³¹Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 39.

³²Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 40.

respectively.³³ Revisions in the guide had been made between the two studies to correct weaknesses found by Moffett.³⁴ As to validity, Nunnery cited 1956 and 1957 studies by doctoral students Clarence E. Greever and Harold W. Gentry, respectively.³⁵ William Evernden, who graduated with Nunnery in 1958, also completed a reliability study of the guide as his doctoral dissertation. He recalled that Coker had been a local school system supervisor at the time of her M.S. study.³⁶ Other graduates studies dealt with other aspects of the rating guide and the Competency Pattern.³⁷

Helen Feldman agreed that the guide "covers Dr. Graff's philosophy pretty well." She noted the cooperative spirit involved in its continuing development:

Remember, this was a group project, so several people were observing or communicating with people who were identified by school superintendents or community leaders as being educational leaders in the community. Then these selected people were asked to allow themselves to be observed, and their outstanding characteristics were listed. Then the characteristics were sorted, and this was developed into a guide for observing. The idea was to observe prospective students to make some sort of an estimate about whether they would find success in the educational administrative program. That was one of the uses.³⁸

In general, the graduate studies indicated an intensive, continuing examination of the rating guide and, as appropriate revisions were incorporated, a strong instrument that evolved toward higher

³³Nunnery cited Charles R. Moffett, "Operational Characteristics of Beginning Master's Degree Students in Educational Administration and Supervision" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1954), and Phyllis Coker, "A Study of the Use of the Tennessee Rating Guide as a Means of Differentiating Between Effective and Ineffective School Administrators" (M.S. thesis, The University of Tennessee, 1956). Pierce and Albright, 226, also cited the two works. Moffett, a Graff advisee, later served a major portion of his career as a director with the Tennessee State Department of Education.

³⁴Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . .," 42.

³⁵Nunnery cited Clarence E. Greever, "A Study of the Characteristics of Selected Effective Superintendencies in East Tennessee" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1956), and Harold W. Gentry, "Patterns of Behavioral Characteristics Exhibited by School Administrators" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1957). The two studies were also cited by Pierce and Albright, 227.

³⁶Evernden. Evernden's study, "The Reliability of the Tennessee Rating Guide for School Administrators" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1958), was cited by Pierce and Albright, 227.

³⁷For example, in 1955 James N. Luton completed a doctoral study related to the later study by Nunnery, "A Study of the Use of Standardized Tests in the Selection of Potential Educational Administrators" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1955). Nunnery, 2, and Pierce and Albright, 218, cited the study.

³⁸Feldman.

levels of effectiveness over time. For example, Nunnery stated that Coker's hypothesis was proved, to the effect that "the Rating Guide would differentiate between effective and ineffective school principals," and that similar findings as to validity were indicated by the Greever and Gentry studies.³⁹ Added to this weight of evidence, The University of Florida made use of the rating guide in an experimental program for training school principals.⁴⁰ Nunnery, who as previously noted, later himself joined the faculty at the University of Florida, said after several decades,

We're on a big administrative competency kick in Florida right now. We've got these so-called 19 administrative competencies. . . . I look at them and I think, with a difference in language, that's the kind of stuff we had in the Tennessee Rating Guide 40 years ago.⁴¹

Notwithstanding its thorough study, revisions based on these examinations, and its broad use, the Tennessee Rating Guide continued to reflect Graff's philosophy and personality. As previously indicated, the guide consisted of items for which responses were marked on a Likert-type scale. Nunnery stated, "The scores were based on a one-to-five scale with the higher scores indicating the more desirable characteristics."⁴² However, the items themselves were couched in language that required personal judgments based on observation, rather than counting and recording specific observed behaviors. In this respect, the items were far removed from the more antiseptic wording of response scales and detailed-behavior orientations of other standardized observation instruments. For example, the instrument as revised in February, 1957, consisted of 25 questions divided into six sections. Observers were called upon to make value judgments, as in answering the first question under "Ethical and Moral Strength," "Does he have the courage of his convictions?" Response choices ranged from "1. Tends to weasel out of situations," to "5. Places principle above his own personal advantage." Even the items which appeared more behaviorist required the user to

³⁹Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 54, 57.

⁴⁰Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 50.

⁴¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁴²Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . . ," 54.

apply value analysis to observations, as in the second question under "Adequacy of Communication," "Is he a good listener?" Response choices in the middle of the scale (in original order) included "2. Listens carefully to things in which he is interested," "3. Appears to listen but has difficulty in concentration," and "4. Tends to disrupt oral communication by inattentiveness or by introduction of irrelevant ideas."⁴³

Bennie Carmichael saw in this approach the teaching of a selected pattern of values in graduate instruction that he found later to be missing in works used as educational administration texts. The word pattern was real, he agreed: "Yes, it closed it up. . . . You ought to be able to relate to some central theme, it seems to me, even with the evolution of administration." He compared Graff's use of the pattern favorably to "all the confused aspects that I see in administration [in 1990]."⁴⁴

Feldman recalled the evolution of the rating guide out of the Competency Pattern and her own enthralment that it combined meaningful structure with flexibility:

Competency was the real goal and then characteristics were descriptions of competent people. But people did not have to be alike to be competent, and . . . that was one of the appeals to me, that people could be very different but all be competent. Yes, that was the emphasis.⁴⁵

One of the evident benefits of the rating guide and other aspects of the SSCPEA was the unusual opportunity for graduate students to apply their academic work directly to advancement of their profession, an opportunity for involvement that Kimbrough enunciated in Chapter 5. Feldman and Gem Greninger also commented on this aspect of opportunity and the comraderie that grew from it. Greninger said she was "one of the fortunate ones, being one of the Kellogg people, referring to

⁴³Nunnery, "A Study in the Use of Psychological Tests . . .," 112-120. The study included as an appendix the rating guide as revised February 21, 1957, from which these excerpt were taken.

⁴⁴Carmichael.

⁴⁵Feldman.

herself nostalgically as a "Kellogg cereal."⁴⁶ Feldman appreciated that the SSCPEA made possible a depth of interaction and learning that would not have been feasible otherwise:

What we as a department were doing was a real luxury, to spend the amount of time we spent to go visit people on the job, to observe them, to talk to other people. This, if it hadn't been funded outside the university, was not affordable. It was great, but it wasn't practical to spend as much time with a prospective student as was being spent at that time. . . . The guide was good as an instructional tool, I felt, so that people could see that these are the sorts of characteristics the department would like to have people develop. I thought it was good in that respect.⁴⁷

A.D. Albright also saw the practical value of the rating guide, but he believed its greater value may have been as an identifier and reinforcer for the competency concept:

It represented a kind of symbolizing, a rallying point, so that superintendents and prospective superintendents and other administrators could visualize something of what could be, as directions. That probably represented more of the impact of it than whether or not you developed a particular skill. But then the preparation program in the universities, he [Graff] felt, should be tailored to effect the Competency Pattern. Not the way they could reproduce it on an examination, but could they perform?⁴⁸

In summary, the SSCPEA through its various projects--in particular the Competency Pattern with its accompanying Tennessee Rating Guide and, in Kimbrough's case, the Cheatham County Study--was one of the major programmatic factors in Graff's career at The University of Tennessee and, in the first 10-13 years, of the history of the department he headed. It provided an ideal platform from which Graff could develop and express his ideals, expression which was channeled in two major directions. The first of these came through Graff and his colleagues seizing the SSCPEA-provided opportunities to work "shoulder to shoulder" with students as emerging peers, a process through which many of the students quickly developed into respected colleagues. The second was in Graff's use of SSCPEA as a forum to gain support and a proving ground in which to apply his ideas on competency and human values. The forum that SSCPEA initially provided eventually broadened

⁴⁶Greninger.

⁴⁷Feldman.

⁴⁸Albright.

to earn Graff and The University of Tennessee a respected place in the dialogue of a profession that was coming into its own. As Graff himself concluded:

The SSCPEA came at an opportune time. By 1950, the demand for a fresh outlook and new leadership in many fields of endeavor--business, industry, education, and other public services--was clearly evident. The great work of the Center enabled educational administration in the southern region to engage in a great and intensive period of re-education through self-directed participation in improving our own programs. Students were involved and became not only recipients of change but, in most cases, were co-workers with staff in researching, planning, and directing the changes which were to become parts of their preparation programs. Thus, a new leadership in educational administration was born. One has only to trace the careers of a sample of doctoral students graduating from our major Universities during the SSCPEA period, and beyond, to understand the great influence of this cooperative movement.⁴⁹

Graff and Social Change

Beginning in the latter half of the 1950s and then continuing into the following decade, Graff and his department quietly served as pioneers in several key social change developments at The University of Tennessee and in the South. The first doctoral degree that The University of Tennessee conferred on a black student went to a graduate of Graff's department; the department gained funding for and operated the first equal opportunity center at any public university in the South; the first doctoral degree that the university conferred on an out-of-state black student was earned by a Graff advisee; and the first women doctorates in Educational Administration and Supervision were conferred, the initial two going to Graff advisees. The graduation of the first black doctoral student preceded both the admission of undergraduate black students to The University of Tennessee⁵⁰ and the public turmoil that accompanied admission of black students to other major universities in the deeper South.

In particular, the date by which the first black doctoral student was admitted and graduated reflected the pioneering aspect. The quietness with which this and related developments occurred

⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, "The SSCPEA in Retrospect," 6.

⁵⁰According to Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 268, black undergraduates were first admitted to The University of Tennessee in January, 1961.

were attributed largely to Graff's philosophy translated into management. Pragmatism, in his view, meant working for good of the social order by systematic change if possible, rather than by revolution, as described by Albright in Chapter 5. His efforts toward equal rights were a part of his broader ideal, particularly considering the need for such change in the South. As Nunnery put it,

In other words, you judge an action by its consequences for society. Because of that belief, I think that permeated his thinking about many things. I think that was the basis upon which he was an early advocate of equal opportunity for blacks. He saw the South would never go anywhere as long as we kept blacks second-class citizens. I think that was one of the reasons for his passionate belief that the downtrodden, the have-not sectors of society, should have equal educational opportunity. Orin Graff worked hard to create good schools in a rural mountain area.⁵¹

Harry S. Blanton and Sam H. Ingram

Harry S. Blanton, a native of Knox County, in 1959 became the first black student to earn a doctoral degree at The University of Tennessee.⁵² Graff recruited him, Blanton said, after he gained admittance to the university through a ploy: A black student could attend a state university other than Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial University (later Tennessee State University) only if pursuing studies in a major not offered at Tennessee A&I.⁵³ After completing undergraduate work at Knoxville College, Blanton gained admittance to pursue a master's degree at The University of Tennessee by declaring a major in special education, which A&I did not offer, and then changing:

⁵¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁵²Blanton's major professor was Galen Drewry, but Graff worked closely with him and was instrumental in helping him move through regulatory and social barriers on the way through the doctoral program. For his undergraduate work, Blanton went for two years to Swift College, a black institution in Hawkins County, Tennessee, that later went out of existence, and Knoxville College. Before his graduate work, he taught and coached for four years at the W.J. Hale High School in Maryville, Tennessee, a black school that went out of existence with desegregation. Blanton retired in 1987 as vice president of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical (A&M) University. During his tenure there he served as executive vice president; academic vice president; and vice president for planning, policy analysis, and information technology. He had served previously as a senior officer in higher education consulting and research organizations, as a university director of institutional research, and as a professor.

⁵³Blanton's interpretation was supported by university historians Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 228, who gave an overview of a 1951 ruling by federal district judge Robert L. Taylor that led to this arrangement. They stated, "Partial integration was thus achieved; under the ruling that where curricula were not available in black public institutions, in graduate and professional colleges, blacks had to be accepted in white institutions."

I can recall Dr. Graff's comment at the end of the first quarter . . . when I went in and said, "I noticed there's a provision--I think it's on page 42 of the catalog--that says any student can change his major. I would like to apply for changing my major." And I can recall him looking at me and saying, "Well, I thought you were going to do something like that." So I changed into educational administration then as a major.⁵⁴

His request to change majors was his introduction to Graff, Blanton said, and no mention was made of unusual implications. (Other black students had earlier earned master's degrees in other majors at the university.⁵⁵) "He was very professional. We only did it as a professional sort of move."⁵⁶

One of his best experiences at the university occurred after he switched to Educational Administration and Supervision, Blanton said, in the interdisciplinary summer classes that Graff set up through the SSCPEA. Blanton was newly married and it was a period of particular financial hardship for him, but Graff persuaded him to enroll, saying, "'We have a special program going.' And they did have." He continued:

I enrolled in summer school that summer. . . . It was moved off campus, literally, down into one of the barracks. . . . It was sort of a . . . team seminar approach with Dr. Kimbrough and Dr. Ohmer Milton and a sociology professor, Dr. [William] Cole. . . . We took battery after battery of tests. We worked with personalities, we worked with character development, leadership potential, the whole schematic design. We learned a lot about ourselves and about others. I think it was an interesting cultural experience for most of the persons there, having close contact with me and me having contact with them. . . . I think they learned much more about me. I can recall having exchanges and seeing the expressions on their face that indicated, I'm not accustomed to hearing this from people like you. But they worked in beautifully. We didn't have any difficulties. That's just an aside. As Dr. Graff used to say, "spinoffs," as he rubbed that elbow. Those spinoffs of learning that occur, you know, when you put people together and expose them to these interactions that they can have.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Blanton.

⁵⁵According to Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 229, the first degree earned by a black student was a master's degree in special education conferred on Lilly Jenkins in 1954. The first black student admitted was Gene Mitchell Gray, who enrolled in January, 1952.

⁵⁶Blanton.

⁵⁷Blanton. The team of Kimbrough, Milton, and Cole represented the disciplines of educational administration, psychology, and sociology, respectively. Graff originally participated in the summer teams along with Milton, as described in Chapter 5.

Milton remembered well the summer class and his first individual meeting with Blanton:

There were about 20 white guys, all grown men, and Harry; and I had them all in for visits, personal visits. I don't remember what I was getting at, but I remember when I had Harry in for the first time, and I was so startled by this. He had been very quiet in class. He hadn't said much. The others were disagreeing among themselves, and disagreeing with me. They just had an excellent time. I thoroughly enjoyed it. So, at any rate, Harry came in and I asked him something along the lines of why was he as quiet as he was. He looked me straight in the face and said, "I had to find out whether or not you were a son-of-a-bitch." That was my first head-on experience with that, and Harry and I became good friends. He invited me over to Tennessee A&I when he was over there.⁵⁸

Blanton attested, with a hearty laugh, that Milton's recollection was accurate. "That's right.

That's it." He was feeling out whom to trust and the ground he stood on in a new situation, he explained, and he learned to like and respect Milton:

He was another person who made a significant contribution to that program. He really shook us with his analyses about test performances. . . . And he was a down-to-earth sort of person. I guess I went into the program--I know I did--with a reluctance of accepting the honesty of some people, based on my experiences. . . . And I was in quite a while before that sort of washed out, you know. I said, hey, they are just who they are, and they are who they are because of their experiences. Just like I am who I am because of my experiences. And when we get to sharing these experiences, we'll see how they can blend together.⁵⁹

Even so, he added, there were valid reasons for his caution, and there were some disappointments:

Many, I felt, did not have the courage of their convictions. And I thought that maybe behaviors that they exhibited toward me when they were quiet and secluded, they did not exhibit the same out in the open. . . . But I didn't feel that way, strangely enough, with Dr. Graff and that group. With some, yes. Yes, I had those feelings. And you can understand why, if you go back to those days and the social situation at that time. There had just been very few instances where you had been privileged to trust people. Because at that time, let's face it, I'm in an institution that I had not been allowed to even walk across the campus on, and a court case opened it up. It wasn't out of the good graces of someone's heart.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Milton.

⁵⁹Blanton.

⁶⁰Blanton.

Kimbrough, whom Blanton had earlier surprised on a Saturday morning upon beginning his first class, became his advisor through the master's degree program. After undergoing financial hardship through that program, and finding that assistantships and other financial aid were only available to doctoral students, Blanton was eager to complete the degree and go to work. He was offered the principalship of a consolidated high school in Virginia.

So I finished my master's degree, and I'm taking this job as a principal when Dr. Graff comes to me. The forward-thinking guy that he is, he's been working all along on something. He said, "We want you to enter the doctoral program." I said, "No, I'm going to be a principal at a consolidated school." He said, "No, this is a golden opportunity for you. We want you to come in, and we have this program." He had been working with the Kellogg Foundation and the Southern Education Foundation putting together this new study on leadership. . . . And he said, "We have a possibility of having a teammate to work with you. One funded by the Kellogg Foundation, and you'll be funded by the Southern Education Foundation."⁶¹

Blanton's teammate turned out to be Sam H. Ingram, whom Graff recruited from his position as a high school principal into the program. Ingram recalled that he met Graff in the mid-1950s as Graff attended county or regional inservice education in his area of West Tennessee.

I was a teacher and principal in McNairy County. In 1957, Dr. Graff and Mr. W.E. Turner--Mr. Turner at that time was coordinator of the Division of Curriculum and Instruction with the Tennessee State Department of Education . . . were instrumental in getting a Kellogg scholarship for me to leave Adamsville High School . . . to go back to UT Knoxville in the Department of Administration and Supervision. . . . They were both many years ahead of their time in understanding the relationship between quality education and improving the quality of life in the state. . . . So Mr. Turner, working with the university and Dr. Graff, made it a point to try to identify a number of black and white people in education that they thought had some potential and encourage them to go back to school; and many of them did. Archie Dykes was another good example.⁶²

⁶¹Blanton.

⁶²Sam H. Ingram, interview with author, December 21, 1990. After completing his Doctor of Education Degree in 1959, Ingram also became one of the highly accomplished departmental alumni. He first worked with the Tennessee State Department of Education for three years and then joined Memphis State University. He later served as president of Motlow State Community College, as Tennessee Commissioner of Education for four years during the term of Governor Ray Blanton, and as president of Middle Tennessee State University, the position from which he retired. As of this study, he was serving as a member of the Tennessee Board of Regents.

Before Blanton and Ingram could begin their work together, however, there were other administrative obstacles to be surmounted. One of the first, Blanton said, was a requirement that he undergo a series of tests to gain admission. Insofar as Blanton knew, the requirement was unique to him, but Graff took an unusual measure within his department to try for a greater degree of equity.

Blanton recounted the incident as follows:

I was very upset when I applied for the doctoral program and they subjected me to a series of tests, a battery of tests, that I felt were sort of punitive in nature. . . . I took them for two or three days. And when I ended up one day, he said, "They want you to go over"--this is why Dr. Milton remembers me--"They want you to go over to take one more test." I think it was about 100 degrees that day, and it was 3:00 o'clock. . . . We had just moved into the new College of Ed. building, and I had to go over on Cumberland, I think beyond Sophronia Strong Hall . . . to Dr. Milton's office. So I walked in, and Dr. Milton sat there, and we took a test. He administered this test orally, and I had to respond. I think it was the Wechler Adult Scale. When he finished, he said, "Do you know what you were taking this test for?" I said, "No. I don't." And he said, "You are taking this, and I am supposed to let them know if you were capable of doing doctoral work." He said something of that nature. As I said, it's been a long time, and I'm going back. He said, "I'm going to call them right now, and you can hear it," I think he called the president. Dr. Brehm was the president then. . . . That's who he called. Anyway, when I got back to the school, Dr. Graff seemed concerned that there was a degree of unfairness in this. He then had everyone take that test. Dr. Powers [Feldman] had to take it too, as a woman. He felt that it was unfair. He had every major take the same test, and then he posted the scores. That was quite revealing, too. He just felt that if one of his majors had to go through this, then all should go. And, again, that's how he lived that philosophy. Fairness.⁶³

The second major obstacle was a limitation on his enrollment by the university's governing body, which he described:

We had to go before the Board of Trustees. We had a meeting with the Board of Trustees. They only admitted me for one year, and I didn't like that either. I told Dr. Graff, "Well just forget it. I'm not going for one year." They were supposed to review my record at the end of one year. But at the end of that year, they didn't review it. It went by the wayside.⁶⁴

⁶³Blanton.

⁶⁴Blanton. Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 268, stated that "certain trustees" along with other members of the community opposed efforts led by university vice president Spivey toward opening the doors of campus-area businesses to black students. "The opposition was by no means weak; in fact, it took the determined support of Holt to prevent some of the conservative members of the board from seeking Spivey's removal," the authors stated.

He had already been reluctant to undertake the challenge of the program, Blanton indicated, because of his financial circumstances and the need he felt to accept a good position. But Graff persisted. "He pushed for me to come in. He said, 'It's time.' And he challenged me all through the program. Not to prove that I could do it, but 'because of what you can be.'"⁶⁵

There were other obstacles, both social and administrative, along his way through the program, Blanton said, and Graff talked with him often about them:

He often wanted to know how I was getting along. I would have sessions with him, and he understood. I guess it was about like Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson. He understood that I was going to have to take a lot of things. Yes, because when I rebelled against the trustees telling I could only go one year, and I said to hell with them, I don't want it, he said, "Now you listen. You must do this. This is the only way we can open these doors." And he worked with me. . . . We had lunch together just about every day. There were exchanges, and we became more and more free. . . . And so we worked our way through most of them. And in working our way through them, I wiped them out. You see? I guess my salvation was not to hold these things, because then I could not have become a person I should have become. . . .⁶⁶

Blanton continued the story of the work he and Ingram did as a pair:

We were supposed to be teammates, and we would study together. We took the same courses. And the purpose of that was to prepare leaders to assist the South in its desegregation efforts. You see, we're talking about the '50s. That was 1957 when I began that program. And the concept was that we will have some people on board. The Kellogg Foundation and the Southern Education Foundation felt like there was a need for having some people on board who would be able to work with the communities, the school boards, and the systems in bringing about an orderly and quiet desegregation in schools. Our doctoral dissertations were companion studies. We interviewed the superintendents of schools that were undergoing desegregation. We wanted to do it by states. We thought we were going to do it with the State of West Virginia, but instead, they experienced a little difficulty, and they advised us that we better go somewhere else. So we went to the State of Kentucky, and we interviewed superintendents. . . . Interestingly enough, we had to stay in the Berea College facility. It was the only place we could stay at that time. They had not passed a lot of the accommodation laws. So we went up through the middle part of Kentucky. Richmond, Kentucky, as I recall, and Winchester. We would always have to come back at night to the Berea College hotel unit to stay, and get up the next morning and go.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Blanton.

⁶⁶Blanton.

⁶⁷Blanton.

Ingram also recalled instances of social resistance during their doctoral dissertation research together:

Collecting the data for our dissertation required some traveling. We studied . . . 12 or 15 school systems in Kentucky that had just gone through the process of desegregation and looked at the behavioral pattern of superintendents during that time and tried to assess whether the way they behaved would have a positive or a negative effect upon the whole process.

It was a very fine relationship for me and hopefully for him. I recall, for example, when we were going up in Kentucky, we would stop to get something to eat. In some places they wouldn't serve Harry because he was black, so we would have to go someplace else or get a carryout sandwich and eat in the car. So people who think we haven't made much progress--and we haven't made enough--but we've sure come a long way since those days.⁶⁸

Reflecting on the experience, Ingram commented on Graff's foresight in his desegregation efforts and on his own growth from working with Blanton. His view of Graff closely paralleled that of Nunnery:

He was obviously at the front in terms of the movement in desegregation. At the time I got to know him or shortly after, at the time I enrolled, we had already had the Supreme Court decision. I recall, for example, when he talked about public school desegregation in the south, he pointed out that segregation was a millstone around all our necks. It was dragging us down and preventing us from reaching the full potential of the South, and it was his feeling that once we shed the shackles of public segregation, that the South--and I think, time has demonstrated that he was accurate--that the South would make tremendous progress. He also felt that desegregation would come once the whites understood the relationship of segregation to the poor economy and the low productivity; that because of the nature of the relationship that they had had with the blacks, even in the segregated society, that desegregation would work better perhaps and be achieved easier in the South than in many other parts of the country.⁶⁹

Ingram said he also learned from Blanton's ability to handle the problems they encountered, although he did not observe resistance among faculty and students:

He was, I believe, a few years older than I was and had taught in . . . the public schools of East Tennessee. I didn't detect on the part of the staff or fellow students any animosity or discrimination against Harry Blanton at all. As a matter of fact, he had a super personality and he had grown up in the South, and he knew how to deal with any kind of problems that came along. It, as a matter of fact, was one of

⁶⁸Ingram.

⁶⁹Ingram.

the finest things that could have happened to me, coming from West Tennessee, to be drawn into close proximity with him.⁷⁰

Blanton reciprocated the thought, as he expressed admiration for Ingram's record of educational accomplishments: "Sam and I became great friends through that experience. He learned a lot from me. I learned a lot from him. Cultural things. . . ." ⁷¹

The Department of Educational Administration and Supervision consisted of only four active faculty--Graff, John Gilliland, Kimbrough, and Galen Drewry--when Blanton and Ingram began their doctoral programs. Blanton described them as "free," beginning with Graff:

When I say a liberal-thinking person, I don't mean in terms of social, I mean free. His thinking was free all the way. Liberal in terms of freedom rather than the social connotation we place on it now. He didn't restrict himself. . . . Therefore, being free, it could pervade areas wider than most persons whose thinking was restricted. He didn't appear to think of the consequences of his thinking. Rather, he thought this is what we ought to be.⁷²

From later in his life, Blanton recalled an instance when the freedom he had learned from Graff came out in his own behavior, as he was sent from Washington, D.C., as a consultant under federal contract to a Jesuit institution in the West. The father in charge was shocked when he saw that Blanton was a black man and was fearful of proceeding, not knowing how his faculty, who were waiting as a group, would receive him. Blanton recounted how he broke the barrier by persuading the father to go out to the front of the group with him, and he openly addressed the father's fears and introduced himself in a friendly, non-defensive, professional manner. The faculty greeted him with applause, he said, and his work with the institution went forward congenially. "And I attribute that particular behavior and other behavior patterns that I developed to my associations with Dr. Graff and the other staff members. They all were just as free." ⁷³

⁷⁰Ingram.

⁷¹Blanton.

⁷²Blanton.

⁷³Blanton.

Blanton and Ingram suffered an anxious period in finding a major professor for their doctoral research, as Kimbrough departed from the small department. They eventually gained the services of Galen Drewry, the department's newest and youngest professor and a product of the SSCPEA program at George Peabody College for Teachers, although Drewry himself was going to do a one-year fellowship in higher education with the Southern Regional Education Board.⁷⁴

Blanton said:

Galen Drewry was a find. When Ralph Kimbrough [went] to Florida my second year, I was getting ready to do my research, and I had to do a field experience with the Southern Education Foundation at Tuskegee. I went down to Tuskegee, and I worked through two field studies for principals and supervisors that summer. Dr. Kimbrough went to Florida as a visiting professor, at the University of Florida. When we came back in August, I was sitting in the office and Dr. Graff came in and announced that [Dr. Kimbrough] would not be coming back for that year. He had worked through my dissertation title. We'd set up a committee. Dr. Drewry, in the meantime, had taken a sabbatical. And here I am stuck without a major professor. So he said, "I'll try to talk with Galen." Dr. Graff was doing a study and [Dr. Drewry] said, "I don't know if I can take you guys on or not," because he had to take me and Sam. But he thought about it, and he agreed to accept us. And it was a wonderful experience working with him. First off, it was a tribute to his professionalism that he decided to work with us, because of the extra and added duties that he didn't have to take on. But he took it on and worked with us beautifully.⁷⁵

Ingram echoed Blanton's appreciation for Drewry, and he also noted that the smallness of the department created close working relationships among all doctoral students and professors:

Back in those days there were about eight or 10 doctoral students, and all of us were very close. Dr. and Mrs. Graff would have us out to their house periodically, as would the other professors in the department. Ralph Kimbrough was in the department at that time, [and] John Gilliland; and Mike Nunnery . . . was teaching a one-year stint there after just completing his doctorate the year before.⁷⁶

Broadly, Blanton depicted the department's professors and students as a support system who worked with him in the "shoulder to shoulder" idiom as he moved beyond frustrations. Helen Powers Feldman, one of the first two women to earn Ed.D. Degrees in Educational Administration

⁷⁴Galen Drewry, telephone interview with author, July 13, 1991.

⁷⁵Blanton.

⁷⁶Ingram.

and Supervision, recalled as an example a small-group incident that reflected the different levels of racial consciousness between herself and the community:

I did experience the uniqueness of the situation one day when a group of us were going to lunch, and I was driving. One of the professors was in the car, Harry, and I don't know who else. I said, "Where shall we go to lunch?" . . . Others kept saying, "Let's go to the university cafeteria." I said, "We eat there all the time; why can't we go somewhere else?" Finally the professor said, "Harry can't go to the other restaurants." . . . That sounds shocking, but black people were not allowed in all public restaurants at that time. They had to spell it out for me, because as far as I was concerned Harry was one of the group, and I was one of the group, and we didn't think that much about it. We wound up driving two or three blocks and going back to the university cafeteria for lunch as a group.⁷⁷

Difficulties for Blanton in gaining acceptance in commercial eating and lodging establishments occurred on a continual basis. As university historians noted, "Cafeterias on the campus had already been integrated, but private cafeterias and restaurants round about the campus remained off-limits to blacks."⁷⁸ Blanton remembered segregation-related limitations on his work with other graduate students, first in class group projects:

You're assigned to a committee. On break, you would talk about what you're going to do for the course assignment, because you have people commuting in. This was the only time you could meet together. And very seldom could I get anyone to serve with me, because at the breaks we'd go out. . . . There used to be a favorite restaurant there. They would go there, or they would go to another establishment--up and down the strip [the commercial district adjacent to the campus], that had the various places. I could never go in, so they could never have a meeting with me. So one day they said, "Harry, damn, we're tired of going to Sophronia's. That's the only place we can go. It's nothing against you, but we just can't have you on our committee. We're not free."⁷⁹

Another incident occurred that Graff "was very concerned about," involving Blanton's participation in the annual Gatlinburg meeting of the APEA, the SSCPEA-continuation group. The department acted as host for representatives of the cooperative's various universities and state

⁷⁷Feldman.

⁷⁸Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 268. The authors described continuing and gradually successful efforts, led by Spivey with the support of Holt after the time of Blanton's graduation, to achieve desegregation of campus-area restaurants, theaters, hospitals, and other establishments.

⁷⁹Blanton. "Sophronia's," also frequently referred to as "Sophies," was an on-campus cafeteria located on the first floor of Sophronia Strong Hall, a women's dormitory.

departments of education. A meeting of professors and students to assign conference duties proceeded into a series of telephone calls to the host hotel, Blanton recalled:

"Well, Bill, you'll do so and so and so and so. Charley, you'll be in charge of so and so. And Harry, we want you to meet them at the airport, because you know the area. You can drive them to the hotel."

Someone, I don't know who it was, said, "Well, what are we going to do about Harry and that hotel up there?" Dr. Graff said, "What do you mean?" It never crossed his mind that there would be a problem. He said, "Well, Harry, I guess you'll have to drive that car back down here to the building. What do you think about that?"

I said, "Dr. Graff, if I have to drive a car back down to the building, you'll find that car parked back at the building in the morning."

"Good. Go call them and tell them." Sort of pixie like that. So they called.

I think [the hotel staff] did a little deliberation, and finally they said, "Well, any of you want to share a room with him, you can."

We said OK. We came back and went a little further. We said, "What about eating?"

He said, "Oh, God, I never thought of that. Go call them." Somebody went, I don't know [who]. . . .

Whoever it was came back and said, "Well, that will be all right too."

I think that was about the first time Gatlinburg had had any blacks in their hotels. Now to me, it worked out fine.⁸⁰

Those were types of experiences he had, Blanton said.

And, of course, I had others. It would be difficult for me to recall, because they were insignificant. They are insignificant to me now. They were probably significant at that time. Yes, where people didn't want to sit beside me and that sort kind of thing. If I walked in and sat down, someone would move. I say they might have been significant then, and I'm pretty sure they were, but they're not now. . . . I can't even recall many of them now. I laugh at them now. But I did experience some difficulties, yes.⁸¹

The experiences that benefited him most, Blanton indicated, were in working directly with Graff during the coursework part of his fellowship. He recalled an incident in which Graff was reviewing his application of values:

⁸⁰Blanton.

⁸¹Blanton. Montgomery, Folmsbee, and Greene, 229, quoted Blanton on other experiences--his feelings at times that he was an "invisible man"; his efforts to catch up academically by reading materials he had not had access to before; and a professor who, during a first-class roll call, "just flatly said he had never taught a Negro before and if I wanted to drop the class he would do all he could to help me drop the class."

I knew he was testing me. I was assisting him . . . in one of his classes, and I was keeping his roll book and working with the papers. I had a friend who was . . . very derelict in his approach to the class. He didn't attend class. He didn't turn in the papers. And so we were sitting down at the end of the class, and Dr. Graff was discussing the grades with me.

"Well, what do you think about . . . ?"

I said I noticed he turned in all his papers, he attended class, he did this or that about participation--we had a certain formula.

Then we got to this person, and he said, "What do you want to do about him?"

I said, "Oh, he's failed."

And he said, "What? I thought he was your friend."

I said, "Well, he is." And I said, "He's not only a friend, he's a neighbor."

"And you're going to fail him. On what basis?"

I said, "Well, I attempted to talk with him, and I asked him to please come to class. I asked him to turn in his papers. I said, 'You've put me on the spot; I have the record to keep.' He didn't respond. He always agreed that he was going to, but he never did. So, he just has to fall by the wayside."

He said, "How do you feel about that?"

I said, "Well, Dr. Graff, I feel that he had every opportunity in the world to perform, and he didn't. So he has to pay the price."

"Well, good. I just wondered."

So I felt that he was really seeing just how far I'd come, within that situation.⁸²

Ingram graduated at the end of spring quarter, 1959, and Blanton followed at the end of summer quarter. As Blanton culminated his formal educational experience, his graduation also illustrated the values on which Graff's management of social change was based. Achievement of a step toward what already "ought to be," Graff believed, was not an occasion for fanfare. Further, he apparently believed that excessive ceremony and attention on such occasions might hamper the building of further progress based on the experience.

These convictions guided Graff's actions in working with Blanton and others to manage media attention to the summer commencement. Reportedly, Graff was driving with one of his advisees, Madison Byar, to another city in Tennessee, and Byar mentioned to him, somewhat casually, that Blanton had received a call from a major news medium. Graff braked his car, an old

⁸²Blanton.

Studebaker, to a halt, uttered an exclamation, and questioned Byar.⁸³ Evernden, another 1959

Ed.D. graduate, recalled that Graff worked with Blanton, then-vice president Holt, and graduate dean

Wantling to ensure that the commencement ceremony proceeded peacefully, apparently still mindful

of the infamous earlier outbreak of racial violence in nearby Clinton, Tennessee:

They got together, Graff, Wantling, and Holt. They said, "Now, this graduation is going to go off without a hitch. We owe it to Harry. He's a good man, and we're going to see that nothing goes wrong." And they had a campus security man or a city policeman in practically every row of seats. . . . And he had all the rest of us spaced around the [gymnasium]. And he said, "Now if you see anybody ready to start anything, signal one of these cops and we'll get the cuffs on them before they get a chance to do anything."⁸⁴

Feldman recalled that, in addition to security at the ceremony, Blanton agreed with Graff on withholding statements to the press, after media intentions to publicize the occasion became obvious:

Harry was a very remarkable person, I thought. . . . Dr. Graff and Harry talked about it, and the agreement was, it's not that kind of a situation. Black people belong here, so why make a story out of a black person's being here. That was their attitude, and the same sort of attitude was Dr. Graff's approach to women in educational administration. . . . I believe that was how Harry felt. But I'm not speaking for Harry. As a black person, I believe that Harry felt that his being there was normal and natural because that was what he was interested in.⁸⁵

"As nearly as I remember, they wouldn't let them set up any cameras in the gym," Evernden said. "Harry was very good. . . . Of course, he'd worked with black organizations all his life, and he . . . really understood the race situation and how to deal with it. And he refused to give any press interviews. They tried to set up a press conference and interview him."⁸⁶

By coincidence, Blanton was alphabetically first among the doctoral graduates. Accordingly, the duty of leading the commencement parade of students fell to him. Drewry, his major professor,

⁸³Madison T. Byar, who also graduated in 1959 with an Ed.D. Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision, died before the time of this study after retiring as a professor of education at East Tennessee State University.

⁸⁴Evernden.

⁸⁵Feldman.

⁸⁶Evernden.

said, "I remember when they called Harry over to talk to him about leading the graduation parade.

Harry said they seemed to be rather surprised when they saw his black face over there."⁸⁷

Erma Graff proudly remembered Blanton at the commencement: "He was so scared to go up there. . . . And since his name began with B, he had to be number one to go. . . . They gave him a standing ovation. It was wonderful."⁸⁸

Evernden's memories were the same: "Nobody caused any problem, and that was the only time in my memory that a graduating student walked across the stage and got a standing ovation. It was really amazing. But Dr. Graff engineered that."⁸⁹

Reflecting back 31 years on the occasion, Blanton recalled, "If I appeared nervous, it was because I did not want any outside influence disrupting one of the finest moments of my life. I was not nervous about anything else, as I recall the incident at present."⁹⁰

Gem Kate Greninger and Helen S. Feldman

In 1957 and 1958, Gem Kate Taylor [later Greninger] and Helen S. Powers [later Feldman], both advisees of Graff, earned the first Doctor of Education Degrees in Educational Administration and Supervision conferred on women. Their degrees were a move toward equalizing participation between sexes in a profession dominated at the highest ranks by men.⁹¹

Graff's philosophic base and his management of the two women's progress through the program was a virtual mirror of his role with Blanton, although the barriers were less formidable.

⁸⁷Drewry.

⁸⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

⁸⁹Evernden.

⁹⁰Blanton. Initially, Blanton discussed general details of the commencement and events surrounding it. Later he requested that the use of his statements be limited as much as possible to his relationship with Graff and how the relationship affected his life.

⁹¹The domination was reflected in records of the NCPEA and SSCPEA. All 72 professional persons who participated in the founding of the NCPEA were men, as noted earlier in this study, and a separate support organization existed for wives. The various appendices of Pierce and Albright, 205-230--which provide details of staff, committees, and research of the SSCPEA and APEA--reflect a very high majority of male participation.

Other women had earned doctoral degrees in various other fields at the university; thus, the barriers related to gender stereotyping within a single profession, rather than across a broader spectrum of endeavors.

Initially, Greninger and Feldman were in the same time period in the program. However, Feldman's background was in chemistry, and she took a year from her program to serve in a leave-of-absence vacancy as principal of Bearden Elementary School in Knoxville to gain her first experience in educational administration. Both women started the program when Graff's department was located in "Barracks A," and the move to Claxton Education Building came during their studies.

Greninger and Feldman told similar stories of their acceptance in the department. Greninger said:

Although that has been that many years ago . . . I didn't feel like I was set apart as a woman, which I thought was a remarkable thing. I guess I'd have to give Dr. Graff and the members of the department some credit for that. But I never thought "Hey, here, I'm a woman. I'm the only woman here in these classes." There was nothing like that, which I thought was remarkable. . . . I went out to lunch with the guys. I went out at night. I studied with them for tests. It wasn't that I was a woman; I was one of the group.⁹²

Feldman's reception was virtually the same, and she likened it to her background experiences in another field--she had worked as a chemist in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, whereas Greninger had been a supervisor for the Scott County school district in Virginia:

When I came in, I did as I had always done. If I was interested in something, I looked and asked questions. I was born in a family where there were two daughters and we did not know that women were discriminated against. And I had to become quite old to find that out. I had majored in chemistry, and it happened I was one of two women who majored in chemistry at the University of Chattanooga at that time. But that fact wasn't what interested me; I was interested in chemistry. Even though I was venturing into the fields that women were not in, particularly, . . . it wasn't my interest to be among the first women to get into those fields. I was in them because I was interested in the fields. I was not aware if I was being discriminated against. I'm not saying that people were that happy about my being there, but I

⁹²Greninger.

didn't know they were not happy. So my being one of the few women in both chemistry and educational administration didn't bother me at all.⁹³

Greninger remembered occasional expressions of skepticism and unwelcomeness on the part of a few professors, but Graff was supportive, and those who were not necessarily happy did not create obstacles. For the most part, she said, "I can't think of their names. But I think Dr. Graff always held his own with them." She did give her specific impression that Gilliland "was not too fond of women being in that program. Because I was at an administrators' meeting with him in Atlanta, and I caught that right off, that John Gilliland wasn't too gung-ho on women in that [program]." However, Graff was always supportive and ready to intercede if needed:

This may sound trite, but it isn't. . . . He cared about people. He was interested, which I thought was a marvelous characteristic. As a matter of fact, since I was the only woman there at that time--Helen had dropped out . . . temporarily . . . he asked me how the fellows in that program reacted to me. Did they tell me dirty jokes? I said, "No, they have been marvelous to me and have accepted me as one of their peers and equals." He said, "If they don't, let me know."⁹⁴

The department's informal facility and teamwork approach may have helped mute any sharper resistance to the women doctoral candidates. "We still had what was referred to then by Dr. Andrew Holt as "Splinter Hall," or Barracks A, as department headquarters, Feldman said. The atmosphere there--as noted by other students--helped students and professors move beyond differences that might have presented barriers. Feldman said:

Students helped one another and drank much coffee. There was no distinction between professors and students, if you went to get a cup of coffee. It was just a way to hear discussion about the issues of the day. I found that to be very helpful.⁹⁵

As to teamwork, both Greninger and Feldman completed their doctoral research as part of the SSCPEA-APEA program. Both their dissertations were related to the Competency Pattern and the spinoff University of Tennessee project of developing, testing, and using the Tennessee Rating

⁹³Feldman.

⁹⁴Greninger.

⁹⁵Feldman.

Guide. Pierce and Albright cited the dissertations in their history of the Kellogg Foundation-sponsored effort.⁹⁶

Feldman said the possibility of discrimination in employment that she learned about while in college, along with her father's background, led her to prepare for education as a possible field:

At the time I was getting out of the University of Chattanooga, there were no jobs for women in chemistry. That's when I first discovered that for some reason your sex at birth determined what kind of job opportunities you had. Seeing that a little bit in advance, I had decided to take education courses and earn a certificate in education. My father had been a teaching principal when I was a young child. My parents read extensively and were interested in a variety of subjects. So education was not that remote from me, but when I was young I said, I will not be a teacher. I will beg, I will starve, I will not teach. But I became a little more practical as I got a little older and thought, I had better be prepared for something, since I cannot get a job as a chemist.⁹⁷

Feldman later mixed five years of teaching experience with her chemistry laboratory work in Oak Ridge. "We were trying to work on atomic powered airplanes," she said, when a program to build several new elementary schools in Knox County kindled her interest:

I was never satisfied as a teacher. . . . In my experience of teaching, I felt that the weak link in the schools was administration, and I felt frustrated. . . . I'm not saying it was. That was the way I perceived it. So when I began to see these schools built . . . I resigned at Oak Ridge and went to see about entering the university and to see about becoming an elementary school principal.⁹⁸

As she worked in the master's degree program, both Graff and Milton influenced her, Feldman said: "When I met both Dr. Graff and Dr. Milton, they appeared to exemplify the kind of person I would like to be. That is, they had a zest for life. And I liked that about both of them. So I think they had a lot to do with my professional behavior and professional development."⁹⁹

Greninger said she could not remember that she and Feldman ever compared their experiences as the first women doctoral candidates, noting that "we never thought about that much.

⁹⁶Pierce and Albright, 228-229.

⁹⁷Feldman.

⁹⁸Feldman.

⁹⁹Feldman.

It's a funny thing. I didn't think about being a woman in that program." She was conscious that she was seeking a degree in a male-dominated area, she added, "But it was a great experience. Plus, they treated me as a peer."¹⁰⁰

For the most part, recollections of Greninger and Feldman related not to their roles as the first women, but to other substantive matters of their studies and experiences. These are included in other parts of this work.

Programmatic Desegregation Efforts

After Blanton's experience, Graff and his colleagues continued to encourage and support minority student participation, in the context of the university's overall efforts and advances. In the early 1960s, the department took a leadership position among southern public higher education institutions. As in other project areas, Graff acted cooperatively with his staff as initiator, supporter, and then delegator.

A colleague to whom Graff eventually assigned much of the department's desegregation efforts was Frederick Venditti, one of two important long-term faculty additions of 1963.¹⁰¹ The University of Tennessee's record to that point in desegregation, relative to the South in general, and Graff's own commitment in the area influenced Venditti's decision to seek a position. He recalled:

One of the reasons I came here was because The University of Tennessee had desegregated. I wouldn't have gone to any other university in the South at that time, because I had such strong feelings about school desegregation or school segregation. And there was no question that Orin was committed to school integration and, even though The University of Tennessee was a segregated institution at the time he came here, I think he resolved that contradiction in his mind by deciding that it was not something that could be changed immediately. It was something that he could work for, and it could be accomplished. And it was, eventually. . . . And he was very supportive of black students. As soon as the admission policy of the university permitted enrollment of black students, he actively sought them. . . . And he very actively supported them.

If he had been less supportive as a department head of school desegregation than he was, The University of Tennessee would never have become the first institution of higher education in the South--public institution, that's an important

¹⁰⁰Greninger.

¹⁰¹The other was Dewey H. Stollar, discussed in another part of this chapter.

distinction--the first public institution of higher education in the South to become actively involved in the desegregation movement in assisting local school systems with problems connected with desegregation.¹⁰²

Graff had already laid the groundwork for desegregation efforts in the schools by building systematic involvement with the local school systems, which was another of Venditti's reasons for interest in the university:

I did not want to lose direct contact, with the field. And the hallmark of the Department of Educational Administration for, I think, all the years that Orin was Head and thereafter for many years, was its very close working relationships with the field. Orin was the first to set up the organization that involved East Tennessee School Superintendents, a select group of them, the group we now call PSCR [Public Schools for Cooperative Research]. That was Orin's brainchild, and he continued to have that kind of relationship, particularly with superintendents. Pete [E.C.] Merrill was smart enough to understand that a good college of education, an effective college of education, had to have those kinds of relationships--those kinds of connections with the field. And I think he valued Orin in that respect. He valued the fact that Orin had established and maintained these relationships and was highly respected in the field.¹⁰³

Communication through the PSCR network was instrumental to the university's offering of the first federally-supported desegregation institute--with institutes preceding centers--among the South's public higher education institutions, Venditti said.¹⁰⁴ He recalled the background and Graff's subsequent delegation to himself:

The superintendent of the Hamilton County School System received a letter from someone in the [U.S.] Office of Education informing him about a new program, a federal program, that would offer money--grants--to school systems that worked cooperatively with universities on problems connected with desegregation. At one of our PSCR meetings, that superintendent showed the letter to me. I'd been very much involved in school desegregation in the Wichita City Schools in Kansas, and for a number of years had been very, very deeply interested in it, and this letter excited me. I spoke to Orin about it, and with his help, we were able to write a proposal. In those days, the proposals were very, very informal and sketchy. The federal government was so anxious to get some kind of help that the standards, as far as the structure and even the content of the proposals were concerned, were probably pretty rough. Nevertheless, we did write the proposal, and we got the grant, and it was because of that PSCR school system which was already involved

¹⁰²Venditti. A more general story of Venditti's introduction to Graff is included in Chapter 6.

¹⁰³Venditti.

¹⁰⁴The University of Miami, a private institution, was first overall, Venditti noted.

with about 13 systems in an organization, and because of Orin's interest in desegregation, and because of the respect the superintendents in that organization had for him, that we were able to initiate this program.¹⁰⁵

Venditti acknowledged that acceptance of the effort was also enhanced by the low black population in most areas of East Tennessee, but only in part, he added:

I think it's significant that in Chattanooga, where there is a relatively large population of blacks, even larger than [Knoxville], we were able to do a lot of work. And that was, again, in part at least, because of the respect the superintendents down there in the city system and the county system had for Orin. So I would say he certainly should be given credit for that kind of support.¹⁰⁶

A third point that Venditti made was Graff's willingness to delegate:

I would also say to his credit that when we really got going--and this says something I think about his philosophy of leadership--he pulled out of it himself in terms of direct participation, almost entirely, and turned it over to me. It might sound self-serving or boastful to make this statement, but . . . he believed that when you found someone who was competent in an area, who was really interested in it, who was willing to work hard in it, that you gave this individual a chance. Supported him in appropriate ways, but didn't interfere. . . . And he knew that I was deeply interested in this program and in the issue. And so, apparently he felt that he could safely turn it over to me. And he was right. But he needs to be credited, as, incidentally, does Andy Holt, president of the university at that time. Andy and Orin were very good friends.¹⁰⁷

While the friendship between Graff and Holt was not related to desegregation in particular--it covered their wide range of mutual interests--the similarities of manner they shared undoubtedly helped gain acceptance of equal education opportunity advancements. Venditti mentioned their folksiness and ability to make comfortable school board members and local school district administrators. In noting this, he summarized the link between Graff's commitment to equal opportunity and his philosophy of pragmatism:

That's an important point to be made. Orin certainly was supportive of school desegregation. And the fact that he stayed down here at this institution while it was segregated may have been one way in which he really revealed his belief in pragmatism. It would seem to be the pragmatic thing to do. You couldn't change

¹⁰⁵Venditti.

¹⁰⁶Venditti.

¹⁰⁷Venditti.

things overnight, but that didn't mean that things could not be changed. And I think he was kind of committed to that principle. Not to the extent, though, that many southern school administrators and the citizenry in general were. He, I think, didn't use it as an excuse for not doing anything. Now, there was a lot of that, and there was a lot of that among school administrators with whom Orin had to deal: "You know we're dealing with an institution that can't be changed overnight, and it's going to take time, and we can't certainly go more than a grade at a time," etc. That all was reflected in the school desegregation court record. . . .¹⁰⁸

The University of Tennessee's amenability to change, he reiterated, was likely a factor in Graff's remaining for a lengthy career as opposed to moving to accepting other positions, particularly in the South:

I think he saw that there could be a change here. Maybe the fact that Tennessee was a border state. Maybe the fact that this particular area of Tennessee, as you know, tended to be very ambivalent, to say the least, in its feelings about slavery and secession during the Civil War. But, at any rate, I think he saw hope here, and probably did not see that same opportunity elsewhere.¹⁰⁹

Venditti's views were supported by accounts of an earlier episode. In the late 1950s, Graff declined an offer to become dean of education at the University of South Carolina. His decision was based in part on resistance to racial integration, according to several sources, including Erma Graff, Guy Potts, Ralph Kimbrough, and Michael Nunnery.

The South Carolina deanship was "the only other job that he seriously considered from the time I knew him until he retired," Nunnery said. "He went over there and looked, and he really wanted that job. . . . I think he backed off because he saw conditions in which he thought he could not succeed." The conditions were two-fold, including at that time the weakness of South Carolina's support for public education and "what [Graff] saw to be the intransigence of the mind-set of the people about the race question."¹¹⁰

His citation of these factors was conjecture, Nunnery noted; however, both Potts and Kimbrough essentially agreed. Potts recalled:

¹⁰⁸Venditti.

¹⁰⁹Venditti.

¹¹⁰Nunnery.

He came awfully close to accepting dean of education at the University of South Carolina. . . . In fact, he talked to me on the telephone and at that point seemed to have pretty well made up his mind. If I recall correctly, he . . . indicated for certain that he wanted them to understand that he would want to make the College of Education and its activities available to blacks. . . . I think in essence it was that if black students weren't in there, he was going to everything in the world to get them in there. . . . I gathered something had transpired after that that had turned him off . . . I do remember talking to him when he said he was relatively sure he might be leaving UT.¹¹¹

Kimbrough's recollections were similar, as he remembered with humor the depth of Graff's deliberation:

Dr. Graff at one point almost went to South Carolina as dean. He would get things on his mind, and you couldn't talk to him. I remember one of the fellows went in to talk to him about his dissertation one day during that time. . . . I said, "Well, Charlie, what did Dr. Graff say about your dissertation?" He looked at me and said, "He never knew I was in there." He was trying to make up his mind about whether to take the job over in South Carolina. He was offered the job and gave it extremely high consideration then decided not to go.¹¹²

Graff's desire to continue working directly with students was apparently also a major factor. Related to his declining the offer, Erma Graff emphasized Graff's love of teaching.¹¹³ Nunnery agreed: "I think he was very interested in what he was doing. Orin Graff was basically a professor. That's what he wanted to be. He never had any real administrative ambitions as such."¹¹⁴

Potts agreed: "I'm not sure he would have been happy not being able to teach two or three of those classes. I think first of all, Orin was basically a teacher."¹¹⁵

Cleveland Dennard

In December of 1964, Cleveland Dennard, whom Graff served as major professor, became the first black out-of-state resident to be conferred a doctoral degree by The University of Tennessee.

¹¹¹Potts.

¹¹²Kimbrough.

¹¹³Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989.

¹¹⁴Nunnery.

¹¹⁵Potts.

Dennard's admission as well as his graduation broke another racial barrier at the university, which he described: "You could not be an out-of-state black and be admitted to UT. That was a part of the intimidation on families that the legislature imposed, because then you identify the person and their economic circumstances, mortgages, loans, etc. You could force individuals into a different kind of posture." He credited Graff, Merrill, Herman Spivey, and Andrew Holt for breaking down the barrier and for creating new levels of dialogue on race relations at the university.¹¹⁶

An indirect Tennessee connection led to Dennard's initial visit to The University of Tennessee and his subsequent admission as a doctoral student. He explained as background that, in the mid-1950s, after pursuing a graduate degree at Colorado State University, he served as a state official for vocational education for Alabama, living in Montgomery at the time. He said:

In the meantime, the superintendent of schools, John W. Letson, in Bessemer, Alabama, succeeded Lawrence Derthick in Chattanooga, who was the superintendent of schools there and became President Eisenhower's choice to become Commissioner of Education. After a year in Chattanooga, Dr. Letson was appointed Superintendent of the Atlanta Public Schools. And his awareness of my work as an assistant state supervisor of vocational-technical education in the State of Alabama led him to invite me to join him in the Atlanta public school system.¹¹⁷

Dennard brought with him to Atlanta first-hand experience in and commitment to the roots of a new civil rights movement--a background which tied together his experiences in Alabama, Atlanta, Tennessee, and subsequent settings. He recounted:

I had . . . lived in the city of Montgomery, where the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church was located, and was a member of that church. My father-in-law, Joseph T. Brooks, was the minister of music for the church and was a graduate of Morehouse College himself. There were several members of the search committee

¹¹⁶Cleveland Dennard, interview with author, June 28, 1990. Following his completion of the Ed.D. Degree in 1964, Dennard left Atlanta to serve as deputy commissioner for manpower for New York City under the administration of Mayor John Lindsey in 1966. He then moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked in planning a land grant college, later to become the University of the District of Columbia. Dennard then returned to Atlanta to serve as President of Atlanta University, the position he held when he returned to The University of Tennessee to give the commencement address in 1981. As of his interview for this study, he was serving in a consultant capacity as executive director of the Martin Luther King Coalition for Non-Violent Change at the King Center in Atlanta, in an effort he described as "trying to assist Mrs. King in converting what we call the 'movement' into an institution. . . ." Coincidentally, the interview took place the day following South African resistance leader Nelson Mandela's visit to Atlanta, a visit Dennard assisted in coordinating.

¹¹⁷Dennard.

for a new minister. He had been designated to serve on that committee, and I happened to be the fortunate young person to serve on that committee and had a chance to interview Martin Luther King, Jr. and several persons who were aspirants for the ministry. So I was there before the, quote, "Civil Rights Freedom Movement" began. . . .

It was in December of '55 that the movement began in Montgomery. It was simply a spark that was ignited or a thread that raveled, related to more than a century of scholarly protest that had gone on in the United States. . . . [I became] the administrator of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was the management function of the movement itself. Not the leadership function. . . .

And I worked with that in every way that I could think of, including the procurement of vehicles, procurement of licensing through Lloyds of London to assure that the movement, the bus protest, could be sustained and maintained and withstand the legal ramifications that came up over and over again.¹¹⁸

Then, after he joined Letson's staff in Atlanta, he was asked to help design racially separate vocational-technical postsecondary schools--an assignment he called into question. He explained:

The City of Atlanta had passed a bond issue in 1957 to build two area vocational-technical schools . . . one for blacks and one for whites. The superintendent asked if I would come to plan, organize, develop and operate the one for blacks. And I indicated . . . that it would appear that the City of Atlanta could accommodate one technical school, despite the fact that the state had passed a referendum to build two. . . . I was provided the opportunity to work with the state to see if we could collapse the two into one, and, if successful, to proceed to do so. And, in the interim, the School Plant Planning Laboratory in the [University of Tennessee] College of Education was brought on board as a consultant. And I was assigned the responsibility to work directly with the School Plant Planning Laboratory.¹¹⁹

Graff came to Atlanta with Gilliland as part of the planning lab's consultant team, and more complicated legal and administrative entanglements than were anticipated occurred--in essence an attempt to create a combined vocational-technical school and junior college, institutional types which were governed by separate state boards. Gilliland and Graff were willing to work with Letson and staff beyond the original terms of their consultation. For Dennard, the project eventually became his doctoral research program at The University of Tennessee. He continued:

After about three or four months of intensive dialogue, John Gilliland invited me to come to UT as a consultant to the School Plant Planning Laboratory in the implementation of the contract that they had with the Atlanta public school system, to which I agreed. . . . So I spent the summer at UT working on the educational

¹¹⁸Dennard.

¹¹⁹Dennard.

specifications for what became a 1.6 or 1.7 million square foot facility, and the framework for defining the curriculum. . . . With that experience, Dr. Graff was quite perceptive in what he was doing. . . . He arranged for me to meet with Andy Holt as a consultant at UT at a time when blacks admitted to the University of Tennessee, in '62, '63, were required to be residents of the state. . . .

But having met Andy Holt and Dr. Spivey and Dean Merrill during this interim, toward the end of the summer term I was encouraged to consider enrolling in the university and explore this problem of postsecondary education, 13th, 14th year education for the City of Atlanta, in conjunction with the School Plant Planning Laboratory and the College of Education. And this problem area that I was still a consultant to could fit into a definable, rigorous educational activity. . . . And so I applied. I had been admitted to the University of California at Los Angeles graduate program, and this became a delay en route because of the unique opportunity for working on this facility. And that was the way I wound up getting to know Dr. Graff and his ability to see the components of intellectual concept and to seize the psychological moment for acting on them. And in doing so, he did far more, because he brought into UT the first non-Tennessean black.¹²⁰

So, approaching his mid-30s and with a wife and four children, Dennard became a student activist again, including in his graduate student life involvement in the university desegregation movement as well as doctoral studies and his consultant/planning program. The university's volatility level was higher than during Blanton's time, as his enrollment came near the time that admission was opened to in-state black undergraduates--the time in which Spivey was leading efforts to integrate area establishments. Challenges of racial segregation at other higher education institutions in the South were also much in the news, as Dennard recalled in connection with his own experiences:

By the time I arrived at UT, Meredith was trying to get into Oxford, the University of Mississippi. And obviously that was the news item going on in the College of Education. We spent a great deal of time in dealing with the issue, which was now five years into the civil rights struggle. . . . And it was a basis on which many of the graduate students and faculty became very aware of the issues that were involved. We used to walk down to the Tennessean, Byerley's, and get pelted with tomatoes, eggs. And a few times, I would just not change clothes the rest of the day. And we would occasionally go up to the bus station to get a meal, and it was always an anxious and traumatic experience for both blacks and whites, because that was in violation of the existing laws and reflective of pestilence. Dr. Merrill, who was Dean of the School of Education, and Dr. Spivey and Orin Graff were three persons who were amenable to a dialogue on an ongoing basis; and whether the dialogue was with individual black students or whether it was within our seminars, we would address those kinds of issues from time to time. It was through that

¹²⁰Dennard.

process that I really got to know Dr. Graff much better than I had known him previously.¹²¹

Dennard began his doctoral residence in summer of 1963 and returned to work full-time in Atlanta after the 1963-64 academic year. During residence, he commuted weekly between Atlanta and Knoxville and continued working part-time, usually Mondays and Fridays, as administrator of a vocational school in Atlanta.

To prevent mixing apples and bananas while we were still trying to resolve political problems that were purely educational politic problems and political problems that were purely racial problems, I continued to delineate my dissertation area in dialogue with Dr. Graff and finally laid out as a dissertation the administrative organization and practices of selected vocational-technical colleges in the United States.¹²²

His program at The University of Tennessee was an extension of the efforts by Graff and others that had brought in Blanton and Ingram, Dennard said, except that the relationship between vocational and academic education was also an issue. He described the connection:

The Southern Education Foundation, which is located up the street [from the King Center in Atlanta], financed a series of internships, which was really in conjunction with Kellogg, which was a program for the superintendency. And Orin Graff and Truman Pierce had been instrumental, after Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, in trying to find vehicles in which blacks could begin to be prepared for the superintendency within the region and to build up a critical mass of talent. It was in that net that Truman Pierce over at Auburn and Michael Nunnery, who was then on the staff but later went to the University of Florida, and others, became a sphere of influence who understood what Congress was trying to do . . . getting vocational education through the 14th year level within 50 miles of every citizen in the United States. This piggybacked the Interstate Highway System, which came out in 1958, and by 1960 there was this adding to the mobility of physical transportation, intellectual mobility vertically. So all of this kind of tied together, and John Gilliland, working with the Ford Foundation-funded EFL [Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc.], and Orin Graff working on the educational administration side, made a complementary team of, what is the environment in which you work, what shall be taught, who shall teach, and what shall be learned? And, that became the kind of framework in which we got to meet each other and to know each other.¹²³

¹²¹Dennard. Montgomery, Folmsee, and Greene, 228-229, cited the Tennessean restaurant and Byerley's Cafeteria as two of the last establishments to continue resisting integration. In one incident, Spivey was threatened with physical harm by a hostile gathering at the Tennessean, the authors reported.

¹²²Dennard.

¹²³Dennard.

Also like Blanton, Dennard had a white counterpart with whom he was teamed on the same fellowship basis. James L Jordan, a Georgian, was his teammate, although he became personally closer to another Graff advisee, William B. Feild, Dennard said.¹²⁴

Much as he did with Blanton, Graff counseled and guided Dennard through obstacles and incidents when needed. As he quietly monitored these areas, he urged Dennard into readings and discussions of philosophy and brought him into collegial settings and relationships.

For example, while he was still working with Gilliland and before he entered the doctoral program, Graff invited him to the university's Faculty Club for dinner to meet several of his colleagues. More such invitations came later, when he was pursuing the degree. It was the same type of understated perceptiveness Graff had shown in introducing him to Holt and Spivey, Dennard said, done "without verbalizing," but implicitly saying, "'I would like to bring this type of student into the graduate environment.'"

Without discussing that with me, per se, he just simply made the eyeball to eyeball exposures and took the giant step of taking me as a graduate student into the Faculty Club with discussions over a meal from time to time with faculty members, including Dr. [W.W.] Wyatt, without our ever discussing on a fundamental level, "How do you feel about this?"¹²⁵

Graff's unstated demonstrations of "oughtness" were means of overcoming barriers, Dennard said: "He behaved as though no problem existed, but was perceptive in every respect. He had a very nervous habit of drumming, and the more he drummed, the more you knew his anxiety level was very high, but he was always calm."¹²⁶

"We almost never had a discussion about race, feelings, etc.," Dennard said. On occasions when he would return upset from a race-related incident at the Tennessean, or decided not to shower

¹²⁴Dennard. Jordan also was conferred the Ed.D. Degree in 1964. Feild, whose major professor was Aldmon, completed the Ed.D. in 1965.

¹²⁵Dennard. Dennard had had verbal difficulties with Wyatt, with whom most doctoral students of Graff's department took statistics and research courses.

¹²⁶Dennard.

or change clothes after he had been hit with eggs or tomatoes so that others could share his indignation, Graff bore with him, never lecturing or excusing, but encouraging him to persevere. When he moved into Melrose Hall, a dormitory--probably also the first out-of-state black to do so, he thought--Graff's colleagues would occasionally inquire as to conditions, he said:

The fellows would check with me. Aldmon and others would check with me from time to time to find out how are things going? And I would say, "You know, if I could get these guys to stop trying to borrow my toothpaste and my razor blade, things would improve considerably." And they would crack up, because they were expecting the worst. And I was saying that these guys are no different than would be the case in an all-black dormitory.¹²⁷

Graff's acquaintances, his knowledge of systems, and his communication ability gave him enormous behind-the-scene power, Dennard said:

He knew the people within the university, and he knew how to work with them, and he knew how to place--he would remind you of a sophisticated chess player. He knew what moves to make and how to move. He was very active in this Kellogg network. . . . He was probably much more astute than most people in knowing how to get things done without them becoming media events. . . . He probably did more to find scholarship money to stimulate the fellowship program in the Southern Education Foundation, to put dollars in the pot. . . .¹²⁸

Related to the guidance and support Graff gave him in his program progress, Dennard seemed to appreciate Graff's interactions with him on philosophy. These began with a paper he wrote early in the program as a critique on one of John Dewey's theories. After reading the paper, Graff invited him in for a discussion, Dennard said, "and we really got into a good one." Graff asked him to read three books: Goals for Americans, compiled by the American Assembly at Columbia University; Every Man His Own Historian by Carl Becker, a professor of history at Michigan State University; and The Human Use of Human Beings (originally published under the title, Cybernetics and Society) by Norbert Wiener. To these Dennard said he added Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life, upon Graff's agreement.

¹²⁷Dennard.

¹²⁸Dennard.

These three books, as recommendations, and the fourth one, which was a residual, then formed the basis on which he and I talked about educational leadership in the southern region and the kind of grounding that an individual needs to be effective in participating in, in shaping, the kind of society that he believed was do-able and would help in maturing my own understanding of the meaning of representative democracy, regardless of what I had experienced. And that then lead to the selection of courses that I needed to seriously consider.¹²⁹

Discussions of these works took place in various meetings with Graff, including the visits to the Faculty Club, Dennard said. Then Graff asked him to read two additional books: How We Learn by Boyd Bode and How We Think by John Dewey. "With those two pieces in place, he was trying to prepare me to be able to engage in seminar dialogue," Dennard said. He then went on to participate in various seminar discussions, occasionally with students from other departments of the college. His own seminar group included doctoral students with "MBA-type backgrounds who were interested in becoming assistant superintendents in finance, for facilities planning and development, and the like. Our discussion about the thought process for learning and the organizational content of teaching, based on the way the human being learns, became the critical content basis."¹³⁰

Dennard was delighted to find that Graff could discuss his earlier black mentor, whom Graff did not know personally. "His name was Vernon Johns," Dennard said, "the minister who preceded Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church." Johns, from Virginia, authored a sermon for The Best Sermons of 1926, published by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was he who created the environment in Montgomery, Alabama, and made it possible for Martin Luther King, Jr. to be successful. Had it not been for Vernon Johns, there could not have been a Martin Luther King, Jr., in that setting, at that moment. An Oberlin graduate and quite capable . . . he was the most highly developed intellect that I had ever met. . . .

His capacity to define a problem and energize one to act on the problem was enormous. He had not any of Orin Graff's capacity to help you to understand why you were responding. And having spent five years with him and another five years with Martin King, these were powerful intellectual stimulants. . . . And then to find someone like Orin Graff, who as the kids would say was kind of "laid back," a continuous bundle of energy, but apparently calm at all times on the surface, who was trying to whet your inquisitive impulses about essence . . . as an

¹²⁹Dennard.

¹³⁰Dennard.

educator, he thought that you educated the whole person. . . . He shared very few new ideas; he shared new ways of examining old ideas. And he had very strong concepts and values about the reconstructing of the circumstances of life that makes one responsive and adaptive; and that was, in my judgment, his real strength. He dealt with you between the ears.¹³¹

Like other former students, including Merrill, Dennard also described Graff's preference to associate with people with the ability to "play ball with him" intellectually:

If you couldn't handle that, he really had no overriding empathy. He was a stimulator of intellectual capacity. He was irritated often by the limitations of people. Especially politicians, doctrinaires, religious zealots; but he did not attack them. His job was to prepare you to do it. He was not himself an activist. . . .¹³²

An irony related to his eventual doctoral studies at The University of Tennessee, Dennard said, was that he had had a strong desire as a teenager to play football there, and he was later recruited by Yale coach Herman Hickman, a former All-America player for the Volunteers. "As a kid, you know, not really being perceptive of the social order in which I existed, naively I just maintained that I was going to play football for General [Robert] Neyland. I wanted to be a hardnosed center in his single wing armies."¹³³ Subsequently he realized that playing for Neyland would not have been possible, but he was able to be part of an era--one in which his own ideas of greatness changed--when such barriers began to fall. "I attribute more to unsung heroes like Orin Graff and Vernon Johns," he said. "They never met, but if they had met, it would have been one of the most delightful visits between two intellectual giants that I have ever known."¹³⁴

Continuing Efforts Toward Equal Opportunity

Graff and other members of his department continued to make efforts both through programs and individual work toward equalizing opportunities for minorities. Their efforts included all the

¹³¹Dennard.

¹³²Dennard.

¹³³Dennard.

¹³⁴Dennard.

elements of personalized attention and individual program design that had become a hallmark of Graff's department, along with the institutes and centers that Venditti described. Another major programmatic effort, the University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education, also achieved great success in opening opportunities for Ed.D. and Ed.S. Degree studies to black educators. That and other aspects of the center are described later in this chapter.

The University of Tennessee School Planning Laboratory

One of the great success stories of Graff's department was the College of Education's School Planning Laboratory (SPL), a grant-supported project that was only one of two in the nation.¹³⁵ Graff's role was indirect. He provided general guidance, support, and leadership, while the lab was initiated and operated during its first eight years by his longest-term colleague in the department, John W. Gilliland.

A ten-year report published by the SPL during the year of Graff's retirement, 1971, described the initial receipt of grant support and the lab's beginnings:

In June, 1961, the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. [EFL], in New York City, made an initial grant to the College of Education at The University of Tennessee to collaborate with school systems and colleges in the southeastern region of the United States concerning school plant facility problems and needs. A second grant followed in 1962 with the sanction that The University of Tennessee be designated as the Southeastern Regional Center for the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. The School Planning Laboratory (SPL) grew out of these two initial grants and regional designation.¹³⁶

"You'll have to credit Dr. Gilliland," Kimbrough said of the lab's initiation and its long-term success. Kimbrough was on The University of Tennessee faculty when funding for the lab was anticipated, but he joined the University of Florida before it actually began operation. He recalled

¹³⁵The only other regional school planning lab operated on a scale comparable to The University of Tennessee's was located at Stanford University.

¹³⁶University of Tennessee School Planning Laboratory, "The School Planning Laboratory" (Knoxville, 1971), 1. Paper included in Graff's files, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Gilliland's obtaining the grant after talking with Ed Groves, a Ford Foundation representative at a conference: "I remember . . . when they came back from AASA, Dr. Gilliland's saying to Dr. Graff, 'He said he would give us some money for the laboratory.' Dr. Gilliland got that Ford grant and did a really good job."¹³⁷

Gilliland, who had been a professor in Graff's department for 12 years at the time the lab was funded,¹³⁸ had already become known as a more operation-oriented, less philosophical professor than Graff. This orientation was reflected in Gilliland's areas of teaching and service before the SPL, which included school personnel management along with facility planning. Graff, Gilliland and other professors of the department also over the years provided guidance in school facility planning processes through the many school surveys and other forms of field services. Such experiences were recounted by various former students of Graff, including Feldman, who spoke of Gilliland and the visits:

His biggest contribution during the time I was there, . . . his most visible contribution, was safety and design of school buildings, buildings and grounds. . . . We visited a lot of school buildings that we assessed, not that we had any authority --we were just allowed to come in. . . . It would depend on the superintendent whose system we were visiting if it made any difference. Some of the superintendents were participatory. They really appreciated and wanted the outcomes of these evaluations. Some of them, I suspect, filed the reports, and their school boards didn't see them. . . . I feel that a lot of contribution was made in Knoxville and Knox County and yet I cannot say how much, what percentage of influence there was.¹³⁹

Robert L. McElrath, who earned a Doctor of Education degree through the SPL program in 1968 and later served as Tennessee Commissioner of Education for seven years, said the positive effects of the department's school studies were long-lasting in terms of facility planning and many

¹³⁷Kimbrough, May 10, 1990. Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc., was supported by the Ford Foundation.

¹³⁸Gilliland joined The University of Tennessee faculty in 1949, as indicated in Chapter 5. He was a native of Missouri, having served as superintendent of a small suburban school district there before earning his doctoral degree at New York University, according to Guy S. Potts.

¹³⁹Feldman.

other matters, reaching into and beyond his own later tenure as superintendent of Greeneville City

Schools:

I think they were very instrumental in bringing about a lot of change at the local school level. They were very instrumental in bringing about better financing. Dr. Graff engaged in a lot of comprehensive studies for school systems. He had a close working relationship with superintendents. He also helped to form an organization of the area superintendents. . . . I was a member of it for a long time, but certainly not a charter member, because I think he started the organization in the late '50s. The group received a lot of training from Dr. Graff and staff in terms of conducting comprehensive studies. So then the superintendents would serve as visiting members of the comprehensive teams in the various areas. Not only did they help other local school systems, but they gained a lot of knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of their own systems.¹⁴⁰

One of the major facility efforts of Graff and Gilliland that preceded the planning lab was promotion and design of Claxton Education Building, completed in 1957 to house the College of Education. Erma Graff, who was generally inclined toward understatement in describing her husband's achievements, said he was one of the "original sponsors" and the "promoter" of the building. "I'll tell you one peculiar thing about that--it's really funny. They didn't want to put air conditioning in it. . . . So he insisted on air conditioning in that building. And he got it." She also believed that Claxton was the first major building of the university originally designed for central air conditioning.¹⁴¹

Lawrence DeRidder did not recall Graff's role in the design of Claxton Education Building, but he did recall that Gilliland was heavily involved: "Dr. Gilliland was very much concerned that we should have light doors, light walls, light furniture . . . ," with other fixtures providing contrast.¹⁴² Nunnery and others also remembered Gilliland's influence in design, selection, and

¹⁴⁰Robert L. McElrath, telephone interview with author, March 24, 1992. McElrath entered the doctoral program in Graff's department in 1966, after serving as a principal in Buncombe County, North Carolina. Upon earning the Ed.D. degree, he served approximately 11 years as superintendent of Greeneville, Tennessee, City Schools, where his two most recent predecessors had been, respectively, Homer Mincy, who moved to Oak Ridge City Schools as principal, and Dykes. McElrath served as Tennessee Commissioner of Education for seven years during the administration of Governor Lamar Alexander. He then joined the faculty of East Tennessee State University, where he was serving as professor of education as of this study.

¹⁴¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

¹⁴²DeRidder.

coordination of building components, furniture and fixtures. Nunnery also noted Gilliland's insistence on carpet, which he referred to as "thermal acoustical floor covering."¹⁴³

Guy S. Potts earned an Ed.D. in 1954 with Gilliland as his major professor and later used the services of the SPL for a "massive building program" during his superintendency at Lexington, Kentucky. He characterized Gilliland as a "nuts and bolts type of guy" who "liked to get down with the architects. Orin . . . gave a lot of consideration to the actual instructional needs in school buildings. . . . But they complemented one another quite well and got along extremely well."¹⁴⁴

He added, "I never knew John to have a theoretical thought. If he did, he kept it well hidden. And I say that with a great amount of respect and love for him."¹⁴⁵

Lawrence Derthick, Jr., whom Gilliland served as chair for both the master's degree (1954) and Doctor of Education degree (1957), recalled that Gilliland frequently did studies and provided assistance to school systems in facilities planning. As did Potts, he noted that Gilliland was very practitioner-oriented, while Graff was much more theory-oriented. Derthick said that he himself tended toward the practitioner orientation. Gilliland's advisees tended to become practicing school principals or superintendents, he said, while Graff's often went into higher education as professors and administrators.

Gilliland's practitioner orientation did not change as the planning lab progressed, if anything growing more pronounced, according to McElrath. Gilliland liked action, he said:

Dr. John liked to move on (laugh). Now, I don't know about his earlier years. I understand they were both more philosophical then. But Dr. John, after he became director of the School Planning Lab--and of course it was one of two in the United States, one being at Stanford at the time--there were so many activities going on, and so many requests for services, that Dr. John didn't like to sit around. . . .¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁴⁴Potts.

¹⁴⁵Potts.

¹⁴⁶McElrath.

Merrill, who became dean of the College of Education within months of EFL's issuance of the initial grant, emphasized that the School Planning Lab was a fortuitous match between Gilliland's aptitudes and a major opportunity. He credited Graff with providing Gilliland the wide degree of latitude needed to operate the lab successfully while at the same time exercising needed management oversight--at times a challenge, in view of Gilliland's strong personality--and supplying the philosophic foundation from which educational facility planning could proceed. Merrill said:

John Gilliland found himself in that work. . . . He did not have the strong philosophical orientation that Dr. Graff had at first. But he did work out a theory of instruction that made sense in its implications for school buildings; and he had a knack for working with architects and working with school boards. He really found himself, Dr. John Gilliland did, and Dr. Graff gave him the freedom to do that. And we developed a beautiful school lab down there. . . . He would have architects in, and he had all kinds of school designs. There was a period of school growth, and so they had school boards and superintendents to come in. . . . They would pore over plans and see models and see materials, and it was very helpful.¹⁴⁷

John Crothers observed the Graff-Gilliland relationship first as a student and later, when director of The University of Tennessee-Memphis State Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education, as a colleague. He candidly described how Graff extended strong but sensitive leadership and how Gilliland accepted it:

It was a collegial, peer relationship in every way, every way except in any instance where an ultimate decision had to be made in regard to the propriety of a project or an awkwardness that might have developed. . . . Dr. Gilliland fully recognized and appreciated the authority role that Dr. Graff had as chairman of the department and did accept his guidance in some awkward situations that I was personally aware of. Dr. Graff . . . was always careful that John never lost face or stood to be embarrassed or anything like that, but behind the scene Dr. Graff . . . was fully capable of providing directive guidance. No one should ever assume, as personalized as his program was, that he wasn't in charge and wasn't the authority figure--he was. But he was very gracious in using as infrequently as possible the authority that went with the role that he had, both formally and informally, within the university. He gave Dr. Gilliland all the credit that Dr. Gilliland earned, really, and it was due. . . . But if a question of propriety or procedure or anything came up that needed to be resolved, Dr. Graff was fully accepted by Dr. Gilliland as the ultimate authority.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

¹⁴⁸Crothers.

The School Planning Lab was another project that fit well into the pragmatic "shoulder to shoulder" work relationship Graff sought to achieve between students and professors. The SPL published its own summary of purpose as follows:

Since its inception, SPL has felt that its primary function has been to assist school systems and colleges in resolving physical plan problems which arise while attempting to renovate old school facilities or plan new ones to meet the needs and demands of changing education programs. It has further been the basic philosophy of SPL that a properly constructed physical environment for school buildings adds immeasurably to the fulfillment of the goals and aspirations of modern educational programs.¹⁴⁹

The lab developed and promoted four basic concepts for design of school physical environments, described under the headings, "compactness of school design," "flexibility," "teachers and machines," and "precisely controlled physical environment."¹⁵⁰ Pursuit of these concepts led to construction of many new school buildings that were circular, rather than angular, in perimeter contour, oftentimes resembling clusters of pod-shaped structures--an "open school" concept, with emphasis on carpet, physical color and texture, movable fixtures, and absence or scarcity of permanent interior walls. Claimed advantages focused on (1) the potential for improving educational programs--facilitation of new educational uses of technology, and general amenability toward accommodating differing learning styles by using flexibility of space to vary activities and groupings; and (2) on gains in efficiency and economy--fewer walls to build; less unused space to heat, cool, and maintain; and fewer windows to allow environmental interference with heating and cooling systems.

More broadly, the lab also touted the facility concepts as addressing the need for a new era of school-community interrelationships. The tenth-year report described this linkage:

The need for new school planning procedures has become self-evident. The old ways simply do not result in schools that serve education and the community well. The evidence is overwhelming that today schools can fulfill their functions more effectively when the life of the school and the life of the community are

¹⁴⁹"The School Planning Laboratory," 2.

¹⁵⁰"The School Planning Laboratory," 2-3.

actively and intensely interrelated. Consequently, society is asking that new schools be planned as community institutions to serve adults as well as children, to perform social and cultural functions as well as educational goals. The concept underlying this philosophy is that a physical integration of educational facilities into the total fabric of the society will result in a social, economic, and environmental revitalization of the community.

This suggests that educational facility planning must become part of an overall strategy for community development, and that new approaches to coordination of public decision-making and planning procedures must be found.¹⁵¹

While the lab thus labeled its approach to facility planning as innovative, the idea of designing schools for flexibility of community use was far from new for Graff. The strong advocacy of the community school concept harked back to his service as superintendent of Norris School and his first two professional journal articles, "The School as the Community's Meeting Place" and "Planning School Grounds to Serve the Entire Community," discussed in Chapter 4. Viewed as a vehicle of expression for his philosophy, the lab fit perfectly his advice to one of his doctoral students on holding constant to one's long-term, value-based goals while trying different means to reach those goals.¹⁵²

Like the SSCPEA projects, the planning lab furnished graduate students with opportunities for involvement in research and administrative work that related to their studies while providing income. It was also similar in that from these combined work/study activities came a cadre of Doctor of Education Graduates who took high levels of expertise in their field--albeit in a more specialized range of studies than the SSCPEA--into practice at various locations of the nation. Merrill recalled that, at any given time, the lab had "as many as five or six or seven students, mature students, working there learning this field. It generated a lot of money, and this was the envy of other departments. It meant they had a way of supporting students; it meant they had a reputation. They got articles in the papers. . . . It was very successful."¹⁵³

¹⁵¹"The School Planning Laboratory," 6-7.

¹⁵²Westbrook.

¹⁵³Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

The SPL ten-year report described its doctoral student staff as follows:

Each year a limited number of doctoral candidates who have had several years of experience in teaching or administration are selected to participate in the activities of the lab. During the first year of association with SPL, these students are encouraged to complete the necessary course work stipulated by their doctoral committees, while serving as part-time research assistants. During their second year of association with the Lab, these students are classified as research associates and devote their time to laboratory research and field projects. Within this two-year program, these candidates may complete the required course work, develop a dissertation, and do research related to SPL, while gaining valuable experience by working with architects, educators, engineers, industrial suppliers, and other related professions. This program serves to produce knowledgeable educators with a broad background of experience. These candidates are generally placed directly into responsible positions upon graduation.¹⁵⁴

For doctoral students, the deeper individual reality behind this description's organizational language was that the planning lab program represented an intensely rigorous two years. The work of the lab was of the real-world variety, involving travel and consultation with educational clients, applied research, and production of plans and related documents. Coupled with these pressures, Gilliland was noted to be a demanding, temperamental, and outspoken taskmaster with graduate students. Consequently, the two-year program represented a highly structured period of immersion for doctoral students.

Students who met the rigors could be rewarded, however, through the same synergistic "network" effects through which Graff and colleagues found employment opportunities for doctoral graduates who were involved in SSCPEA and other projects. A notable example was McElrath, who credited his appointment as superintendent of Greeneville City Schools to a combination of his own SPL work and Graff's reputation.

Dr. Graff and Dr. Gilliland--especially those two--were very instrumental in that, probably Dr. Graff more than anyone, because the board of education in Greeneville had relied on Dr. Graff in the past, starting in the '50s, for making recommendations for leaders. The board of education felt the need even in the '50s and '60s to go outside the system to bring in new ideas. So our board of education had high regard for Dr. Graff and the university.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴"The School Planning Laboratory," 4.

¹⁵⁵McElrath.

After noting Graff's role in the appointments of Archie Dykes and Homer Mincy, McElrath

added:

I had had an opportunity working at the School Planning Lab to take visiting school board members from across the United States to Greeneville not only to look at their facilities, but to look at the program improvements they had made. But at the time I had no idea I'd wind up in Greeneville as superintendent. It was because of Dr. Graff's influence that I had the opportunity.¹⁵⁶

During the concurrent last ten years of Graff's service and the first ten years of its operation, the lab reported that it produced 39 Doctor of Education graduates:

In the opinion of many astute educators, these graduates have been the most significant contribution made by SPL to the field of education. Most of these graduates have remained in education and are employed throughout the United States in public school systems, colleges, universities, and local, state, and national governmental agencies.¹⁵⁷

The report and various other sources also noted that the lab's area of service extended well beyond the Southeast, its originally designated region, serving not only "practically every state in the South," but also other educational institutions "as far west as Kansas and as far north as Pennsylvania." The lab assisted in planning facilities that exceeded a half-billion dollars in cost during the ten-year period, working closely with more than 250 architectural firms and more than 750 individual architects "concerning specific and general educational projects."¹⁵⁸

The magnitude of the planning lab's contribution to school facility planning, Gilliland's unusual character, and the teaming of two powerful personalities to form a peculiarly effective partnership together suggested to Crothers an area of further inquiry:

Dr. Gilliland, at some future point in time, bears studying himself, I think. I know of no man who has got more visible physical monuments to his credit than Gilliland, and overwhelmingly, for the most part, has had a significant impact on education through the school buildings and the positive impact good physical environment has

¹⁵⁶McElrath.

¹⁵⁷"The School Planning Laboratory," 5.

¹⁵⁸"The School Planning Laboratory," 5.

on learning. The man had the most interesting set of idiosyncracies that you could ever imagine. But they made quite a partnership.¹⁵⁹

Despite the obvious merits of Crothers' suggestion, such a study might also encounter questions on the long-term satisfaction with and effectiveness of the "open" style of buildings the lab so well promoted. The planning lab was apparently consistent in promoting application of the concepts that led to construction of hundreds of such buildings, in concert with general concepts of educational programming being advanced during the 1960s and early 1970s. Beyond the scope of this study, many schools and school systems apparently later found that the envisioned match between facility design and educational program did not transpire once the buildings were completed.¹⁶⁰ Lynn Canady, for example, stated of Gilliland, with humor, "You could never predict him, I know. Those campus style schools, I don't know why he built so many of them. I surely don't like them."¹⁶¹

In summary, the planning lab was regarded as a huge success for which Gilliland was individually credited more than any other person. His expertise and intense interest in facility planning, his ability to attract and maintain external financial support, his devotion to the lab's success, and his concentration on meeting service needs and requests all combined to build the lab into an unusually effective and visible success story for The University of Tennessee. Its success reached beyond the state and region and into farther geographic locations of the nation during and beyond Graff's career. Well behind the visible aspects of Gilliland's creation and operations, however, the lab was yet another expression of Graff's basic tenets. It linked theory to practice. It moved his department, college, and university beyond campus confines to provide "real" services to

¹⁵⁹Crothers.

¹⁶⁰None of the sources for this study indicated such dissatisfaction directed specifically toward facilities that the SPL was involved in designing, but rather toward the design movement in general. Conversely, several sources recounted that Gilliland, Graff, and others involved in the SPL emphasized as a priority making facility design decisions based on thoroughly considered plans for the educational program to be housed in the facilities.

¹⁶¹Canady.

local school districts and other educational institutions in their own settings. It placed doctoral students into actual professional positions of responsibility and learning (albeit with less opportunity for philosophic development and reflection than in work with Graff, Pierce, and others). It provided at least subsistence-level compensation to students as they devoted themselves exclusively to graduate studies for extended periods. It provided a means for maintaining a professional network through which students could be placed into professional positions appropriate to their abilities upon degree completion. And it promoted aspects of educational programming, in particular the community school concept and potential for flexible programs that would fit well within progressive education tenets, that connected back to Graff's studies with Bode and his work at Norris. As great a landmark within his career as was the lab itself, however, may have been his leadership of and work with Gilliland, assisting and allowing his eccentric colleague to employ his own strengths to their greatest effectiveness while not allowing his peculiarities and excesses to destroy him. As well as the strengths of Gilliland, the success of the planning lab thus illustrated the strength of Graff's leadership that, insofar as outside appearances were concerned, was muted by his professorial, philosophic demeanor.

The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University

Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education

The second major post-SSCPEA programmatic achievement in which Graff served as a prime mover was the establishment and operation of a major interuniversity doctoral program in Memphis--the first of its kind in Tennessee. The program was The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education, which opened in fall, 1962, and operated through summer, 1973.¹⁶²

¹⁶²Margaret S. Phelps, "The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study in Education and Implications for the Continuing Education of Educational Leaders" (Ed.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1975), 90, 106. Phelps' work is a comprehensive study of the center that provides much detail beyond the information summarized here as part of Graff's story.

The goals, characteristics, and achievements of the center epitomized several of Graff's philosophic and educational tenets. First, the center was a major effort of The University of Tennessee to reach out to an underserved area, and thus a realization of his belief that a public university should exist to serve the state's citizens and should extend its services to where they are needed. Second, it was a dramatic step forward in racial integration for his department and the university, as well as a major move into the most urbanized area of the state. (This was a new venture, considering the sheer size of the urban Memphis area. Graff's department had already become noted for its outreach service to rural school districts, and it provided much direct service to the smaller metropolitan areas of Knoxville and Chattanooga.) Third, it opened new avenues of growth for current and former students, for himself and his department faculty, and for new West Tennessee students who eventually came to Knoxville for doctoral residence. Administrators, faculty, and students of the center worked or studied both in Memphis and Knoxville, or had previously done so, a collective set of experiences that linked regions of the state that previously had had little interaction in higher education programs.

In terms of organizational hierarchy, Graff was subordinate to other key officials of the two universities who played major roles in the initiation and operation of the center. Nevertheless, he was viewed by several sources as the single most instrumental individual in beginning the center and guiding its progress. He was apparently designated as primary representative of the College of Education in planning the center, and three doctoral graduates of his department--two whom he had served as major professor and another who could be regarded as a "third-generation" advisee--served as the center's only three directors during its history.¹⁶³

¹⁶³The three directors, chronologically, were Archie R. Dykes, John M. Crothers, and Robert K. Roney. Graff served as major professor for Dykes and Crothers; Roney's major professor for most of his program, though not of record, was Nunnery, whose major professor had been Kimbrough, one of Graff's early doctoral advisees. (Nunnery left The University of Tennessee faculty for the University of Florida before Roney completed the Ed.D. program, and Dewey H. Stollar, later the department head, was Roney's major professor of record.)

The genesis of the center was a recognition by Graff and others of the barriers to doctoral study in education that West Tennesseans faced. In her comprehensive study of the center, Margaret S. Phelps noted that The University of Tennessee and George Peabody College for Teachers were the only higher education institutions in Tennessee offering doctoral degrees in education in 1955. Memphis State University's graduate offerings in education were limited to master's degree programs, along with those of other regional universities in Tennessee, while across state lines doctoral studies were available at the Universities of Mississippi and Arkansas. Phelps wrote:

Consequently, educators in West Tennessee desiring to study beyond the master's degree had a choice of traveling 200 miles to Nashville and paying private school tuition, traveling 400 miles to Knoxville, or traveling outside the state and paying tuition.¹⁶⁴

The actual movement to provide doctoral studies in education in Memphis began in 1959 as a kind of cooperative, grass-roots effort involving the leading Memphis newspaper, the Commercial Appeal, the Western Section of the Tennessee Education Association (TEA), area school superintendents, and faculty and staff of Memphis State University. A resolution from the TEA Western Section urged negotiations between Presidents J.M. Smith of Memphis State University and Andrew D. Holt of the University of Tennessee to form a center. When no action followed, a second resolution in 1960 renewed the plea, this time also going to Tennessee General Assembly members from 21 counties and urging negotiations with The University of Tennessee or "another institution now approved for doctoral study."¹⁶⁵

Negotiations between Memphis State and The University of Tennessee began in 1961, and, according to a memorandum from university vice president Herman E. Spivey to Graff and others, Spivey "assumed administrative responsibility for bringing the program into existence." It was at this point that documentary evidence signalled Graff's entry into the planning process, as "The Dean of the UT Graduate School and members of the UT College of Education were asked to develop initial

¹⁶⁴Phelps, 74.

¹⁶⁵Phelps, 83-84. The two resolutions were included in Appendix B of Phelps' study.

plans for the program in preparation for a meeting with the president of MSU to be held in Knoxville on January 25, 1962."¹⁶⁶

As plans for the center neared completion, a jurisdictional issue over its control arose within The University of Tennessee, Graff said in a 1973 interview. The planning committee leadership asserted that the success of the center in carrying out its envisioned role would depend on total control by the College of Education and Graduate School, rather than by the Division of University Extension. Provisions for such control were included in the guidelines for the center (with the Division of University Extension involved in providing various other types of services).¹⁶⁷ The guidelines that had been developed and released in February, 1962, for establishing the center also provided, among other points, that "Students admitted to the Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) program would be required to spend at least three consecutive quarters in full-time residency on the Knoxville campus."¹⁶⁸

With these and other operational points established, Dykes was named director in summer, 1962, and the center opened in the Memphis State administration building.¹⁶⁹ Dykes recalled that he took the Memphis job specifically at the request of Graff along with Merrill, who by then had become dean: "Dr. Graff asked me to go to Memphis and start the new graduate program. . . . Dean Merrill was then the dean of the College of Education. Dr. Graff and Dean Merrill asked me to go. . . ." Dykes described the center as reflecting Graff's combination of vision and practicality:

Dr. Graff played a key role in creating the program. . . . That was typical of him. . . . I think it's fair to say that the average chairman of the department of educational administration would have resisted the creation in a large growing

¹⁶⁶Phelps, 85-86. One factor that may have heightened Graff's role as a key participant was the transition in the position of dean of the College of Education, with N.E. Fitzgerald retiring and E.C. Merrill, Jr., entering in 1961. A key leadership role appeared quite logical for Graff, considering not only the deanship transition, but also his regional and national stature, the reciprocal respect between him and top university officials, and his role as head of the only totally graduate department of the college.

¹⁶⁷Phelps, 87-88.

¹⁶⁸Phelps, 86.

¹⁶⁹Phelps, 88.

university of another department of educational administration. But rather than resist it, he led it. He wanted it there, because he saw the need for it in the state, knowing all the time that it would lead to competition . . . the willingness to reach out and to share, the willingness to make sacrifices in his own program in order that the larger needs of the state be served. That was very characteristic of him. It was also characteristic of Pete [E.C.] Merrill. If there had been a different dean and a different chairman of the department, they would have fought that program over there like a tiger, and rather than having a cooperative, positive relationship, it would have been a real war between two strong institutions . . . and the people who would have suffered would have been the students and the prospective students. But Dr. Graff reached out and assisted, took an active role in making it happen. It wouldn't have happened without him. He worked very closely with [C.C.] Sonny Humphreys, who was then president of Memphis State. . . . I remember distinctly having a meeting . . . in Nashville, and I came to the meeting at Dr. Graff's invitation. In the meeting were Pete Merrill, Sonny Humphreys, Dr. Graff, and John Richardson, who was dean of the graduate school then at Memphis State. And I just thought, boy, this will be a battle royal, because . . . the people from UT aren't going to like having it over here. But it was just the opposite. What can we do to help? And, we want you to do this. Dr. Graff and Pete Merrill took the leadership in it, and it was sharp contrast to what you usually see, where people are more interested in protecting turf than they are in serving the needs.¹⁷⁰

The two directors who later succeeded Dykes were both products of the center--perhaps another indication of the area's determination to maintain a doctoral studies program there. Both had been administrators in the Memphis City Schools who pursued studies at the center on their way to earning Doctor of Education degrees in Graff's department. The first of the two was Crothers, who had entered educational administration as a principal in Memphis in 1952 following World War II military service and completion of bachelor's and master's degrees at George Peabody College for Teachers. As one who was intensely involved with education in Memphis for a long period before beginning doctoral studies, Crothers gave personal as well as professional views of the program's need and its potential magnitude for service, considering the immense population of Memphis and the surrounding area.¹⁷¹ He recalled the need for the center in similar but more personalized terms as Phelps:

¹⁷⁰Dykes.

¹⁷¹Crothers. Kingsburg High School, which Crothers served as principal from 1952 to 1966, exclusive of sabbatical time for doctoral studies, enrolled more than 4,000 students, he said.

The city of Memphis and its environs represent the most heavily populated area in the mid-South. . . . The tenth largest school system in America--Memphis, at that time, and the environs which included east Arkansas, southeast Missouri, southwest Kentucky, and western Tennessee--just virtually were unserved with advanced graduate study experiences. Now your regional universities such as Memphis State and others, Arkansas State up at Blytheville, UT at Martin--they were beginning to offer master's level type work, and such efforts reached various levels of strength. But beyond that experience, there was just not anything offered.

The absence of a doctoral program was startling considering the sheer size of the Memphis City Schools system alone, Crothers said.

The [Memphis] district was large. We had about 6,000 teachers. There were no earned doctorates in this large system as late as 1962, when Archie Dykes first came to town representing the department. I was asked to consider enrolling in a class for two reasons: (1) That I would probably enjoy it, and I knew I would, because I hadn't studied formally in that area--that is, educational administration and related subjects; and (2) It might set an example for others in Memphis--educators--who would start looking at the need for advanced graduate studies. So in the fall of 1962 I enrolled for one of Archie's classes. Of course, during that time is when I met Dr. Graff. In fact, he was a visiting teacher, I guess, the first week we opened up that program. Through that early acquaintanceship and association--I enjoyed it--others followed me into the program.¹⁷²

From his own involvement in the program, Crothers' recollections of the officials who played key roles in defining and opening the center closely matched those identified by Phelps and Dykes: Graff, Holt, Spivey and Smith of The University of Tennessee and Humphreys, Richardson, and Sam Johnson (dean of education) of Memphis State, among others. Crothers viewed Graff as the catalyst and the central figure in making the center a reality: "In my opinion he was. It was not exclusively, but primarily, Educational Administration that was the key [area] that was initially emphasized. This was not done, however, to the exclusion of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Psychology."

Like Dykes, Crothers credited Graff, Holt, and Spivey with vision and remarkable lack of territorial selfishness in pushing for the center, aware that while Memphis State could not at that point support a doctoral program in education "but someday surely was going to. So UT came into

¹⁷²Crothers.

Memphis with this same philosophy that had existed in the department in Knoxville, in an externalization effort all the way across the state."¹⁷³

Both Dykes and Crothers spoke of O.Z. Stephens, whom Dykes remembered as one of his earliest students in the center.¹⁷⁴ Dykes reported a 1990 conversation with Stephens in which he gave a cogent, lengthy description of the Memphis center's magnitude:

He said, "You know, if you look back on what helped education more in West Tennessee than anything else, it was the creation of the UT/MSU Graduate Center. It brought people in; it brought new influences into the area; people began to go to school. Most of them went to UT but not all of them; they went to other universities. But they started there in the center, and it whetted their interest." In the first class that we had over there, we had people like O.Z. who was then, I guess, an assistant principal. But you had the top echelon in the Memphis City Schools, including the school superintendent, E.C. Stimbert. The same was true of Shelby County. We never did have George Barnes, the superintendent, but he saw to it that all of his top people enrolled. It just began to change the whole tide of education. If you [had] asked Orin Graff at the time, he wouldn't have made any link to it, but in my mind that would not have happened without Orin Graff's help and support, and the ideas that were carried into that center were really Orin Graff's ideas. He made a big difference in the quality of education in one of the largest cities in the South. . . . Now, he would never admit that. We had conferences; we would bring people in; the school system itself changed because of the outside influences. It was very insular, not much interest in what was going on in the rest of the world, very self-satisfied. And suddenly things changed. And even today . . . I occasionally hear from some of the people who were in that program, and that has been over 20 years. . . . He made a difference in the schools, and that's where the ideas of a man like Orin Graff can reach us forever. You don't know where it ends, because there are so many people touched by it. But in my mind he changed the whole direction of education in the West Tennessee area, and because of the magnitude of Memphis, hundreds of thousands of people were affected. They . . . never knew who he was. . . . O.Z. Stephens was just reflecting on that. He said no doubt that that was really the turning point of education in the Memphis School System. I think he's right. I think it made a tremendous difference. So it was a great experience. . . .¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³Crothers.

¹⁷⁴Crothers described himself as one of the first but said Stephens preceded him. Dykes recalled that Stephens went on to complete his Doctor of Education degree in Graff's department at Knoxville; after a brief period on the faculty at Middle Tennessee State University, he moved back to Memphis and served there until retirement as a high school principal.

¹⁷⁵Dykes.

Dykes served four years as director of the center, leaving in 1966 for a year-long Ford Foundation Fellowship before assuming the post of Chancellor of the University of Tennessee at Martin.¹⁷⁶ Crothers succeeded Dykes in 1966 and also served four years as director.¹⁷⁷ Roney succeeded Crothers in 1970 and served the final three years of the center's operations.¹⁷⁸ Thus the 11-year tenure of the center was directed in three almost equal segments by graduates of Graff's department. Graff's tenure as department head ended after the center's first five years of operation, which included Dykes' stay and the first year of Crothers'. During this period, including startup--students of the center did not begin earning degrees until 1965--the center's enrollees earned 15 Ed.D. Degrees and seven Ed.S. Degrees from The University of Tennessee. In its total history of operation, which extended beyond Graff's tenure as an active professor by two years, the center enrolled students who earned 81 Ed.D. Degrees and 24 Ed.S. Degrees at The University of Tennessee. Two-thirds of the doctoral graduates (54 of the 81) earned Ed.D. degrees in Educational Administration and Supervision, while 15 were in Curriculum and Instruction and 12 in Educational Psychology and Guidance.¹⁷⁹

Over its 11-year history, the average enrollment in the center per academic term, including summer quarters, was slightly above 89 students. The peak period was 1964-1966, when average

¹⁷⁶Dykes summarized the beginnings of his own mercurial rise in higher education that began with the Memphis position and the fellowship that followed: "The Ford Foundation and the American Council on Education had started a new program in academic administration. It was designed to train people to be university administrators. They were concerned that people were coming up through the professorial ranks and becoming university presidents, chancellors, deans, and so on, without any real training in the job, without any real awareness of what the jobs involved. So they put together this program which involved a selection each year of 25 to 30 young academicians who could go away to another university for a year's internship, fellowship. Andy Holt, who was then president of the University, nominated me for that, and I was accepted for it. I spent a year, 1966-67, at the University of Illinois at Urbana working in the president's office and in some departmental offices. . . . I wrote a study titled "Faculty Participation and Academic Decision Making," which the American Council on Education published. Then I came back to the University of Tennessee at Martin as chancellor. Dr. Holt was still president, and he asked me to come back as chancellor.

¹⁷⁷Phelps, 109.

¹⁷⁸Phelps, 111.

¹⁷⁹Phelps, 113-115.

enrollment was 107 students per quarter. The center's numbers lessened but maintained a stable level after Memphis State officially opened its own advanced graduate programs in education in fall of 1966, ranging from 71 to 89 through the final seven years of operation.¹⁸⁰

"One particularly significant aspect of enrollment at the UT-MSU Center was the number of black educators who enrolled in and completed programs," Phelps wrote.¹⁸¹ Black students earned almost 19 percent of the Doctor of Education degrees (15 of 81) and 25 percent of the Education Specialist degrees (6 of 24) during the history of the center.¹⁸² Black enrollment during the final two academic years of the center's operation ranged from 23 to 34 percent. Similar data for earlier periods of the center's operation were not available, but "each director of the UT-MSU Center had noted the special efforts made to encourage participation of black educators in the program."¹⁸³

While the black enrollment and completion proportions represented new opportunities for advanced studies and increased the university's service to minority students to a considerably higher level than it could otherwise have attained, the center's "average" graduate was still white. Phelps deduced this from analysis of modal responses to an instrument that was part of her study, which "provided a description of the 'typical' UT-MSU graduate."

He was a white male employed as an administrator. He entered the Ed.D. program at the UT-MSU Center between 1962 and 1965 when he was between 31 and 40 years old. He lived less than 16 miles from the UT-MSU Center and took three to four years to complete his degree. He decided to do advanced graduate work to qualify for a new position and selected UT-MSU because it offered the only program in the area and/or because of the reputation of UT-MSU. Given the choice again, he would select UT-MSU.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰Phelps, 108-111.

¹⁸¹Phelps, 111.

¹⁸²Phelps, 113.

¹⁸³Phelps, 111-112.

¹⁸⁴Phelps, 188.

Joseph Westbrook was a Memphis black educator who began his program at the center and later, with Graff as major professor, completed his residence and Doctor of Education degree in Knoxville. Westbrook learned of Graff earlier from Harry Blanton, who after doctoral studies served as one of Westbrook's professors in the master's degree program at Tennessee A&I (later Tennessee State University).

Harry Blanton used to talk to us all the time about Dr. Graff, what Dr. Graff was doing, and how instrumental Dr. Graff was in getting blacks into the UT graduate program and working with them . . . working them through the program. So actually most of the blacks, especially those who came from this area, either had Dr. Graff as a major advisor or he worked very closely with them. He was my major advisor.¹⁸⁵

During his studies at the Center, Memphis State opened its doctoral program in education, and Westbrook recalled that this presented him with a choice:

Actually, some of the people at Memphis State tried to get me to transfer to Memphis State. But I said, "No, I don't want to do that, for various reasons. . . . Number one, I'm not sure Memphis State is ready for one of its first Ed.D. graduates to be a black person. I just can't take that chance. . . . Number two, your program is not established, and I need to stay at UT in their established program." It just didn't make sense for me to make that change. So I didn't.¹⁸⁶

As did other sources, Westbrook recalled that Graff was a "frequent visitor" to the center at that time. "I was quite impressed with him, because he seemed to be such a level-headed fellow." He later reiterated, "He was one of the most down-to-earth, fundamentally sound persons that I have come in contact with." Graff became his major professor after Westbrook's move to Knoxville for the required year of doctoral residence and "was very instrumental in guiding me through my program while I was there," he said.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵Westbrook.

¹⁸⁶Westbrook.

¹⁸⁷Westbrook completed his doctoral studies in 1970. The period of his residence in Knoxville and Graff's service as his major professor were part of a later period of Graff's life, covered in the following chapter. At the time of his studies at the center in Memphis, Westbrook was serving as instructional consultant (equivalent to instructional supervisor) for grades 7-12 in the Memphis City Schools. After he received the Doctor of Education degree in 1970, he was appointed as one of the first four area superintendents of Memphis City Schools as part of an administrative decentralization program. He served in the area superintendent position until retirement, also serving as president of the Tennessee Education Association in 1972-73.

Graff also served as major professor for Currie P. Boyd, a black student whom Westbrook assisted with housing in Knoxville after Boyd progressed from the center in Memphis to doctoral residence. Westbrook recalled that Boyd, who was from Fayette County in West Tennessee, arrived in Knoxville a quarter later than himself, and Graff asked him to let Boyd live in his apartment until Boyd could find other housing.¹⁸⁸ Crothers noted that Westbrook and Boyd together illustrated in part the center's range of service from very rural to very urban areas.¹⁸⁹

Like Dykes and Crothers, Westbrook credited Graff in his role with the center with extending much-needed doctoral studies to a huge, underserved area; with successfully involving significant numbers of Memphis area black educators in doctoral studies for the first time; and with initiating a program through which The University of Tennessee truly fulfilled its role as the major state university, on a state-wide scale.¹⁹⁰

As noted earlier, Dykes and Crothers credited Graff as envisioning an eventual lead role for Memphis State in the center. Robert Roney concurred in this view: "I think that Dykes and Crothers were entirely correct in that his original vision was at least a cooperative effort with Memphis State."¹⁹¹ However, the spirit in which this vision formed quickly evaporated, as the difficulties with Memphis State actually began early during Dykes' administration of the center, Roney said. The antagonism developed over a mixture of personalities, differing views of standards, and some degree of jealousy, Roney said, noting that his analysis as the center's third director relied in part on hearsay information. Some members of the Memphis State faculty apparently formed a perception that Dykes, a forceful leader, viewed them as inferior. "I think a lot of the Memphis State people

¹⁸⁸Westbrook.

¹⁸⁹Crothers also recalled an incident in which Boyd was arrested for registering to vote in Fayette County--the first black person so arrested after passage of new voting rights laws, he thought--prior to Boyd's doctoral studies. This was ironical, Crothers noted, considering Boyd's gentle nature. After completion of doctoral studies, Boyd later became dean of instruction at Jackson State Community College in Jackson, Tennessee, a position he held until retirement.

¹⁹⁰Westbrook.

¹⁹¹Roney, May 27, 1992.

thought they would just automatically be approved to direct research and to work in the center and teach courses, and Dykes was pretty particular about who was allowed to do that," Roney said. So part of the difficulty had to do with personality, and part of it had to do with higher expectations on the one hand than on the other, he added.¹⁹² Rather than an orderly, long-term process for determining when Memphis state's preparedness might have advanced sufficiently that the host university could assume leadership of the center's academic role, the result was an antagonistic, difficult series of events that occurred outside the planning channels through which the center had begun.

When Crothers arrived as director, he tried to involve more people; he then began to run into some real resistance, because by this time "they had their back up," Roney said. The position of the Memphis State dean of education and many of his faculty had become, "'Well, we want to get you guys out of here and we want our own.' At first they weren't even going to apply for their own doctoral program, at least not as soon as they did." He recalled that Memphis State, along with the West Tennessee Education Association, "was largely responsible for the request for us to take that center down there in the first place."¹⁹³

However, Memphis State did apply for a Doctor of Education program and opened it in 1966.¹⁹⁴ The state's formation of a higher education coordinating board, the Tennessee Higher Education Commission, followed in 1967.¹⁹⁵ Related to the development of the Memphis State program, competitive urges continued to increase among that university's staff and other Memphis State-related segments of the regional population, despite initial support of the jointly operated center by top officials of that university. Roney believed that C.C. Humphreys "did change his views

¹⁹²Roney, May 27, 1992.

¹⁹³Roney, May 27, 1992.

¹⁹⁴Phelps, 108.

¹⁹⁵Phelps, 187.

some," probably influenced by the Memphis State dean of education, by this time Robert Saunders, who was steadfastly opposed to the center.

"By the time I got down there to replace Crothers, it was just like an armed camp. Their dean was just adamant that we needed to leave, and he lobbied the legislature for us to be closed, and that sort of thing."¹⁹⁶

Two facility moves of the center were apparently related to Memphis State's determination to diminish and eventually close it. Roney recounted the two facility moves, which Phelps detailed in her study.¹⁹⁷ "When Crothers left," Roney said, "the dean there, Bob Saunders, and key faculty people presumed that, 'Ah, we've won the battle, and this center will be closed. . . . Then, all of a sudden, the dean in Knoxville appointed me, and before I got there, they had notified Crothers that they needed the space in their education building and moved us off the main campus onto an auxiliary campus that had formerly been a VA hospital." But the program thrived on the "Getwell Campus" (located on Getwell Street), which was advantageous in terms of student parking and convenience, Roney said.¹⁹⁸

Approximately a year later, Roney received another notice from Saunders that the center should vacate the former VA facility, as Memphis State also needed it. "I think their strategy was, 'If we don't provide them any space, what are they going to do?'" Roney said. His response was to telephone a lunch invitation to Joseph Johnson, his former supervisor at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, when Roney was director of institutional research and Johnson was a vice president. Johnson was serving at the time as chancellor of The University of Tennessee's medical units in

¹⁹⁶Roney, May 27, 1992.

¹⁹⁷Phelps, 96-98. The first move, in 1969, was from the university's Education Building to its Kennedy Administration Building, a surplus Veterans Administration Hospital. In 1971, at Memphis State's request that it vacate the building, the center moved from Memphis State property to space made available in The University of Tennessee Child Development Center by the university's medical units. The request to move was contrary to an agreement between the two university's presidents, Phelps wrote, and "was accomplished during a weekend with no disruption of classes."

¹⁹⁸Roney, May 27, 1992.

Memphis. "I explained to him what our problem was. I asked if there was any place in the medical units we could use. He said, 'Come with me.'"¹⁹⁹

Johnson took Roney to a new, grant-funded child development center building that had not been completed or staffed because of a revenue shortfall. He invited Roney to move into a space occupying about half of the first floor, "three classrooms, nice office space, a big central office; and then in the evenings we could even use the big carpeted lobby areas. I had a guy who was teaching group dynamics then, and they'd go out on the carpet and sit in a circle. Well, we just thrived even more."²⁰⁰

As Memphis State's resentment of the center continued, another major factor was issuance of The Governor's Study on Cost Control, also known as the Jarmen Report, in 1971.²⁰¹ Roney recalled that he had a lunch meeting with Saunders, whose irritation had grown with the continued success of the center after the two moves. He tried to convince Saunders of the need for the center in view of the size of Memphis and its surrounding area, the number of students who earned bachelor's and master's degrees at Memphis State and wanted to pursue a doctoral degree with another university, and the need on the part of nearby out-of-state students for a program approved by the National Council for Accreditation in Teacher Education (NCATE)--which Memphis State had not gained at the time. "There are enough problems in education to go around. When we get down to where we're fighting over solving the last problem, then maybe it'll be time for one of us to leave," Roney recalled saying. He made no headway, Roney said, and Saunders and the Memphis State contingent persuaded Curtis Person, a state legislator from Millington, to prepare state legislation specifically to close the center.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹Roney, May 27, 1992.

²⁰⁰Roney, May 27, 1992.

²⁰¹Phelps, 98-99.

²⁰²Roney, May 27, 1992.

According to Phelps, despite numerous interactions--including exchanges of supportive information, cost analyses and other data, and expressions of support--pressures from THEC as well as Memphis State reached a point at which Person's resolution was being prepared for presentation to the Tennessee General Assembly. "Rather than allow the issue to go before the legislature where its future was doubtful, UT administrators negotiated the termination of the academic role of the UT-MSU Center with THEC and the legislator," Phelps wrote.²⁰³

The center officially became a non-academic service unit of The University of Tennessee on July 1, 1973, changing its name at that time to the Bureau of Educational Research and Service--West Tennessee Center. However, classes continued until the end of the summer quarter.²⁰⁴ Roney moved to the Knoxville campus to assume new duties,²⁰⁵ joining the faculty of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision and associating closely with Graff.²⁰⁶ Thus, the center's duration extended from 1962, when Graff was age 61 and near the zenith of his role as department head and influential member of his profession, until almost two years beyond his retirement date, September, 1971.

Despite its successes with students, the center had operated under a cloud of growing uncertainty from Dykes' administration until the announcement in 1972 that its instructional activities would be assumed by Memphis State the following year. However, Graff's views of the center's closing and the circumstances in which this occurred were not recorded and were not known by Roney. "I think, yes, Dr. Graff's original vision was that we would help education in West Tennessee, first, and then we would help Memphis State get off to a good start," Roney said. But

²⁰³Phelps, 99-105. Here and in other parts of her study, Phelps provided considerable detail of events and issues regarding the center's closing.

²⁰⁴Phelps, 106.

²⁰⁵Phelps, 107.

²⁰⁶Roney, Nov. 30, 1989. Among other means of association, Roney and Graff were located in adjacent faculty offices, as Graff maintained an office and presence as professor emeritus.

Graff could not have foreseen the throes that subsequently occurred as Memphis State began a drive to remove, rather than assimilate, the center.

"I probably made a mistake by not going to Dr. Graff myself," Roney said. "I went to Hilton Smith." Smith was vice chancellor for graduate studies. "Hilton kept us open an extra year. I probably should have conferred with Orin, although I don't know what he would have done. . . . But he was not overtly and directly involved at the time of the closing."²⁰⁷

At least peripherally related to his role with the Memphis center, however, Graff during his retirement years did repeatedly express to Johnson and others his alarm at the university's pulling back from service and involvement at the community level in Tennessee. Both Johnson and Roney commented further on Graff's expression of this view, as described in Chapter 10.

²⁰⁷Roney, May 27, 1992.

CHAPTER 8

THE THEORY MOVEMENT AND THE "GREAT DEBATE"

We have scientific substantiation for discarding, as a myth, the traditional idea that we perceive objective reality. All perception is in terms of the individual's needs, experiences, values, beliefs, and purposes. Theory must, therefore, be predicated on what the theorist perceives to be important.

--Orin B. Graff¹

The Theory Movement: Educational Administration's

Shift Toward Logical Positivism

Ironically, the first annual NCPEA meeting that Graff missed, at Denver in 1954, was regarded by many sources as a major turning point in the theory movement. The meeting was also a key point in Graff's life, in that it provided him a platform as a voice in educational administration.

The impact of the meeting made 1954 a "watershed year,"² a turning point in a "leap toward an administrative science."³ Three related actions were key stimuli: (1) A group of social scientists attended--psychologists Jacob W. Getzels and Arthur P. Coladarci, along with Graff's friend and former University of Tennessee colleague, Andrew W. Halpin. Their participation converted the meeting into a confrontation on the nature of administrative theory; (2) the NCPEA approved the compilation and publication of what was to become a landmark book, Administrative Behavior in Education; and (3) Halpin and Administrative Science Quarterly editor James Thompson enumerated to the gathering six points that became central to the theory movement--points that served as the basis for the application of the "logical positivism" approach to theory to educational administration.⁴

¹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 21.

²David B. Tyack, and Elisabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), 219.

³Jack A. Culbertson, "A Century's Quest for a Knowledge Base," in Handbook of Research on Educational Administration, ed. Norman J. Boyan (New York: Longman, 1988) 14.

⁴Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 14-16.

Halpin and Thompson held that (1) administrative theory must be concerned with how an administrator does behave rather than ought to behave; (2) theories predict but do not prescribe, again separating "is" from "ought," and presumably moving away from decades of advocacy in the teaching of educational administration; (3) effective research in the field must be tied to the development of theory that goes beyond empirical observation; (4) theory must be defined in terms of the "hypothetico-deductive," a derivation of the Vienna Scholars' advocacy of pure "logico-mathematico" procedures; (5) research in educational administration should be based on social science theories and procedures already available; and (6) as new theories advanced, "adjectival" definitions would fall away, and the theories would apply to all organizations.⁵

Halpin later described the Denver event:

At that meeting the first "real" confrontation between behavioral scientists and professors of educational administration took place. Coladarci (of Stanford), Getzels (of Chicago), and Halpin (then of The Ohio State University) pointed out to the group--and not gently--that what the CPEA Centers and members of NCPEA were doing in the name of research was distinctly a-theoretical in character and sloppy in quality. The reception that these three behavioral scientists received at that meeting can scarcely be described as cordial.⁶

The goal of the logical positivists was to move social sciences to the same level of precision, rigor, and clarity that these scholars saw in mathematical and scientific fields, through emphasis on deduction, structure, standardization, quantification, and theory-building. Jack A. Culbertson quoted a definition of logical positivism by Dwight Waldo:

Logical positivism is a would-be tough-minded school of thought that asserts its close connection with modern physical science. It abhors metaphysics, dismisses

⁵Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 16-17. Culbertson related Halpin's thinking to the "Vienna Circle of Scholars" from the 1920s, who formulated a new approach to administrative science called "logical positivism," a school of thought in which Halpin received training. As a senior at Columbia University (the first U.S. institution to have a professor who participated in Vienna Circle discussions), Halpin in 1930-1931 first learned about the new concepts. He was especially stimulated by Matthew Chapple, a neurophysiologist, who was intrigued with the new directions in inquiry. As a graduate student at Cornell, Halpin was strongly influenced by Professor Karl Dallenbach, whom he later described as a "strict scientist type. . . ." Halpin's unique experience and skills enabled him to communicate clearly and vividly the new concepts to the field. Culbertson also gave a more detailed background and summary of the Vienna circle and its work.

⁶Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 16.

ethics, emphasizes empiricism, places a high premium upon rigorous, logical analysis.⁷

The movement had had its first great impact in psychology and later sociology, after which Herbert Simon's Administrative Behavior (1945), based on logical positivism, influenced acceptance of the movement into educational administration as well as into other administrative areas. These developments set the stage for the discussions, debates, and writings of the 1950s and early 1960s in the development of educational administration as a field of study. As a result, the 1954 NCPEA meeting signalled a shift away from qualitative to quantitative, from advocacy to a "value-free" orientation, and away from the philosophical tenets of Dewey and others toward the thought patterns of the "Vienna Scholars" of the 1920s, even to the point that the organization imitated the title of Simon's book.

Graff and Calvin Street were among the 18 authors contributing to Administrative Behavior in Education, one-third of whom had some type of direct experience at The University of Tennessee.⁸ The book provided a forum for professors advocating logical positivism as well as those who espoused other approaches to theory. Its editors were Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, professors of education at the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin, respectively, and the five-member editorial committee included Graff's former colleague Pierce. (By the time of the book's publication, Pierce had become dean of the School of Education at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, soon to become Auburn University.) Preparation of the book was supported by a \$10,000 grant from the Kellogg Foundation--a grant which made possible a number of conferences in which "interaction among the writers has been extensive and at times most spirited."

⁷Jack A. Culbertson, "The Preparation of Administrators," in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration: The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 307.

⁸These contributors, other than Graff and Street, included Kenneth E. McIntyre, Andrew W. Halpin, E.C. Merrill, Jr., and Truman M. Pierce, all of whom were discussed in Chapter 5.

The editors noted that the book was first suggested by a few members in 1953 and was formally approved by the conference in 1954. The writers agreed that, after considering the view of all contributors, each could present his views and thoughts independently. "Two and one-half years of consistent effort were required to prepare the manuscript for the publisher," the editors wrote, and several days of the 1955 and 1956 NCPEA meetings were devoted to discussions of its development.⁹

Halpin wrote that post-World War II issues posed communication problems in developing the book, as well as in the proceeding of NCPEA, CPEA, and the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), which formed in 1956. He recalled:

Several of these issues were epitomized in the communication problems that beset the authors who produced the NCPEA book. A few of the contributors sought to employ the social scientists' point of view and stressed the importance of theory; other contributors held to a more "practical" orientation. The writers found that they often were talking past each other. A demonstration of good will among the participants and superb tact on the part of the editors helped to achieve constructive communication between the adherents of these two groups.¹⁰

E.C. Merrill, Jr., also recalled that the preparation meetings were lively, adding that the book benefited from the Kellogg grant in that "people had money to get together."¹¹

Graff and Street contributed a 35-page article that made evident in its title a fundamental difference with the "value-free" aspect of the theory movement: "Developing a Value Framework for Educational Administration." It immediately asserted in a first subsection the "Need for a Value Framework" and ended with a set of "Postulates" for such a framework.

In the article, Graff and Street were encouraged that the previous 20 years had seen a reversal in the trend toward regimentation and increased interaction between schools and communities, "this time supported by an intellectual point of view." They asserted a pro-social

⁹Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), ix-x.

¹⁰Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration, 5-6.

¹¹Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

science stance in citing the need for administrators to be able to use these sciences--sociology, psychology, and anthropology, and others--as part of effective administration:

Educational administration should be at the forefront in putting all these basic social disciplines into practical application. To do this it is obvious that educational administration itself must have a distinctive framework of values from which to operate; it cannot operate, in the best sense of the word, as purely an eclectic user of any bit of knowledge which may come from the other areas of organized information. Such a value framework will enable it to make special studies and special applications in those areas which are unique to its own operation.¹²

Graff's thinking on values went beyond education, as A.D. Albright described. A footnote in the Graff and Street article addressed the breadth of a "value framework":

As used in this chapter, a value framework for educational administration does not imply that such a value framework is divorced from all other values a person may possess, and is something that comes into play only when one is administering. Actually, the converse is true and a value framework for educational administration is a professional extension of the basic social and personal values used by the individual in all his activities.¹³

A value framework forms the basis for linking theory to practice, Graff and Street indicated. In a subsection titled "Educational Administration: Craft or Profession?" they quoted a passage from Alfred North Whitehead that stated, in part, "Practice of a profession cannot be disjoined from its theoretical understanding, and vice versa. . . ." From this and other parts of Whitehead's passage, they reasoned, "Adequate conceptions of administration cannot be developed without a clearly formulated value framework to serve as a basis. . . ."¹⁴

The two based their article in part on research completed through the CPEA centers, as did several of the book's other contributors. Graff and Street cited research projects completed by participants in the SSCPEA and other CPEAs. Among others, University of Tennessee doctoral research projects by Henry G. Martin, H.Y. Livesay, Mack P. Davis, and Kenneth L. Cleland were

¹²Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street, "Developing a Value Framework for Educational Administration," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 124-125.

¹³Graff and Street, "Developing a Value Framework . . .," 125.

¹⁴Graff and Street, "Developing a Value Framework . . .," 128-129.

cited.¹⁵ In their article, Pierce and Merrill also cited research at The University of Tennessee related to the Competency Pattern and the Tennessee Rating Guide, noting in particular work by Clarence E. Greever and Ralph Kimbrough.¹⁶

With the 1954 meeting and the publication of Administrative Behavior in Education, a strong new voice emerged to champion logical positivism. Daniel E. Griffiths, who earned a doctorate in educational administration from Yale University in 1952,¹⁷ quickly became the leading spokesman for logical positivism and at the same time an antagonist for Graff. "He welcomed and found appealing the new concepts of science," Culbertson wrote, adding,

A skilled writer, Griffiths disseminated ideas about theory and its new norms via monographs, books, articles, and many conference presentations. . . . His widely read Administrative Theory (1959) helped many professors understand theory and its logical positivist underpinnings.¹⁸

Griffiths' prolific writings of the period analyzed and criticized previously-accepted efforts to develop educational administration, including the work of the SSCPEA and Graff. In a chapter titled "Some Attempts at Theorizing in Administration," Griffiths examined eight theories, four from education and four from other fields of administration. The four in education were developed by two noted professors from the Dewey school--Paul R. Mort and Jesse B. Sears--the SSCPEA, and the Midwest CPEA. Griffiths' SSCPEA target was the Competency Pattern:

Several of the Cooperative Programs in Educational Administration centers devoted considerable effort to the development of theoretical approaches to educational administration. One of these was the Southern States Center at George Peabody College where Professor Orin Graff had the greatest influence in shaping the direction of the inquiry. The central theme of this approach is called the

¹⁵Graff and Street, "Developing a Value Framework . . . ," 127.

¹⁶Truman M. Pierce and E.C. Merrill, Jr., "The Individual and Administrator Behavior," in Administrative Behavior in Education, eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 338, 347.

¹⁷Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . . ," 16. Griffiths participated in Middle Atlantic CPEA Center activities first as a faculty member of New York State College for Teachers and then Teachers College, Columbia University.

¹⁸Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . . ," 16.

competency concept and was originally published in a volume entitled, Better Teaching in School Administration.¹⁹

Griffiths noted that the Competency Pattern described effectiveness in terms of an administrator's performing a task in the most "desirable" manner, thereby pursuing "what ought to be. . . . Thus we have a definition of theory which is the direct opposite of what has been the accepted definition in all other areas of the physical and social sciences."

His contention was that the SSCPEA's 52 "critical tasks" in administration were questionable theory, not that they were not valid practice. "Certainly these tasks have been and are now part and parcel of the job of administration."²⁰

In the same work, Griffiths asserted that Mort's concepts, as well as the competency pattern and to some extent the formulations of Getzels, were not defined in terms of operations or susceptible to measurement. "Many of the theories have produced no testable hypotheses--in fact, their very form precludes this possibility," he wrote. "Those which are value oriented (Mort, Sears, SSCPEA) are statements of what is 'good,' and the 'good' is not testable."

To gain the needed precision, he advocated the statement of relationships in mathematical terms: "The chief value of mathematics in social science theory is the gain obtained in precision. Few modern theories could stand the rigor of mathematical treatment."²¹

Griffiths was particularly pointed in contrasting what he viewed as past weaknesses in educational administration programs with the new era of progress he believed had begun with the theory movement. In 1956 he wrote, "We are now in the midst of the greatest period of change in school administration since its origin in American education." Asserting that "The whole profession has undergone the most penetrating examination and revision of practice," he described school

¹⁹Griffiths, Administrative Theory, 51.

²⁰Daniel E. Griffiths, Administrative Theory (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959), 52-53.

²¹Griffiths, Administrative Theory, 68-69.

administration as "quite different" from ten years before and predicted it would be "much, much different fifty years from now."²²

Three years later, in Administrative Theory, he wrote of the events of 1946 to 1959: "Taken together, they constitute the ingredients which have revolutionized a whole field of human endeavor."

He wrote further:

Observers have commented that the content of educational administration has in the past been comprised of folklore, testimonials of reputedly successful administrators, and the speculations of college professors. . . . Whereas educational administration was once a laggard in the theoretical sense, it is now leading the way as all of education seeks a theoretical basis for its activities.²³

In actuality, the changes proved far less sweeping than Griffith's optimistic view suggested, according to Culbertson and others. The philosophic tenets that had become established did not readily give way to new attempts at theory, and empirical and prescriptive generalizations still prevailed even during the height of the theory movement. Signals of change were evident in forums and new educational journals, but in the educational mainstream the thinking from Dewey and his school—including "long-held inductive norms in inquiry, by loose definitions of science, and by a tradition of advocacy"—still held sway.²⁴ To Graff and other professors who were steeped in belief that pragmatism and progressivism were the source of illumination on their path to educational ideals, the logical positivist movement was little short of anathema. The "data do not speak" principle that Michael Nunnery gave as a Graff tenet²⁵ defined the battle line. To Graff, the concept of value-free mathematical models of administrative guidance replaced the concept of "final authority" as the view to which he became philosophic antagonist. Rather than authoritarianism, Graff turned his voice in

²²Daniel E. Griffiths, Human Relations in School Administration (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956), 3.

²³Griffiths, Administrative Theory, 3.

²⁴Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 17.

²⁵Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

opposition to a logical positivist theory base and continued to champion a system of democratic administration based on intellectually-derived personal values.

The "Great Debate"

From 1954 forward, through the publication of Administrative Behavior in Education and succeeding annual meetings, the NCPEA provided an outlet for expression for and against the positivist direction of the theory movement. The event at which this expression came to a head occurred in 1960, in a "Great Debate" between two teams led by Graff and Griffiths at the NCPEA's 14th annual meeting, held in Macomb, Illinois, at Western Illinois University.

Arless Roaden, Graff's graduate assistant and in succeeding years a distinguished former advisee (see Chapter 1), remembered that the NCPEA leadership had asked Graff to participate. "The program planners knew of Dr. Graff's position; his textbook was widely used in the doctoral programs across the country."²⁶

The NCPEA program planners, headed by Planning Committee Chairman William R. Flesher of The Ohio State University, formed two debate teams of two professors each to take pro and con positions on the place of values in educational theory and leadership. Joining Graff as a proponent was John A. Ramseyer, respected professor and dean of the College of Education at Ohio State. Opposing them were Griffiths and a professorial newcomer, Laurence Iannaccone of Washington University. Both were young: Griffiths was just under 35 years of age,²⁷ and Iannaccone had completed his doctorate just two years earlier and was attending his first NCPEA meeting.²⁸ Seven persons who had or were to have affiliations with The University of Tennessee²⁹

²⁶Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

²⁷Daniel E. Griffiths, telephone interview with author, January 17, 1991.

²⁸Laurence Iannaccone, telephone interview with author, January 22, 1991. Iannaccone went on from the time of the debate to serve a lengthy career in higher education. Among other service, he worked with Griffiths and two other co-authors, David L. Clark and D. Richard Wynn, to complete a study titled Organizing Schools for Effective Education. Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers & Publishers Inc., 1962. William H. Coffield, later dean of the College of Education at The University of Tennessee, served as a staff member for the study. As of the time of the present study, Iannaccone was professor of education at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

were among the total of 154 registered as attending the meeting.³⁰ "That conference was discussed across the profession as the great Graff-Griffiths debate on values," Roaden said.³¹

Notwithstanding the stature and intellectual power of Griffiths, Graff's own zeal apparently turned into his greatest obstacle to carrying the debate. Roaden, who counted his role as Graff's research assistant for the event one of his life's highlights, said, "Dr. Graff took the matter very seriously." Their initial paper "turned out to be some 50-75 pages long."

He went back and studied Einstein, Whitehead, Conant and a whole host of people who had dealt with these issues. He built on the thesis that in the final analysis you don't have any platform to stand on apart from the values that you hold, that you cannot develop a scientific theory without sooner or later--when you chase it back and take it step by step and go back to the base, you have nothing to go on but the values from which you started. That was one of the finest papers that I had ever seen. It was just terribly intellectually stimulating. He was kind enough to let me go with him. We drove all the way to Macomb, Illinois, for that meeting. We had been in correspondence with Dr. Ramseyer at Ohio State. . . . When we got to the meeting and picked up Dr. Griffith's paper and Larry Iannaccone's paper and read those, it was obvious that Dr. Graff had engaged in overkill.³²

Griffiths remembered Graff's over-preparation and his disgruntlement upon arrival at

Macomb:

He was quite shocked to hear that the format of the debate was that each of us was to give a 10-minute speech. He came with an hour-long speech. I don't know what he was thinking, if he was thinking that each of us was going to speak for an hour, we were going to keep the gang in there the whole day (laugh). But at any rate, he was very, very disappointed, and he mumbled and grumbled about that for most of the week.³³

"He became almost obsessed, not only in the preparation of his paper, but it was a chance he had to try to influence people across the country who were involved in preparing students to go

²⁹The seven, in addition to Graff and Roaden, were Coffield, Drewry, Gentry, Henson, and McIntyre, who by that time had become a well-known professor at the University of Texas at Austin.

³⁰"Directory--1960 NCPEA Conference at Western Illinois University," National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, photocopy, n.p., n.d. The directory was provided by Donald J. Willower of The Pennsylvania State University following a telephone interview with the author, January 7, 1991.

³¹Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

³²Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

³³Griffiths.

into educational leadership roles," Roaden said of Graff. In one of his own works 31 years later, Roaden wrote:

The "great debate" was a preoccupation in Graff's thoughts, his research, and his class lectures for months prior to and following the NCPEA conference. I was so fascinated that a man could be so consumed by an idea, his thinking became contagious. I wrote my dissertation on "Theory Constructs in Educational Administration."³⁴

Graff's seriousness paid dividends in quality, Roaden added, noting that his professor's paper was "not only the thicker of the two, but substantively, there was no contest, absolutely no contest. Griffiths, of course, was well regarded, but his paper was a brief restatement of the argument in his book."³⁵ The obvious flaw of over-preparedness was length; it became apparent that almost a half-day could be devoted to presenting the original paper, and Roaden recalled "working through the night" to pare it.³⁶

Griffiths reciprocated Graff's intensity toward the debate: "I think we were deadly serious. It was a real debate. We had original positions and then rebuttals. I do not easily pick up negative feelings. I guess I can imagine people being negative to me (laugh). . . . But at any rate, in retrospect, I didn't sense anything of that sort."³⁷

As to content, the debate was at a high level. Griffiths recalled, "The issues were, first of all, what was theory; secondly, we got into the is-ought dichotomy--that was hot stuff then; then the question of values."³⁸

Roeden's description of the issues was even more succinct: "Dr. Graff's thesis was that human values undergird any kind of scientific theory. Dr. Griffiths came out strong and hard that

³⁴Roaden, "My Lifetime Love Affair with Education," 295.

³⁵Griffiths agreed with the perception of others in attendance that his paper was a summation of his 1959 book, Administrative Theory.

³⁶Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

³⁷Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

³⁸Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

science is science, that values have no place in scientific theory." Graff spoke first, opening with a summary of purpose:

The purpose of our discussion, as I understand it, is to examine as a first consideration whether theory of administration or theory of educational administration, if you like, is or is not free of human values. Professor Griffiths and Professor Iannaccone are to advance arguments in support of theory of administration as value free, and Professor Ramseyer and I the opposing ones.³⁹

Graff's paper, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," as pared to 27 single-spaced typewritten pages by himself and Roaden, was tightly structured and weighty with citations from historical and current sources of authority. While the fullness of the paper cannot be captured in excerpts and summaries, a few reveal Graff's thrust and the weight of his convictions. He opened with a quotation that discounted the "value-free" ideal of experimental science in German universities in the 1820s: "'But actually science rested on certain assumptions and employed conceptions which it never proved, and these constituted nothing less than a metaphysics. . . .'"⁴⁰ Following additional points based on quotes from Alfred North Whitehead and other thinkers, he included a passage from J.H. Faurot:

We approach some subjects in terms of postulates, assuming what is never capable of being proved. Other subjects, we approach in terms of hypotheses, subject to varying degrees of probability. And most of knowledge is viewed in the context of function: A given proposition is true for certain purposes, and no proposition is true except these purposes be understood.⁴¹

A few paragraphs later, after arguing that "The pragmatic notions of James, Peirce, and Dewey, in the field of philosophy, have been largely responsible for the development of a value system that gives science, as a way of getting at relative truth, a pre-eminent place," Graff inserted a quotation from James B. Conant:

³⁹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 1.

⁴⁰Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 2. Graff quoted from Frederic Lilje, The Abuse of Learning, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948), 62-63.

⁴¹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 4. Graff quoted from J.H. Faurot, "Truth and Responsibility," The Journal of Higher Education, 30 (Jan. 1960): 3.

There is a fairly common fallacy that if you are dealing with scientific and technical matters, judgment of values rarely, if ever, enters in. Facts speak for themselves in science, we are told. Anyone who is familiar with the course of scientific research and development knows this is nonsense.⁴²

He followed with another from Albert Einstein:

There is no inductive method which could lead to the fundamental concept of physics. Failure to understand this fact constituted the basic philosophical error of so many investigators of the nineteenth century. . . .

Physics constitutes a logical system of thought which is in a state of evolution, and whose basis cannot be obtained through distillation by any inductive method from the experiences lived through, but which can only be attained by free invention.⁴³

And another from Alfred North Whitehead:

No science can be more secure than the unconscious metaphysics which tacitly it presupposes. The individual thing is necessarily a modification of its environment, and cannot be understood in disjunction. All reasoning, apart from some metaphysical reference, is vicious.⁴⁴

In the latter half of his presentation, Graff addressed the "'is-ought' dichotomy," or the notion that theory should be concerned with what "is" and free itself of what "ought" to be, or human values. The more proper term, he said, would be "trichotomy," since what "is" derives from what "was."

We probably cannot successfully cope with the "was-is-ought" trichotomy without assuming that all behavior is moving through a time continuum. . . . In the case of people . . . there is the tremendously complicating factor of purpose. . . . For each person, it is a control on his interpretation of the past (the "was"), a selector of present stimuli (the "is"), and a proposed re-direction of behavior moving through time (the "ought"). Thus, human values, in the form of human purpose, are always present in the "was," and "is," and the "ought."

It should be noted that the control of purpose over human behavior seems directly proportional to the amount of intellectual effort involved. Since the act of theory building is a highly intellectual affair, it seems obvious that purpose is a main

⁴²Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 4-5. Graff quoted from James B. Conant, Modern Science and Modern Man (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1952), 113.

⁴³Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 5. Graff quoted from Albert Einstein, Out of My Later Years (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950) 78, 96.

⁴⁴Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 6. Graff quoted from Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, (New York: Mentor Books, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1958), 158.

consideration. The notion that theory has a quality of "oughtness" about it seems unavoidable to me.⁴⁵

Later in the paper, after considerable argumentation of his own interspersed with additional quotations, Graff inserted a passage from physicist P.W. Bridgman that spoke "against the popular conception of science as public in nature"--a passage that Roaden would later quote in his dissertation:

The process I want to call scientific is a process that involves the continual apprehension of meaning, a constant appraisal of significance, accompanied by a running act of checking to be sure that I am doing what I want to do, and of judging correctness or incorrectness. This checking and judging and accepting, that together constitute understanding, are done by me and can be done for me by no one else. They are as private as my toothache, and without them science is dead.⁴⁶

Before concluding his arguments, Graff offered a series of summarizing points, which included the following:

The scientist was forced to re-evaluate himself as a factor in the process of science during the twentieth century, as noted by Wiener, Sullivan, Conant and Bridgman. No longer can the scientist point and say, "This is true," in the sense that what he is pointing at represents some portion of a reality which exists independent of man. The facts do not speak for themselves; the scientist is responsible for a public accounting with regard to his innermost values which were used in constructing the value base for his theory.

We in educational administration should not fall into the error of defining our responsibilities by restricting research to the use of mathematical models. We must include other than machine-like operations. Machines cannot reject the moral responsibility we inject into them. This freedom of choice is yours and mine. It is the "awful freedom that I can hardly face," says Bridgman.⁴⁷

In his conclusion, Graff turned to an analysis by Dwight Waldo, who referred to a "conflict between causal and ethical theory in public administration." He noted that, by the 1930s, "The opinion was widely held that through facts alone we were about to achieve a set of principles

⁴⁵Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 22.

⁴⁶Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 22. Graff quoted from P.W. Bridgman, Reflections of a Physicist (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), 50.

⁴⁷Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 24. Graff quoted from Bridgman, 75.

governing what we 'should' do in public administration." Graff closed by quoting Waldo's "plea for harmony between causal and ethical theory":

The . . . survey of recent trends in public administration reveals not only considerable intellectual activity but definite "forward" movement in two directions, one in causal theory, one in ethical theory. There seems to be, however, an unhealthy schizoid tendency in public administration. . . . To me this schizoid tendency is both pernicious and unnecessary. I conceive the proper relation between causal and ethical theory to be one of mutual enlightenment and aid. . . .

The doctrines of logical positivism which are embraced by some administrative students seem to me to aggravate the schizoid tendency as an especially dogmatic and intolerant evasion of value problems. . . .

Not only is it admitted that there is a value component in every decision, it is emphasized. Then the parcel labelled "Value Problem" is handed over to the philosopher, the humanist, the mystic, the charlatan--to whom it makes no difference really. For when the parcel is opened it is empty! By the ontological and epistemological premises, by the original definition of terms, values cannot be "validated," and inquiry concerning them is radically meaningless. The formal presentation of the value problem to others under colour of an academic "division of labor" is therefore a meaningless gesture.⁴⁸

"The summary by Waldo," Graff concluded, "is, I think, a good statement of the conflict in administrative theory and a forceful challenge for the resolution of our issue."⁴⁹

In a look back across 31 years at the debate, Griffiths initially noted Graff's relationship to Boyd Bode and offered as background two points in describing Graff:

I don't really think that he could be called a pragmatist. Of course, that's one of the problems with these categories. They're artificial, I think, and the distinctions that are drawn among these philosophies, I think, are artificial. With the tremendous emphasis that Graff always put on values, now, in retrospect, I think he would be called a subjectivist, to a very great extent, using some of the more modern language. We didn't use language like that back there, but as I think back about it, I would think that would be descriptive. I think he would claim to be a pragmatist, but all of his discussion about values--you don't really find all that much in pragmatist literature. The other thing I would comment in regard to this is that he did seem to be quite knowledgeable in the whole field of philosophy. That was a bit unusual for all of us in the field at that time. Well, not only that time, but right up to now, you just don't find people who have majored in philosophy. So I would

⁴⁸Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 26-27. Graff quoted from Dwight Waldo, "Administrative Theory in the United States: A Survey and a Prospect," *Political Studies* 2 (Feb., 1954): 85-86.

⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, "Administrative Theory and Human Values," 27.

have to say that he knew quite a bit about philosophy, certainly more than I did. That was very certain.⁵⁰

In retrospect, Griffiths asserted that Graff's reliance on values was overextended. He referred to the 1966 book by Graff and co-authors (which was several years in completion and was apparently an extension of the issues of the debate):

It says, "Practically all of our activities occur in the context of decisions about good and bad, right and wrong, or better or worse. Our behavior, therefore, is a constant reflection of value judgments." Well, in other words, he defines values as everything. . . . The theory I developed about administration was administration as decision making. Within that, I would certainly consider all of the relevant factors that I could get my hands on and systematically work through them. But to call everything values--Dewey does, really, and that's where he got the idea, I guess. Dewey said every judgment is a moral judgment. Well, I suppose you can say what you want. It seems to me a hell of a lot of judgments aren't moral judgments. That's the kind of problem you get into when you define values to mean everything. Now, I always thought this was Orin's major fallacy.⁵¹

As to the "value-free" stance attributed to him, Griffiths professed that he was misunderstood at the time of the debate and during later periods of his life:

I would like to comment on this values business, because that's where there was a lot of confusion. In the debate, I know that this was one of the major points. . . . I think that many people never did appreciate or understand or comprehend this position that I hold on values to this day. It isn't that I think that there aren't any, or anything of that sort. Logical positivists and others are supposed to simply say there aren't any values. I don't believe that at all. . . .

I advocate a value-controlled approach. My favorite saying used to be, "I think you ought to keep your values in your back pocket." It seems to me the way in which you should do your research and investigation and so on is to understand what values are present and then do your work within that constraint. For instance, an example I would use: If you're as you should be as a superintendent, you're working in a democratic society, more or less. What you should do is to always keep in mind that these democratic constraints are always present, and that they set the boundaries within which you work.⁵²

⁵⁰In a telephone interview with the author, Griffiths did not have benefit of a copy of Graff's paper or his own, which he said he had not saved. The papers were not, to his knowledge, published. He discussed the event in terms of the 1966 book--Orin B. Graff, Calvin M. Street, Ralph B. Kimbrough, and Archie R. Dykes, Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966)--and his own 1959 book, Administrative Theory.

⁵¹Griffiths. Griffiths quoted from Orin B. Graff et al., Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration, 155.

⁵²Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

Portions of Administrative Theory seemed to support Griffiths' contention that he did not advocate a totally "value-free" approach. He objected to mixing the definition of "theory" with other terms, devoting several subsections to asserting that theory is "not personal," "not a dream," and "not a philosophy." In doing so, however, he acknowledged the need of administrators for clear values:

A well-developed set of values, having logical consistency and related to reality, is of crucial importance to administrators. [Here Griffiths inserted a footnote, "For a discussion of this point see Orin B. Graff and Calvin M. Street, 'Developing a Value Framework. . . .'] As imperative as is a sound philosophy, theory is something else again. Just how does philosophy differ from theory? This is commonly discussed as the "is-ought" dichotomy.⁵³

In support of his advocacy of strict separation of "ought" from theory, Griffiths quoted Halpin:

This confoundment between the "is's" and the "ought's" of behavior is responsible for a greater failure in communication between educators and social scientists than any other issue. No one will deny that we need normative standards--in the ethical meaning of the term--for how administrators ought to behave, but these prescriptions do not constitute a theory.⁵⁴

As Graff and Griffiths at times seemed to identify some common ground of agreement, the "is-ought dichotomy" appeared to pull them back apart. The dichotomy was an issue where inconsistencies of argument--or at least suspicions of inconsistency--came to rest. Griffiths attributed one such inconsistency to Graff:

This is one [issue] that I think Orin took most seriously. In his book, he comes up with the notion that "is" and "ought" get all mixed up eventually. In the debate he was completely committed to the notion of the "ought" or the value in the situation as the most important--not only the most important, but really, the only.⁵⁵

In fairness, some degree of semantical inconsistency revolving around the dichotomy could also be attributed to Griffiths. While he described himself as advocating a "value-control" rather

⁵³Griffiths, Administrative Theory, 14-15.

⁵⁴Griffiths, Administrative Theory, 15.

⁵⁵Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

than a "value-free" approach, his description of the actual operation of that approach appeared to approach the latter rather than the former. His definitions of what theory is not, his advocacy of applying "the rigor of mathematical treatment" to theory (quoted earlier), and his view of pure dichotomy between "is" and "ought," collectively, suggest the absolute removal of human values from anything which might properly be referred to as "theory." Thus, Griffiths' operational beliefs appeared to go well beyond the "keep your values in your back pocket" saying and justify the "value-free" categorization of approach that was attributed to him as the basis for the debate.

Beyond accounts of the debate content based on the two principals as primary sources--Graff from a copy of his presentation and Griffiths from his own recollections--descriptions of the event revealed both areas of agreement and contradiction. Graff spoke first, delivering his presentation in "more emotional" tones, Griffiths recalled.⁵⁶ Galen Drewry, a former professor in Graff's department, recalled, "It was a pretty acrimonious debate. Of course, Orin frequently got excited about things he felt very strongly about, so he waxed eloquent and used some of his favorite language in the interchange."⁵⁷

Recollections on the length of Graff's opening speech differed. "Orin ran very long, to begin with," Iannaccone said. "Very long that day, and he was first."⁵⁸ This recollection would appear to be accurate, based on the time Graff might have required even to speed through a 27-page, single-spaced paper. However, Griffiths said, laughing, that he thought the judges "made him" conform to the time limit.⁵⁹

Griffiths followed Graff, speaking more briefly and coolly. He was followed by Ramseyer, who, according to Griffiths, "was just as much into values as was Graff. . . ." He noted that

⁵⁶Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

⁵⁷Drewry.

⁵⁸Iannaccone.

⁵⁹Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

Ramseyer "had been exposed to Bode, and from that point of view, they had a similar background."⁶⁰ Iannaccone spoke fourth, on the topic of theory in graduate programs for school administrators. "The position I took, if I recall, was that, rather than a separate course on theory, it seemed to me theory had a function in all courses. . . ."⁶¹

Iannaccone also believed that the format was switched after all the participants had arrived at the conference.

It was not really a formal debate, as it ended up. At least that was the position John Ramseyer took. Griffiths also said, as he got into it, that he didn't see the really formal debate quality. There was a set of positions being taken. That was clear enough. . . . I remember John, in particular, saying, "Hey, I don't see it as an issue of debate. I don't see it as an either-or kind of thing. . . ."⁶²

The debate's reception, outcome, and aftermath all appeared to contrast sharply with what might have been expected based on the profundity, depth of research, and seriousness of purpose on the part of the debaters. Several who attended recalled a lack of audience enthusiasm, an impatience with the length of the event, and an anticlimactic sense that the debate signalled a turning point away from further discussions of theory and philosophy.

Roaden found that his own sense of the debate's significance and his enthusiasm in being a part of it were not, to his disappointment, reflected in the audience's response:

I think one of the important things that I learned was that there were faculty members in educational administration who seemed not to be at all interested in what they were talking about, who thought it was an esoteric debate that had nothing to do with educational administration or educational leadership. I was terribly disenchanted, as a graduate student, to see some people whose works I had read but whom I had never met, and listen to them talk in a fashion that was far less sophisticated than the kind of work that Orin Graff had been leading his graduate students to do. He was trying to develop scholars. He led by example in that regard.⁶³

⁶⁰Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

⁶¹Iannaccone.

⁶²Iannaccone.

⁶³Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

Iannaccone's recollections, though he professed them to be vague, also indicated that the audience's interests were temporal. The debate was during a morning session, he thought, and "We were running late. I have the feeling it would have been for lunch. . . ."

That was my first year in NCPEA, and my recollections are more concerned with the fact of how long people were running and the fact that I was fourth (laugh). . . . I tried to cut it down to where I could get it done in a very few minutes. I did, and that gave me a lot of credit with people. I'm not sure what I said had any relevance at all. I think just getting it done quickly was what was important.⁶⁴

Thus, Iannaccone recalled more congratulatory remarks on his brevity than his content:

I got some compliments that were sort of nice for a young guy just beginning. . . . I didn't know how to interpret that, other than . . . you had brains enough not to run over. . . . That stuck in my memory as something I would never forget--that in the future, I'd make darned sure that people would at least feel, well at least he did it within the time. . . .⁶⁵

Former Graff advisee Harold Gentry, who earned the Doctor of Education Degree from The University of Tennessee only two years earlier, drove to the NCPEA meeting with colleague Howard Ezell from the University of Georgia, where he had joined the faculty. Despite Gentry's great esteem for Graff, his recollection of the debate also reflected the ambivalent reception of the event: "I don't remember much about it, to be honest with you. . . . I do remember driving up there, but for the life of me, I don't recall that the debate created a lot of attention among those in attendance."⁶⁶

The highlight of his trip, rather than the debate, was that he met and had an opportunity to talk with Walter Cocking, Gentry said.

I had a great talk with him. I remember that more, really, than I do the debate. . . . The best I can remember, it came off more as two people presenting their point of view and really not as a debate. . . . [Graff's] idea was not a theory in the way that Griffiths looked at it. I think Dr. Graff was more interested in

⁶⁴Iannaccone.

⁶⁵Iannaccone.

⁶⁶Gentry.

values and the person, in having a man examine his own beliefs and acting on them.⁶⁷

Who won the debate? From the eight sources for this study who attended, no clear answer was forthcoming. Roaden obviously felt that Graff prevailed on the basis of his paper's substance. Donald J. Willower of The Pennsylvania State University had a general, distant impression that "Graff got the worst of it." He had difficulty in trying to recall any particulars of the event, however, and said this impression might have been based on the fact that he and others did not regard favorably the book on competency by Graff and Street. "It was not a very good book," he opined.⁶⁸

Two junior colleagues in Graff's department--one then current and other former--saw no clear outcome. Drewry said he could not guess at a winner, noting only, "It was a pretty good debate." Henson, who audio-taped the debate for use at The University of Tennessee, said, "I think I'd have say it was a tie. Of course, I'd like to have said that Graff won (laugh), because that was my leaning. I really couldn't say whether anybody won. . . . I think it was just presented and kind of left there hanging. . . ." ⁶⁹

Their impressions related to the view of Iannaccone that the event signalled a passing from one time to another:

I had the sense that it was the end of dialogue that had been going on in NCPEA for some time, and that we were moving to another phase altogether. In a sense, it was more a ceremonial thing in some ways. I don't think anybody planned it that way. . . . But I had the sense that this was putting something to rest and we were moving on beyond that sort of thing. . . . I think the kind of position that both

⁶⁷Gentry described meeting Cocking: "I was wearing a University of Georgia badge, and he stopped me one day and said, 'Did you know that I used to be the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Georgia?' It seems that he was accused of trying to integrate the teaching profession and was fired by the governor. The situation eventually led to the state university losing its accreditation."

⁶⁸Willower. A frequent contributor to the literature of the field in succeeding years, Willower was serving his first year at Penn State at the time of the debate. He remained there for a long career, still serving as a professor in the Division of Education Policy Studies as of the time of the interview.

⁶⁹Henson said he taped the debate for use in classes or wherever appropriate at The University of Tennessee. He recalled that the tape was not of high quality but was clear enough for use. However, it could not be located for this study.

Ramseyer and I in particular tended to take, although not very forcefully, was where it seemed to me the thing was coming down. Which was that the debate of theory versus non-theory . . . did not have enough substance to it as a debate issue. In a sense, it was being pushed to a choice that wasn't a real choice.⁷⁰

Henson said he came away with the same feeling:

I really think that's right, because the issues of administration, of theory of administration, where are we going, what are the guiding principles of it, never took on the thrust any more as they had up to that time. It was kind of the end of Kellogg, too, and that influence, as I recall. Because Kellogg had done a great deal to promote school administration.⁷¹

In one broad sense extending beyond the principals' performance in the debate--in terms of outcomes versus opportunities available--Graff could be viewed as the loser. As Roaden so vividly recalled, the debate represented a major opportunity for Graff to reach a broad and influential audience with his views--an opportunity that he was aware of and eager to seize. Such opportunities were far more rare for him than for Griffiths, in large part because Graff chose a professorial life focused on teaching, mentorship, and program development, as opposed to an extensive agenda of speaking and publication. In terms of the substantive quality of his paper, Graff and those associated with him surely felt a considerable degree of pride, and the event became part of the folklore of his department and of the College of Education at The University of Tennessee. But Graff must also have felt disappointment that his great investment in depth of research and his effort to express the profundity of the values position that he took so seriously were met with ambivalence or lack of interest among broader reaches of the NCPEA membership.

Graff's circumstance that the debate was a rare opportunity contrasted with that of Griffiths, who in the 1950s and 1960s published prolifically and spoke frequently at professional meetings. Later in his career, from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, Griffiths engaged in a noted series of debates and exchanges of articles with another opponent whom he also labeled as "subjectivist," Englishman Thomas Greenfield. Because of their serial nature and wide publication--one was

⁷⁰Iannaccone.

⁷¹Henson.

videotaped and available through the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), and another was held at a meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA)--these debates gained wider recognition than did the one event with Graff. In that light, Willower said he believed the later debates and discussions generated from the views of Greenfield, as a departure from logical positivism, "had more impact" than did Graff's disagreement with Griffiths. Based on this, in Willower's estimation, Greenfield contributed more than did Graff to the intellectual base of educational administration, insofar as discussion on a nationwide scale was concerned.⁷²

In another broad sense, that the debate with Graff appeared as an early signal to the passing of the theory movement, and thus of logical positivism, Griffiths might also be seen as the loser. While Graff did not realize his goal, a rekindling of interest in human values and democracy in educational administration, the profession also began a turn away from its brief period of interest in logical positivism. As sensed by Iannaccone, Henson, and others, enthusiasm for consideration and development of theory began to wane. Kimbrough, who by the time of the debate had joined the University of Florida and did not attend the NCPEA meeting that year, based his estimate of the outcome on the long term: "Some people thought Dan Griffiths won, . . . but I don't think so. I think in the final analysis, logical positivism is passe, now."⁷³

The Waning of the Theory Movement

Whether or not a cause-and-effect influence could be attributed to the "Great Debate," soon after the event references to logical positivism's passing began to appear in professional literature and discussion. The movement's demise, Culbertson wrote, was enunciated in the 1960s and 1970s by various notables, including Karl Popper, who said it was "dead"; by Otto Neurath, who noted the distance between work on the "icy slopes of logic" and actual research activity; by McCall and

⁷²Willower.

⁷³As he discussed the 1966 book Philosophic Theory & Practice in Educational Administration by Graff et al., Griffiths commented in the interview that he also knew Graff's three co-authors, "especially Kimbrough."

Lombardo, who wrote of "disillusionment and an urge to throw the captain overboard"; and by the movement's foremost spokesperson in educational circles, Griffiths, who described educational administration as being in "intellectual turmoil." Culbertson himself wrote of a "deep malaise" toward logical positivism on the part of many scholars and of the philosophy's movement "from an influential force to a historical phenomenon," speeded by a return to questions on educational values in the 1960s at federal, state, and local levels.⁷⁴

Also speeding change were practitioner's charges that theoretical research and teaching at universities had become largely irrelevant to their needs. Halpin recognized this lack of "fit" as early as 1960, writing of "something missing," of emerging theoretical models as "too rational, too tidy, too aseptic," and of the need to "examine afresh our current perspectives. . . ."⁷⁵

By the mid-1960s, Halpin's criticisms of the state of theory development were sweeping. In discussing why educational administrators became wary of theory development, he stated:

In the first place, there does not exist today, either in education or in industry, a single well-developed theory of administration that is worth getting excited about. Recent hue and cry on this subject have created a completely false impression; many superintendents and professors of education have been led to believe that our knowledge in this area is more secure than it actually is.⁷⁶

Like Culbertson, Griffiths later acknowledged that the theory movement had been greeted with far from unanimous approval. He included Graff and his former student co-authors among its leading critics:

The productive part of the theory movement was accompanied, almost from the beginning, by sharp and pointed criticism. Selecting critiques by Graff, Street, Kimbrough, & Dykes (1966), Greenfield (1975), Halpin (1970), Halpin and Hayes (1977), Harlow (1962), Hills (1965), Schwab (1964), Trow (1959), Culbertson (1983) summarized these criticisms in this way: Critics who have addressed the theory movement as a general phenomenon have produced negative conclusions about the movement's goals, the models it implied for research and training, and the

⁷⁴Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 18.

⁷⁵Culbertson, "A Century's Quest . . .," 19.

⁷⁶Andrew W. Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), 285.

effectiveness of its implementation. Scholars have directed trenchant criticisms at all six of the movement's core ideas. . . .⁷⁷

In 1971, Luvern Cunningham cited studies that illustrated the movement toward other areas of concern, including two in which former Graff students were major participants. The first of these was a study by Vincent Ostrom, Archie Dykes, James Kincheloe,⁷⁸ and himself on combining two large Kentucky school systems. Cunningham suggested "a new pattern of educational government for large school districts, indeed for entire metropolitan areas." The Merger Issue illustrated his suggestion in giving a plan for consolidating and establishing new governance for the school systems of Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁹ In the same work, Cunningham also cited a study headed by Roaden as "a splendid set of guidelines . . . to link schools and communities in a mutual assault on accountability problems."⁸⁰

As these and similar instances of dissonance with the theory movement continued, Griffiths acknowledged Greenfield as a particularly sharp critic along the same line of argument that Graff had pursued:

Greenfield hit hard at the theorists--largely Halpin, Griffiths, Getzels, Simon, and March--because they split values off from facts. He contended that this resulted in descriptions of organizations that were lifeless, and that theory based only on facts devoid of values was of no use to administrators. This led, in part, to Greenfield's contention that the theory movement had produced little of consequence to practitioners.⁸¹

⁷⁷Daniel E. Griffiths, "Administrative theory," in Handbook of Research on Educational Administration, ed. Norman J. Boyan (New York: Longman, 1988), 30.

⁷⁸Kincheloe was a University of Tennessee master's degree student who, like Merrill and Carmichael, completed his doctoral degree at George Peabody College for Teachers as part of the SSCPEA program under Pierce.

⁷⁹Luvern L. Cunningham, Governing Schools: New Approaches to Old Issues (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1971), 64, 151-52, 223. Cunningham cited The Merger Issue, Report to the Louisville and Jefferson County Public Schools Systems, Louisville, KY, August, 1966.

⁸⁰Cunningham, 62. Cunningham cited Arliss Roaden, Citizen Participation and the Need for Public Accountability (Columbus, Ohio: Assessment Task Force, Urban Education Coalition, 1969)

⁸¹Griffiths, "Administrative Theory," 30.

Griffiths continued his discussion of the desirability of positivist aspects of research beyond Graff's time, calling for a "new paradigm" in 1977 and in 1979 still seeming to favor the closed system concept of theory applicable to natural science, with its attendant benefits of clarity and professional respect.⁸² But as his preference seemed out of tune with research practice in education, in a 1983 article he appeared to back away:

Getzels and Gross each worked with a single theory: social systems and role theory, respectively; whereas the present researchers work with composites or aggregates of theories, models, ideas, and opinions. . . .

Scientists now are much more concerned with the successful pursuit of knowledge than with the form of research, and this might well be what is happening in educational administration at the present time. Far more emphasis is being paid to whether or not useful information is being generated than to following a particular form of inquiry.⁸³

In a 1984 rejoinder to Griffiths, Cecil Miskel reinforced Griffiths' turn away from strict definitions--a position that Graff likely would have appreciated:

In the current but, I hope, passing nonproductive climate of carping about "the correct paradigm and method," Griffiths' closing comments were well taken and provide a renewed optimism for researchers in educational administration. Arguments should cease over which paradigm is the most useful and which form of research is correct. Instead, scholars in educational administration should engage in the successful pursuit of knowledge using the paradigm with which they feel most comfortable.⁸⁴

Griffiths said he had been asked a number of times about the waning of the theory movement. He commented on its decline that began in the 1960s and assessed its later status:

I've given a few speeches in which I've said that I think a number of factors have entered into it. Of course, ed. admin. professors today are much more activist than they were during that theory movement, except for the women. There's quite a bit of interest, among women, in theory. . . . But there's not the excitement or the interest. I think that professors of ed. admin. do a great deal more consulting than

⁸²Griffiths expressed these views in "The Individual in Organization: A Theoretical Perspective," Educational Administration Quarterly 13, no. 2 (1977), and in "Intellectual Turmoil in Educational Administration," Educational Administration Quarterly 15 no. 3 (1979).

⁸³Daniel E. Griffiths, "Evolution in Research and Theory: A Study of Prominent Researchers," Educational Administration Quarterly 19, no. 3 (1983): 220.

⁸⁴Cecil Miskel, "Hypotheses and Assumptions Guiding Research: A Rejoinder to Daniel Griffiths," Educational Administration Quarterly 20, no.1 (1984): 113.

they ever did, and you really can't do very much consulting and at the same time do research and theory development. The two . . . just compete too much for your time. . . .

Another thing that happened in reference to the dying down of the theory movement was that a number of us who were influential . . . moved into administration. So my work in theory tapered off considerably. I kept publishing, but not enough to generate any interest. I think I would say that I would be more cognizant of the fact that all observation and so on comes back to the individual. Of course, the reason for the demise of the positivist movement was the fact that we never could get a purely objective measure with which to test hypotheses, and that was crucial to the whole movement. . . . In psychology, although they ignore the fact, the tests of hypotheses are always done with instruments that are largely subjective. So, I've come to realize that, more importantly, it seems to me that what constitutes theory in ed. admin. ought to be much, much broader than what we were talking about.⁸⁵

In summary, though, Griffiths believed that educational administration owed most of its claim to status as a legitimate discipline to the theory movement. "The theory movement moved educational administration from the status of a practical art toward, if not altogether to, the status of an academic discipline," he wrote.⁸⁶

⁸⁵Griffiths.

⁸⁶Griffiths, "Administrative theory," 31.

CHAPTER 9

TRANSITION AND RETIREMENT

He came to see me a few times in his latter years because he was concerned that we as an institution weren't reaching out across the state to the teachers and the schools as well as we ought to. We all discuss today how higher education has got to get involved in the local schools. Orin Graff believed that 50 years ago. And he was concerned that we would pull back in. But he always came not in a negative way. He always said, factually, "Here's what I think we are doing, and here's what I think we ought to do." And then he approached everything in a very logical, low-key kind of way, very forceful, but never threatening. . . . He always tried to appeal to your logic and bring you over through facts, not emotion, by having his case well prepared.

--Joseph E. Johnson¹

The Approach of a Final Era

Just as the "great debate" signalled to some observers the passing of an era in educational administration, the years immediately afterward reflected a period of personal transition for Graff. To observers not acquainted with him from earlier years or knowledgeable of the inner workings of the department, little might have appeared different from the central years of his career as he approached the mid-1960s and his own mid-60s in age. He continued productive and influential work with students, albeit at a gradually slowing pace. He gained a place of honor among University of Tennessee professors, and a scholarship fund was established in his name by former students. His second full-length book, co-authored with three former advisees, was published and apparently was well received. In general, he continued to teach and advise in his intensely personal style, to consult, to write, to discuss and advocate, and to try to influence the course of K-12 and higher education in Tennessee by expressing his views to a considerable circle of collegial friends. At the same time, he faced the age-imposed necessity of stepping aside as head of the department he had created; physical health problems began to increase; and these problems and the general effects of age also began effecting some diminishment of his intellectual vigor and power.

¹Johnson.

Graff's life from the mid-1960s forward, overlaid by transition and retirement, consisted of four general stages. The first was his continuing service as a distinguished service professor from the time the end of his tenure as department head approached to the time he began service as acting dean of the College of Education in 1969. As acting dean, he then returned to a formal leadership role for most of an academic year, a notable period in his life despite its short duration. He then continued as an active professor--some student advisees could hardly remember differences in his behavior--through the acting deanship until his official retirement in 1971. Lastly, throughout his official retirement, he continued to maintain an office, to occasionally teach and write, and to remain an active voice in his profession insofar as he was able until his death in 1980.

The Orin B. Graff Scholarship Fund

In 1963, Graff's former students set up a scholarship fund in his name, "in recognition of his service to the department, the College of Education, and the University," according to the Knoxville Journal. The fund was also supported by staff and students as well as alumni, through the university's Annual Giving program.²

The first Orin B. Graff Scholarship went to John Eugene Clifton, on leave as principal of Jellico High School to complete a doctoral residence, according to a news release from Graff's files. The release indicated that the fund was growing from the Annual Giving program contributions specified by donors to support it. "Annual scholarship awards will be made to applicants who need financial aid and who possess the prerequisite intelligence, integrity, and social concern essential to a successful career in educational administration," the release stated.³

A Distinguished Professorship

In fall of 1964, Graff became one of the first 10 distinguished service professors named by The University of Tennessee. He was a member of a set of five professors honored "through the

²"Gift from Ex-UT Prof, Wife Begins Scholarship Program," Knoxville Journal, July 3, 1980, A9.

³Undated and untitled news release from Orin B. Graff's files, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

beneficence of an anonymous gift to the university, made possible through the efforts of the UT Development Council," the university's Torchbearer newsletter announced.⁴ In 1962, five other faculty members had been named distinguished service professors through support from the university's Alumni Association.⁵

The Torchbearer said of Graff: "A UT faculty member for 21 years, he is widely sought as a consultant and participant in special educational projects."⁶ With the honor, the title "distinguished service professor" became a permanent designation of rank.

Publication of a New Book

In 1966, his last full year as department head, Graff and three former students published his second full-length book, Philosophic Theory and Practice in Educational Administration. The collaborators were Calvin Street, co-author of Graff's first book ten years earlier and for more than a decade a professor at Memphis State University; Ralph Kimbrough, by then a professor at the University of Florida for eight years; and Archie Dykes, serving in his last year as director of The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center.⁷

The book was a particularly telling harbinger of the new era in that it was begun several years earlier, in the climate of the values-logical positivism debate; but then work toward its completion had languished. Kimbrough recalled that he, Graff, and Street started the book. When their work stalled because of other activities, Dykes joined the threesome and led an effort to finish it: "Dr. Graff was so busy teaching that he couldn't find time to write. So finally it kind of faltered, and then Archie Dykes came along and picked it up, and we finally got the [book] published." Many

⁴Torchbearer, Jan. 1965, 6. Another of the professors honored was political scientist Lee S. Greene, co-author with Montgomery and Folmsbee of a University of History noted in other parts of this study.

⁵University of Tennessee Historian's Office, telephone inquiry by the author, Oct. 17, 1991.

⁶Torchbearer, Jan. 1965, 6.

⁷The book was dedicated to the wives of the four authors, Erma Graff, Sara Street, Gladys Kimbrough, and Nancy Dykes.

people used the book, but not enough for the publisher to keep it on the market, Kimbrough said.

When it went out publication, he added, "I had people call me and say, 'What am I going to do? I don't have that book anymore.'"⁸

Dykes described his role as one of following Graff's leadership:

He was the guiding light for the book, no question about that. . . . I probably did more of the writing than anybody else, but what I wrote really came from Dr. Graff. . . . He . . . oversaw the whole effort, would read what you would write and send it back to you with suggestions and comments. . . . The intellectual underpinnings of the book were his, not mine. But of course after you were there as a student, what was his became yours, and it became part of you, and that was true of myself and a lot of others. . . .⁹

The book itself was a marriage of the philosophical and the practical. It reiterated Graff's tenet of mixing values with facts, as he had advocated in the "great debate" and as Culbertson earlier noted was a hallmark of the pragmatists. Use of the term Philosophic Theory in the title immediately suggested this, and Michael Nunnery commented on the combination:

The old man never distinguished between those two words. It got him in a great deal of trouble in scholarly circles. . . . To most people, those are two very different words. Philosophy is ideology, a particular kind of ideology, the old metaphysical-axiological-epistemological question. Theory, on the other hand, to most people in this business refers to some kind of set of postulates or propositions about some empirical phenomenon, where you can take the theory and apply hypotheses and study the phenomenon. Philosophy is a given. There are oughts, and there is no way of proving them. . . . Well, Orin Graff was not a theoretician. He was basically a philosopher, if I use that distinction. He didn't make that distinction. . . .¹⁰

In their preface, the authors explained how they perceived the relationship of the two words, first writing that the book "is essentially concerned with helping the school administrator develop and improve his ability to theorize about his job on the philosophic level."¹¹ They added on the next page, under a subheading "Use of the Term Theory,"

⁸Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁹Dykes.

¹⁰Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹¹Graff et al., iii.

The student of educational administration is aware of the current interest in the theory of administration and will perceive that the authors' concern with theory is largely restricted to the products of theorizing about philosophical concepts and their application to educational administration. A person engaged in philosophic theorizing is in the process of developing a conceptual scheme or system of ideas (compatible assumptions accepted as beliefs) to explain or account for the totality of his experience. . . .¹²

The book included case studies as well as discussions of philosophical issues and systems. For example, one chapter, "Eclecticism and Important Cultural Assumptions," gave a detailed rationale for Graff's opposition to eclecticism. Part Two, "Systems of Philosophical Thought," devoted one chapter each to the topics of idealism, realism, logical positivism, pragmatism, and existentialism. The writers examined each system and its background. However, Graff's positive views of pragmatism were apparent. The authors wrote, "Under the pragmatic concept, then, man is cast in the role of the master of his institutions. This is in sharp contrast to the subordinate role to which some philosophical concepts relegate man."¹³ They later elaborated on points that related educational administration to pragmatism:

It advocates involvement of all affected by a decision in the decision-making process, since all must share in the consequences of the decision. . . . Pragmatism rejects the idea that restriction and freedom are opposites. Restrictions, whether in the form of administrative edicts or legislative statutes, have as their objective the freeing of people to concentrate on productive and creative enterprises. . . . Behavior is then to be accepted or rejected on the basis of intelligent evaluation of consequences. . . . Later pragmatists have referred to this method as the method of intelligence. . . . Pragmatism argues that if the public is given the opportunity to see the basic issues, the best alternative will be chosen. This proposition is central to democracy.¹⁴

The book's final chapter, "Theory and the Road to Personal Improvement," was a wrap-up, stating in its final subsection,

As was pointed out in the Preface to this book, philosophical theorizing requires one to (1) clarify the philosophical beliefs that direct a decisive act, (2)

¹²Graff et al., iv.

¹³Graff, et al., 182.

¹⁴Graff et al., 186-188.

consider alternative beliefs and their possible effects on the action being taken, and (3) seek unity and comprehensiveness in one's total belief structure.¹⁵

As indicated in Chapter 8, Daniel E. Griffiths referred to the book in discussing his "great debate" with Graff. He criticized the case studies in Parts One and Three as shallow devices for influencing a pro-values stance:

In the book, what he does is to set up some straw men, which, when he is making a point, he has given his ideas as to what science is. He comes up with a . . . straw man kind of definition, which is then rather easy to knock over. But nobody really believes in these very naive definitions of science, the search for absolute truth, and so on. It's very interesting that in his discussion in the back of the book, of logical positivism, that he seems to have a very clear picture of what it's all about, but simply rejected it in an earlier part--by not even talking about it.¹⁶

However, Griffiths' critical view was based on his holding the book in lieu of Graff's debate presentation, "Administrative Theory and Human Values." While the speech was intended to persuade, the book was directed more toward informing. In this light, the case studies appeared more as illustrations of the other chapters in Parts One and Three, rather than as argumentation.

As a whole, the book gave more of a complete overview of Graff's views of theory, the different schools of philosophical thought, and the application of these two topics to public school settings than did his other works. Some overview elements were present in Graff's other longer writings--the 1956 book, his article with Street in Administrative Behavior in Education, and his debate speech; but the larger thrust of the previous works was to present a particular point of view and related applications.

Gradually Increasing Health Problems

As Graff entered the mid-1960s, increasing age and health problems gradually began to erode his energy and, several sources said, some of the sharpness and coldness of his thinking. According to most sources, there was no sudden or major loss of intellectual power, but rather a gradual, noticeable lessening of energy and crispness of thought.

¹⁵Graff et al., 305.

¹⁶Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

The earliest reports of Graff's health difficulties were references to a lifelong tendency to suffer from winter colds, followed by the continuing problems of diverticulitis beginning about 1960, as described by William Evernden, George Roberts, and others. As he approached his mid-60s, Graff appeared in the workplace to become more impatient of the perceived shortcomings of others and increasingly strident in his own views, several sources close to him indicated. Nunnery, who served as a professor in the department from 1963 to 1968 (plus one year as an interim professor earlier) noticed this change in Graff's behavior. He also hinted that Graff loyalists might be hesitant to comment on it: "Not many people will tell you this. Dr. Graff became increasingly emotional as he got older. This was a function of age--Dr. Graff was not as lucid in his thought. . . ." The change was apparent in impromptu speeches, he recalled in citing such an instance when he and Graff visited a community gathering in Rhea County.¹⁷

Roney, whose period of association with Graff overlapped with that of Nunnery in the mid-1960s and then extended several years beyond, gave a similar view:

I think he gave a lot of strong leadership, but probably toward the end was a little more directional than maybe he had been earlier. There was always the idea . . . that decisions were made as a group, however. He might have a strong say about it, and in the meeting people might follow generally along with him, but nevertheless it wouldn't be made unilaterally. He would involve folks in decisions. So I think I saw glimmers of the finish of that, of his being a democratic, involvement-oriented leader.¹⁸

An indication of serious illness became evident in 1970, Erma Graff said. She and Graff traveled to a workshop in Albuquerque with Charles Trotter, a doctoral graduate of the department through the School Planning Lab program.¹⁹ Graff came down with a bad cold just as they returned, and complications developed. Erma Graff said, "He was kind of tired. He was awfully sick then. He had what they called fibrillation, an uneven heartbeat, and he was treated for that the

¹⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁸Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

¹⁹After Gilliland later departed to join the University of Florida faculty, Trotter became director of the School Planning Lab, a position in which he served until his death in an airplane crash in 1978.

rest of his life." The continuing treatment consisted of medication and regular physician's visits, with frequent changes in the dosages.²⁰

Late in his career--during the period when he still served as professor, acting dean, and then professor emeritus--Graff on physician's advice took mid-day rest periods in his office. One of his doctoral student advisees and the dean who succeeded him both noted that he kept a cot in his departmental office for this purpose. While acting dean, he was said to have taken the rest breaks on a table, as his cot was not moved to that office.²¹

However, Graff continued his strong drive to work and to be an influential part of the department he had created throughout his official employment and several years beyond. The "glimmers" of growing difficulty for him as a leader were apparently most visible to those who associated with him most closely as colleagues. Others, including friends such as Jane Smith and students whom Graff served as major professor during his last active years, still focused on his wisdom, intellect, and strength of values and character. Demand for him as a consultant and special projects participant persisted, and doctoral students whom he served as teacher and major professor were no less enthralled than those of his earlier and more robust years. Nevertheless, the effects of aging and increasing health problems influenced the course of events for him and the department from the approximate time of his 65th year forward.

Graff's Retirement as Department Head

Graff's 65th birthday was in May of 1966, the point in his life, by convention at The University of Tennessee, for him to retire as department head. Retirement from administrative and academic administrative positions at this age was apparently not a mandate of law or university policy, but it was an understood convention that carried the collegial, if not official, weight of such a

²⁰Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

²¹Canady, Aug. 18, 1990, recalled Graff's cot, and James D. McComas, interview with author, Jan. 29, 1991, knew of Graff's rest breaks in the dean's office. McComas became dean of the College of Education in fall, 1969.

mandate. Jack E. Reese recalled the convention, observed in the mid-1960s from his position as assistant dean of The Graduate School:

There was not a formal policy. There was a kind of informal and very effective policy that administrators, by and large, retired from administrative positions at 65. Andy Holt did that in recognition, I think, of that sort of informal agreement or understanding. By and large, that was observed. It wasn't rigid, it wasn't ironclad, but it was pretty much observed. . . . It was just simply part of the institutional culture.²²

E.C. Merrill, Jr., who had been dean for almost four years at the time Graff turned 65, remembered the convention in the same way, adding that he and Graff discussed the move:

I recall that 65 was . . . the age to consider retirement, and Dr. Graff was not as healthy as previously. He was agreeable to stepping down as head but wanted an office and continued student contact. This was worked out to his satisfaction.²³

Choosing a Successor

Near the time that Graff's retirement became imminent, the college appointed a search committee to seek a new head. The makeup and work of the committee were vague in the memories of sources for this study; but for whatever reason, the process of locating and recommending a candidate continued sporadically until late spring or early summer of 1967, past Graff's 66th birthday. Nunnery remembered, with some uncertainty, that he may have been a member of the committee: "I remember the candidates very well. We entertained them in our home. . . . I don't know why I would have done that if I hadn't been on the search committee." The final candidates, he said, were Francis M. Trusty, who was chosen; Bill Moynihan, whom he referred to as "Wild Bill," then a professor at West Virginia; and a third whom he could not remember.²⁴

Several sources put forward two general considerations as possible reasons for the length of time involved. The first was that Graff was reluctant to step away from the department that he had

²²Reese.

²³Edward C. Merrill, Jr., letter to author, Jan. 12, 1991. Merrill provided this and two other responses to a follow-up inquiry, after beliefs that Graff was quite reluctant to relinquish the department head were raised by two other sources.

²⁴Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

founded and that had been such an integral part of his life that he and Erma Graff regarded the students as their children. The second was that he wished to bring about the selection of one of his own philosophically aligned former students as his successor. Graff was not known to have directly expressed himself on the topic. Several sources who commented on his presumed preferences--few in number and basing their expressions on inferences--believed that Nunnery and Aldmon would have been first choices.

Nunnery, however, recalled that Aldmon had already branched into university administration as a long-term career. He said Graff never directly said that he himself was a preferred possibility, although other people told him so. He speculated that Graff might have preferred Dykes as his successor: "I think if he had his first choice for his heir apparent, early on it would have been Archie Dykes. . . . Archie not only had the ability, he had the presence to move in administrative ranks, where some of the rest of us lacked it or didn't want to develop it."²⁵

As the lengthy search process concluded, Graff seemingly did not press his aspirations for one of his own graduates to succeed him. Merrill said he was agreeable to the recommendation and appointment of Trusty, a doctoral graduate of Stanford University who at the time of his appointment was serving as professor of education at the University of Rochester, in New York.²⁶ Merrill also did not remember any firm decision to go outside the university: "Dr. Trusty was a candidate who had good credentials and was fully accepted by me and Dr. Graff. I do not recall an interest in excluding any candidate from UT."²⁷

²⁵Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

²⁶Francis M. Trusty, interview with author, June 21, 1990. Trusty completed his doctorate at Stanford in 1960. Afterward he served as principal of a large, prestigious high school just outside of Chicago before going to the University of Rochester. He served as an assistant professor for four years before joining The University of Tennessee. Prior to doctoral studies, he completed a bachelor's degree in education at Oregon State College in 1949, taught at one high school and served as principal of three others, during the time completing a master's degree in educational administration at the University of Oregon. He said he also worked at the national level with Hollis Moore and the American Association of School Administrators and in the CPEA program while at Stanford.

²⁷Merrill, Jan. 12, 1991.

As Merrill indicated, Graff apparently entered into the transitional period between himself and Trusty in a receptive and cooperative spirit. However, before long into Trusty's administration of the department, a growing dissatisfaction on the part of Graff became evident in behind-the-scenes interactions within and sometimes beyond the college. As Merrill recalled:

Dr. Trusty was brought in as head with Dr. Graff's support; however, as Dr. Trusty began his tenure, Dr. Graff's support waned. As I recall, Trusty's style was very different from Dr. Graff's. He did not pursue the philosophical orientation that Dr. Graff felt was important, although he worked well with school systems.²⁸

As Graff's support turned to dissatisfaction, a long-term period of division within the department began. The differences between Graff and Trusty grew, but apparently no open airing of them ever occurred. For students, the result was an era of muted strife during which they were aware of strained relationships that, apart from occasional barbed remarks from faculty, were never directly evidenced in behavior.

Graff left no written record that elaborated on his dissatisfaction after the transition, although he discussed his feelings at length with several people--Ohmer Milton, Nunnery, and others. While his own expression of views was not available except through the distant memories of associates, those memories, Graff's personal history, and the philosophical tenets and values he held all clearly indicated that his "cardinal principals" (enunciated by Nunnery, Chapter 6) were in conflict in various basic ways with Trusty's new approach.

In their new roles within the department, Graff and Trusty worked together for little more than a year before Merrill left The University of Tennessee to become president of Gallaudet College, in Washington, D.C. During this time and thereafter, the two apparently made conscious efforts to maintain a professionally cordial relationship. Several letters that they exchanged on departmental business seemed to illustrate an intent to keep their relationship formally workable, even though in the background and at an informal level their differences may have been insurmountable.

²⁸Merrill, Jan. 12, 1991.

In the overall context of Graff's career, his schism with Trusty was a disturbing but part-time distraction for only three years, less than one-ninth of his active professorial years at The University of Tennessee. For many years before the conflict, he had built a widely recognized departmental and individual foundation of achievement. Even as the conflict occurred and beyond, and as his powers gradually faded, he continued to have highly positive influences on the lives of students and colleagues, as described further in this study.²⁹

Perspectives of Graff During the Transition

The View of a New Professor. A new professor during Graff's period of transition, who in effect had been selected shortly before Trusty, was Larry W. Hughes, a 1965 educational administration Ph.D. graduate of The Ohio State University.³⁰ Hughes served 10 years at The University of Tennessee before leaving for the University of Houston, gaining note for teaching and prolific scholarship and serving as interim department head when Trusty left the position in 1970.³¹ Thus, his perceptions of the department began their formation at the time of the Graff-Trusty transition. He offered "some random thoughts that I hope catch some of the 'spirit' of the times and the man. He was no saint, but he was a hulluva stimulating guy to be around."³²

Hughes described Graff as gentle, especially with students, but he added, in strong terms, that Graff could be vindictive with people he didn't like. He also remembered that relinquishing the

²⁹Initially this study included an effort to collect and analyze information on the Graff-Trusty schism. A determination was eventually made not to pursue this course, primarily for two reasons: (1) several key sources of information were unavailable, and (2) even if such an effort could have been successfully pursued, because of recency and intensity of feelings an account of the schism would likely have been disproportionate with earlier, more important periods of Graff's life.

³⁰Trusty said the decision to appoint Hughes had virtually been made when he arrived but that he was asked to go to Ohio State and interview him further, as a professional courtesy and to ensure that he could concur in the appointment.

³¹Hughes was a particularly prolific writer among the professors to have served in educational administration at The University of Tennessee. After leaving Tennessee, he served as chairman of Administration and Supervision and then associate dean for academic affairs at the University of Houston, along with other professorial activities. He served as superintendent of a school district in Ohio before joining The University of Tennessee, having previously served as a teacher, principal, and system supervisor in Michigan and Ohio.

³²Hughes.

department head position was not easy for Graff: "He, seemingly, couldn't let go. (And, later conversations with him . . . indicated that it was a difficult period for him. The department and the program were his "babies.")³³ His own relationship with Graff was a good one, apparently based on mutual liking and respect:

He liked me and I'm not sure why. I wasn't a philosopher--maybe he saw me as an ally or maybe just of no threat. . . .

I genuinely liked Orin, but he did have some curious sides to him. It is not trite to say he was a complex man. How he could tolerate, even protect, the likes of some of his older colleagues inside and outside the department whose behavior bordered on the unethical and evidence such a mean streak to those who for one reason or another he disliked was baffling. He forgave transgressions in most, but those whom he believed to have no values could never expect respect from Orin.³⁴

Hughes summarized his view of the meeting of philosophical and human elements in Graff:

If Orin could be persuaded that you were honest, then he could stand to be in the same room with you. The problem was, he often based his judgments largely on what his viscera told him.

He was a thoroughly human being. I learned from him what being a professor was all about, and also about the rough and tumble business of organizational politics.

He added that an attempt to describe Graff adequately would be "a very difficult task. . . .

Capturing the essence of this remarkable man may not be possible."³⁵

Two Students' Perspectives. Student views of the period were available from two doctoral graduates whom Graff served as major professor. Both came to Knoxville through the university's Memphis center, described earlier, and both earned Doctor of Education Degrees in 1970. One of the two, Charles Temple, sought Graff out as his advisor for a special reason--he had earlier studied under Calvin M. Street at Memphis State and had come to regard the former Graff student and co-author as his model.

³³Hughes.

³⁴Hughes. Graff may have liked Hughes for both professional and personal reasons. Hughes gained a reputation among students as a sharp, cold thinker and a rigorous professor--all qualities that Graff had a history of respecting. The younger professor was also an alumnus of Graff's alma mater Ohio State, where he had likely studied with Ramseyer and other professors whom Graff liked and respected.

³⁵Hughes.

I thought Dr. Street hung the moon . . . because basically [he] was the type who could talk with people on the highest intellectual plane, and yet I always felt like he could go out into the cotton fields and talk with people. . . . He had that ability to go from any extreme on any subject, almost. He could talk to you about automotive repair, and he could talk to you about philosophy.³⁶

Temple went to Knoxville with the intention of seeking out Graff, he said, based both on his admiration for Street and his experience with another former Graff advisee in Memphis:

I decided to go to UTK primarily because of Dr. [John] Crothers. . . . And once I made up my mind to go to UTK, I decided I would like to have Dr. Graff as an adviser. . . . Dr. Trusty said . . . that he had retired, basically, and was not taking any more new people. . . . I told Dr. Graff that I would like for him to be my adviser, and he just looked at me and said, "Why?" I told him that he had already influenced my life because of his textbook written with Dr. Street, and I told him that Dr. Street was my model. With that, he just said, "I will be your adviser."³⁷

Temple offered a "quick example" of Graff's high expectations and trust of students:

When it was time for me to take my qualifying exam, Dr. Graff . . . said, "Well, here's what I will do. I've got your qualifying exam, and it's supposed to take a couple of days to write this, but I'll just cut it into fourths, and you can take it home and work on it that night and bring it back the next day." In other words, totally unsupervised. I have all the trust in you in the world. . . .³⁸

He detected some uneasiness in his relationship with Graff at first, but this quickly dissipated:

The second quarter he really just brought me, I felt, right under his wing, and I became one of his disciples. . . . I had an opportunity to take a class under Dr. Graff, and I was just amazed with his mind, with his ability to sit there and appear not to be paying too much attention to what was going on and then all of a sudden drill you with about three or four really brilliant questions that made it very clear to you that he had heard everything that you had said and he either agreed with you or did not agree with you, in a very penetrating way.³⁹

³⁶Charles M. Temple, interview with author, Apr. 26, 1990. Temple was one of the last students whom Dr. Graff served as major professor, and he continued to maintain a relationship with Graff during his career as an educational administrator. After doctoral studies, Temple became assistant director and then director of institutional research for The University of Tennessee (assisting and then succeeding Roney, who was the university's first system-wide director). He then served as executive vice chancellor of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga for ten years, and then was appointed president of State Technical Institute at Memphis, where he continued to serve as of this study.

³⁷Temple.

³⁸Temple.

³⁹Temple.

The second of the 1970 doctoral graduates was Joseph Westbrook, whose background was given in Chapter 7. He arrived from Memphis counting on Graff to be his major professor, but there was doubt because the elderly professor's pace was slowing:

He was in semi-retirement . . . Fred Venditti and Fran Trusty had worked with me very closely also. Fred had arranged for me to work . . . with faculty desegregation. . . . Also, Fran was working with me. . . . So between the two of them, I could survive economically. . . . Fran and I had developed a real good relationship. A lot of likeness. So I had thought in terms of maybe using Trusty as my advisor, but when I went up on the Hill and I was talking with Dr. Graff, I thought he was so busy and sort of moving out. . . . And he said, "Well, if you want me, I would serve as your advisor." And I said, "I'd love to have you. I just didn't feel that you would feel like taking on any new students." He said, "Well, no I'm not, but I will work with you."⁴⁰

Westbrook reiterated what Merrill, Temple, and others from earlier times had indicated about Graff's intensely personal style. He said of Graff:

When he took a personal interest [in] you, then he was going to work with you and guide you through, and you got all of his hospitality. It wasn't just an office relationship. You could see Dr. Graff almost anytime you needed to see him. He was available. . . . It was all a part of his total life, and his students were a part of his life. When he embraced you as one of his students, you were in. You were a part of him. That's the way we felt.⁴¹

Continued Work with Doctoral Students

Informal Leadership and Ongoing Mentorship

Doctoral students with whom Graff worked during the last phase of his career were fewer in number, and some were aware of their select status, as Temple and Westbrook noted. While his powers may have lessened, students were even more conscious of his stature, not only from first-hand association but also from accumulated reputation and lore attached to him and the department.

In these respects, his stepping aside as department head seemed to make little difference. Informally, he continued as leader among department faculty, as Temple expressed:

⁴⁰Westbrook. Graff asked Westbrook to include on his doctoral committee Hughes and William Cole, the distinguished service professor in sociology who had often teamed with Graff before.

⁴¹Westbrook.

I really don't think that he ever got out of that leadership role. . . . Whether he was there or not, Dr. Graff's influence was always there. Dr. Stollar would be talking to you, and he . . . would bring in Dr. Graff's name to clear up any points that you might have, to let you know that he had talked to Dr. Graff. So I don't think, to me, Dr. Graff just never really retired. He was always there.⁴²

"He played a tremendous role with all of the students, whether they were his advisees or not," Temple added. "In fact, I think many people who did not have Dr. Graff as adviser were actually somewhat jealous of us who did have him. I know I felt very fortunate. . . ."⁴³ Other memories of Graff from advisees of this era continued on the same themes as those of doctoral students from earlier times.

Student Recruitment and Selection

Like Temple and Westbrook, Robert Lynn Canady was one of Graff's last advisees, earning the Doctor of Education Degree in 1970. However, his indirect experiences related to Graff ranged back farther, and they illustrated the department's approach to recruitment and selection of students much in the same manner as the experiences of Archie Dykes. Canady met Bennie E. Carmichael during the SSCPEA Cheatham County Study and later worked in Chattanooga during Carmichael's superintendency. Upon completing doctoral studies with Graff, he joined Graff's long-time friend William Seawell at the University of Virginia.⁴⁴ Canady recalled that he first began talking with Graff after he became principal at Dalewood School in Chattanooga:

⁴²Temple.

⁴³Temple.

⁴⁴As of his interview (noted earlier), Canady was serving as professor and head of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Curry School of Education, the University of Virginia. Subsequently, he left the department head position to continue as a full-time professor. A native of Dickson County in Middle Tennessee, he was teaching in Cheatham County at the time the SSCPEA conducted its noted community power study. After serving as principal in Fort Campbell, Kentucky, Canady joined Chattanooga City Schools as principal and then director during the superintendency of Carmichael. After the Ed.D. degree, he joined the University of Virginia, having been recommended to Seawell by Graff. In spring of 1990, Canady received the University of Virginia Alumni Association's "Senior Professor" award for teaching, the only school of education professor ever to be so named, he believed. He regarded Graff, Carmichael, and Seawell as mentors, along with high school speech teacher Dockie Weems, aunt of Tennessee Governor Frank Clement (the subject of a Time magazine article near the time of Clement's keynote address at the Democratic convention in 1956).

It was called a junior high, but it essentially was following a middle school format, at least in grades 7 and 8. That's when Bill Alexander was at Peabody, and he was the consultant to get middle schools started. . . . Dr. Graff would bring people to Dalewood. It was a newly designed building at the time. In fact, that building was written up in the American School Board Journal. . . . As I recall, that was my first introduction to Dr. Graff, when he would come with students there. . . .⁴⁵

Canady then became director of staff desegregation in Chattanooga. "This is old stuff now, but back then all that was relatively new," he said. "It was so tense then. . . . So we deliberately worked in pairs, and teams, to offset some of those problems." During this period, in the mid-1960s, Graff began quietly to recruit him for the doctoral program.

In his sort of slow, quiet way, he'd say, "Lynn, when are you going to come back and get your doctorate?" At that time, I had one child, and I don't know whether my wife was pregnant with the second one or not, but I wasn't thinking about getting a doctorate. . . . I would say, "I don't know. I've never thought about it." And then it would sort of end there, or maybe he'd say, "Well, I think you should. We need to talk about it some time." So maybe two or three months later, he'd come back with some more students, and he'd ask that question again. I guess I finally showed a little interest. I remember one day he said . . . "What I like to do is to go out and identify people who are doing a good job. And we bring them in, and about all we can do is give them a union card or maybe give them some credentials to do other kinds of things. As a minimum I just hope we don't mess them up. . . . If our department has built a good reputation, it's because we've taken people who already have demonstrated that they can do a good job." When I think about it, that's not bad for a graduate school. If you essentially are not dealing with unknowns, you can already see that people seem to have something going for them, and all you can do is enhance their skills, then you're not likely to put out too many problems that way.⁴⁶

Graff's visits continued, and "finally it worked out that I decided I would go back," Canady said. At this point, Graff began helping with arrangements for financial support, first referring Canady to interim employment with the Oak Ridge Schools and then to part-time commuter work in the Southeast through a desegregation center at Florida State University. Much of the latter work was based on his Chattanooga experiences. "Dr. Graff pretty much set all that up and arranged it.

⁴⁵Canady.

⁴⁶Canady.

I'm sure he was behind the scenes, contacting the right people. So I worked it out and was able financially to go to school that whole year . . . three quarters and two summer terms."⁴⁷

Robert L. McElrath, who earned a Doctor of Education through the School Planning Lab and later became Tennessee commissioner of education (as noted in Chapter 7), also remembered the personal approach of Graff and Gilliland that led to his own enrollment:

I was a principal in Buncombe County, North Carolina, and interested in pursuing my doctorate. I heard about the School Planning Laboratory at UT, so I went to talk with Dr. John Gilliland. He was excited about my interests. He took me up and introduced me to Dr. Graff, and the three of us sat there and talked for at least an hour. I was really impressed by the friendliness and the amount of time that he gave to a student who was interested in exploring the possibility of going to UT. That was really impressive. I knew I would get a lot of individual attention, and I knew he was a real professional. . . . We talked, sharing some of our experiences in public school work, and he made me feel right at home from the first time I ever met him.⁴⁸

Graff's personal touch created a turning point in the life of another eventual alumnus, William M. Konnert, a Graff advisee who earned the Doctor of Education Degree in 1968. Konnert had earned his master's degree and had advanced to a principal's position, after teaching and coaching, in the East Cleveland Schools in Ohio. He and his wife decided that they had reached a turning point, that he should pursue a doctorate, and that they would both return to school full-time.

So I must have sent out 12 or 15 letters of inquiry--east coast schools, Stanford, etc. Some I never heard anything from, and some would send catalogs and applications, etc. But Tennessee, Dr. Graff, sight unseen, . . . sent me a number of materials along with a personal letter. I was quite impressed with that, and I followed up on it. To make a long story short, in the fall of '67 I was at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, full-time.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Canady.

⁴⁸McElrath.

⁴⁹William M. Konnert, telephone interview with author, Mar. 26, 1990. Upon earning the doctoral degree, Konnert remained at the university to serve a one-year interim faculty appointment (substituting for Stollar, who took leave to serve on the National Education Finance Project, as noted earlier). Konnert then served as superintendent for Tullahoma City Schools in Tennessee for three years, afterward returning to serve again with The University of Tennessee as head of the educational administration effort at the Nashville campus, then as assistant to Hilton Smith, vice chancellor for graduate studies and research. In 1978, he left to join Kent State University in Ohio, where he served as professor and chair of the Department of Educational Administration. His service with Kent State continued as of the interview for this study.

Konnert noted that his quarter of enrollment "just happened to be the year he stepped down as chair. . . . And, while I was disappointed . . . everything worked out just fine."⁵⁰

Student Success

Commitment to student success on the part of Graff and his colleagues continued as part of the departmental culture. Westbrook discussed this in terms very similar to views that Carmichael and others had formed 15-20 years earlier:

At UT--and I'm sure it was [Graff's] influence--once they brought you into the program they were going to see to it that you got out. . . . A lot of schools will let a whole lot of people in, and then they filter them through and only a few complete the program. I said that [the department at UT] had a reverse funnel. They'd funnel you out at the very beginning, and those who got through the funnel and got into the program, they were going to be sure that they did everything they could to see to it that they got through. . . . They were committed to your success once you got in. You weren't out there by yourself.⁵¹

Graff's commitment continued to include cooperative assistance among students and strong use of a network among professors and practicing administrators. Temple remembered that both of these features were a help to him. For his dissertation, a program development project for vocational education in nearby Blount County, Graff recommended consultant help from one of his highly regarded doctoral graduates and advisees, Billie Cannon Elliott.⁵² Within a year, Temple said, "I completed my dissertation with people like Billie Elliott and others helping me."⁵³

⁵⁰Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

⁵¹Westbrook.

⁵²According to Erma Graff, Temple, Canady, and others, Billie Elliott Cannon (later Demont) was an advisee of whom Graff was especially proud. She was conferred the Ed.D. in 1969 and died early in her higher education career during the 1970s. She was last listed in departmental records as professor of education at the University of Maine at Orono, having served earlier as dean of continuing education at Wayne State University. According to Roney, she also served as department head at Maine, having started the department, and was moving to Purdue University to head a satellite campus when she died. Erma Graff said, "She was an outstanding student. I've heard him [Graff] talk about her as being a leader. She had gone up, up, up in her profession, but she was not lucky enough to live very long."

⁵³Temple. Canady also remembered Graff's having arranged for Elliott to help him. "She was real good in statistics, and . . . they were big buddies. So he got her to look over my work. . . ."

Graff's involvement in the success of his students still continued well beyond their time at the university. Temple recalled Graff's far-reaching web of connections that he used to find employment and advancement opportunities for doctoral graduates. "You really didn't realize until you got into it and got to know Dr. Graff, was what a network of people he had out there and was working with. There probably wasn't any superintendent that he didn't have some influence or some dialogue with, it seems. . . ."

Several graduates of the department said Graff's personal attention to students and his extended involvement in their careers carried over into their own later practice in education. An example was Robert K. Roney, who as a professor made a point of always attending his advisees' commencement exercises and sending Christmas cards each year to graduates whom he served as major professor.

That probably goes back to the example of Orin Graff, saying "I'm going to keep up with these people. They're mine forever." He was a great believer in helping people's careers and had tremendous influence across the country, so that if you graduated and you were his advisee, in a way he managed your career. Not totally, of course; but if you were in a certain position for three or four years and had done well, and the word was that you had done well, you might begin to get comfortable. He would try to suggest maybe you ought to think about this other position. And he would try to move people to higher levels, whether it was higher education or K-12. People from all over the country would call Orin Graff and ask, "Do you have somebody who's graduating that can do thus and such?". . . The department, under his leadership, worked diligently to place students, and to see to it that they got the best possible placement.⁵⁴

An example of this diligent work was McElrath's appointment as the third successive graduate of the department as superintendent of Greeneville City Schools, described in Chapter 7. Another example that illustrated Graff's personal influence with particular vividness was Canady's joining the University of Virginia. His appointment related directly to Graff's association with Seawell. During work on his dissertation, Canady joined the Appalachian Educational Laboratory (AEL) in Charleston, West Virginia. Just after he met with his doctoral committee to defend his

⁵⁴Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

study, Graff began a series of casual mentions of a possible college teaching job that he said he couldn't remember at the time.⁵⁵

Canady disclaimed interest, much as he had earlier in the doctoral program: "I never really thought about teaching in a college," he told Graff. Later Graff recalled that the opening was at the University of Virginia and told him, "You ought to contact Bill Seawell." Canady wrote Seawell, who was not department head at the time, but "was, sort of, for years, the Dr. Graff of Virginia." Seawell wrote back with an interview invitation.⁵⁶

Canady went to Virginia to meet with an interview committee:

They later told me that they had decided on two persons for that job, but when Seawell came back from a meeting in Atlanta . . . [he] came in and said, "Canady's name goes with the final three." I remember another member of the committee telling me that they never did know how Seawell could go through 70 different applications and figure out the three so quickly. . . . I recall that Seawell wasn't there for the interview that day. He was out working with some superintendents' group. But the people who were interviewing me finally said, "Well, you need to find Seawell before you leave and let him talk with you. He will be a big part of the decision."⁵⁷

Following directions from the departmental secretary, Canady looked for Seawell in the university's student center.

They said, "Find the tallest man in there with a burr hair cut." That's what he always wore. He was about 6' 6." And he was reading the paper. So I told him who I was and that the committee had suggested that I come and talk to him. And he was kind of gruff. . . . He really was putty when you got to know him. And he said, "I don't really need to interview you. If Orin Graff says you're good, that's enough for me. I guess I need to look at you to see whether you have two heads or not. But if Orin Graff recommends you that's all I need to know." And that was it.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Canady.

⁵⁶Canady.

⁵⁷Canady believed that Graff and Seawell had talked at the Atlanta meeting, as the Southern Regional Council for Educational Administration, an outgrowth of SSCPEA, met there in November. He recalled that many professors brought their spouses to the Atlanta meetings (as Erma Graff also recounted earlier) and that they "always had a dinner at . . . a famous restaurant. . . . I mention that organization because that's where Graff made a lot of contacts. . . . I guess you'd call it a 'Good Ole Boy' network now." In his interview, Nunnery recalled that the meetings were in the old Atlantan hotel "just off Forsythe Street."

⁵⁸Canady.

Canady noted from his own teaching of personnel that his appointment probably did not represent "good selection criteria" and that the same process in the 1990s would bring legal trouble. "But I'm just saying that apparently was an example of the kind of influence he had, or credibility. . . . Or both."⁵⁹

Konnert remembered that another major annual meeting, of the American Association of School Administrators, was also an event where placement opportunities for himself and others were created. Graff and his colleagues "lined up some interviews for me," Konnert said. "At that time we all took off and went to AASA in Atlantic City together. . . . I ended up with job offers from Iowa State, from Oklahoma State, and from Miami of Ohio. But I always wanted to be a superintendent, and I had an opportunity to be the superintendent of Tullahoma."⁶⁰

Konnert said that at the time of his doctoral degree, the department's aspirations for its students seemed directed toward professorial careers. He related this belief to arrangements by Graff and Dewey Stollar for him to spend the summer of 1968 teaching at Marshall University: "They were very interested in preparing professors, as opposed to many places that were interested in preparing people to serve in public schools. . . ." The feeling entered into his acceptance of the Tullahoma superintendency: "I always thought that they really helped me get that, even though they would have preferred that I, along with others, would have taken a professorship."⁶¹

The commitment to success extended into the defense of his doctoral dissertation, Temple said. He remembered Graff's response when he mentioned his need to arrange the meeting of the doctoral committee: "He said, 'Oh well, Mrs. Graff and I will just have everybody out to the house.'" So the Graffs hosted a night meeting for the defense:

⁵⁹Canady.

⁶⁰Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990. Canady also recalled that he had an interview at the AASA meeting with the dean of education at the University of Virginia following his trip to Charlottesville and interview with the committee and Seawell.

⁶¹Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

Mrs. Graff had prepared an elaborate cookie spread and had coffee for us. We all sat down in his den and started talking. Right away Dr. Hughes, who was on my committee, said, "Why did you put these tables in chapter 5?" I'm sitting there trying to figure out a reply, and Dr. Graff just said, "Because I told him to, Larry. . . . Most of the time the only thing you read is chapter 5 in a dissertation. . . . Are there any more questions like that?" From then on the conversation went, "Did you know so-and-so in Blount County. . . ?" There was no more conversation about my dissertation. . . . It was, to me, very clear that what Dr. Graff was saying to them was that he had read that dissertation, and he agreed with it, and that was the end of it.⁶²

Westbrook also defended his dissertation at the Graffs' home, he recalled. "He had everybody out there and afterward had refreshments. Chit-chatted and what not. It was almost a chit-chat all the way through."⁶³

Canady said that, without Graff's nudges, he might easily have become an all-but-dissertation (ABD) doctoral student. In his own career, he adopted Graff's style of gently urging students forward, he said. After finishing courses and going to work for AEL, Canady set doctoral work aside:

For about a year or so, I didn't do anything on the dissertation. I would get little notes from him now and then. "Lynn, how's your dissertation coming along?" Or on New Year's Day, it might say, "This is a new year. Is this going to be the year?" It was the idea that, basically, he hadn't forgotten about you, and he was expecting you to do it. . . . I find myself doing things with students that follow what he did. . . . I remember getting that idea from him. I'm not trying to imply that he coddled. . . . I wouldn't say that he was a coddling type, but he probably came pretty close to what the literature calls "creating high expectations and helping you meet them. . . ." I think he was good at that. . . . I think it was New Year's Day of '69, I told my wife, I'm either going to write that dissertation this year, or I'm not ever going to do one, because I'm not going to carry it on my mind the rest of my life. . . . So I went to the office that day and started working. I guess by March of that year, about three months, I had somewhat of a proposal put together. I think that maybe I had flown to Knoxville and met with him once. By then he was acting dean.⁶⁴

⁶²Temple.

⁶³Westbrook.

⁶⁴Canady added that, on this topic, "Some of the research has been terribly misinterpreted. I see state departments . . . saying it means more credits for graduation. It means longer school days. It means tougher courses. It means higher graduation requirements. . . . I'm not sure that's what the original research was trying to say. It seems to me that you must have high expectations for people that can be reached, and then you help them reach them."

Personal Contact with Students

Later students remembered, as had their earlier colleagues, Graff's out-of-class teaching through informal discussion both on campus and while traveling. Along with Canady, Konnert remembered that personal conversations with the professors occurred continually:

Professors basically were in by 9:00 o'clock, and there were about 15 or 20 of us doctoral students that were full-time. We had a room with everybody at their own desks, and we were there during the day. Of course we took courses at night, and the profs, when they'd want to take a break, would come in and visit our bullpen area there and shoot the breeze. Most of the profs then came in on Saturday morning. So you had the opportunity to really sit down on an informal basis and chat with them and, of course, this was a time when we were doing surveys. Some of us were always working on those, and we worked on committees together.⁶⁵

He also remembered interactions that occurred during travel, much as Michael Nunnery did in Chapter 6.

I was there two years full-time. . . . I wasn't really his grad assistant but did some work with him, and we used to go on comprehensive school surveys. They used to take grad students. . . . They used to take us out, down to Alabama, and what-not. We worked pretty hard during the day but it was terrific at night. We'd sit around and have a couple of drinks and talk and get to know one another. I really came to appreciate Dr. Graff.⁶⁶

Canady's on-campus experiences were similar to those of Konnert, and they also resembled those of Helen Feldman and others more than a decade earlier:

You learned an awful lot by just knowing him. . . . We had one of those big old rooms that had about eight desks . . . and usually had a coffee pot. . . . That was a big part of education. . . . And he would just stop in sometimes. He had a kind of an easy-going way. It might be something that had happened in the news that night, or . . . in the newspaper that morning, but you'd get into some kind of a dialogue or discussion with him. In many ways, I think people learned more in those settings than they did in the formal classes. . . .⁶⁷

Roney remembered that Graff was especially attentive to the subtle details of other people's needs, despite his recognition as a philosophical thinker. He recalled a brief incident when the

⁶⁵Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

⁶⁶Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

⁶⁷Canady.

department was located in Henson Hall, after Graff had stepped aside as head. He and two other doctoral students had taken the pedestrian bridge over Cumberland Avenue to have lunch at "Sophie Strong's," a ground-floor cafeteria in a women's dormitory:

As we came out, a spring thunderstorm had come up. . . . We were standing there trying to figure out what we were going to do. Should we wait a little bit . . . or should we just make a mad dash for it? Dr. Graff and another professor . . . came out of the cafeteria--another professor in our department. Dr. Graff saw the three of us standing there and greeted us. Then he turned, and he bought a paper from a paper machine. He handed a piece of the paper to the other professor. He took the rest of the paper and put it up over his head as a shield. . . . Then Graff suddenly realized we were there, and he said, "Would you guys like to share my paper?"⁶⁸

In contrast to Graff, the other professor was apparently oblivious to their presence, Roney said. He and the other students declined the offer, and the two professors "went off, one with the paper over his head, Dr. Graff, and the other with the paper in his hand, still not having acknowledged three graduate students. . . . That's an example. This man was alert to what people's needs were, alert to what people were doing. And he lived it."⁶⁹

Both Konnert and Canady compared the personal interactions during their experiences as doctoral students with those observed as professors and department heads. The personal dimension that they experienced seemed lost in later times, they indicated. Canady said:

There's a big debate going on whether graduate study should be full-time or not. It's my opinion, if you had . . . professors like Mike [Nunnery] and Graff, I think full-time study certainly pays, because you interacted with them, you had dialogue with them, you did activities with them. Much of that was more valuable, I think, than . . . the coursework. . . . As I see what happens in a lot of departments of administration now, the professors are off doing their thing, or writing, or consulting. And if you don't do anything but go to classes with them, then I don't know that being there on grounds or campus for a full year or two is that critical.⁷⁰

Konnert's views were markedly similar:

Folks come in and serve their office hours and do their teaching. . . . Many . . . have pretty elaborate computer setups at home, and that's where a good bit of the

⁶⁸Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

⁶⁹Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

⁷⁰Canady.

work is done. Plus, most doctoral students in most institutions now are part-time. . . Really, things have changed so there's not that atmosphere. I must say, I do think students are the worse off for it, in doctoral programs, anyway. Some of the things I remember best from the program came from those bull sessions. . . . Most of us, I think, did pretty well in our oral exams, because we had chewed all the issues over, the pros and cons, and raised them among ourselves. One of the things we find now . . . is that [doctoral students] tend to have trouble with their comprehensive exams, because most of them have administrative positions. They're very good people. . . . But they really don't have the opportunity to interact with fellow students, to learn and debate the big issues. That was one of the really high points of our program. . . . It was one terrific experience.⁷¹

The Giving and Receiving of Strong Personal Loyalty

As related in Chapter 6, Jack E. Reese described a "ferocious kind of loyalty to Orin himself" among the alumni of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision. Graff's ability to inspire such loyalty did not wane during his last years of teaching, nor did his giving of it to associates and former students.

McElrath, while an advisee of Gilliland, expressed such loyalty: "I thought it would have been an honor to have carried his briefcase, as the old expression goes." He remembered later visits with Graff to "sit down and chat and have a cup of coffee" when he returned to the university for conferences.

I went by a couple of times at Christmas time, to take a little gift. He'd be so pleased and honored to give me some cabbage . . . that he'd stored away from his garden. . . . The home, though, was almost like a student home, so many went by there. Mrs. Graff was always so pleased. She took as much interest in the students as Dr. Graff. She's quite an artist, too.⁷²

The loyalties that students developed still grew in large part from the nurturing hospitality that the Graffs extended, often to individuals who were making a break from past careers to a new environment. In tones similar to those of John Crothers earlier, William Konnert said the Graffs' nurturing and friendship meant much to him and his family, as he and his wife moved to Tennessee with their two children when he was 28, having decided, after paying off and remodeling their home

⁷¹Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

⁷²McElrath.

and "just beginning to make good money," to start again. "We originally came to Tennessee just for two years, to get the degree, and we liked it so well we stayed 11 years. . . . We got to know the Graffs very well. In fact, one of Erma's pictures, a large picture, framed, [is] in our living room still."⁷³

"We referred to him a lot as 'Daddy Graff,'" Temple said, referring to the parental level of care for students that came from the Graff home. "I felt like they just adopted you. . . . My wife and I went out there several times. We purchased some of her watercolors and have them hanging very prominently in our house, because they're good."⁷⁴

Konnert reiterated a view expressed by several sources on Graff's loyalty to others: "I would describe him and his philosophy as extremely people-oriented in helping other people. . . . In fact, the people he knew and liked, he would go to any length to defend, to get help for them. I suspect perhaps sometimes maybe they didn't deserve it, but that's a trait maybe more of us need."⁷⁵

Emphasis on Philosophy, Values, and Self-Examination

The centerpiece of Graff's last years as a professor continued to be his drive to stimulate philosophic thinking and self-examination of values on the part of his students. While several former students' recollections of this period did not indicate the direct challenges of religious tenets as those of earlier years--perhaps reflecting Graff's increased exercise in such discussions at Church Street Methodist Church--his push to have students develop personal value systems was still strong. This included summoning students to levels where they could make difficult, risky administrative choices, as Canady recalled:

I recall he said, "Until [as an administrator] you'll put your job on the line, then you're nothing but a piece of flotsam." It could be different for all of us. I remember he used to stretch out his hands and say, "Some of you might be able to

⁷³Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

⁷⁴Temple. As did Roney, Temple, Canady, and Konnert, Merrill also had watercolors by Erma Graff in his home, and several sources in addition to those mentioned in this study referred to Mrs. Graff's note as a artist.

⁷⁵Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

stay on a job when such and such happens; the rest of you would know you couldn't." But what he was basically saying was that you've got to know yourself, and what's the bottom line--what will you stand up for?⁷⁶

"That's how you build trust," Canady added. He recalled that Graff's statement came in "philosophy for administrators" class in which one of the resources was the Philosophic Theory book co-authored by Graff, Street, Kimbrough, and Dykes. He related Graff's philosophic approach to later works such as Bennis and Nanus:

They make a strong point that it's important that leaders build trust. And one way they build trust is by becoming predictable. At least people come to know what you stand for, although they might disagree with you on it. If you are not wishy-washy and moving back and forth from day to day, and your position depends on the person talking to you, ultimately people can come to trust and respect you for it.⁷⁷

He also added regretfully, "I think some of that was wasted on us. I don't know whether I was too young, too inexperienced, or what. I do recall . . . a number of his statements."⁷⁸

Roney's analysis was similar:

He was very strong on knowing what you believe and having it based on something other than just something passed on to you, and being willing to stand up. . . . He really believed that a well-developed value system was what helped you become an effective administrator, because when the heat was turned up, that would put you in good stead; whereas, if you didn't have a strong value system, you might crumble under whichever the biggest pressure was at that point in time.⁷⁹

Westbrook credited Graff's philosophic influence, along with a change in circumstances, with his opportunity to serve as one of the first four area superintendents of the Memphis City Schools system (as noted in Chapter 7). Westbrook reached age 50 during his studies and said he "knew exactly" his goal in seeking the doctoral degree: "I knew when I was going to retire, I wanted to be able to go into college teaching. . . . To be a visiting professor. . . . My plans were that

⁷⁶Canady.

⁷⁷Canady.

⁷⁸Canady.

⁷⁹Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

maybe I could spend maybe a quarter here and a quarter there and do that kind of thing in retirement."

As he ended the program, however, Memphis moved to a decentralization of administration, and his experience as a supervisor and the earning of the doctoral degree led him to be named one of the four new area superintendents. The opportunity also occurred because Graff had changed his perspective, Westbrook said:

He gave me . . . a greater sense, of focus. Who I was, where I was going, and what it took to get there. A determination, a steadfastness to move ahead. Plus a much deeper insight into the whole process of education, educational administration. And a deeper insight into the human side of education. He was a great humanitarian. You had to focus if you dealt with Dr. Graff. . . . You had to focus on the value of people and the human side of education . . . that, and a strong democratic concept, and dealing with decision making, and . . . dealing with people. Good background, good understanding of how important it is to deal with people fairly and justly.⁸⁰

Democracy with an awareness of the way "things work" was McElrath's description. "To me he practiced a great deal of democratic leadership, challenging us to use democratic procedures. But at the same time, if a barrier got in the way, the easiest way to remove it may have been the Machiavellian approach," he said, laughing. "So we as students often got a big kick out of that." He also remembered an incident in class when Graff challenged him to broaden his thinking:

"All right, Mr. McElrath, explain to the class"--we were talking about democratic procedures, selection of staff, and getting input from various groups, including teachers--"explain to me the kind of teachers you tried to get when you had an opening in your school." I said, "Dr. Graff, we had our school goals established, a school improvement plan, and I made sure that I got someone who believed in my philosophy." He was tapping his tie, the way he would do. He said, "Go ahead, go ahead." I explained how important that was. And he said, "Are you God?" I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well, it seems to me you don't want any new ideas in your school, that you want to make sure that everyone concurs with your beliefs. If you're God, that's all right." He said, "Why not take someone who occasionally will challenge you or bring in new ideas, who maybe has a different philosophy?" . . . That was the kind of challenge he'd bring to you. He'd lead you out so far, but still in a very humane and democratic way, and he'd bring you back to earth and just throw out some new ideas.⁸¹

⁸⁰Westbrook.

⁸¹McElrath.

A key aspect of Graff's philosophy in action continued to be involvement of students in "real-world" projects. In doing so, he nudged students away from their former settings by using the projects as springboards into new pursuits. Temple, for example, had had "a good job" with the federal government as an educational specialist, avionics, for ten years, and he intended to resume it. "I remember one interesting evening," he said, when Graff began to persuade him otherwise.

I went and knocked on his door. I knew he was in his office. He was lying on his desk. His back was bothering him, and he just said, "Come in, Charlie, and sit down." He lay there on his desk and talked with me. He seemed to always be so concerned about my problems.⁸²

When Temple finished his coursework and thought he had developed most of his material for a dissertation on union negotiations, Graff resumed the conversation. "I'd like for you to stay in the area and complete your dissertation. . . ." Dr. Graff said, 'I'd like for you to do a study of the vocational needs of Blount County.'" A \$20,000 one-year grant from the State Department would support the study, covering a salary for Temple, secretarial support, and other expenses.⁸³

Graff had arranged the cooperation of the three school superintendents involved--three very different personalities representing nearby Blount County, Alcoa, and Maryville. Before the project could begin, TVA added \$4,000 in support. Temple was persuaded, and Graff followed through by working with him and helping maintain high levels of cooperation and amiability among all the involved parties throughout the project. The study received "fantastic" support from the Blount County citizenry and resulted in a comprehensive vocational program to serve the three school systems. Also as a result, Temple said he "ended up doing about eight other studies for TVA in other counties in the same area over the years."⁸⁴

⁸²Temple.

⁸³Temple.

⁸⁴Temple. Graff was also the single greatest influence in his subsequent career moves with The University of Tennessee, first to accept the assistant directorship of institutional research (where he replaced Elliott); then to director, during which time he taught part-time and was approved by The Graduate School to teach doctoral-level courses (with Graff playing a "major role"); and then to the university's Chattanooga campus, where he served as vice chancellor for administration and executive vice chancellor.

Graff as Acting Dean

When Merrill departed from The University of Tennessee to accept the presidency of Gallaudet College, Graff, at age 68, was named to serve as acting dean of the College of Education until the appointment of a permanent dean. He assumed the position in late 1968 and served several months during the 1968-69 academic year. With the beginning of the 1969-70 academic year, James D. McComas, a West Virginian who had earned master's and Ph.D. degrees at The Ohio State University, became the permanent new dean of the college.⁸⁵

No direct accounts were available as to how discussions leading to Graff's appointment proceeded. Apparently, from the beliefs of various sources, those involved at the campus level included Lawrence Silverman, vice chancellor for academic affairs, and Walter Herndon, associate vice chancellor. Certainly Graff's naming would have had the strong approval of Andrew Holt, Joseph Johnson, and other chief system-wide officials. McComas saw such temporary service for Graff as highly logical and beneficial, health cautions notwithstanding:

He had had a heart condition, apparently, in earlier years. . . . In the dean's office, they tell me that at one time, because his cot wasn't there, he'd get up on the table and stretch out and try to get a little bit of relaxation at noontime during a break, because I think his doctor had suggested that he get some rest. He had a cot in his old office. But he was very vigorous. That didn't seem to take away any of his zest for life or his vigor or his ability to deal with a problem. He was probably the one person who was universally respected throughout the College of Education. He'd been there a long time, and he'd seen it grow, and people knew that he had good values. So he was a natural to be the interim dean.⁸⁶

Graff was more than a caretaker. "He filled that gap nicely in that he didn't take the position as an interim dean, actually," Lawrence DeRidder, Graff's department head colleague, said.

⁸⁵McComas served as dean for the period of 1969-76. He assumed the position following the 1969 service of Graff as acting dean, and he and Graff became well acquainted during Graff's remaining service as professor and then as professor emeritus for the next several years. McComas left The University of Tennessee in 1976 to become president of Mississippi State University, and he later accepted the presidency of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, the position in which he still served as of this study. While at Ohio State, McComas studied with Coffield during the latter's service there as associate director of UCEA, and later he succeeded Coffield as dean of education at Kansas State University. McComas also noted that Erma Graff's sister was librarian of the Ohio high school where he began his teaching career.

⁸⁶McComas.

"He went in to be active. . . . He did it well, and managed the college so that it continued to grow and expand and develop under his leadership. The Peter Principle was not operative. . . ." ⁸⁷

McComas' retrospective view was similar:

I think he showed a lot of confidence. It wasn't a time when the College was just going to mark time and wasn't just a matter of holding things together. I think he was trying to move it ahead, and if there were decisions that came up and needed to be made, he participated in them and got them made. So it was not an inactive period at all. ⁸⁸

Graff's Enthusiasm for the Temporary Post

There might have been some question as to whether Graff would be happy in the post, since he had chosen not to move into a dean's position at least once, and likely on other occasions. ⁸⁹ (He also seemed at times to look askance at deans, as in his earlier-quoted remark to Arliss Roaden about the clods in his garden being deans' heads, but these feelings appeared to have been primarily a reaction to Dean N.E. Fitzgerald.) Among the sources for this study, only Erma Graff expressed reservations--and these were indirect--about Graff's enjoyment of the experience. She spoke several times of Graff's love of and preference for teaching and closeness to students rather than administration.

"Very much so," was DeRidder's assessment of Graff's happiness with the position. "He was very comfortable in that slot." There were concerns among a few people that Graff might favor the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision in his conduct as dean, but these concerns were soon allayed as he administered the total college in an even-handed, confident manner, DeRidder said. ⁹⁰

⁸⁷DeRidder.

⁸⁸McComas.

⁸⁹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 8, 1989, said, "I know he had several opportunities to leave here and go into administration, like deanships and places like that. And he'd look at them, but not seriously. He wanted to teach. He wanted to be that close to the students. So being head of the department was as far away as he wanted to be from the students."

⁹⁰DeRidder.

Nunnery, who remained in frequent touch with Graff during the deanship period, recalled that Graff issued what he believed were pro forma protestations of his enjoyment. "He would tell you he didn't like it and he wanted out, but he enjoyed it. . . . He was cleaning up some things he thought ought to be cleaned up (laugh). . . . I think he enjoyed the hell out of it. He wouldn't admit that, I don't think."⁹¹ From his observations as a student, Temple also thought Graff's dissatisfaction, "had a major role in his coming back and assuming the leadership that he did."⁹²

Nunnery related his view of Graff then to his own situation in 1990, as he prepared to return to a department head position on an interim basis before entering retirement:

I know in my own heart of hearts, hell, there's the little thrill of seeing . . . can I hitch it up and get it going just one more time? Can I still do it? It was the challenge. . . . Most administrators, when you push them far enough, are good because they've got a hell of a power drive. . . . They've got a pretty good sense of achievement, and they will use power for corporate purposes. Not for self-aggrandizement. . . . Orin Graff didn't mind using power. . . . No, I don't think he disliked it. I think he publicly said he disliked it. . . . There is something about the psyche that won't let you admit that you feel the need to grab the reins one more time. That's just inappropriate behavior, at least for people of my generation.⁹³

During the period of his acting deanship and afterward, Graff used his zest and confidence in conjunction with the respect he had built over decades, McComas said:

He was often sought out, too, by people from other colleges and departments. He was kind of an elder statesman on that campus. . . . He was also willing to take a risk. He would go right to the top and talk with Dr. Holt or talk with the chancellor, and he could do that. He had that kind of entree, and he also had that kind of courage. . . . He was not insensitive at all. . . . He was willing to stand for the courage of his convictions and willing to be a . . . risk taker, I think, from time to time.⁹⁴

Ralph Kimbrough had little direct recollection of Graff's service as acting dean, noting that he himself was "extremely busy" at the University of Florida. However, he did comment on the

⁹¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁹²Temple.

⁹³Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

⁹⁴McComas.

personal qualities he believed Graff brought to the position, recalling an early, unsuccessful attempt to begin the Memphis Center:

He would have been a really good dean. . . . He was a scrapper. I remember one of the things he wanted to get was a program out in Memphis, and I mean, he really put up a fight. . . . Andy Holt was the vice president at the time. That was during a period in which there was a split on the university issue. Memphis State wanted to become a university, and of course, The University of Tennessee didn't want them to become one. There was a huge fight, and Orin said the reason they didn't want him to have that program down there was because of that. . . . He would lose sleep over things like that. Dr. Graff was a fellow who would get all worked up emotionally and would lose sleep. He told me one time that he would wake up sometimes, and he would be out on the floor fighting with somebody. He was a leader. He was not a pussycat. Don't forget that. He was a very strong man, but a very kind person. . . . I saw him lose that battle. It was hard on him, but he finally gave up, and complained about it for about a year. . . . He didn't give up easily.⁹⁵

Nunnery's indication that Graff was "cleaning up some things" received a kind of corroboration by Trusty, from a different perspective. Trusty saw Graff's appointment as a result of inside influence and as an impediment to change within the college. After Graff assumed the deanship, he said, Donald R. Cruikshank, assistant dean, came to him in alarm that Graff was reversing changes; Cruikshank told Trusty that he was going to the Hill [the central administration] to urge the speedy appointment of a new permanent dean.⁹⁶

No special haste to complete the search for a permanent dean was indicated by any other source, however. When the search was completed, it was apparent from McComas' retrospective view that he appreciated Graff's tenure and held him in high esteem. He was aware of Graff's status, although he had not become personally acquainted with him before his arrival at Tennessee, McComas said.

He had a strong reputation for his graduate teaching and writings in the area of educational administration, so he was recognized as one of the top educational administrators in the Southeast. Of course, I knew of his reputation at that time.

⁹⁵Kimbrough, May 10, 1990. As described in Chapter 7, Graff later realized his goal of a Memphis center, playing a key role in establishing the program after Memphis State had become a university and Holt had become president of The University of Tennessee.

⁹⁶Trusty, June 21, 1990.

He also had some ties with Ohio State, and I had completed my master's and Ph.D. there, so there was some cross-fertilization.⁹⁷

After he began work at the university, he and Graff had a very good relationship, McComas added:

We worked very closely together, and we became good personal friends. I've eaten many meals at his home, and we've had many philosophical and educational discussions, as you would expect to have with Orin Graff. . . . He was a visionary kind of person. But I would say that his theory of administration had a strong value orientation underneath it, a strong philosophical underpinning.⁹⁸

To Graff's doctoral students, his service as acting dean apparently made little difference. He continued to maintain his usual levels of attention and interaction, to the point that they could hardly distinguish his period as dean. Westbrook said, "Although he wasn't actively teaching . . . he was still actively involved in the department. He worked very closely with the students. . . . It didn't affect me and seemingly didn't affect him. He seemed to be very content in whatever his role was."⁹⁹

Canady said when he returned to campus for his dissertation proposal defense, Graff discussed the change with him in relation to continuing as his major professor: "I had started out with Mike Nunnery, and he had left and gone to Florida. But Dr. Graff said, 'I'm willing to stay on, if you understand that I'm probably not going to be able to give you quite as much time as I normally would. . . .' So we agreed to that."¹⁰⁰ Other former students of the period had similar recollections.

The Tragic Beginning of a New Department

McComas also introduced another story, one with a tragic ending, that began before Graff became acting dean. Quill E. Cope, who had been on leave of absence from The University of

⁹⁷McComas.

⁹⁸McComas.

⁹⁹Westbrook.

¹⁰⁰Canady.

Tennessee since the early 1950s and had in the interim served as Tennessee commissioner of education and president of Middle Tennessee State University, decided to return. His decision led first to the planned initiation of a new Department of Continuing and Higher Education in the College of Education and then to Cope's taking of his own life.

Graff's role in the train of events reflected his personal loyalty and his determination to honor a commitment--even though the commitment was from the university rather than from himself. Erma Graff recalled, "Orin was always supportive of Quill Cope, and Quill was of him, when he was commissioner of education. They were very good friends. . . ." ¹⁰¹ Among her personal records was a picture of Graff, Cope, and two other people in caps and gowns in front of a picture of the Tennessee State Capitol, stamped with a Murfreesboro photographer's identification. The picture apparently was taken during a Middle Tennessee State University commencement in which Graff participated. ¹⁰²

According to McComas, the planned return of Cope occurred before Graff was acting dean, and it involved President Holt. ¹⁰³ Trusty's recollection as to the timing agreed, as he remembered how, upon the impending return of Cope, a new department was planned:

I received a call one day from Pete Merrill in that early year. . . . I was asked to identify at that time, in the phone conversation, courses that we could give out of our department to that department to help make it a department. Larry DeRidder was asked the same thing as it related to educational psychology, to identify some courses. There may have been one more. So we created a Department of Higher Education in the College of Education just like that. We didn't discuss it. . . . A little later I understood, because the man that had been president of Middle Tennessee State University had been identified to be the head of that. They were finding a place for him, and this was their way of doing it. So they made him chair of this department. I had no problems with him as a person. We talked. We were on friendly terms, and I said, "Well, unfortunately, the way it's been created will probably create problems, but I will help you in any way I can." ¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

¹⁰²Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

¹⁰³McComas.

¹⁰⁴Trusty, June 21, 1990.

By coincidence, Harold Wayne Gentry, one of Graff's former advisees, was visiting Graff at the time of Cope's return to Knoxville. The University of Georgia football team was in Knoxville for a game with The University of Tennessee, and Gentry and Graff went to the game together.

Gentry said:

I remember a couple of things. Right in the middle of the third quarter he said, "Well, we need to go." I said, "Where are we going?" He said, "We've got to go get some ice and beverages," and I said, "All right." That's when he told me they were having a gathering that night. We were in the middle of the parking lot when the stadium erupted. . . . The game ended in a tie. . . . I remember it basically because of the fact that I met Dr. Cope that night. . . . I believe it was the following week that Dr. Graff called me and told me that Dr. Cope had killed himself.¹⁰⁵

At the Graffs' party that night, another source remembered, in background, that Cope expressed strong personal doubts about his decision to return and uncertainty regarding his ability to teach effectively following his years away from the classroom. Graff repeatedly offered Cope reassurances that he and his colleagues would support and help him, and that he possessed the experience and ability to make his new post a success.

Nunnery departed for the University of Florida near the time when Cope invoked his right to return to The University of Tennessee. He and other sources recalled that the faculty of the College of Education were "madder than hell," considering that Cope had not taught for many years and that his reputation was mixed. "The university had no choice but to bring him back. . . ," Nunnery said. "I've always thought that was tragic, and I think he basically was shunned. . . . But Orin Graff always stood by him. . . . That's how difficult it was to get in his out-basket. . . . Orin Graff always stood behind Quill Cope."¹⁰⁶

McComas gave his retrospective view that Cope "had been a very capable person." With his death, Continuing and Higher Education became a dormant department of the College of

¹⁰⁵Gentry.

¹⁰⁶Nunnery, June 15, 1990. Erma Graff, DeRidder, and Roney were among others who mentioned more generally the conflict within the university upon Cope's return.

Education for approximately two years. The University of Tennessee Record for 1969¹⁰⁷ and 1970¹⁰⁸ listed the department with the College of Education, but under its heading only the sentence appeared: "See course listings under other departments of instruction, College of Education."

McComas said he kept the department inactive until he believed that a process to ensure its successful initiation had been followed.

Dr. Graff had shared with me the concerns about the department and had counseled me to wait a while and find out a little bit more about it before considering its reopening and its reestablishment. We did that. . . . I consulted with him and a number of other people, and I think that most everybody was supportive of it, because we had waited and because we did consult them, and we involved them in the search for the head of that department.¹⁰⁹

He particularly recalled consulting with Graff and Ohmer Milton, noting, "They both had similar values and had a deep commitment to that institution and to the state. . . . I took [Graff's] advice and didn't seek a department head until about the end of my first year, I believe, when we found Dr. [William H.] Coffield."¹¹⁰

The attempts to support Cope apparently were appreciated by his family. Until 1990, a grant from Mrs. Cope supported an outstanding teaching award in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision (later Educational Leadership). "She's been supportive," Erma Graff said of Mrs. Cope. "Orin was always supportive of Quill Cope, and Quill was of him. . . . They were very good friends, so his widow has continued to do that. In fact, we're very close friends."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷University of Tennessee, Record 72, no. 2 (Knoxville, 1969), 123.

¹⁰⁸University of Tennessee, Record 73, no. 1 (Knoxville, 1970), 136.

¹⁰⁹McComas.

¹¹⁰McComas.

¹¹¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989. Mrs. Graff noted that the award at The University of Tennessee was discontinued so that Mrs. Cope could sponsor an award in her late husband's honor at Middle Tennessee State University. Mrs. Cope was continuing to contribute to the Orin Graff Scholarship Fund, established in 1980, Mrs. Graff said.

Stollar's Appointment as Department Head

One of Graff's last major acts of assertiveness in regard to the department he had founded came just over a year after he had completed his service as acting dean. Trusty resigned as department head in 1970, and a search for the third permanent department head began. Hughes served as acting head in the interim. Apparently determined not to underassert himself again, Graff played a much more active role in the selection of his second successor. With his strong support, the appointment went to Dewey H. Stollar, whom Graff had recruited from Ohio State more than seven years earlier.

Observers saw Stollar's selection as returning the department head position to the Graff philosophic lineage. A native Ohioan, Stollar had come to Tennessee in 1963 highly recommended by Ramseyer and Roaden, as noted earlier. He had developed in the same pragmatic school of thought as Graff; had by this time built his own professorial standing and research background; and had become a personal friend of Graff through the Cherry Hill Park group as well as in his work association.

For a full academic year just before his appointment, Stollar had taken a leave of absence from The University of Tennessee to serve in the National Educational Finance Project at the University of Florida. He had by that time developed a reputation for expertise in educational finance, and the leave gave him an opportunity to work there with R.L. Johns and Kern Alexander, professors who were highly noted in this area, along with Kimbrough, Nunnery, and long-time University of Wisconsin department head Dick Rossmiller, also on leave for the project.¹¹²

In Nunnery's opinion, Stollar returned to The University of Tennessee in anticipation of the department head appointment, and he would not have returned otherwise. While he was not a direct observer, Nunnery was close enough to the principals to be sure of the general developments:

"Dewey was the heir apparent. . . . I think it would be certain to say [Graff] was . . . much more

¹¹²Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

involved and influential in selecting the successor to Trusty than he was in selecting his own successor, who was Trusty."¹¹³

Venditti, who served on the search committee to find a successor for Trusty, gave a first-hand account of Graff's role in the selection, agreeing with Nunnery's analysis of the scenario but differing in his view of the outcome:

I think that he viewed Dr. Stollar as a young Orin Graff that came from the same background, both culturally and geographically. And I think he felt that Dr. Stollar had the same kind of attitude, the same kind of ability to work with people as he, and he very definitely felt that he was the best person for the job. I remember, for example, when we were going through the process of the search . . . we made one search and weren't successful in identifying anyone. . . . On one occasion when we got to the point where we knew we had to find someone, he said in a department meeting, "Well, you can go through this goddamn search if you want to, but I can tell you right now you're not going to find anyone better than Dewey Stollar."¹¹⁴

It was evident that Graff regained a higher level of comfort in the direction of the department with Stollar as head. Lawrence DeRidder, viewing the change as head of another department, observed this. He noted, "Dewey was sufficiently like a Dr. Graff, with a very strong focus on school plants. . . ." With Stollar as head, he observed that the department faculty could "adjust comfortably . . . and the department seemed to grow again," apparently meaning the latter phrase in terms of equilibrium rather than physical size or enrollment.¹¹⁵

Stollar, recognized as an expert in educational finance, was not a philosopher by background; it was not his nature to articulate philosophical thinking, as Graff had done with force and charisma. However, Stollar's applied philosophy in heading the department followed the basic tenets of Graff and Ramseyer. In particular, he emphasized professorial research and field service, as Graff had done, and he believed in an emphasis on practice linked to a philosophic base.

¹¹³Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹¹⁴Venditti added that he took issue with Graff's view, telling the senior professor that he "might very well be right, but I didn't feel that we could make that assumption, and that unless we made a national search, we weren't doing what we really should do." Graff did not hold the disagreement against him, Venditti said, which was consistent with the type of relationship they had over the years.

¹¹⁵DeRidder.

William Baker, addressing the 30 Year Anniversary Conference of the Department of Educational Administration in 1980, described the Stollar era up to that point as one of continuation and synthesis:

Dewey Stollar . . . will tell you that he has made a concerted effort to combine the characteristics of the Graff and Trusty years, to continue the successful programs and services, to maintain a quality staff, to secure the resources needed for excellence, to retain and improve the decision-making procedures, and to plan for or cope with new external constraints and opportunities. As was noted in a 1977 consultants' report on the department, the strengths of the department are still (1) faculty with national or regional reputations, (2) good relations with surrounding community, and (3) good quality student clientele.¹¹⁶

Baker later added:

Both Dr. Graff and Dr. Stollar also mentioned to me that there is a greater emphasis on computer understanding and utilization than there was a few years ago. . . . But the importance of the client is still at the heart of the department's philosophy. Nationwide, the department consistently ranks among the top ten or fifteen, and faculty members are now evaluated by students every quarter.¹¹⁷

Graff's Retirement Years

In September of 1971, Graff officially entered retirement, having reached the mandatory retirement age of 70 the previous May.¹¹⁸ By this time, McComas had served almost two years as dean and Stollar had succeeded Trusty as department head (Hughes having served as acting head). Graff had also apparently undergone at least one health-related interruption of work during his post-dean period, possibly related to the heart fibrillation problem described by Erma Graff earlier. In a letter to Trusty in May of 1970, McComas stated, "Dr. Graff will not be able to teach summer school. I believe we should cancel his classes for the summer."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Baker.

¹¹⁷Baker.

¹¹⁸A University of Tennessee "Personnel Status Change" reflecting the retirement was included in Graff's records, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176. His official retirement date was Sept. 1, 1971; McComas had signed his approval on July 21.

¹¹⁹James D. McComas, letter to Francis M. Trusty, May 21, 1970, Campus Records Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Location 2-22-3, Box 2176.

Graff's Drive to Remain Active

Health problems and retirement aside, Graff's enthusiasm for the university and his former department was unflagging. William Coffield, who arrived to head the then-activated Department of Continuing and Higher Education in fall of 1971, said that Graff retired "about the time that I came, or shortly thereafter." He added, "Well, you could never tell when he retired, exactly. He was still around a great deal. . . ." ¹²⁰

Graff "stayed very active in the life of the university," McComas said. "And I would see him several times a month after he had retired. . . . He taught a course after he retired too." ¹²¹

Reese, who became chancellor of the university two years into Graff's retirement, concurred: "He was certainly around and was always a presence." Graff's keen interest as a professor emeritus was not greatly atypical, he added:

I think it's interesting to differentiate among faculty. There are some who retire and just disappear, and there are others who are on campus every single day and very much participate in the life of the university. . . . Orin belonged to that category. . . . It was simply very hard for him, after all those years, not to be in the middle of that department. That's not unusual, because I can think of other faculty in other departments who have had the same sort of trauma. ¹²²

Graff's friend Carl Van Hoozier remembered Graff's continued activity with admiration and humor: "What tickled me was, when he kept working at the university over there. . . . When he got up to the mandatory retirement age, Orin still didn't quit. He went in to his office there and did his thing. . . . He loved to work." ¹²³

Graff's nephew, Guy Potts, had similar recollections, adding that Graff continued this pace until the last years of his life:

He stayed so darn active after he retired, I don't really think he knew he'd

¹²⁰Coffield.

¹²¹McComas.

¹²²Reese.

¹²³Van Hoozier.

retired. . . . I know the last couple of years that he lived, I was still superintendent. I know I needed to track him down for some reason. He was a real good resource to me, if I needed some area of expertise, where I might go to get it, that sort of thing. I wasn't hesitant whatsoever to ask his opinions on things. I never knew whether to call home or the office. It got to the place that just generally if it was between 8:00 and 4:00 o'clock I'd call the office, and most generally he was there. . . . He did a fair amount of consulting work during that time.¹²⁴

Mixed Views of Graff's Retirement Activity

Points of view regarding Graff's retirement period fell into two general categories. On one hand, some associates viewed him as wise and still intellectually vigorous, at the same time admiring his determination to remain active and, in some cases, praising his keen perception in understanding human problems. On the other hand, others saw him as a gadfly who should have withdrawn from the scene and pursued other interests. A few sources held a mixture of the two views.

McComas was decidedly of the first view, remembering Graff's valued service as a consultant during his retirement and adding, "He was also involved in a lot of efforts and advice on desegregation. . . . He provided quiet and sound advice to people in those kinds of activities. I never did feel that Orin Graff declined in terms of the intellectually stimulating encounters that we engaged in after he retired. He was still looking ahead. Even in those retirement years."¹²⁵

Roney found himself in an unusual position to gain from Graff's wisdom and experience after the close of the Memphis Center in 1973. A young-to-emeritus professorial association formed between the two when Roney joined the department faculty in Knoxville.

During those first couple of years back here, I had a lot of chance to sit and talk with Orin, because his office and my office were the only two in Henson Hall, except for the doctoral student's offices, that were up on the top floor. His office was just on the other side of the elevator from mine, and I didn't have many students, of course, early. So I had the advantage of being able, from time to time, just to sit and talk to him.¹²⁶

¹²⁴Potts.

¹²⁵McComas.

¹²⁶Roney, May 27, 1992.

These interactions with Graff, which frequently included the nearby doctoral students, were valuable to him as a younger member of the faculty, Roney said--rare opportunities to discuss issues and learn from an esteemed leader in the field. As noted earlier, he recalled that Graff seemed to have grown more dogmatic in his views with the passage of time. Even so, Graff would occasionally challenge him if he seemed not to have considered varying viewpoints in arriving at his own positions. While Graff held firm values, Roney said, he also still believed in continual, thorough examination of varying points of view.¹²⁷

One of the themes Graff continued during retirement was his conviction that the university should reach out to the people of the state. The conversations in the upper offices of Henson Hall often turned to this, Roney said, as Graff was "very much concerned that UTK should not become just Middle-East Tennessee State University." He "saw the signs that we were being ask to limit where we could go, and . . . he didn't think that a great institution ought to do that."¹²⁸

Graff's drive to develop a center in Memphis was "just one part of the big picture of that," Roney said. "Orin was very much inclined to want to take our program to people. If they wanted a class in Claiborne County, we went to Claiborne County, much more so than has happened in recent years." The university's slogan of "The state is our campus" was strongly felt when Graff and his contemporaries were holding sway, Roney said, and in his retirement "he began to see it eroding, partly because the regional institutions began to offer more programs, and they began to have better quality programs." Tennessee's community colleges also became a factor in this change. Yet Graff felt strongly that The University of Tennessee had a legitimate state-wide role, Roney said, a role that "would not downgrade the regional institutions," but instead would be a "capstone" for the state's higher education system.¹²⁹

¹²⁷Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

¹²⁸Roney, May 27, 1992.

¹²⁹Roney, May 27, 1992.

Graff's long-time friend and colleague Ohmer Milton remembered, "He used to come by and visit with me, and we continued to discuss these problems. He was very concerned about the University. He would visit with Joe Johnson. He and Joe were great buddies. . . ."¹³⁰

Johnson, who was the university's executive vice president at the time, remembered Graff's visits well, and Graff's talks with him at times closely echoed the thoughts that were shared with Roney. The meetings with both him and sometimes earlier with Andrew Holt followed a conversational pattern, he said.

He didn't bring you petitions that he got people to sign; he didn't write you virulent letters; he didn't pop off, didn't threaten. That's . . . what he didn't do. When he came to see me as vice president, or at times I may have been sitting with Dr. Holt, he always came in his low-key kind of way, and he'd talk awhile, tell a few jokes and then say, "Here is what I'm here to talk about." So you always knew what he was there to talk about. . . . There were some things he wanted to do in his latter years, and I couldn't help him on some of them, because, philosophically, we'd had a change in what we were doing. . . . He was frustrated by some of the things he didn't see us doing as well. He saw us becoming . . . more of a middle eastern Tennessee university, and we weren't doing as much with the Memphis school systems and the Jackson school systems and the Nashville school systems; and he felt, as the state university, this campus had to be out there; and he was right. We are now trying . . . to push ourselves back out across the state, in some ways, and I think he'd be tickled to death with that. . . ."¹³¹

Graff's drive to continue his activities also had a negative side, according to several sources close to him. A new abundance of free time now supplemented his strength of views, which had grown more strident. The result, some reported, was an increased tendency to inject himself into the work of his younger colleagues.

Frederick Venditti said that Graff's prideful tendency to be "very convinced that he was right" increased during this period. "I think it was always there to a certain extent, and after he stepped down--and particularly after he assumed emeritus status and became more of a gadfly--it may have been more pronounced. Which isn't too surprising. He had more time."¹³²

¹³⁰Milton.

¹³¹Johnson.

¹³²Venditti.

Nunnery, although one of Graff's proteges and personally devoted to him, agreed. "Another thing the old man tried to do, as he got older, . . . he tried to get into things that weren't his business. He ought to have backed off. . . . He didn't know when it was over."¹³³

However, a comment by Konnert gave a different perspective, reflecting that Graff's interactions, rather than thought of as meddlesome, were oftentimes sought out: "He continued even when he went into retirement to exert terrific influence, because so many of us thought so much of him. By exerting influence, I don't mean he was out trying to do it. He probably just couldn't get away from it. The rest of us kept pestering him."¹³⁴

While Graff may have caused discomfort for some of his colleagues with his inquisitiveness, he apparently did so with consciousness of his effects. Indeed, he seemed at times to have gained an irascible sense of freedom by having access to his department and the university without the burden of the workloads he had carried for years. William Evernden, who stayed in touch with Graff during his own tenure as a professor at East Tennessee State University, recalled a comment indicating this. The two had been asked to attend a meeting of the Tennessee State Board of Education to testify in a personnel matter.

Dr. Graff invited me to come down to his place and ride to Nashville with him and stay there when we got back. . . . On the way back, Dr. Graff . . . said, "Bill, I've had more darn fun since I've retired than I had all the time I was working. I just raise hell in all directions and they can't fire me."¹³⁵

Relations with Three Former Students as Commissioners

A regrettable twist of relationship connected to Graff's changing temperament occurred with Bennie E. Carmichael, the first of three former students of the department to serve as Tennessee

¹³³Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹³⁴Konnert made the comment in recalling how he sought Graff's help with a professional journal article, described later in this chapter.

¹³⁵Evernden.

commissioner of education beginning in the 1970s and 1980s. Carmichael recalled that, overall, he and Graff had retained a good association throughout the years.

Even when I was working at the Appalachian Educational Laboratory, he would come up, and I would come by and talk things over with him and seek answers to questions that I had. I guess he retired about the time that I went to the commissionership. He'd always had an interest in the State Department of Education and some of the staff there. So we were in contact on a pretty regular basis, and anytime I was at the University, I would try to make it a point to spend some time with him. It was a long and wonderful relationship, really.¹³⁶

However, when he served as commissioner during the 1970-74 term of Governor Winfield Dunn,¹³⁷ a barrier occurred in their relationship.

That's probably the only negative attitude that I ever developed toward Dr. Graff. He reached the point at which he should have stopped, and he couldn't. He couldn't. I even had a minor conflict or two with him at that point. As persons become older--I've watched it in my own relatives--they become more intent on accomplishing what they set out to accomplish or having done what they wanted to have done. He was one of my strongest critics in the State Department of Education, I'm sure, and some time I remember saying to him, "Damn it, I don't care how you react. This is the way I see it, and this is the way I'm doing it." And it was hard. It was awfully hard to relate to him in those years because I felt something of a block between his temperament at that time and my own. . . . If he could have just gone off and quit trying to change the world at that time . . . it would have been far better for me.¹³⁸

Carmichael said Graff "couldn't relax," and that he had "reflected on that a great deal, because it hurt me. It hurt." He added that the barrier in their relationship from that time did not diminish his long-term respect or affection for Graff. "It didn't detract for me, because I thought I understood what was happening. But at the time, it'll give you a hard time, because you're trying to accomplish something. . . . You've just got to live with it, to wrestle with it."¹³⁹

¹³⁶Carmichael.

¹³⁷Carmichael served most of the four-year term, assuming the commissionership after an initial period of service by E.C. Stimbirt of Memphis.

¹³⁸Carmichael.

¹³⁹Carmichael.

Carmichael's successor as commissioner was Sam H. Ingram, who, as described in Chapter 7, "teamed" with the university's first black doctoral graduate, Harry S. Blanton, in working closely with Graff in the mid-1950s. Ingram served as commissioner for four years, during the 1974-78 administration of Governor Ray Blanton. Carmichael doubted that Ingram clashed with Graff as he had, noting with humor, "Sam would have listened to him a little more than I would. Sam really would have." He added, however, "Sam was working under an administration that would have given Dr. Graff a fit. . . . It would be hard to relate to Dr. Graff and relate to Ray Blanton."¹⁴⁰

Carmichael's hypothesis was untested, however, as Graff was apparently not as vocal regarding the State Department of Education during Ingram's term as commissioner. "I'm sure that many decisions I made, Dr. Graff would not have agreed with and would have felt totally free to have told me," Ingram said, laughing. "And I would have felt comfortable with his telling me, because I was accustomed to that. But I did not have a lot of opportunity to visit with Dr. Graff during that period of time."¹⁴¹

The third commissioner referred to was Robert L. McElrath, who served for almost eight years during the successive terms of Governor Lamar Alexander.¹⁴² McElrath said Graff was receptive to the initial direction he took as commissioner, but their communication was limited. "His health was not the best in the world at the time, but we did have several conversations. He was supportive about the ideas that first year--what we would be doing . . . mainly just by phone."¹⁴³

A Manifestation of Personal Loyalty and Friendship

While Graff may have been more inquisitive and at times more acerbic with colleagues during his retirement years, by contrast he remained gentle and steadfast in his personal friendships,

¹⁴⁰Carmichael.

¹⁴¹Ingram.

¹⁴²McElrath, serving as superintendent of Greeneville City Schools, was appointed after E.A. Cox, Alexander's initial commissioner, resigned following a short period of service.

¹⁴³McElrath.

just as he did in relations with students. A powerful story of his strength of friendship was told by Jane Smith, whose acquaintance with Graff through graduate studies and church affiliation was described earlier. "One very dear memory I have of Orin was of the last years before he died and my husband died," she said.¹⁴⁴

Ralph Smith, her husband, had been a metallurgist. Late in life he suffered a severe, unusual affliction and spent his last four years in nursing homes--two years while Graff was still alive and then two years beyond.

We didn't know at the time what it was, but he had a central nervous system deterioration that was caused by heavy metal poisoning. His hands curled, and his feet curled, and his back hunched over, and his toes curled under, and it was a terrible thing. He was aware of the fact that his mind was leaving, and it was very frightening to him; and because I couldn't lift him and handle him, he had to be in the nursing home. Right there at Brakebill, I think about every other day, Orin would go by in the afternoon--he was retired--and have a visit with my husband. Now his other friends would tell me, "I can't go by. It hurts. I just can't stand it. I'm a coward." Orin would go by three or four times a week, and he would take a candy bar or a box of cookies. Erma cooked so much and made such wonderful things. He'd take him some little treat in a box and sit and talk. They'd talk about life and values and what happens when people get older, and he helped to give so many positive reinforcements to my husband. He was in a terrible depression because he was having such a hard time. Orin was such a dear person with that. It was really wonderful, the strength of the friendship between those two men.¹⁴⁵

As well as a manifestation of his strong loyalty, Graff's many visits with Ralph Smith also fit in with his need to remain active and involved. Smith said:

He was over at the university almost every day, and I think he did a great deal of volunteer work, guidance, and supervision. . . . He was very happy, as far as I know. But I think leisure hung heavy on him, and that was one of the reasons, as he'd go home, he'd stop at Brakebill. . . . I'd get out of school at 3:30 or 4:00 and go by, and [Ralph would] say, "Oh, you just missed Orin. He was just here. He's been here a couple of hours, and we've been talking about. . . ." And he'd mention a subject. . . . I think he helped my husband accept what had happened. . . . It was wonderful for a couple of years for him to go by almost every day; and we missed him when he was gone. . . . He was very warm, and Ralph was not self-conscious around him. He was so self-conscious around other people.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴Smith.

¹⁴⁵Smith.

¹⁴⁶Smith.

Authorship in the Retirement Years

During the 1960s, Graff's major published work was the 1966 book, Philosophic Theory in Educational Administration. He resumed periodic writing for publication in 1970, as he approached retirement, and continued to write until the year of his death. He produced four professional articles, co-writing with a former advisee on the third. With the exception of the 1956 and 1966 books and his 1957 chapter with Calvin M. Street in Administrative Behavior in Education, the first three of the four articles were perhaps his strongest.

The 1970 article reunited Graff with Arliss L. Roaden, whose career had taken him to The Ohio State University as dean of the graduate school and vice provost for graduate affairs. Roaden served as guest editor for that year's October issue of Theory Into Practice, a five-times-per-year journal of the Ohio State College of Education. The issue was a collection of articles on "Governance in Higher Education," the cover title, and was dedicated to John A. Ramseyer, the noted Ohio State professor who was Graff's friend and partner in the "great debate," and who had died in 1968. After introducing the issue with a dedication to Ramseyer, Roaden briefly described each of the ten articles under the heading, "Higher Education: Who Is In Charge?" Graff contributed "Value Referents in the Governance of Higher Education," of which Roaden wrote, "Professor Orin Graff examines the philosophical and psychological bases of valuing. He discards the extremes of logical positivism, existentialism, and noncognitive behaviorism, concluding that shared control in governance depends upon the valuing of self-control, reflectiveness, and goal-mindedness."¹⁴⁷ Roaden noted, looking back almost 20 years later, "That was a fine piece that he did."¹⁴⁸

Graff's article immediately followed Roaden's introduction. It was an unusual writing for Graff in that he specifically applied his favorite topic, value systems, to higher education, relating his values framework concept to the tremendous unrest then active on campuses. He wrote:

¹⁴⁷Arliss L. Roaden, "This Issue," Theory Into Practice 9, no. 4 (1970): 209.

¹⁴⁸Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

In this present setting--one of turmoil and strife within our institutions of higher education--this paper seeks to deal with the value referents that are basic to campus conflicts and to the decisions and processes required for their resolution.

The term "value" as used in this paper will focus upon those motivators of human behavior which may be termed rational: that is, they are intellectualized guides to conduct which may be synthesized into a system of principles for guidance in practical affairs. This limitation seems essential since "value" in the general sense may refer to feelings of preference or attachment, consciously or unconsciously held. . . . A further limitation is that these intellectualized values be derived and appraised through a study of human behavior.¹⁴⁹

He examined various aspects of value referents in relation to higher education. References to several noted writers and thinkers--Carl Becker, John W. Gardner, Alfred North Whitehead, and others--were included; Graff also quoted from two of his former students, Archie R. Dykes and Roaden, and from his long-time colleague, Ohmer Milton. He ended with a statement from Roaden:

The fate of the universities depends largely upon the professionals involved. We have the knowledge and technical competence, but what of our commitment? The guest editor of this issue has stated the case succinctly: "The most important ingredient in the fate of the universities--whether they live or die--is not their structure or their programs, but the values of those who participate in the destiny of the institutions."¹⁵⁰

The second of the four articles was an edition in the series titled Teaching-Learning Issues, prepared by the Learning Research Center of The University of Tennessee, of which Milton was director. Graff's edition, published in winter, 1974, was titled "Academe and the Education of Institutional Leadership." Graff advanced a "thesis that the university must allocate a significant proportion of its effort to the continuing education of a great variety of off-campus leaders or, within the next decade, it will lose its pre-eminent place as an educational institution."¹⁵¹

"The great future extension of higher education must be in the continuing education of its clientele in service," Graff concluded. "The usual answer of a university administrator to such an

¹⁴⁹Orin B. Graff, "Value Referents in the Governance of Higher Education," Theory Into Practice 9, no. 4 (1970): 211.

¹⁵⁰Orin B. Graff, "Value Referents in the Governance of Higher Education," 225.

¹⁵¹Orin B. Graff, "Academe and the Education of Institutional Leadership," Teaching-Learning Issues 24 (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Learning Research Center, 1974), 3.

assertion is that we are already engaged in this effort--and this answer is partially true." With that, he examined five general operational questions in terms of how they were being performed versus how they might be. Success in this effort would assure the future of higher education institutions as well as provide a profoundly needed service, he asserted, "for what more support could a university ask than that of a grateful public leadership?"¹⁵²

As well as referring to leading thinkers whom he often cited--Robert Maynard Hutchins, James B. Conant, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Alfred North Whitehead, and others--Graff also inserted an annotated endnote on Milton:

Through the years the writer has become increasingly indebted to Professor Ohmer Milton for his thoughtful, provocative criticism on questions of teaching and learning. His book, Alternatives to the Traditional (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1972) is currently the best single source of help to those who would join in seeking improvement in the learning environment for higher education.¹⁵³

In 1976, Graff for the last time joined one of his former students in co-authorship. He and William Konnert published "The Sine Qua Non of Organizational Effectiveness" in the respected nationwide professional journal, Educational Administration Quarterly. Predictably, the "Sine Qua Non," or "the most important factor in organizational decision making," was put forth as "the personal philosophies of the decision makers."¹⁵⁴ Ironically, in this respect, the article was a working reunion of another sort: The journal's editor was Daniel E. Griffiths, Graff's philosophical adversary on values ranging back two decades.¹⁵⁵

At the time of the article, Konnert was serving at The University of Tennessee as associate professor in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision and administrative

¹⁵²Orin B. Graff, "Academe and the Education of Institutional Leadership," 12.

¹⁵³Orin B. Graff, "Academe and the Education of Institutional Leadership," 15.

¹⁵⁴William Konnert and Orin B. Graff, "The Sine Qua Non of Organizational Effectiveness," Educational Administration Quarterly 12, no. 3 (1976): 1.

¹⁵⁵Larry W. Hughes, still serving as a University of Tennessee professor, was a member of the 10-person editorial board of Educational Administration Quarterly, published by the University Council for Educational Administration.

assistant to the vice chancellor for graduate studies and research. He recalled drafting the article and then seeking help from Graff:

I'd always wanted to write an article dealing with organization and personal philosophy, based on some of the things I had picked up with Dr. Graff. So I got busy and knocked out a draft of the article and asked Dr. Graff to help me with it, which he was kind enough to do. The end result [was] that article, which obviously he strengthened tremendously. . . . I feel very comfortable with what we're talking about in transformational leadership and organizational values today, because it's just an extension of what he was talking about 40 years ago.¹⁵⁶

At Graff's insistence, Konnert's name appeared first in the byline--the only instance of this arrangement among Graff's collaborative writings. Konnert remembered this gratefully: "He was just delighted to help. In my feeble way, I tried to put some stuff together. He really cleaned it up, and he refused to be the lead author of it. By all rights, he should have. . . ." ¹⁵⁷

For Educational Administration Quarterly, the article was the first of an experimental type that was well suited to Graff and his students. It appeared in a new "Perspective" section at the front of the journal. The journal's "Notes from the Editors" described the nature of "Perspectives" articles and, in doing so, coincidentally characterized the general approach to writing that Graff used throughout his career:

A "Perspective" paper is one in which the author attempts to state a point of view or to take a position on a significant issue in educational administration, in preparatory programs, or in dimensions of theory or research. Over the months that we [as a new editorial board] have been reading manuscripts submitted to the EAQ, it has been noted that, in several instances, a particular piece did not contain the emphasis on theory and research which is regarded as desirable in articles accepted for publication in the major section of the journal. Yet, authors often had something significant to say on a subject of consequence, and further, they supported their positions with relevant literature and rationally evolved argument. These were not manuscripts which were based on mere opinion, nor did they deteriorate into harangues. Rather, they often were thoughtfully prepared as well as thought-provoking essays in which a position was stated clearly, documented carefully, and developed logically. . . . The article by William Konnert and Orin B. Graff entitled "The Sine Qua Non of Organizational Effectiveness," which

¹⁵⁶Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

¹⁵⁷Konnert, Mar. 26, 1990.

appears in this issue as the first "Perspective" paper, illustrates the general type of manuscript that will be considered for publication under this new heading.¹⁵⁸

In the article itself, Konnert and Graff restated and further developed the outlook that Graff had long taught and written. In depicting values as the "Sine Qua Non," they wrote:

In a very practical manner, every individual's personal preferences, habits, and values come into play with every decision made. This is an inescapable fact of life. The preferences and habits, often unconsciously held, are part inheritance and part custom based on experience. The values are of a different order since they are an individual's intellectual recreations of habits and preferences, deliberately used to direct personal experience and/or to achieve personal goals. Thus, values are the stuff of which a personal philosophy is made. Yet, there is a further step in the achievement of a personal philosophy: the various values held by an individual must be compatible, else an analysis of overt action is apt to reveal an amazing mess of inconsistencies. Viewed internally, the achievement of compatibility among values is a responsibility which only the individual can assume. Obviously, such compatibility can never be achieved completely since intelligent action requires, as an important aspect of life, the regeneration of one's values in response to new and productive life experiences.¹⁵⁹

The article also gave a succinct view of the moral dimension of philosophy, as earlier related in Graff's teaching, church participation, and personal interactions:

Perhaps the most important element in the core of a personal philosophy is humanism, defined as the all-pervading desire to place human welfare above all other concerns. . . . Humanism is then the chief factor in integrating an individual's values into a consistent, comprehensive, and workable whole, thus achieving a personal philosophy. This is equivalent to saying that the moral or ethical values . . . constitute a basic integrating factor in any personal philosophy. The authors . . . accept this assumption, and believe that neglect of the moral problem in the creation of a philosophy is an exercise in futility.¹⁶⁰

At the time of the interview, Konnert was co-authoring a book on the school superintendency that he said was based in part on his work with Graff. A major part of the book, he said, deals with leadership. "We lead that section off with a chapter on personal philosophies in relation to leadership, and it's a playoff on the 'Sine Qua Non' article. . . . It can lead into transformational

¹⁵⁸Bryce M. Fogarty, "Notes from the Editors," Educational Administration Quarterly 12, no. 3 (Fall 1976): iii-iv.

¹⁵⁹Konnert and Graff, 2-3.

¹⁶⁰Konnert and Graff, 3.

leadership, organizational climate, and so on. That will be, we think, a pretty significant part of the book, and it's tied to Dr. Graff."¹⁶¹

In spring of 1980, about four months before his death, Graff's final published article, "Bargaining and Beyond," appeared in the Tennessee School Boards Bulletin. As one of four articles in a "Collective Bargaining Insights" edition, it reflected the viewpoint of the Tennessee School Boards Association (TSBA) on "professional negotiations" between teacher associations and school boards, which the Tennessee legislature had approved over two years earlier.

Graff wrote bluntly of his opposition to collective bargaining as he briefly traced the conversion of the National Education Association (NEA) and Tennessee Education Association (TEA) from professional organizations to unions. He wrote: "Bargaining requires an adversary relationship. Each meeting is a confrontation, no matter how civil it may appear on the surface. Both sides come to get more than they give."¹⁶²

He saw professional status and collective bargaining as essentially incompatible:

It is sufficiently clear that none of the things that make a person a professional can be negotiated. All the basic methods of bargaining and the attitudes fostered by bargaining are negative to the development of a professional life. It is ridiculous to propose that the answer to any real problem be bargained. When a problem appears, professionals come together not to face-off with each other, but to contribute ideas, to clearly define the problem, and to agree on a possible solution for subsequent try-out.¹⁶³

Graff regretfully acknowledged that teachers had been cut off from full professional status by low pay and a shortened work year that forced many to take second jobs. Advising clear distinctions between areas that could be bargained and those that could not, he cited a need for TSBA and local boards of education "to launch a real effort to help our communities and our legislators understand

¹⁶¹Konnert, Mar. 29, 1990. See William Konnert and John J. Augenstein, The Superintendency in the Nineties: What Superintendents and Board Members Need to Know (Lancaster, Pa.: Technomic Publishing Company, 1990).

¹⁶²Orin B. Graff, "Collective Bargaining and Beyond," Tennessee School Boards Bulletin (Apr.-May 1980): 6.

¹⁶³Orin B. Graff, "Collective Bargaining and Beyond," 6.

what TEA is trying to do politically. . . . We should not act in self-interest, as does TEA, but in the public interest."

The article's final paragraph reflected Graff's intention to continue his work: "In a subsequent article for TSBA, the writer proposes to present for school board members a discussion of those problems [other than bargaining] which seem most important, together with suggestions about solutions for those problems. . . ." ¹⁶⁴

Two former students who themselves gained experience in the bargaining arena commented on Graff's views. Graff's nephew Guy S. Potts was involved in bargaining for many years as superintendent of schools in Fayette County and then the combined Fayette County-Lexington district in Kentucky. "He and I were pretty much in tune on collective bargaining," he said of Graff. "We both felt it wasn't in the best interest of public education. Of course, I fought it tooth and toenail as superintendent. . . . He was more introspective than I am, but we were pretty much in tune, I think, on collective bargaining." However, he added, "I think he came to the opinions . . . in the last three or four years of his life. . . ." ¹⁶⁵

Robert McElrath dealt with the negotiations process in Tennessee as a district superintendent and then as state commissioner. He indicated that Graff's reservations on unionism of teachers was consistent with his other philosophic precepts: "He thought there was a better way, I think," McElrath said. ¹⁶⁶

Other Achievements and Recognitions

Several other forms of recognition came Graff's way during retirement, and his continued activity still produced noted achievements. One recognition was from the TEA several years before the organization entered into collective bargaining. Joseph Westbrook, after completing his doctoral

¹⁶⁴Orin B. Graff, "Collective Bargaining and Beyond," 23.

¹⁶⁵Potts.

¹⁶⁶McElrath.

degree under Graff's advisement and becoming an area superintendent for Memphis City Schools, was elected president of TEA. He held the office in 1972-73, concurrent with his Memphis superintendency.

In spring of 1973, Westbrook nominated Graff to receive the TEA Presidential Merit Award. Graff became the fifth recipient of the award at the TEA annual convention in Nashville on April 12 of that year, an occasion on which Westbrook cited him for "for outstanding leadership in behalf of better education for the youth of Tennessee."¹⁶⁷ Westbrook's citation, as reported in the TEA News, continued:

In presenting the award President Joe Westbrook said, "Dr. Graff has rendered outstanding service to education across Tennessee. . . . Many teachers and administrators have been motivated to enter the doctoral program by Orin Graff. His leadership has been a vehicle for improvement of education in many school systems."¹⁶⁸

"I felt that he deserved it because of what he had done and how he had promoted education and the spread of education throughout the state," Westbrook said. "Especially higher education." Related to higher education, he said one of Graff's "greatest contributions" was in promoting "the importance of taking education and what that education meant out into the state so that the populace would benefit from it--that education was not confined to the institution, so that you had to come to the institution just to get it, but that the education was to come out and serve. And that you as a part of the educational establishment had to commit to serve."¹⁶⁹

In the 1960s, Graff had played a key role in extending graduate studies in education to Memphis. After his retirement, according to one of his former students, he did the same for

¹⁶⁷"Presidential Award Goes to Dr. Graff," TEA News 4, no. 10, May 15, 1973, 4. The four previous recipients of the award were, respectively, Martin Ochs, former editor of the Chattanooga Times; Andrew D. Holt, president emeritus of The University of Tennessee; W.R. Rochelle, former principal of Cohn High School, Nashville; and Lawrence G. Derthick, former U.S. commissioner of education and former superintendent of Chattanooga City Schools.

¹⁶⁸"Presidential Award Goes to Dr. Graff," 4.

¹⁶⁹Westbrook.

Chattanooga. In 1973, James E. Drinnon, Jr., and Charles Temple, both Ed.D. graduates in Educational Administration and Supervision, were sent to The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga as interim chancellor and executive vice chancellor, respectively.¹⁷⁰

Temple became permanent executive vice chancellor and remained at Chattanooga for 10 years. During the time, he recalled initially unsuccessful efforts to have the doctoral program in Educational Administration and Supervision extended to the Chattanooga campus. Graff also knew of the efforts and, in accordance with his strongly-held beliefs on program extension, decided to again try to play a role. Temple recalled:

I got a call one day. . . . Dr. Graff called and said, "I would like for you to come up to Knoxville and talk to me." He didn't really tell me what he wanted to talk to me about. . . . He just said, "I want you to come and talk to me." He said, "the next time you're in Knoxville," but I immediately made it a point to go up there. . . .¹⁷¹

Graff told Temple he knew what had happened and assured him that the two of them, working together, could "swing" the offering of doctoral courses in Chattanooga. Graff would "line everything up" in Knoxville and would depend on Temple to do the same in Chattanooga. "So the next year the program was in Chattanooga," Temple said. "We both had worked on it, Dr. Graff and I. We took that program to UT-Chattanooga. He was an individual who just made it clear that he would work with you and do the things that needed to be done, and he would do them."¹⁷²

In another vein, as McComas described Graff's continued activity as a consultant during retirement, he noted one such assignment that seemed incongruous, but that Graff nevertheless accepted and completed with apparent success. Graff acted as a consultant to Reverend Jerry Falwell

¹⁷⁰Temple. Drinnon, an advisee of Howard Aldmon who completed the Ed.D. Degree in 1971, had also earned a law degree and was serving on the legal staff of The University of Tennessee at the time he was asked to go to Chattanooga as interim chancellor, according to Temple. He had joined the university system as executive assistant to Vice President Joseph Johnson and also served as executive assistant to the president after returning from Chattanooga, Temple said.

¹⁷¹Temple.

¹⁷²Temple.

in the evangelist's opening of Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia, McComas said. McComas remembered the assignment as "one interesting sidelight" as he recalled Graff's "ethical dimension," describing it as "moral, not a preachy kind of moral, but a sound underpinning." He said:

Orin Graff went up to Liberty back at the beginning of Jerry Falwell's program, and he would not have necessarily been a disciple of Falwell. He was invited in as a consultant. But I remember him coming back and saying, "A lot of people don't believe that this guy is going to be able to even start a university up there, but he will." It wasn't because he was convinced in a religious sense. He was convinced because of Mr. Falwell's enthusiasm and vision and determination to do that. So, I thought that was very interesting, that Orin felt that here was a man who was starting a new church-related college that was going to be successful.¹⁷³

In 1976, Graff and Daniel E. Griffiths met personally for the last time as part of an occasion that was historically significant for the two of them. The University of Tennessee hosted the annual NCPEA meeting and, as part of the meeting, the 10th Annual Walter Cocking Lecture in Educational Administration. The NCPEA had initiated the lecture series in 1967 in honor of the late leader in the founding of the organization. Griffiths was the lecturer for the 1976 gathering.¹⁷⁴

"Before that, I hadn't really seen him for a long time," Griffiths recalled. "He was there, and we did talk some," Griffiths, said; he did not remember their topics of conversation but said that, as before, he and Graff were friendly. "You can disagree all you want but still be sort of decent," he said, laughing.¹⁷⁵

Whatever their topic of conversation, the philosophical and theoretical directions of the two professors had not moved closer together. Griffiths' Cocking lecture came in the same year that Konnert and Graff co-authored an article on values for Educational Administration Quarterly, edited by Griffiths, as described earlier. On the other hand, Griffiths in his lecture addressed the need for a

¹⁷³McComas.

¹⁷⁴J. Donald Herring and Rudolf E. Klimes, eds., Walter D. Cocking Lectures: The NCPEA Series of Prominent Papers in Educational Administration (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Center for Studies and Services in Education, Andrews University, 1976) 6.

¹⁷⁵Griffiths.

new paradigm for theory in educational administration. He continued to call for such a paradigm in subsequent Educational Administration Quarterly articles.¹⁷⁶

The last and perhaps culminating recognition of Graff was a special 30 Year Anniversary Conference of doctoral graduates of the Department of Educational Administration in summer of 1980, less than two months before his death. The purpose of the four-day conference was a celebration and exchange of ideas based on three successful decades of doctoral education. Tributes to Graff were inherent in that purpose, since, as William Baker said in his opening address, "In the beginning . . . well, really . . . even before the beginning, there was Orin Graff."¹⁷⁷

Altogether, alumni and professors of the department delivered 21 addresses during the conference. Speakers included several sources for this study--Roney, Roaden, Dykes, Coffield, Reese, Nunnery, Dennard, Phelps, Johnson, Crothers, and Kimbrough--along with other notables consisting of doctoral graduates of the department. Six symposiums were also included in the conference program, along with general sessions, a reception, luncheons, and a banquet.¹⁷⁸

Roney, a member of the planning committee, was among many who noted the "impressive group" who attended. He attributed the event's success in large part to the eagerness of graduates to honor Graff, noting that many "came a long way just to pay that homage." He added that everyone who acted as a convener, recorder, or presenter was a graduate of the department.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶Three articles by Griffiths, all in Educational Administration Quarterly, were "The Individual in Organization: A Theoretical Perspective," 13, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 1-18; "Intellectual Turmoil in Educational Administration," 15, no. 3 (Fall 1979): 43-65; and "Evolution in Research and Theory: A Study of Prominent Researchers," 19, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 201-22. A related article was by Cecil Miskel, "Hypotheses and Assumptions Guiding Research: A Rejoinder to Daniel Griffiths," Educational Administration Quarterly 20, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 111-113.

¹⁷⁷Baker. 20.

¹⁷⁸Angela C. Fryer, ed., Proceedings of The University of Tennessee Department of Educational Administration & Supervision Graduates 30 Year Anniversary Conference (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1980), 2-3.

¹⁷⁹Roney, May 27, 1992. Other members of the planning committee included Howard Aldmon, Charles Temple, Robert McElrath, George Roberts, Clifford Hendricks, Jack Turner, Ida Lou Stevens, Paul Kelley, and Martha Jean Bratton, according to Fryer, 6.

Coffield, who had succeeded McComas as dean of the College of Education in 1976, stated that the success of the conference reflected the strong legacy of the department, and, implicitly, of Graff:

The 30th Anniversary Conference of the doctoral graduates in Educational Administration and Supervision was, in my opinion, the most impressive and stimulating event conducted during my ten years at The University of Tennessee. . . . Few institutions in the nation could duplicate the record of successes and accomplishments of doctoral graduates of The University of Tennessee, Department of Educational Administration and Supervision. Underlying the entire conference was a somewhat pervasive, yet very real, appreciation for a graduate program which embraced a strong philosophical base, humanistic in approach, while demanding quality and vigor, and dedication to service and cooperation.¹⁸⁰

Before the Proceedings of the conference were published, Graff died. He had become thin and, as Nunnery described him, "was obviously aging at that point."¹⁸¹ However, the record of the event reflected that Graff savored the reunion and discussions, as evidenced in several informal pictures. His pleasure was referred to by Dewey H. Stollar in a post-conference letter published as the conclusion of the Proceedings: "In closing, I would like to add that no one enjoyed the conference more or was prouder of the department's graduates than the late Dr. Orin B. Graff, our noted Professor Emeritus. His scholarly and optimistic influence will continue to be missed by all of us." Stollar added that the conference "could never have become a reality" without the help of Graff and Coffield.¹⁸²

At the conference banquet on July 2, Joseph Johnson delivered the major address, and he included an announcement of a second Graff Scholarship: Orin and Erma Graff contributed \$21,000 to establish the Erma G. Graff Scholarship Fund. Like the already-established Orin B. Graff Scholarship Fund, the new program was established to award an annual scholarship to a doctoral student in the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, according to the Knoxville

¹⁸⁰Fryer, 5.

¹⁸¹Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁸²Fryer, 235.

Journal: "The new scholarship fund will be similar to one established in 1963 honoring Dr. Orin Graff. . . . The Graff fund has been supported by staff, students, and alumni through the UT Annual Giving program."¹⁸³

A picture of the Graffs, Johnson, and Coffield accompanied the newspaper report, which also indicated that the first \$1,000 scholarship would be awarded in September, 1980.¹⁸⁴ The conference Proceedings included two pictures of the Graffs taken as Johnson announced the new fund.¹⁸⁵

Graff's Death

Activities in the last day of Graff's life seemed almost portentous but at the same time appropriate to the closure of his activities at The University of Tennessee. During the morning, he and Erma Graff posed for a formal photograph for the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision.¹⁸⁶ Later in the day, he visited the department offices, ordering a pizza for the faculty and staff who were present.¹⁸⁷ In the afternoon, while Erma Graff was away doing laundry, he died at home while waiting for the spouse of a former student to arrive for a visit.¹⁸⁸

The photograph, as well as hanging in the department head office, appeared in the Proceedings of the 30 Year Conference below the notation, "This publication is lovingly dedicated to the late Dr. Orin B. Graff, Professor Emeritus, and his gracious wife, Erma G. Graff." The dedication read, in part:

¹⁸³"Gift from Ex-UT Prof, Wife Begins Scholarship Program," Knoxville Journal, July 3, 1980, A9.

¹⁸⁴"Gift from Ex-UT Prof, Wife Begins Scholarship Fund," 5.

¹⁸⁵Fryer, 133.

¹⁸⁶Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

¹⁸⁷Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

¹⁸⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

On Wednesday afternoon, August 27, Dr. Orin B. Graff, noted Professor Emeritus of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at UTK, passed away, the victim of a heart attack. . . .

UTK Chancellor Jack Reese called Dr. Graff "one of the most respected figures in professional education," adding, "He touched a very large number of lives in a significant way and was a major influence on hundreds of persons in our school systems."

A memorial service was held for Dr. Graff in Knoxville on Friday, August 29. The chapel was filled to overflowing with friends of many nationalities, ages, and walks of life. Burial services took place on Saturday, August 30, in Portsmouth, Ohio.¹⁸⁹

The Knoxville News-Sentinel reported Graff's death in an article on August 28, 1980, headed "Ex-Dean of Education at UT, Orin B. Graff, Dies at Age 79." The story summarized Graff's life and achievements and said, "He was considered one of the state's foremost experts on education administration and was widely sought as a consultant on special education projects."¹⁹⁰

Erma Graff recalled many details of Graff's last day of life. Early, when preparing for the photograph, they had difficulty in finding a well-fitting combination of shirt, tie, and jacket, because Graff had lost considerable weight. He was diagnosed as having a case of chronic leukemia but had never had treatment for it, she said.¹⁹¹ The fitting problem was resolved, and the photography session went well.

Afterward, the Graffs stopped at Henson Hall, where the department was still located.¹⁹² Roney was working that day, and he remembered the visit: "Most people weren't there because it was between terms. . . . Howard Aldmon, by the way, happened by that day . . . and some of the secretaries were there."¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹Fryer, 4.

¹⁹⁰"Ex-Dean of Education at UT, Orin B. Graff, Dies at Age 79," Knoxville News-Sentinel, Aug. 28, 1980, 21.

¹⁹¹Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

¹⁹²The department later moved to the new Claxton Education Building Addition.

¹⁹³Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

"Orin loved pizza," Roney said, but his doctor forbade it. "So he would take advantage of a situation like that and he'd order a pizza, and he might eat one little slice. We had pizza together that day, up there in one of the classrooms. Two or three secretaries, and Howard Aldmon, and Mrs. Graff, and Dr. Graff."¹⁹⁴

That afternoon, Graff was expecting Rita Feild, the wife of doctoral graduate William B. Feild,¹⁹⁵ to come by for a visit on her travel from Indiana to Florida, where the Feilds lived. In the meantime, Erma Graff planned to go to a laundromat:

Orin put the laundry in the car for me, and I went in and kissed him goodbye. He was lying on the bed, resting. . . . I said, "Now, don't worry about me." He was always worried when I was out, if I stayed a little bit long. I said, "Don't worry about me because I've got a big laundry, and I'll just take my time and do it." It was a nice day. When I got back, this woman was in the driveway with her sister. I knew right away who it was. . . . And I thought, "Gee, what's wrong?" She looked so sad. She said, "Mrs. Graff, I think there's something wrong with Dr. Graff." So I hurried and came in the house, and he was dead then. He was lying so peaceful-like on [the] back living room floor. I don't believe he'd been dead very long. We could almost count . . . she'd made three telephone calls, before she got here. . . . She kept getting lost, because they were building this interstate . . . and had the signs down.¹⁹⁶

Aldmon was called and came quickly to the Graff home. Roney was called and arrived shortly thereafter, and he also remembered various details. He recalled that the Graffs had new carpet, and they had been using a runner to cover the most frequently traveled path across it. Graff had apparently rolled up the runner and removed it in preparation for the arrival of the visitors. He and Aldmon looked through Graff's appointment book and other personal effects to assist Erma Graff, Roney said. He recalled:

There on his chest of drawers was a bag of seeds marked for Andy Holt. Dr. Graff was a big gardener. And he was going over to the University the next week to see Ed Boling, I believe it was, the president. He had an appointment. And a few days later there was an appointment to see the athletic director. We knew what that was

¹⁹⁴Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

¹⁹⁵Feild was a Howard Aldmon advisee and close friend of Cleveland Dennard, as mentioned earlier.

¹⁹⁶Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989. Extensive highway work that preceded the 1982 World's Fair in Knoxville was under way in west and central Knoxville.

for. That was because he always went to see the athletic director to get his pass for the elevator, because his seats were on the 57th row of the stadium. Bob Woodruff would always give him a pass so he could ride the elevator, he and Mrs. Graff. So his life was going on.¹⁹⁷

Aldmon was a source of both organization and comfort during the period, Erma Graff said. He headed efforts to communicate Graff's death and the arrangements for services. "And he held my hand through Orin's services," Erma Graff said.¹⁹⁸

McComas was among those who returned, as he clearly remembered: "When the memorial service was held for him in Knoxville, the church was filled. It was filled with his former students. It was filled with professors from within the college and throughout the university. I thought this was a tribute to the impact that the man has had on the community and on the University."¹⁹⁹

Erma Graff's memories were similar: "It was just unbelievable, the people who came. Truman Pierce came, from Auburn, and people I never would have expected to come to this memorial service. That room over there where they had his service was just jammed with people."²⁰⁰ Coffield, dean of the College of Education, was traveling out-of-state at the time of the Knoxville service, Erma Graff said, " but they came to Ohio, where I had a memorial service for Orin. They showed up there at that memorial service."

The service at Portsmouth, Ohio, two days later, was also heavily attended by others, Potts said, noting that this surprised him, since "Orin had been away from [the] area for years and years. . . . A very substantial number of people . . . showed up. A lot of old-timers I hadn't seen for years."²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷Roney, Nov. 30, 1989.

¹⁹⁸Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989. Other department faculty, including Robert Roney and Peter M. Husen, also assisted Mrs. Graff with organization and arrangements.

¹⁹⁹McComas.

²⁰⁰Erma G. Graff, Nov. 15, 1989.

²⁰¹Potts.

Roney's observation that Graff's life was "going on" was also manifested in the university's commencement exercises following his death, in spring of 1981. Cleveland Dennard returned to give the address, an appearance he attributed to Graff. His 30 Year Conference presentation had been based on his work as president of Atlanta University, he said.

I had spent a considerable amount of time engaging the faculty in trying to identify the major problems in world society that ought to form the basis of where the university would be by the year 2000 in educating graduate students. I tried to share what those 16 problems were at that conference, and I'm sure, as a result of that, Dr. Graff was instrumental in getting the university to invite me as the commencement speaker. He had died between the time of the invitation and my speech, and I shared with the faculty and the audience that I was confident that my presence there was because of his interest in my exploring those ideas.²⁰²

Almost eight years after his death, Graff was recognized again upon completion of the university's new John C. Hodges Library. A faculty study was named for Graff, and a plaque honoring him was placed on the study door, the College of Education's newsletter announced in spring of 1988:

Each of the two hundred studies, which will be used by faculty conducting library research, is to be named in honor of previous faculty members who attained distinction and recognition, both within and beyond the university, for teaching, scholarship, and public service. Selection is limited to those who have retired from UTK or who died in service at UTK. In addition, honorees should have contributed to the UTK intellectual climate for at least 15 years.²⁰³

Both Graff scholarship funds continued. Doctoral students in the Department of Educational Leadership were still supported by Orin B. Graff and Erma G. Graff scholarships as of this study, as regular contributions still arrived from many individuals directly or indirectly associated with Graff.²⁰⁴

²⁰²Dennard.

²⁰³"Plaque in Hodges Library Honors Dr. Orin Graff," The Claxton Educator 5, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 3.

²⁰⁴Erma G. Graff, Nov. 22, 1989.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

If I had to summarize in one or two statements, I would say Dr. Graff's fame and prominence as a professor was that he was genuinely interested in seeing people develop. He was more interested in that than in money, than in himself. He could have done a lot of other things, but he was fascinated with people, seeing young people grow intellectually and develop into leaders. That's what he devoted his life to, and he did a tremendous job.

--E.C. Merrill, Jr.¹

Across the decades of his life, Graff demonstrated a wide range of personal and professional dimensions that prompted others to think as did Larry W. Hughes, "Capturing the essence of this remarkable man may not be possible." Graff's intellect, strong convictions, and depth of experience from a lengthy career marked him as a highly complex, many-faceted individual.

His life encompassed a long train of formative experiences. He served as a professor for 37 years (including nine as emeritus), preceded by almost 20 years in elementary and secondary education. His early years as a member of a large and close-knit farm family in southern Ohio instilled in him a traditional set of personal values that he later questioned and transformed, but never lost. His combined public school work and collegiate study in Ohio were of a similar grass-roots nature; but at the same time he pursued, apparently in considerable depth, a love of classical studies. Then, breaking away from public school work near his original home to pursue a doctoral degree at Ohio State, he studied and adopted the philosophical tenets of pragmatism. Those tenets served as his guides through many years of efforts to achieve, for himself and others, a consistent approach toward a good and socially useful life. Pragmatism served as the basic foundation for efforts throughout the remainder of his life to promote continuous self-examination, growth, and movement toward consistency between philosophy and the practice of educational administration, along with the

¹Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

living of life in general. He directed these efforts first toward himself; then, by both example and teaching, he strongly influenced the development of his students, associates, and profession.

Associates spoke or wrote of Graff using a wide range of terms: as gentle, compassionate, sociable, acerbic, zestful, fun-loving, outspoken, visionary, practical, visceral, intellectual, exceptionally energetic, holistic, committed to intellectualized personal values, and deeply philosophical. Moreover, despite the contrasts among these adjectives, one of his great strengths in relating to students and colleagues was predictability, according to many sources. The various descriptors were situationally accurate, and the circumstances that generated them broadly encompassed a set of "cardinal principles."² In his advancement and defense of these central commitments, Graff was decidedly a determined "scrapper."³ In the same vein, he was also a "great warrior against dogmatism of any kind,"⁴ and a champion of placing doctoral students in experiences that combined practice and philosophy. As well as with students, Graff used his energy and determination to advance his views in the emerging profession of educational administration, among state and university leaders, and throughout the school systems of Tennessee.

Graff's Professional Life as a "Prism of History"

To an unusual degree, Graff's working life paralleled and, from mid-career forward, interplayed with the development of his own profession. In this respect, his life was an ideal exemplar of what historian Barbara W. Tuchman referred to in discussing "biography as a prism of history." An individual's life story, Tuchman, wrote, can be a "vehicle for exhibiting an age," a way to "encapsulate history."⁵

²Nunnery summarized Graff's "cardinal principles," a term that was also well suited to recollections by several other sources.

³Kimbrough, May 10, 1990.

⁴Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

⁵Barbara W. Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History," in Telling Lives, ed. Marc Pachter (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books/National Portrait Gallery, 1979), 133.

Graff's professional and student life covered almost 60 years and spanned much of the development of educational administration as a recognized branch of the education profession and as a field of graduate study in the nation's major universities. His entry into teaching and school administration came only a few years after establishment of the first definitive training programs in the field at Columbia and Stanford Universities. His early advancement and master's degree study in administration occurred within the period of growth of the "Columbia Barons" network. From his graduate studies forward, he could legitimately be described as a member of the network by virtue of the mentorship of Boyd H. Bode, a close associate of John Dewey who gained acknowledgement as the philosophical spokesman of the progressive education movement.

After doctoral studies, Graff's work at Cincinnati and at Norris School related to the broad societal contexts of the World War II climate and to the social experimentation of which TVA was a part. The period began the translation of his studies of pragmatism and progressivism into practice. Then, with the end of World War II and upon joining The University of Tennessee, he began as an individual to make a significant contribution to the field of educational administration during a crucial period of the field's development and expansion. From this time during the mid-1940s until late in his life, the story of Graff's university career provided a window to a new era of educational administration's emergence as a discipline in higher education. His voice was among those at the top level of national leadership in the shaping of the NCPEA, as well as in participation in AASA and other professional organizations. In the South, he exerted his strongest leadership, serving as a philosophical spokesman and direction-setter throughout the 10 years of the SSCPEA and APEA, as well as integrating his own departmental program development into the larger regional project. Again on the national front, he was the leading counter-revolutionist voice in the theory movement in educational administration, in the role of opposing the advancement of logical positivism and advocating an accounting of human values as a part of theory. His voice reached its peak in this arena in 1957, when he and Calvin M. Street joined other leading figures in contributing to the landmark book, Administrative Behavior in Education, and in 1960 in the NCPEA's "great debate."

To a less noted degree, he continued to advocate the pro-values, anti-positivist point of view in Philosophic Theory in Educational Administration in 1966 and in the 1976 "Sine Qua Non" article with former doctoral advisee William Konnert. By this time, however, general interest in logical positivism and Graff's active participation on the national scene had both waned, although Daniel E. Griffiths, Thomas Greenfield, and others continued to discuss the development of theory in educational administration.

Graff's career as a professor was also a prism of three decades of the most dynamic growth and development in the history of The University of Tennessee. During his service, the university grew from a war-time total enrollment of approximately 3,500 to approximately 20,000 students, having reached 16,000 at the time he left the department head position. As in his profession, he was a participant and leader in the university's growth, serving prominently in the development of graduate education university-wide and in the College of Education, where he developed the first all-graduate education department, Administration and Supervision.

Throughout his years as head, Graff operated the department as an exemplar of the university's motto, "The state is our campus," emphasizing services to school districts and the extension of program offerings to various sites across Tennessee. He delivered persuasive discourses to top university leaders on the need to reach out across the state, and he reinforced their own interests in and efforts toward this goal. In the areas of outreach and graduate education in particular, as well as on other matters, he held the attention of top university leaders. His relations with Eugene Waters, Andrew Holt, Herman Spivey, Joseph Johnson, Hilton Smith, and others were based on deep professional and personal respect, as well as friendship. His clashes with N.E. Fitzgerald, long-time dean of the College of Education, also revealed historical aspects of the college and university, as did his positive relationships with two later deans of the college, E.C. Merrill, Jr., and James McComas, and his work with other first-time department heads and early professors.

Graff's story also cast a broader light on social change within the university and in the South. At the doctoral studies level, he was at the forefront in leading the university toward greater

equality of opportunity through work with individual black students (including, among others, Harry S. Blanton and Cleveland Dennard, the first black student and the first out-of-state black student, respectively, to earn doctoral degrees at the university). At the programmatic level, he led in establishing a desegregation center for the university and in opening doctoral studies to many black students through establishment of The University of Tennessee-Memphis State University Center for Advanced Graduate Study. Expansion of opportunities for women through advanced studies were also part of his effort; he advised the first two female doctoral graduates in Educational Administration and Supervision and encouraged many others to pursue the doctoral degree.

Lastly, in no area was Graff more exemplary of his time than as a powerful leader in the informal professional network among universities, school districts, and other educational agencies. His personal contacts ranged throughout the nation and were especially powerful in the states served by the SSCPEA, as noted by R.L. Johns' comment that Graff, Truman M. Pierce, A.D. Albright, and he were then the "only four professors of note in the whole South."⁶ Graff might have expanded the list to include William Seawell and a few others, but the number was small and the interactions of its members powerful.

Mutual influence was particularly exercised in filling higher education positions, as well as in helping shape the makeup and directions of state and school district actions in education. School studies and related activities played a strong role in maintaining network relationships. In all of these network activities--and particularly in the placement and advancement of his department's doctoral graduates--Graff was a forceful participant, exemplifying to a large degree the style, influence, and power of the informal connections at the department head and dean of education levels at major universities.

By standards of later times, many influences and activities of this powerful professional network would be considered unduly closed and arbitrary, several sources indicated with some

⁶Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

chagrin. However, the network grew in a different context and time, when it provided a vehicle for needed change, coordinated decision making, and development of comradeship within an embryonic profession. What distinguished the network in a positive way was that its leading members possessed great depths of energy, intellect, and determination to advance the educational services provided through effective administration.

Graff as an Individual

The Nature and Development of Graff's Personal Traits

While Graff's life did indeed provide a broad prismatic view of much of his profession's history, his story as an individual was more compelling. He fit well into the discussion of writer Geoffrey Wolff, who noted W.H. Auden's assertion that the "sufferings and weaknesses" of an individual are "only interesting in so far as we can see them as typical of the human condition." Wolff responded that the "aphoristic impulse" in fiction is artless; but in biography, it goes beyond artlessness and becomes inhumane, "filing the burred edges, the interesting burred edges, from a subject in order to fit him smoothly to the shape of other characters of his 'type,' to slip him like a greased key into the lock of received expectation."⁷ As well as a forceful figure in his profession, Graff was an extremely engaging and interesting personality in terms of energy and enthusiasm, depth of intellect, charismatic effect, style of teaching and communication, giving and receiving of strong loyalties, and other human attributes.

To former students and associates who knew Graff well, his personal impact was his most memorable legacy, and the force of his personality was stamped into his teachings. His "burred edges" were many, taking in his zest, humor, and intensity; what Michael Y. Nunnery called his "warts";⁸ and the fact that, as Hughes put it, he was "thoroughly human" and "a hulluva stimulating

⁷Geoffrey Wolff, "Minor Lives," in Telling Lives, ed. Marc Pachter (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books/National Portrait Gallery, 1979), 62.

⁸Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

person to be around."⁹ These traits reflected both of his own genuineness and his admiration of genuineness in others, and as such were an integral part of his values. James D. McComas was among those who expressed this thought, noting that Graff "certainly left his mark with every student."

What people will remember more about Orin Graff, more than any technical material they learned . . . will [be] his values. They'll remember what kind of person he was. . . . They'll remember him long after they've forgotten the subject matter that he taught.¹⁰

People who knew Graff in passing may have viewed some singular trait or small set of traits as representing his whole person. Indeed, the zest and intensity he devoted to his activities might have contributed to such an impression. But Graff's collection of varied attributes were all genuine parts of his makeup, interconnected in ways that enabled him to communicate fluently with a great range of people. His combined academic, spiritual, philosophical, and experiential aspects were unified as they appealed to large numbers of students and other associates who were themselves diverse in nature.

Graff's ability to communicate persuasively with people in both academic and non-academic circles was particularly unusual. Archie R. Dykes, for example, observed:

You would think, given the conventional wisdom, that a person like Dr. Graff, with his philosophical orientation, would be an academic and not interested in the outside world, but he was just the opposite. He knew people in the community, had lots of friends in the community, and related to the political structure of the state. It was really interesting that he could do that while being such an academically oriented, philosophically oriented person. But he did.¹¹

Graff's various traits manifested themselves not randomly, but as a pattern within his life. The pattern resulted from a convergence of personal and professional dimensions that occurred at

⁹Hughes. Wolff, 57-72, asserted that a person's capacity to be interesting is a sufficient basis alone for the telling of a life story, asserting that individual lives can "connect, touch, [and] resonate" without regard to notable achievements or legacies.

¹⁰McComas.

¹¹Dykes.

Ohio State under the tutelage and influence of Bode and others. Here Graff began to integrate the philosophy of pragmatism--in particular the belief in education and the advancement of humanity in general as the continuous, progressive, reconstruction of experience--into his total life activities. The tenets of progressive education--by and large an application of the pragmatist philosophy to education--undergirded his professional life from that time forward.

Graff apparently assimilated two trains of progressive thought, including the movement's concern for the student as an individual plus Bode's subsequent decrying of the excesses of this concern and advocacy of a return to an emphasis on the broader social good. In Graff's later behavior, these trains of thought became manifested in several ways. His great trust of students, as in Temple's story regarding comprehensive examinations;¹² his involvement of students in projects, school studies, and other "real-life experiences;" his integration of students into all aspects of his life; and his relationship with Molly Leach were all examples of Graff's exercise of progressive education tenets. At the same time, the "social contract" nature of his views¹³ illustrated his emphasis on the good of the social order. He couched his concern for the success of individual doctoral students within a framework of preparing them to perform good work for the benefit of society.

Graff's associates strongly conveyed his emphasis on the meaning of pragmatism in the true meaning of its philosophical origins--the meaning presented by James, Peirce, and Dewey, as opposed to the modern, popularly associated connotations of opportunism and expedience. A key theme of Graff's pragmatic orientation was a strong belief in humanity's control of its own destiny, as reflected in his writings, teaching, and church-related activities. William Coffield specifically referred to Graff as a humanist in his Proceedings message for the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision's 30 Year Conference. Among his other expressions, Graff directly

¹²Temple.

¹³A.D. Albright and Robert K. Roney were among those who described Graff's views in this way.

sounded this theme in a commencement speech titled "You May Choose."¹⁴ Humanism was the unifying element that knit together the various aspects of Graff's life. His social, educational, spiritual, family, and recreational activities were tied to his belief in the "method of intelligence," as Albright and others referred to it; he distinguished between intellectually-derived human values and values based on doctrine or simply on emotional likes and dislikes. The best path toward humans accomplishing positive control over their own lives, he believed, is through intelligent examination of values and continual reconstruction of experience.

The intellectual activity that Graff prescribed for forming values to guide pragmatic behavior included reading and study of philosophy and other classical works of thinkers. This was an aspect that led him to be thought of by some as occasionally leaning toward philosophies other than pragmatism, as in Gem Greninger's and Jane Smiths' thoughts on his attraction to existentialism. Others seemed to believe that he incorporated aspects of more than one philosophy. Griffiths felt that Graff placed more emphasis on human values than might have been indicated in the leading works on pragmatism. But at the same time he noted, "The other thing I would comment in regard to this is that he did seem to be quite knowledgeable in the whole field of philosophy. . . . I would have to say that he knew quite a bit about philosophy, certainly more than I did. That was very certain."¹⁵

Whether or not students grasped the material well at the time, Graff saw their reading and discussing respected thinkers and concurrent self-examination of values as the individual foundations for their subsequent careers. The chances would be vastly improved that the decisions they made would be rooted in deeper values with such experiences, he believed.

Graff never shrank from advocacy and outspokenness. Over the years, the force with which he often spoke out prompted views among some associates that he had become quite emotional. As

¹⁴Roaden provided the author a photocopy of the speech manuscript, which was undated and did not indicate the institution at which it was delivered.

¹⁵Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

Nunnery pointed out, sometimes positions he took came to appear as biases, and when his values were violated, "He could be vicious, and sometimes he wasn't even rational. . . ." ¹⁶ Or, as Hughes similarly indicated, "The problem was, he often based his judgments largely on what his viscera told him." ¹⁷ It was in this light that Griffiths labeled Graff and Greenfield "subjectivists," as noted earlier, and recalled with humor Graff's temper:

[Graff and Greenfield] were both highly personal in what they were talking about. I always thought this was one of Orin's problems. He got mad at people (laugh). He got furious at them. . . . Greenfield is exactly the same, only Greenfield flits around a lot more. One day he's a critical theorist, which nobody was back in the '50s and early '60s. Then he would be a phenomenologist. We hadn't even heard of the term. So there were big differences between them. But I think . . . both of them are--Greenfield still is, and Orin was--very much subjectivist. ¹⁸

However, when Graff's life was considered as a whole, the evidence from this study suggested that his actions were guided by a long-term metabolizing of his philosophic bent to the point that it guided both his conscious and unconscious behavior and permeated all phases of his life. From his early years as teacher and principal, he clearly believed in making firm decisions and judgments; as he advanced through the Ohio State experience and the early and prime parts of his professorial career, it was also clear that intellectual examination accompanied his expressions. As his age progressed, so did the assimilation, to the point that guarding his "cardinal principals" became perhaps almost reflexive.

This side of Graff could be viewed in terms of biographer Leon Edel's reference to the "hidden personal myth," or the "figure under the carpet," the reverse side where the pattern for the front is sewn in but does not show. ¹⁹ From a viewpoint of his long-term development, Graff's anger, "biases" and "viscera" could be interpreted as coming to the front of his behavior not from a

¹⁶Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

¹⁷Hughes.

¹⁸Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

¹⁹Leon Edel, "The Figure Under the Carpet," in *Telling Lives*, ed. Marc Pachter (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books/National Portrait Gallery, 1979), 26-27.

base of subjective preference or emotional reaction, but from absorption of his originally intellectual analyses and subsequent judgments as to what was good or not good for society--behaviors that he accepted, rejected, or ignored based on his "cardinal principles." The various actions and expressions that at times seemed singular and inconsistent thus seemed to come from a common wellspring of background, training, and experience. His agitation with N.E. Fitzgerald and Francis M. Trusty, in this light, was more than simply an expression of like or dislike, as were his high standards and sometimes harsh views of colleagues, noted by Frederick P. Venditti.²⁰ By the same theme, his tendency was to be gentle and nurturing with students whom he saw as making sincere efforts to grow and with people from various walks of life whom he saw as genuine and of positive social value.

Graff's Legacies

Within this interpretative framework, Graff passed on a human legacy as his most notable contribution to his profession and society. Quite obviously, as affirmed through their own testimony, he guided and inspired many students to successful careers in elementary and secondary educational administration and, in greater numbers, in the professorate and higher education administration. The number of students he and his colleagues served was prodigious, as Curtis Henson and others noted.²¹ Their workloads were particularly impressive in light of the levels of service to school districts, the state, and other educational agencies; research, writing, and involvement in major projects such as SSCPEA; communication and work with professional organizations and colleagues from other universities; informal contacts for placement of students; and planning directions for the

²⁰Venditti.

²¹According to a Department of Educational Leadership mailing list from the 1980 30 Year Conference, Graff personally served as major professor for 90 recipients of Doctor of Education degrees between 1950 and his retirement--an average of between four and five doctoral graduates per year. In addition, as noted in earlier chapters, he worked closely with many students who were not his advisees of record (e.g., Nunnery, Blanton, Ingram, McElrath). At the same time, the department served several thousand students seeking master's and educational specialist degrees--all of whom completed theses during Graff's tenure as department head--along with others enrolling for graduate hours for certification or other purposes.

program and profession. In this context, the involvement of doctoral students in "real-world" work reflected good use of resources as well as expression of philosophy and instructional technique.

Graff's foremost human legacy, then, was an inordinate number of former students who reached high levels of responsibility and impact in the practice and teaching of educational administration. The 30 Year Anniversary Conference of the department he founded was an unusual illustration. The three decades of doctoral graduates were an impressive collection of success stories. Moreover, they were graduates of a department that, for many of those years, included only three to five professors.

Many noted professors in various disciplines throughout centuries have helped guide students to success. Graff's own former students saw him and their department as extraordinary in this respect, however, and they retained this view after reaching positions of broadened perspective. Roaden, for example, asserted that Graff's legacy of distinguished advisees was "not typical at all." He commented, "Of course, he was not a typical person. He was an outstanding person. . . . Most everybody who had a chance . . . wanted to work under Dr. Graff, to work with the master."²² Robert L. McElrath also offered a simple statement that typified other comments: "He touched the lives of many people."²³ Dykes also emphasized that Graff's guidance and influence extended beyond his students, belying, as noted earlier, any stereotype that might have seemed to fit him as an academician. He noted Graff's relationship with Tennessee educational leaders:

He was a kind of intellectual guiding light. People that you never really would expect--lots of university presidents--were close to him. They were sort of followers of him. Many had never been students of him, but they knew him. He would come into their schools and talk to faculty. I remember Burgin Dossett at East Tennessee State used to be one of those. I'm sure Quill Cope was, and Sonny Humphreys was real close to Dr. Graff. He was a very, very unusual person. . . . He was a very common person but intellectually very sophisticated. He had a

²²Roaden, Apr. 12, 1990.

²³McElrath.

different view of the world than most people. It affected people around him. He reached a lot of people. . . .²⁴

Through the success of students and associates, Graff's legacy grew and extended during his career to reach many institutions throughout the United States and occasionally other parts of the world.²⁵ In this sense, Graff created his own network of "barons," as did several of his esteemed colleagues, including Pierce and Johns. Jack E. Reese described Graff's legacy as building a department of great strength and reputation and in producing significant numbers of highly qualified graduates who attained "very, very responsible" positions--and who felt "ferocious loyalty" to Graff. Reese later reiterated this assessment: "The main effect he had was on the individual people he worked with, and the main legacy must be in all the work, and the kind of work, that they're doing."²⁶

Many of Graff's former students linked their own success to his modeling a quest for consistency between philosophy and practice--or, more broadly, between philosophy and all of his activities. The approach came to light vividly in Molly Leach Pratt's recollection of the experiential instruction she received and her comparison of it with Graff's teaching of doctoral students. Rather than directly teaching advancing administrators the tenets of progressive education, he put those tenets into action "shoulder to shoulder" with them in dealing with "real life" projects and problems.

However, Graff's concentration on teaching, broadly defined, eventually limited his long-term impact in the national arena. A conventional method for measuring the influence of professors

²⁴Dykes. Dossett served as Tennessee commissioner of education and then as president of East Tennessee State University; Cope served as Tennessee commissioner of education and then as president of Middle Tennessee State University; and Humphreys served as president of Memphis State University.

²⁵Numerous interview references, along with records from the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision's 30 Year Anniversary Conference, indicated great diffusion among doctoral graduates. One interview example was from Cleveland Dennard, who unexpectedly met fellow graduate Paul Roaden in Africa. Dennard was doing a U.S. State Department evaluation of the Agency for International Development's programs; in northern Nigeria, when he arrived to meet the chief of mission for the agency project, "Who was there but Paul Roaden?" Dennard said he later called Graff to express his surprise.

²⁶Reese.

is through their volume of writing and speaking and the subsequent extent that their works are cited by others. Graff's professional approach included a strong commitment to research and publishing, but his own output of literature, while respectable, was not prolific. Several of his own students wrote in greater volume than he, and the majority of his own works were produced in collaboration with former students. Nunnery noted this: "Even though Orin Graff was probably an above-average scholar in the field of educational administration for his day, he made no significant contributions to the literature in the field. I think most of his students . . . outpublished him, because that wasn't a major thing."²⁷

Griffiths, himself a prolific and frequently cited writer, used this as a reference point in discussing Graff's impact on the thinking within his profession and the limitations of Graff's nationwide influence on other professors. He added, "I think his impact was regional. I think he was very well appreciated in the Southeast. I think you would say he had a very substantial regional impact."²⁸

Reese noted that Graff "didn't do that much writing, considering the reputation he had. . . ." But he added that "a good deal of time was simply consumed in conversations" in Graff's direct, intense work with people. Graff knew the path he was taking, Reese said: "It's a conscious choice that you make. I think it's one that Orin clearly made. I have to respect it. In contemporary terms, you either spend time before a computer terminal, or you spend time with people. It's just about that simple."

Reese also regretted that recognition of Graff and other influential professors has been diminished by limitations prevalent in higher education:

Unfortunately, in a research university, there tends to be one overriding model of the scholar-teacher. . . . I've always felt that that's too narrow a model, and a university ought to be able to accommodate different kinds of people doing different

²⁷Nunnery, June 15, 1990.

²⁸Griffiths.

kinds of things, so long as they're effective. And there was no question about the fact that Orin was effective doing what he did."²⁹

Reese also noted his general impression that, in academia,

. . . there's a lot of crap published anyway. If [Graff] had been of a different bent, if he had been bent on getting published, he might well have added to the garbage. . . . But I doubt that Orin would have wanted to turn loose of an article that wasn't thought through very carefully, that wasn't written very painstakingly.³⁰

Griffiths added that Graff's national impact was based in considerable part on the timing of his emphasis on values in relation to the growth of interest in logical positivism--a stance that placed Graff squarely as a counter-revolutionist in the theory movement. Griffiths commented:

You could say that he was either too early or too late. I think if he had written 25 years later, he might have been a little better received. If he'd written 20 years earlier, I think he would have been extremely well received. Timing is very important in these things--how a person's reputation, how his work is received. Timing is very important. And I think he was just not right for that time. I think that's a very fair statement.³¹

Philosophically, notwithstanding the astuteness of Griffith's observation, Graff's response to the question of timing might have been to equate the subject with expedience or opportunism in pursuit of self-aggrandizement. While intellectual choices of values are relative, the underlying role of values in theory and all other areas of inquiry and decision making is permanent and not subject to timing, he might have rejoined.

On the question of timing, Griffiths also reflected that the dialogue of the theory movement gave direction and energy to the development of educational administration that was later lost. "It was a very exciting period, and I'm very pleased to have lived through it," he said.³²

Colleagues and former students of Graff agreed with this general observation. Beyond it, many believed that educational administration would have been much better off 30 years later if the

²⁹Reese.

³⁰Reese.

³¹Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

³²Griffiths, Jan. 17, 1991.

values system Graff espoused had become a major legacy to his profession. Henson, a Pierce advisee at Auburn University who worked as a young professor with Graff, said the end of the Kellogg-sponsored CPEA period was followed by an era of confusion:

The issues of administration, of theory of administration, where are we going, what are the guiding principles of it, never took on the thrust any more as they had up to that time. . . . I think schools are in a terrible state of being. . . . I certainly think that they need to know where they're going again, and I don't believe they know. They're trying to be all things to all people, and politics has invaded to such a degree that any and everything goes. Isn't that a sad commentary?³³

Looking back at his years as chancellor and graduate school administrator, Reese also asserted that, "without any question" the points Graff made on values would be particularly applicable in the 1990s:

I think the main one is the business about trying to think through the foundations of what you're doing. Orin recognized, as I recognized very, very clearly later on, that the instinct in administration is simply to react. And Orin knew, again from experience and observation, that things press in on you all the time--crises, and what appear to be crises. And if there aren't crises, you get so used to running on adrenaline, you sometimes wind up inventing them, just because you seem to function well in a crisis situation. I've always felt that a major defect in administration is the simple fact that people don't stop and try to think through what the job really ought to be about . . . no reference whatever to the overall mission of an institution or the overall direction of an institution, or no reference to any particular set of values.³⁴

Three former students who reached positions of great responsibility agreed with Henson and Reese. Graff passed along his teachings on personal value systems through the lives and careers of former students, they indicated, even if his contribution did not continue as a major legacy through the profession's literature. Merrill, for example, mentioned Ralph Kimbrough, Michael Nunnery, and others who later became successful in setting their own directions professionally: "But never did any of them ever forget the orientation that they got from Dr. Graff. Nor have I."³⁵

³³Henson.

³⁴Reese.

³⁵Merrill, Mar. 16, 1990.

Bennie E. Carmichael, who as of this study was teaching graduate courses part-time during his retirement, discussed Graff and Street's book on the Competency Pattern. He incorporated Graff's principles into his courses, and he noted that the Competency Pattern presented a central theme, a characteristic missing in later educational administration textbooks:

It appears impossible to me for a student to get an appropriate grasp of educational administration from the current textbooks. I deplore them. . . . There's not a pattern; there's not a whole; there's not a central theme. They have retreated, so far as I'm concerned to just throwing out a bunch of theories, philosophies, practices, without ever following a course. . . . The fact that that represents today's administration, as far as I'm concerned, doesn't mean that it's right, with all the confused aspects that I see in administration. . . . If I don't have some direction plotted, some direction that I am following, I hardly see how I can defend my actions. . . . But it's difficult, in today's time, to make that point.³⁶

Joseph E. Johnson, who rose from executive vice president to president of The University of Tennessee System during this study, spoke at length of the teachings Graff imparted to him:

He stressed to me, . . . you must establish for yourself a set of values that you use to help you day to day in making decisions about what you do in your personal life, your professional life, your university life, your teaching life. And you shouldn't let anybody else set those for you. . . . He also stressed that one should not be arbitrary. . . . You're not going to find that there is a nice simple, single answer for everything you want to do. In that value system, you've got to have some flexibility, not in values, but how you deal with all those things that don't fit, and how you deal with making decisions on things that may be at counter-purposes with some of your values. There may be things out there that are very, very good for The University of Tennessee, but they're just wrong. They're just morally, ethically, philosophically wrong, even though if you made the decision at that time, it might result in a short-range benefit for The University of Tennessee. And that's helped me. . . . The other thing, I think that was imparted by Orin Graff that has been important to me, is a respect for people, that people are so important to what you do. And then I guess, the final one . . . was his imploring you to be consistent in what you do. . . . There has got to be some predictability about what one does. . . . If you ever get into a work environment, and you don't know where people are, and you don't know what principles really guide them, then I think the organization has some problems. . . . You've got to have the values, respect people, and be consistent. Those came from Orin Graff, and I think they are as good today as they were in 1964, 1968, or 1969. . . . This is what Orin Graff stood for, what he said, day in and day out. . . .³⁷

³⁶Carmichael.

³⁷Johnson.

In addition to his legacies, several of Graff's techniques of department management could be cited as possible guides for others. He was skillful in compensating for scarcity of resources in ways that enhanced the expression of his philosophy in practice. He continually involved students in "real-world" projects, as previously noted; he assigned teaching duties to more advanced doctoral students; he and his colleagues teamed more experienced students with newer ones, and they frequently had students who were succeeding to assist those who were faltering. Graff wished for a larger department with more resources, as illustrated by his clashes with Dean Fitzgerald and by one of his letters to Dewey Stollar.³⁸ But the department never grew to a large size during the time he headed it; to compensate for this, he continually strove toward an interdisciplinary approach by engaging students with other departments and colleges. Overall, these efforts illustrated an integration of management and philosophy through the "shoulder to shoulder" approach that Graff enunciated.

While most associates were unreserved in their high esteem for Graff, several unanswered questions, unresolved issues, and limitations also emerged from his story. The most general of these extended well beyond Graff himself and the scope of this study. During the decade after Graff's death, the educational legacy of progressive education and features associated with it came under renewed questioning in national dialogue on the need for educational reform. Included, pertaining to the effectiveness of schools, were questions on relativism of truth, the role of schools in transmitting cultural heritage, the experiential aspects of learning, and allegations that low standards were connected to general laxness and permissiveness. The dialogue was a continuation of the essentialist versus progressive argument, which apparently Graff himself, on the basis of his teachings, did not see as an either-or proposition.

Graff's story also illustrated potential limitations, as well as benefits, of the highly personalized approach to teaching and departmental management that he practiced. While the approach unquestionably produced unusually effective graduates for Graff, his immersion into it was

³⁸Orin B. Graff, letter to Dewey H. Stollar, Apr. 16, 1963.

so total as to appear idiosyncratic--a total integration of personal and professional lives that appeared to go beyond what might serve as a guide for others to follow. Apparently none of his own students succeeded in carrying forward this approach at the level that Graff himself reached.

Graff's strength as a teaching professor was described often by his former students, and one analytical observation of this nature brought to light what might be viewed as a limitation. Cleveland Dennard noted that Graff was more a great teacher and synthesizer of the philosophical thinking of others than an original thinker in his own right. Dennard said:

He was able to stimulate me to find labels, to go with the ideas that I already had. There were very few new ideas that he shared with me. . . . He shared new ways of examining old ideas. And he had very strong concepts and values about the reconstructing of the circumstances of life that makes one responsive and adaptive; and that was, in my judgment, his real strength.³⁹

This "real strength" was consistent with Graff's preference for working with students over prolific writing and research. Dennard's observation, in this respect, was related to the thoughts of others sources, including Erma Graff and Jack E. Reese.

Lastly, a key area of Graff's personal dimensions on which perceptions varied was the relationship of his temperament to intellectualized philosophical values, particularly in relations with colleagues. In discussions of ideas, Graff's passionate commitments and the likes and dislikes he expressed were clearly rooted in his philosophical training and background, especially to his study of pragmatism with Boyd Bode. His outspokenness and views on the worth of colleagues would logically seem also to have been based on the same linkage, considering the context of his total life--a proposition put forth earlier in this chapter. However, observations of sources on this latter area were mixed. Several colleagues expressed belief that Graff often reacted to perceived shortcomings of colleagues with emotions that were apparently not drawn from reason, particularly in his later years. His quality of being "thoroughly human" appeared to intervene and at times dominate, in their view. Thus, the extent to which Graff consistently applied an intellectualized value system in

³⁹Dennard.

his own conduct was a matter of varying perceptions, even though, as an ideal and goal, such a system was a foundation for his life and work. Graff recognized that achievement of perfect consistency was impossible. In the "Sine Qua Non" article, for example, he and William Konnert wrote, "Compatibility [among values] can never be achieved completely since intelligent action requires, as an important aspect of life, the regeneration of one's values in response to new and productive life experiences."⁴⁰

Conclusion

This study, as it began, was based on a tacit assumption that the available sources would present Graff in a largely favorable light.⁴¹ This assumption was borne out, particularly in the views of former doctoral students whom Graff served as major professor or advised informally, as well as by most colleagues who served as sources. Other sources who might have given valuable information and special insights were unfortunately not available because of death, illness, or other personal circumstances. Prominent among these, aside from Graff himself, were Andrew Holt, Truman Pierce, Walter Cocking, Herman Spivey, R.L. Johns, N.E. Fitzgerald, Andrew Halpin, Roald Campbell, John Ramseyer, Dewey Stollar, Howard Aldmon, Calvin Street, and Billie Elliott Demont. Contributions from part or all of this distinguished list would obviously have strengthened the story of Graff and its perspective on educational administration. Another assumption, however, was that sources available for the study would accurately represent the full spectrum of Graff's students, colleagues, and friends. While not provable, the assumption is supported by the remarkable credentials and experiences of the sources who were available.

It can be argued that the "essence" of Graff, true to Hughes' precaution, is likely not captured here. Certainly, in Graff's absence, and with the routines of his life largely unrecorded and

⁴⁰Konnert and Graff, 2-3.

⁴¹The assumption was presented as part of the author's proposal for this study at The University of Tennessee in February, 1991.

dimming in the memories to those who knew him, his strength of spirit could be sampled but not fully conveyed. The question of essence also extended beyond Graff's complexity and the sources that were unavailable and into the nature of Graff himself. A belief in "essence" was not prominent in his makeup or philosophy. Even as age and illness closed in on him in his last days, it was Graff's character, as it had been throughout life, not to focus on culmination, but to continue reconstructing experience and go forward.

Writing of the "search after 'the whole man,'" professor and biographer Doris Kearns wrote, "The best we can do is offer a partial rendering, a subjective portrait of the subject from a particular angle of vision. . . ." ⁴² Kearns' point was that, in the end, an attempt to characterize a biographical subject is limited by the angle of vision of the writer--a view that Graff surely would have appreciated.

However, within this work are presented the angles of vision of many sources who knew Graff, albeit filtered through the author and limited by other constraints. A salient feature of Graff was his capacity to stir people around him to sharpen their angles of vision about himself as well as their own lives and larger existences. Across the range of those who revered him to those few whom he antagonized, none of the sources for this work found Graff an uninteresting subject or suffered from a loss of words to describe him.

His own and his former students' views did provide a kind of synopsis of Graff. Dykes and Roaden described him not as a great orator, although a persuasive and thought-provoking communicator, but rather as a "shaper of lives." He played a distinguished role, along with other leaders of his time, in shaping his own profession, to a degree nation-wide and more particularly in the South. In these two capacities, his life provided a "prism of history" for his profession. More importantly, he demonstrated the power of an individual who was within his time but at its forefront. He combined a deeply intellectualized structure of life with uncommon humanity, zest, and

⁴²Doris Kearns, "Angles of Vision," in *Telling Lives*, ed. Marc Pachter (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books/National Portrait Gallery, 1979), 91.

provocativeness. In the main, he followed his own leadership prescription that began with, "A leader has two sources of power, respect and affection."⁴³ He used his great strength as a deeply philosophical, "cold," humanist thinker, and at the same time he could be warm, humanitarian, and reassuring. Because he combined these personal and professional dimensions, he was able to lead many students and colleagues through an examination of their own philosophical values and how the values related both to their contributing to the social order and achieving "the good life" for themselves. At his best, he illustrated how humanitarian values and accomplishments flow from humanism through ethical use of the "method of intelligence." He taught that stripping away dogma, prejudice, and dysfunctional trappings could be undertaken as a personal journey of hope. He showed that, rather than leaving a vacuum, the discarded trappings could be replaced with intellectualized values that lead toward freedom and, as Harry S. Blanton put it, continually "becoming."⁴⁴

⁴³Orin B. Graff, "State Responsibilities in Providing Higher Education."

⁴⁴Blanton.

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VITA

Lonnie Richard Butler was born October 4, 1945, in Newport, Tennessee. He attended the Cocke County, Tennessee, public schools and graduated from Cosby High School in 1963. He earned an A.A. degree from Hiwassee College, Madisonville, Tennessee, in 1965 and a B.S. degree in Journalism from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 1967.

After his undergraduate education, Butler served three years as a high school teacher, one year as a local newspaper reporter, and three years as a school principal (grades K-12) in Cocke County. During this period he pursued graduate studies and completed an M.S. degree in Educational Administration and Supervision at The University of Tennessee in 1975. Three years as system-wide supervisor of curriculum and instruction for Cocke County Schools followed, interrupted for one year by service as editor and manager of a local newspaper.

From 1979 to 1981, Butler served as County Executive for Cocke County, filling an interim vacancy in the office. He then joined the Tennessee State Department of Education, Division of Vocational-Technical Education, serving first as specialist for planning and evaluation and then as director of program services. In 1984 he joined State Technical Institute at Knoxville (changed in 1988 to Pellissippi State Technical Community College) as director of institutional research, the position in which he presently serves.

Butler entered the Doctor of Education program at The University of Tennessee in 1985. Following completion of coursework during doctoral residence in 1988-89, he began research for a study of Orin Benton Graff in fall 1989.