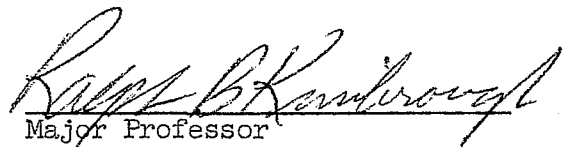


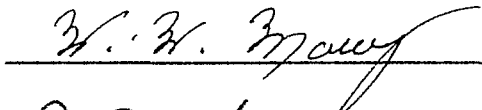
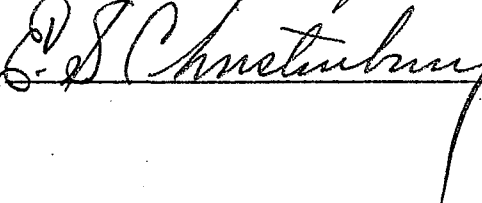
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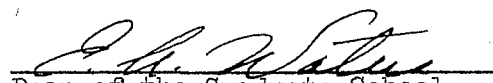
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Robert N. Shumate entitled "The Effect of Social Classes on the Community and Schools of Clinton, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Educational Administration and Supervision.


Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Dean of the Graduate School

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASSES ON THE COMMUNITY
AND SCHOOLS OF CLINTON, TENNESSEE

A THESIS

Submitted to
The Graduate Council
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

by

Robert N. Shumate

August, 1956

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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In an effort of this kind one finds that the written material relative to the particular subject is limited in quantity and often fragmentary in nature. As a consequence, it was necessary to gather information from several different sources and to attempt to fit the material gathered into a compact and intelligible whole that would be worth the effort put forth to achieve it. The result of the effort was only a partial success, because, in many cases, it was necessary to rely on the spoken words of some who were in a position that was apparently only a little more advantageous than that of the writer.

It is not intended that the value of information that was received should be discredited. On the contrary, it is desired that sincere gratitude should be expressed to all who have so graciously responded when they were called upon for information relative to the effort put forth in this writing. Sincere appreciation is hereby acknowledged for all of the help that was received.

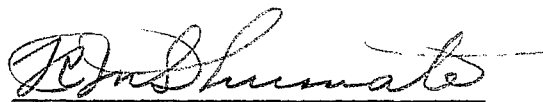
I wish to express my appreciation especially to Mr. Clifford Seeber for the use of his master's thesis, A History of Anderson County, Tennessee which was written in 1928, and to Mr. H. V. Wells, Jr., publisher of the Clinton Courier - News, who so graciously gave me permission to use his publications as a means of acquiring source material. Appreciation is also due to Mrs. Sada Peters, librarian at Clinton, for her assistance in making available source materials from the library.

I am especially indebted to the many friends and acquaintances who through interviews and casual conversations supplied much valuable information and gave their different philosophies of the life of the

community that was studied. For obvious reasons I will not attempt to list the names of those who so kindly gave a great deal of aid in this situation. To each of them, I wish to express my sincere thanks. Without their help this effort would have been of no avail.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Ralph B. Kimbrough, who was instrumental in helping me in this effort by suggesting that I work on the particular problem that was selected and by encouraging me in the pursuit of my studies in the graduate program.

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Robert N. Shumate

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

General Introduction

This problem was selected as a subject for research in connection with an effort to determine the extent and nature of the effect of social classes on the town and community of Clinton, Tennessee.

It was assumed that social classes do have an effect on the community, and that the influences exerted upon the town and community because of pressure of social classes were significant and noticeable to one who puts forth the effort to make a study and an analysis of the situation. It was also assumed that these influences have a direct bearing on the life of the people in the community, and that the effect of such influences was usually unnoticed by most of the people.

Geographically, the community is ideally located. It is served by the Southern Railway, by three passenger bus companies, and by trucking firms from all parts of the Central United States. A federal highway (U. S. 25W) runs through the community, connecting it with the North and the South, and an east-west state highway (Tennessee 61) connects it with the neighboring towns of Norris, which is twenty miles to the east, and Oak Ridge, which is six miles to the west.

Clinch River runs through the community and forms a natural barrier that separates the community into two distinct sections. The area south of the river, which is named South Clinton, is not included in the limits of the Town of Clinton. This area is more or less

self-sustaining so far as schools, churches, stores, and other community needs are concerned. It is apparent that there is opposition existent toward annexation of this area to the town. The majority of the people who live in South Clinton seem to desire to live apart from those who live in the limits of the Town of Clinton. They apparently have a peculiar distrust and skepticism regarding the integrity of those who have been in positions of management and control in the Town of Clinton and in Anderson County. They have also discouraged the influx of younger and more aggressive people into the residential area of South Clinton. The result is that this part of the community has progressed slowly and it is not growing in numbers of people as are some other sections of the community.

The inhabitants who live north of the river are, for the most part, members of the old established families that were responsible for the founding and settling of the Town of Clinton. There is evidence of a feeling of social prestige existent on the part of the people whose ancestors were responsible for the management and development of the Town of Clinton during the early days of its existence. The school systems in the community are made up of Clinton city schools and Anderson County schools. The Town of Clinton maintains and operates three schools for elementary students. Within the corporate limits of the town, there is a high school that is operated by Anderson County. The surrounding territory outside of the corporate limits is served by elementary schools that are also operated by Anderson County.

There are separate boards of education for the schools of the Town of Clinton, and for the schools of Anderson County. It appears that there is not much cooperation between the two boards of education, with the result that the two school systems in the community are somewhat different.

Statement of the Problem

The problem in connection with this study was to determine why social classes within a community exert influences on the people of the community and what the extent of the effect of such influences happens to be.

The survey that was made involves approximately five thousand people. The Town of Clinton, including some four thousand people within its limits, is situated practically in the center of the community. The people who live in the community are apparently a cosmopolitan group in one sense, but in another sense they seemingly are divided into some sort of social groupings. It appears that these social groups operate, each of them, in a manner that will foster the needs of their own group, and the people seem to be mindful, first of all, of their needs as a community only as those needs affect them as one social group within the community.

Consequently, there is an apparent lack of cooperation among these different groups that results in some rivalry and antagonism. The people, as a community group, do not seem to be as much interested

in community progress and improvement as they might be, with the result that progress in the town and community has been comparatively slow.

It was the purpose in this effort to determine the underlying circumstances that have caused this situation and to ascertain what might be done by way of causing the people involved to realize that the situation exists and to desire to rectify it.

It is assumed that the community will be more progressive, more aggressive, and that it will become a better place in which to live, if the people of the community first learn of the situation and then direct their efforts toward community improvement in the direction of a true democratic spirit and endeavor for the good of society as a whole.

It is not intended that a definite and final solution to the problem may be reached; but it is desired that a solving process might be engaged in to the extent that continuing progress and improvement within the community may be enjoyed.

Also, it was desired that some sort of insight into the situation might be gained that would help all people to be more of an asset to the community in which they live, to be tolerant enough of other people, and of the situation, to have a desire to help where it is possible, and to refrain from condemning others simply because of differences in viewpoint.

Importance of the Study

A study of this situation was considered to be worthwhile and important because the influences of such conditions on the people who are directly involved are seldom, if ever, noticed. Such influences have a direct bearing on the pattern of behavior of the people in the community. Consequently, the standard of living, the code of business ethics practiced, the social activities of the people, and the general philosophies regarding government, churches and schools are affected a great deal more than those who live in the community realize.

The influences of these conditions have a noticeable bearing on all phases of life and activity in the community. Those people who are most involved and whose pattern of life is determined to a great extent by these influences seem to be least mindful of the situation. The weight of tradition bears heavily in a situation of this kind. Since the pattern by which society lives is affected greatly by tradition, it appears that a study of this problem was of enough importance to warrant an effort to define the situation and an attempt to state the problem and set forth findings relative to the effect of such conditions on the society in which we live.

That which affects society becomes a part of the life in a community. Each individual patterns his life along the lines and customs as are dictated to him by his ancestors. Even though the individual may not be mindful of the situation in which he has been placed because his

ancestry happened to belong to a certain social class, the influences of such traditionary events are usually marked in character. We live by habit and custom. Our actions are predetermined, to a great extent, by what the society in which we live has set as an example for us to follow.

Scope of the Study

This study covers a rather wide field from the research standpoint. It is involved with the entire life of the people in the community. The research relative to the situation was first engaged in about six years ago. At that time the community was in the throes of a changing situation that has apparently resulted in a change in the general philosophy of the people in the community.

The early history of Anderson County was studied by reference to a brief history appearing in a publication of the Goodspeed Publishing Company, dated in 1887. Some material was also taken from "A History of Anderson County, Tennessee", written by Mr. Clifford Seeber for his Master's Degree thesis at the University of Tennessee in 1928.

Association with people in the community has been engaged in for the purpose of gaining knowledge of their different philosophies, of their attitudes toward the community, and of their desires toward effecting changes in the community life.

Periodic visits have been made to business establishments for the purpose of observing the activities of merchants and customers, noting how merchandising was carried on, and the types of people who patronized the stores. Conversations with customers and merchants were engaged in for the purpose of determining why the customers had selected the particular store as a place for shopping and why the merchant operates the store in the manner in which it is operated.

A study was made of the situation so far as industry in the community is concerned. An effort was made to determine what underlying and pertinent circumstances have caused the situation that was found to exist, and to determine how these circumstances have affected the life of the people in the community.

Churches in the community were visited for the purpose of determining in what ways the congregations in the several churches differ. A study of the membership, the religions philosophy, and the attitudes toward members of other congregations was engaged in. The findings in this effort were integrated and the resulting conclusions were paralleled with community development and the evidence of pressure of social classes on the community life.

A review was made of the organization that is responsible for taking care of the governmental business of the Town of Clinton. An effort was made to determine what the philosophy of the governing body, or the town council, has been in past years, and what changes, if any, have come about in that philosophy in recent years. Also, the effect

of social class pressure on actions of the town council was studied in an effort to determine what traditional elements have exercised an influence on the community.

The organization of the government of Anderson County was studied as to the history of developments in the county and the effectiveness of actions of the county governmental body, which is known as the county court. By way of making a comparison of the actions of the county in former years with the actions of recent years, a rather extensive study was made of the history of the county court. An attempt was made to relate the results of this study to the changing conditions surrounding the community life and to determine what the effect of pressure brought to bear by social groups happens to be. An attempt was also made to determine how tradition holds so much sway in the minds of people who unknowingly have become virtual slaves to principles and ethics of living that were determined by their ancestors.

The nature, the activities and the accomplishments of the major civic clubs in the community were studied in an attempt to determine what effect social classes have had on these clubs. Conversations were engaged in with both club members and others who seemed to be interested in the activities of civic clubs but are not club members. The history of the civic clubs that were considered was studied in an effort to determine how the clubs were formed, who was responsible for any progress they might have made, and how far their efforts reached into the community life. Also, an attempt was made to determine what the philosophies of the several clubs were, and how those philosophies compared one with the others.

The progress of the community relative to expansion of the Town of Clinton and the annexation of new business and residential areas was studied in an effort to determine how and to what extent social classes have exerted influence on the community in areas that have recently been annexed to the Town of Clinton and on other areas that are not in the corporate limits of Clinton. The attitudes of different members of the planning commission of the Town of Clinton concerning plans for newly annexed areas were studied in an attempt to analyze the procedure that was being followed in planning for the people who live in that part of the town. Also, the attitudes of the people who live in the newly annexed areas were studied in an attempt to determine how they were affected by the pressure of social classes, and what their philosophies were relative to being a part of the population of the incorporated area.

The effect of the influx of people who have moved into the limits of the Town of Clinton and other parts of the community during recent years was studied by way of attempting to determine what have been the resulting changes in the town and county governments. General community improvements that have been made during the last five years were listed and compared as to the location of such improvements in relation to the community as a whole. Legislation, or the lack thereof, relative to proposed developments and improvements was checked. The attitudes of the members of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen relative to community improvement projects were studied by attending meetings of the board and by talking to different members of the board.

As a community is affected by whatever situations that are found to exist, so are schools in that community affected. Since this effort was concerned with the community life as a whole, all phases of life in the community were considered. However, it was recognized that the effect on schools in the community was likely more significant and of greater importance than any other phase of this study. Consequently, a special effort was made to determine what the effect of social classes on the schools of the community happened to be.

The histories of the development of the two school systems in the community were studied. Theories as to public school education existent in the minds of the people in the community were formulated. Comparisons and contrasts of these different theories were made for the purpose of learning something about the philosophies of the people relative to schools. The activities of the two separate boards of education were compared over a period of four years, and the effect of pressures that were brought to bear by different social groups were studied. Conversations with school teachers and administrators were engaged in on many occasions for the purpose of determining what the attitudes of these people were and what their ambitions were relative to the work they were engaged in. Association with parents and patrons of the schools in the community was purposely engaged in for the purpose of learning what the philosophies of the people were in regard to the schools.

Finally, the student bodies of the high school and elementary schools in the community were studied in an effort to determine what effect social classes have had on the schools during years past and what changes in conditions in the schools have been brought about in recent years.

CHAPTER II

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASSES ON BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

The business organizations in the community apparently were operated by two separate and distinct groups. The patterns and methods by which the stores were operated followed a definite line that was determined mainly by the kind of persons the owners and operators happened to be. Two definite patterns were apparent. One is that type that resembles the old country store operation. The owners of the stores that fall in this class are the apparent non-progressives who have either inherited the business or have come into ownership through a period of years by growing up in the community.

This group of business men are opposed to expanding the city, to adding new facilities for community use, and to progressive measures so far as the school systems are concerned. They are content to cater to the people with whom they grew up and on whom they depend for their business operations.

The other type of business men in the community also follows a definite pattern. They are comparatively young men who have either purchased a going business or established and built up a business. They are more progressive as far as improving the appearance of their stores is concerned. They are in favor of expanding the town, of adding new facilities for community improvement, and of developing a community endeavor that will reach the children of the community. They cater to the younger people of the community. Observance of actions of the people who patronize these stores revealed that they

were predominantly younger than those who patronize the stores operated by the older group of men.

A very peculiar circumstance was noticed in the arrangement of one of the larger super markets in the community. During the year 1953, the one small super market in the community was replaced by a large super market that was situated in the older, and what might be called the more stable, part of the community. The manager of the old super market was discharged because management could not place him in either of the new stores and carry out their plans.

The personnel who were selected for the store that was built in 1953 were carefully picked so that they would conform to the needs and wishes of the older and more class-conscious people in that section of the town. The plan has worked out true to form, it seems. From observation, it has been noticed that this store is patronized by the older people of that section of the town, as well as by the people from other parts of the community who were born and reared in the community. Business is slow in this store; the people take time to visit with each other; and no one rushes to the cash register and pushes others out of his way in order to get out quickly. Even the kind of merchandise that is sold is selected in keeping with the needs and wishes of the customers. The arrangement of the store was also in keeping with the requirements of the situation.

Soon after this new store was built, the super market organization started construction of a second super market. This market was located in the southern part of the town near where new homes were under

construction and other new businesses were being organized. The influx of younger people from all parts of the country created a much different situation in this part of the community. Consequently, the management of this store was selected from another community and imported to Clinton to take over control of the store. The clerks, cashiers, stockroom boys and other personnel were younger and more aggressive, which was in keeping with the situation so far as the customers were concerned.

Observance of the customers in this store indicated that they were comparatively young; they apparently had only a certain amount of time in which to do their grocery shopping; they did not care to visit with others in the store; they were rather impatient if they were unnecessarily delayed in doing their shopping; they selected their groceries quickly; and they were usually irritated if it were necessary for them to wait in line at the check-out counter.

The contrast between these two stores was marked in character. It was apparent that the super market organization was mindful of the situation that was in existence at the time when plans to establish the two stores were made. Divisions of the people in the community due to social class influence was taken into consideration, and the stores were planned and situated in such manner that most people in the community would be accommodated.

It was learned that management of the super markets had done a great deal of research prior to making a decision as to how they were to proceed in this area. Their plans seem to have resulted in action

that has helped to prove that social classes do have an influence on business organizations that operate in the community.

A somewhat similar situation was found to exist in the local independent grocery stores. Three different stores in this category were selected as a basis for study. One was located in the older part of the community near where many of the residents were from the older and more class-conscious families. This store was operated on a basis that was in keeping with the desires and demands of the upper-middle class of people who patronized it. The owner and operator of the store was an older man who had been reared in Clinton. The store had not been modernized; the clerks were very deliberate in their dealings with customers; the customers did their grocery shopping during the regular daylight hours; and no one in the store seemed to be in a hurry.

It was noted that this store did a tremendous business by telephone order and delivery service. The customers who were taking advantage of this service were, for the most part, older people who were clinging to the traditional concept of shopping, which is that grocery shopping is somewhat beneath the dignity and social standing of the individual involved. The business hours of this store were also in keeping with the needs of the class of people to which the management catered. The store was opened promptly at eight o'clock in the morning and closed at five o'clock in the afternoon. This schedule was maintained Monday through Saturday of each week.

The second store in this class that was studied was located in the more recently developed area where it was near a group of people

who were apparently somewhat different from those who live in the older part of the Town of Clinton. This store was operated as a partnership by two comparatively young men who lived in the section of the community from which most of their customers came. It was learned that this store did very little telephone order business, and they did not offer much in the form of delivery service. Most of their customers drove their own automobile to the store, selected their groceries, and carried what they purchased home with them. It was also learned that management of this store did not extend credit to their customers on a basis that was comparable to the arrangement that the first of these stores mentioned above had made with their customers. It was apparent that most of the customers in this store were operating under a pay-as-you-go plan, which made it unnecessary for the management of the store to grant extensive credit.

By observation, it was noted that the prices of groceries in this store were somewhat lower than prices in the grocery store first mentioned. An investigation as to the reason for the lower prices indicated that this store was forced to compete with a chain store or lose their customers to the super market. The other grocery store was not on a close competitive basis with the chain store because the clientele of that store would not shop in the super market, even though they knew the prices there were less than the prices they were paying for groceries.

The customers of the independent grocery store were very business-like when they were shopping, and most of them seemed to be very careful when selecting their purchases. They were more sociable with each other and with the management and clerks of the store than the comparable super market customers were. They were also careful in being sure they paid for only what they had selected and that the prices were as marked on the goods.

The third type of privately owned grocery store that was observed was located in an outlying district where a group of people lived who might be classed in the lower-middle class of society. The arrangement and appearance of this store is also in keeping with the requirement of its customers. Inadequate space, poor lighting, and shabby appearance characterized this store. The owner and operator was from the lower-middle class of society as were most of the customers of the store.

This store remained open from early morning until late at night every day. It was noted that there were a group of men who loitered in and around the store on Saturdays and Sundays and at other times when they were not at work. Customers did not seem to care about having the merchandise located where they could select their own purchases nor did they seem to be much interested in the prices. They depended on the operator of the store to collect their purchases and tell them what was the total amount they were to pay.

A third comparison, or contrast, was made between two hardware stores in the community. First of these two stores was an old and well-established organization that had been in business in the same building

for more than fifty years. This store was owned and operated by an older man who had great respect for the original settlers of the Town of Clinton. The clerks and other employees were older people who were very deliberate in their dealings with customers. The store was poorly lighted; the aisles were narrow; and merchandise was piled, stacked and hanging in every available space.

Customers in this store seemed to have plenty of time to do their shopping. They were well acquainted with the clerks and the proprietor of the store, and they depended on the clerks to help them in selecting the merchandise they were to buy.

The second hardware store that was studied was of a much different nature. It was owned and operated by a young man who had come to Clinton from La Follette and established the store in the main business section of Clinton.

This store was well lighted, spacious, clean and inviting to its customers. The clerks were comparatively young and aggressive. The customers were eager to get their shopping done and move on to other tasks. The merchandise in the store was so arranged that the customers could select their own purchases without the help of the clerks, and the merchandise stocked was in keeping with the needs and wishes of their customers.

A comparison of the customers of this store with those of the hardware store first considered indicated that the influence of social classes reached far into the hardware business, as well as into other types of business in the community.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL CLASS CONTROL

Brief History of Magnet Mills, Inc.

The one rather large industry in the community, a hosiery mill, was founded more than fifty years ago. Incorporators of this industry were S. M. Leath, C. N. Rutherford, and R. Rutherford. In the beginning the mill employed thirty operators and the output of socks for men was fifty to sixty dozen pairs per day. Today, the mill has nearly nine hundred employees with a daily capacity of thirty-five hundred pairs of hosiery for women.

The first officers of the mill were S. M. Leath, president, and W. W. Underwood, secretary-treasurer. Charter members were R. Rutherford, C. N. Rutherford and Dr. S. B. Hall. All of these men were members of families of early settlers of Anderson County.

Wages in 1906 were three dollars to ten dollars per week for the mill employees, who were recruited largely through advertisements in the local newspaper.

In 1918, a branch of the Clinton mill was established at Coal Creek, now Lake City, Tennessee, after a group of citizens there proposed to erect a building and rent it to the mill for a period of five years. At the end of that time, the mill was to purchase the building.

The booming war and post war years were a time of expansion for the mill. In January, 1919, another branch was opened in La Follette, Campbell County, Tennessee. However, the La Follette venture lasted only three years. The plant there was closed and the holdings were sold in 1921.

On January 1, 1929, C. S. Kincaid was elected president of the mill and A. D. Crenshaw, who joined the mill as auditor in 1927, was elected secretary-treasurer. Garnett Andrews, who was president of the mill since 1917, had retired.¹

Carl S. Kincaid, a native of Clinton, has been associated with the mill for forty-seven of its fifty years of operations. During all of his life he has been interested and active in civic affairs of Clinton and Anderson County. He was a charter member of the Clinton Civitan Club and was its first president. He was a member of the Clinton Board of Education for many years, and served on the committee that installed the first water and sewer lines in Clinton. He is, at present, a director of the Union-Peoples Bank in Clinton and of the Hamilton National Bank in Knoxville.

He was chairman of the Clinton Planning Commission, and he was on the building committee for the erection of the new Clinton Municipal and Utilities Building. Recently, he was named to the committee on renovation of Anderson County courthouse. He has served in various official capacities at Memorial Methodist Church, and he is a member of the National Committee on Boy Scouts, representing the Great Smoky Mountains Council.

During World War II, Mr. Kincaid was made chief of the Hosiery Unit in the Knit Goods Section of the War Production Board. He was later made Chief of the Knit Goods Branch and served in Washington, D. C. for approximately two years. In 1945, he was named a colonel on the staff of Governor Jim Nance McCord.

¹Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, Magnet Mills Section, p. 1.

A. D. Crenshaw came to Magnet Mills, Inc. in 1927 in the capacity of auditor. He attended the University of Kentucky until 1917, when he joined the Navy in the first World War. Before coming to Clinton he was associated with the national accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst of Atlanta, Georgia.

He was elected Secretary-Treasurer of Magnet Mills, Inc. in January, 1929, and he was named Executive Vice-President in February, 1953. He is chairman of the Operating Committee, a member of the Executive Committee, and a director of the mill.²

Since coming to the mill, Mr. Crenshaw has been prominent in many civic activities in Clinton and Anderson County. His work with the Wesley Bible Class and the State Crippled Children's Service Commission has been cited as outstanding. He served as a member of the Anderson County Selective Service Board during World War II. He was a member of the Clinton Board of Education for many years.

He was chairman of the group which made possible the building of the Memorial Recreation Center, and he has been active in the administration of the recreation program in Clinton. He was formerly Chairman of the Board of Stewards of the Memorial Methodist Church in Clinton. He is a past president of the Clinton Civitan Club, and is a director of the Union-Peoples Bank in Clinton.

Various organizations within the hosiery industry have called on Mr. Crenshaw from time to time, and he has served in many capacities. He is at present a director of the National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers.

²Clinton Courier-News, p. 1.

Magnet Mills, Inc. has continued steadily in business during the entire fifty years of its existence. Steady operations has made expansion of the plant and facilities necessary. Shortly before the depression years the capacity of the mill was doubled. A few years later the depression struck, forcing the closing of many hosiery mills in the south. Magnet Mills, however, was one of the few industries which ran full time during the economic slump.

In 1940 the mill was licensed to produce the new nylon hose. Shortly afterwards, the supply of nylon and silk for civilian consumer goods was shut off by World War II. The mill then turned to military production under government contracts.

In 1947, following the second World War, another milestone was passed when the production of cotton hose was discontinued. In July, 1952, the Lake City plant was moved to Clinton, once more consolidating the operations of the entire plant in Clinton.

Bush Brothers and Company Operations

The second manufacturing organization that was formed in the community was Bush Brothers and Company which was organized in 1923. This organization is engaged in the business of canning foods. It is comparatively small, and its nature is an industry that has peak periods of operations during the vegetable canning season. Some competition in the labor market with Magnet Mills, Inc. has been engaged in, but the effect of such competition apparently has not been of much concern to the officials of the hosiery mill.

Bush Brothers and Company management and employees have not exerted a great deal of influence on the community. As the mill goes, so does the community go, it seems. A study of the situation indicated that the effect of social classes on industry has been marked in character. The management of the mill, since its beginning, has been made up of people who were prominent socially in the community. As was noted previously, the president and the secretary-treasurer of the mill at the present time have both been very active in civic and social affairs in the community. They have served in many capacities on civic and governmental committees and boards, and their influence has reached far into the social life of the community.

Summary

Before the advent of Oak Ridge, there was practically no competition in the labor market in Clinton. It has been only a little more than ten years since the mill began to lose its control of available labor in the community. The influx of people from all parts of the country has brought about a decided change in the situation. The management of the mill has lost a great deal of its influence because many of the people do not now have to depend on employment at the mill to gain a livelihood. Consequently, the influence of the mill, and of its officers, began to wane some twelve years ago. As yet, there have been no new industries established in the community. The influence of

those who have controlled industry in this area for some fifty years has been strong enough to last through twelve years of change in the community life that has been far-reaching and significant. Established practices and customs have not changed as rapidly as one might think they would. Those factions that have been in control for a hundred and fifty years do not readily relinquish that control to newcomers on the scene.

The social aspect has changed somewhat in this community as the population increased from about three thousand people to more than five thousand. There is evidence that the pressure of this changing situation has been felt to a lesser degree in all phases of the community life, but there has been no wide sweep of change in any phase.

For obvious reasons, new industries that have investigated the possibility of establishing manufacturing plants in this community have been discouraged in most instances, and in no case was it found that any inducement had been offered by the management of the Town of Clinton. The result has been that industries that might have been interested in locating in the community have gone to other places where favorable inducements have been offered. Thus, the effect of social class control was still evident in this case.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCHES AS SEGREGATED SOCIAL UNITS

Nowhere in the life of a community is the effect of social classes more significant than in the churches. The community that was the object of this study appeared to be in no wise averse to this general rule. As the study was being made, an effort was put forth to consider the situation, so far as churches were concerned, from an unbiased and tolerant standpoint. It is recognized that religion is one of the most delicate subjects in the minds of the people in any community. The right to worship as one sees fit is a precious heritage of the American people, which right the Constitution of the United States guarantees to all who come under its jurisdiction.

There are many religious denominations represented by the churches in the community that was studied. However, a preliminary investigation indicated that by far the majority of the church-going population of the community belonged to the Methodist or Baptist church. Consequently, it was considered well to study these two denominations and consider the conclusions arrived at as being representative of the entire community. All due respect for churches that were not considered is hereby acknowledged.

The first Methodist Church services were held in Anderson County about 1801. From that time until 1850, when the first Methodist Church building was erected in Clinton, the church services and Sunday school were held in homes, in the school, and possibly in the courthouse.

The Clinton Circuit of the Methodist Church was formed in 1831. Until 1837, this circuit was served by a circuit rider. At that time a

circuit pastor was named for the church. Clinton continued in the Clinton Circuit until 1889, when a regular full-time pastor was appointed for the Clinton church.

There was a peaceful separation in the Methodist Church in Clinton over the question of slavery in 1844. Although prior to 1844, the Methodist Church was formally known as the Methodist Episcopal Church, and since 1939 both churches are simply the Methodist Church, there remain two Methodist Churches in Clinton ruled by the same church officials in the Holston Conference.

When the congregation split in 1844, there were two Methodist Churches formed. They are known today as Memorial Methodist Church and St. Mark's Methodist Church. What is now Memorial Methodist Church was formerly affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It was not until 1883 that a Methodist Episcopal Church, which was the Northern church, was built on the site where St. Mark's now stands.

Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, continued to meet at the church that was built in 1850 until 1887, when a new church was built on the present site of Memorial Methodist Church. This building was torn down in 1927, and the present Memorial Methodist Church was dedicated in 1929.¹

In 1889, the membership of Memorial Methodist Church was seventy-two. In 1955, the membership was six hundred sixteen. The membership of St. Mark's Methodist Church was sixty-five in 1890 and two hundred sixty-nine in 1955.

¹Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, Magnet Mills Section, p. 4.

Clinton First Baptist Church was started in 1840. The Town of Clinton was then about forty years old, but the size of the community at that time is not known. The earliest census report, that of 1870, shows the population then to be three hundred twenty-five, and that was thirty years after the First Baptist Church was established.

First services were held either in the early courthouse or the old brick academy, a Baptist school, nearby. A small frame building was soon erected near what is known as the old Baptist Cemetery. Rocks used in the foundation are still visible today, and the bell that called members to worship is now hanging in the belfry of the present church.

The first pastor, Rev. J. S. Corum, was a leader in the Tennessee Association for more than a quarter of a century, serving as moderator seventeen years and preaching the introductory sermon eleven times. He was a prominent figure not only in his own Association, but also in the early history of East Tennessee Baptists.

A pillar of strength in the early church was Mr. John Jarnigan, who deserves most credit for erecting the first Baptist church building in Clinton. He figured in every undertaking and served the church in any capacity where he was needed. Apparently, he was not only one of the most prominent men in the Baptist Church, but also one of the most wealthy. He even served as janitor of the church, for which he was paid one dollar a year.

The early records of the Baptist church, kept by Mr. Jackson J. Kennedy, are brief but they furnish glimpses into the church life, and the life of the community, that are interesting indeed. For example,

when certain brethren were appointed to "wait upon an absent member" and inform him to attend the next regular meeting to give an account of his absence, if the member failed to attend or to render a satisfactory explanation of his absence he was promptly excluded from the church. Members were admonished for "aspersion of another's character" or for lying about a neighbor. They were censured for "making a frolic", warned about gambling with cards, and excluded for selling ardent spirits, or for carrying liquor in their pockets.

During the Civil War period, no written records of services were kept, but one brief notice dated December 3, 1861, says, "The church meetings have been suspended because of the great national calamity." During this period, meetings were held in the homes of members.

The church building was unharmed during the war but the Baptist school which stood nearby was burned. Written records were resumed August 14, 1867, with Mr. John Jarnigan as clerk.²

Recovery after the war was slow, but, as the Town of Clinton grew, the church evidently grew also. In September, 1870, the church voted to have services every other Sunday. In January, 1881, Mr. R. C. Medaris organized the first Sunday School, which has grown until today the enrollment is well in excess of eleven hundred members.

In December, 1883, the first meeting to consider a new church was held and a committee was appointed to consider the new plans. The new church was completed, and the first sermon was preached in the auditorium on July 2, 1893.

²Clinton Courier-News, p. 3.

In 1922, the church was remodeled at a cost of thirty-five hundred dollars. Again, in 1929, additional Sunday School rooms were built in the basement as the growing needs of the church were met. By 1937, the need for additional expansion was felt. It was then that a former citizen of Clinton, Mr. S. L. Slover, was approached, and the newspaper publisher offered a challenging donation of ten thousand dollars, providing the local members would match this gift with sixty thousand dollars to provide a new building. The challenge seemed an impossible one, but it was met and the new auditorium was completed in time for services there July 30, 1939. A four-story Sunday School plant and an auditorium to seat six hundred people was completed, at a total cost of sixty-five thousand dollars.³

Today the First Baptist Church of Clinton is still growing. The church membership is well above thirteen hundred, the Sunday School has an enrollment of over eleven hundred, and plans are now being made to take care of the overflow in both the church congregation and the Sunday School.

The Second Baptist Church in Clinton was organized on November 21, 1931. In July, 1935, the Reverend Robie Mathis came to Clinton and conducted a tent revival for nine weeks at the site of the present church building. At the close of the successful services, Reverend Mathis was called as pastor of what was then Brown's Chapel. Plans were immediately made to build a larger church. At that time the name of the organization was changed to the Second Baptist Church.

³Clinton Courier-News, p. 3.

The basement and main auditorium of the present building were started in 1936, and dedication ceremonies were held May 4, 1941. Because of the continued growth of the church, plans were made to build additional Sunday School rooms in September, 1953. On June 5, 1955, a note burning service was held and the new addition, costing approximately forty thousand dollars, was dedicated. Plans were immediately launched to build a new parsonage on a lot that was given to the church some years before by Mr. C. S. Kincaid. The new home for the pastor was occupied July 7, 1955, and an open house was held on July 16.⁴

The Second Baptist Church is comparatively new, having been organized only twenty-five years ago, and ninety-one years after the First Baptist Church was organized. However, the Second Baptist Church now has a membership of nearly nine hundred, and Sunday School enrollment of five hundred thirty-three.

The churches in the community were studied from the standpoint of trying to determine what categories of social classes the membership of each church might be placed in. Consequently, a study of the history of the several churches was necessary in order to arrive at a point where comparisons could be made. Of particular significance in this case was the fact that the Methodist Church was founded some forty years before the establishment of the Baptist Church. During this period there were only a few people in the community. It was not until 1870, or thirty years after the First Baptist Church was organized, that the first census report showed a total population in the community of only three hundred and twenty-five. During this period, the Methodist Church had split, and two Methodist

⁴Clinton Courier-News, History and Government Section, p. 6.

churches had been formed. This separation took place only four years after the Baptist Church was formed.

The records of all churches in the community before 1870 were very sketchy. An attempt was made to determine the membership of each church in 1870, but the conclusion is not considered reliable. However, an arbitrary decision was reached in order to have a starting point for categorizing the church memberships into social classes. It was assumed that in 1870 the membership of the Methodist Churches were equal in number to the membership of the Baptist church. It appeared that there was a great deal of rivalry and competition between the different religious denominations during this period. Before the Civil War, when the controversy between the Baptists and Methodists was most bitter, there were two ferries across Clinch River, one for each denomination and both free. This was done primarily for the purpose of persuading people who lived across the river to go to the church that was operating the ferry on which they crossed the river.

After 1870, it appeared that the Baptists began to offer inducements and persuasion to many of the people who might be classed in the middle category of society. The result was that the Baptist Church grew faster in membership and in influence in the community. The trend was toward a lowering of the average social class rating of the Baptist congregation to the middle-middle or the lower-middle class. When the Second Baptist Church was organized in 1931, its charter members were mostly of the lower-middle and the middle-middle class. The situation in this church has not changed a great deal as its membership grew to more than six hundred people.

St. Mark's Methodist Church seemed to have been organized more or less in protest of what its members termed snobbish actions on the part of some of the people who were in the church that is now Memorial Methodist Church. This appeared to be controversy because of social class distinction. The result was that the membership of St. Mark's Methodist Church became more tolerant of people who were in a lower social class. Consequently, this church membership seemed to be made up of people who were in lower strata of society than were the people in the Memorial Methodist Church.

An interesting and significant situation was found to exist when a comparison was made of the growth in numbers of members of the different churches. The enrollment of new members in the Baptist churches was almost twice the enrollment the Methodist churches had been able to gain. This seemed to be mostly due to social class distinctions being practised more by the Methodists than by the Baptists.

Mostly because of controversies between the churches during the early development of the community, the people seemed to have a desire to consider their own church as being superior, spiritually and socially, to the other churches. As a consequence, the churches have become segregated into separate social units. There was little evidence of goodwill of one church for another church, and the lack of cooperation between the churches was very noticeable.

CHAPTER V

CITY GOVERNMENT IN A CHANGING SITUATION

Although the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, elected by the people, bears the primary responsibility for city government and city services in Clinton, under the Board are six appointed commissions which look after the various phases of the operation of the city.

These six subsidiary organizations are the Water Commission, Power Commission, Board of Education, Planning Commission, Recreation Commission, and the Housing Authority.

The Clinton Water Commission was authorized April 2, 1926, after it was decided to purchase the properties of the Clinton Water Company. A proposal to issue \$105,000.00 in bonds to finance the water works was submitted to the people, and the bonds were approved by a vote of three hundred seventy-nine to thirty-two.

To handle the construction of the water system, a committee composed of Messrs. C. S. Kincaid, W. C. Baker, and W. W. Underwood was named and given authority to let contracts and proceed with the work. At the same time, the Board authorized the issuance of \$60,000.00 in bonds for a sewer system, and the same construction committee was given authority to handle the work. Later the Board approved the purchase of the Clinton Water Company for five thousand dollars.¹

From the date of the formation of Clinton Water Commission until the latter part of the year 1955, water service in Clinton was provided from wells and springs. In 1954, the water supply reached the critical stage because of a number of dry summers in succession.

¹Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, Magnet Mills Section, p. 7.

In January, 1955, the city sold \$675,000.00 of bonds to finance construction of a new filtration plant on the Clinch River above the city, and a new sewage disposal plant which was built below the town.

The first Board of Education for Clinton city schools was authorized February 1, 1895. It was to consist of three members, all of whom were to be qualified voters of the town and not holding any other office in city administration.

The Board of Education is given authority to operate the schools of the town, provide buildings and equipment, employ teachers, and do all other acts necessary and incidental to the city schools.

Created February 4, 1944, the Clinton Recreation Commission was authorized to secure a recreation director and provide a recreation program for the people. Mr. A. D. Crenshaw was a leader in the movement to provide a planned recreation program for Clinton, and he was the first chairman of the Commission. He has since been succeeded by Mr. H. V. Wells, Jr., who is also one of the original members of the group.²

About a year before the Recreation Commission was formed, work was begun at Oak Ridge bringing into Clinton a tremendous influx of people, who had no place to go and no recreational facilities to use. Faced with this problem, the Recreation Commission decided to erect a recreation center in the town. On August 12, 1945, the center was opened and formally dedicated.

The recreation center, which is available to any public group for meetings, is largely used by the school children. It contains six bowling

²Clinton Courier-News, p. 7.

alleys, and the Clinton High School football field is part of the property that is maintained by the Recreation Commission.

Facilities in the recreation center provide for ping pong, table games, badminton, basketball, a piano for music and magazines for reading. Outdoors there are facilities for tennis and a playground area. Also, in the building is the Anderson County Library.

The Clinton Planning Commission was created November 20, 1942. This Commission is assisted in its work by the East Tennessee office of the State Planning Commission. It works to provide orderly development in the community.

Some of the accomplishments of the Planning Commission are a street naming and numbering plan, zoning map and ordinance, subdivision regulations, major street plan, maps and studies of traffic flow, stop streets and parking area studies, assistance in selecting sites for public buildings and public land use, preparation of a capital budget for the town, and publication of the Clinton Master Plan.

The Clinton Power Commission was formed in 1939. The capital investment of this organization has grown to approximately three million dollars. The Power Commission is housed in a modern public utility building which is shared with the administrative offices of the Town of Clinton. The Commission provides and maintains a fleet of service trucks and equipment for the purpose of giving prompt maintenance and repair service.

The Clinton portion of the former Tennessee Electric Power Company was purchased through negotiations carried on through the Tennessee Valley Authority. The system now serves seven counties, including Anderson County.

Its transmission lines extend from the edge of Knox County on the Norris Freeway to Union County, and to parts of Campbell County, Scott, Morgan, and Roane Counties.

The original Power Commission was composed of Messrs. Ben F. Alexander, Chairman, J. M. Burkhart, secretary-treasurer, and H. G. Amerine, Sr. The Commission in 1955 was composed of Messrs. J. L. Henniss, J. M. Burkhart, and George Anderson, with E. H. Hamilton as manager. Both Mr. Hamilton and his assistant, Mr. Howard L. Sparkman, have been working with the system since it was purchased by the Town of Clinton.³

The newest addition to the Clinton municipal family is the Clinton Housing Authority, which was authorized by ordinance on July 7, 1950. It is empowered to issue bonds for the purpose of building low cost housing units to serve Clinton and the community around the town.

This organization was made up of a five-man board, headed by Mr. Chester R. Pace as chairman. Other members were Messrs. Andrew Gamble, R. C. Hoskins, Jack T. Bush, and Wallace Cantrell. Mr. Gamble is now chairman of the Authority, and serving with him are Messrs. Carl Kincaid, Jr., L. B. Parker, R. C. Hoskins, and Wallace Cantrell.

This organization completed fifty units in Clinton in 1952. There are forty-two units for white people and eight units for colored people. After a contest was held to select names for the new development, the units for white families on McAdoo Street were named the Alexander Heights Apartments, and the units for colored families were named Forrest Heights Apartments.

³ Clinton Courier-News, p. 7.

The first executive secretary for the Authority was Mr. Floyd Bowers, a Clinton attorney. The present Executive Director is Mrs. Rena Bell Henson.

With the help and support of these six groups, the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of Clinton serve the people of the town in supplying their governmental needs. There are two aldermen from each ward in the town. They are elected by the people, and they serve with the welfare of all people in the town in mind rather than as representatives from certain wards. The cooperation of this group in taking care of the business of the town seemed very good.

As the Town of Clinton has grown in size and population, the governmental situation has changed. At one time almost the entire burden of administering the business of the city was vested in representatives from the lower-upper class of society. During the last fifteen years the aspect of city government has changed somewhat. Older men have relinquished control to a group of younger and more community-conscious leaders. Upper class control has given way to middle class control.

The Town of Clinton did not progress very rapidly under the old regime, for the reason that the city fathers were not willing to relinquish control and allow the people to make arrangements to assume control and benefit themselves and all other people alike. Perhaps this was a very desirable situation when a few people dictated to the masses and were not willing to be persuaded to follow any course that was not in keeping with the desires of the upper class of society. The lower classes were willing to tolerate this situation, it seems. It is not intended that the impression should be conveyed that these early city fathers did not have a wholesome

interest in the city government and in the people of the community. The number of middle class people who were in the community at that time compared to the number of upper class people was not significant as it has become during the last fifteen years.

As the population increased, the number of middle class people in the community became greater in relation to the number of upper class people. Gradually, it seems, this changing situation has brought about changes in control of city government. In a democratic society, the voice of the masses will be heard. But the influence and control that has been exercised by another class for well over a hundred years was not readily relinquished. As a consequence, the situation is still static to some extent. A combination of the different social classes appears to be an alleviating influence, and the most good for the community comes from cooperation, rather than from antagonism, on the part of members of the governing body of the city. As the social scene changes, control of city government must change. But, the changes usually do not come about as rapidly as some people in the community would have them come. Social classes exert influences and apply pressures slowly in this instance. However, these influences and pressures were being felt to a lesser degree, and the community was apparently benefitted by whatever changes that had taken place.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXPRESSION OF THE MASSES IN COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Anderson County, Tennessee entered the pages of history one hundred and fifty-four years ago when, on November 6, 1801, the Tennessee State Legislature created the county and authorized a board of commissioners to select a place on the north bank of the Clinch River, between Island Ford and Sam Worthington's home for a courthouse, prison and stocks.

On December 15, 1801, the court of pleas and quarter sessions was organized at the house of Mr. Joseph Denham, Sr. The original justices were Messrs. Hugh Montgomery, William Underwood, Frederick Miller, James Grant, John Kirby, William McKamy, Joseph Sinclair, James Butler, William Standifer, and Solomon Massingale.

At the June term of the court in 1802, the meeting place was at the home of Mr. John Leib, near what is now known as the town spring in Clinton. Court sessions were held at this place until December, 1803, at which time the first courthouse, a log structure, was completed and occupied. This building stood a little to the east of the site of the present courthouse.

In 1821 or 1822, a stone courthouse was built under the direction of Messrs. William McKamy, John McAdoo, John Gibbs, John Leib, and Quin Morton.

The first jail was also built of logs. It was completed in 1802. Thirty years later another jail was built. By 1870 the jail that was built in 1832 was in such bad condition that the more desperate criminals

had to be transferred to Knox County jail for safe keeping. The courthouse was declared to be a disgrace to the county, and at one time an attempt was made at night to destroy it by fire. Finally, in 1892, a new courthouse and jail were built. The courthouse cost approximately thirty six thousand dollars, and the jail cost ten thousand dollars.

The sudden growth of the coal mining industry in the county gave rise to many social problems. The lawless element naturally drifted in. Whiskey was plentiful, gambling was the popular past-time, and fighting was common. On Saturday nights many of the miners would gather in the nearest mining town to spend their wages for the week in celebrating or in the common parlance of the time "to paint the town red." In addition to the usual reckless element in new mining towns, there was for several years a steady increase of the criminal element due to the convict labor in the coal mining districts. When a prisoner, who had been employed in the mines under the lease system, was set free, he very often remained in the mining district. Some of these ex-convicts made good citizens, but in many cases they were detrimental to the peace of the community. Nor was lawlessness confined to the miners. In 1891, the chairman of the court in his annual report said, "The expenses of Anderson County are greater than ever before, and I have no hopes of anything better while our circuit courts have to run three weeks at a time. During the last year I have issued 1,563 warrants, amounting to \$9,025.25."¹

In the eastern section of the county, Clinton was the home of the discordant element of society. Until about 1884 Clinton had a population

¹County Court Record, Anderson County, Tennessee, January 5, 1891, p. 162.

of less than four hundred inhabitants. From 1884 to 1889, the population had increased to over fourteen hundred. This sudden boom transformed Clinton from a sleepy little town to an industrial center. The building of the Walden's Ridge Railroad from Clinton to Oliver Springs and the founding of a large zinc works and large sawmill attracted a varied element into the community. During this period of sudden development, saloons, pool rooms, and gambling resorts flourished.

Toward the latter part of the century, a reform movement set in. In the mining sections, the convicts were removed. The better element organized law and order clubs in the towns of Coal Creek, Briceville and Oliver Springs. In Clinton, agitation for incorporation was carried on for several years. This group was also of the better element of society. Finally in 1890 the Town of Clinton was incorporated. Immediately, the Board of Mayor and Aldermen passed town ordinances which ordered a general cleaning up of the town. The streets were mended by a liberal application of sawdust; the one street light in the town was polished; and the Town of Clinton settled down to the business of building and maintaining a city that would be a better place to live in.

The first grand jury summoned by the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions was made up of the more prominent men of the community. The first indictment was found against Mr. John Vaney, who submitted to the court and was fined twenty-five cents. The second indictment was against Mr. Samuel Ussery for sending a challenge. He was acquitted after trial.

At the June term of court in 1804, Mr. Isaac Crane was put in the stocks for two hours for contempt of court, and, when he still persisted in his disorderly conduct, he was committed to jail.

The Circuit Court was organized in 1810, but all of the earliest records of its transactions have been destroyed. The Chancery Court was organized on June 26, 1856. The court was suspended from 1861 to 1864. After the Civil War period, Mr. S. R. Rodgers was appointed Chancellor and served until 1866. He was succeeded by Mr. O. P. Temple, who remained on the bench until 1878.

Until about 1840 there were no definite political parties in the community. The voters were governed by self-interests or by the personal popularity of the candidate. The two parties, Whig and Democrat, began to show their influence in 1844 when Henry Clay, a Whig, opposed James K. Polk in the race for the presidency of the United States.

From 1840 to shortly before the Civil War, both political parties in the community supported the Union vigorously. Political gatherings were numerous and excessive zeal was displayed by both the Whig and the Democratic parties, but each advocated the preservation of the Union. In 1859, Representative Kincaid of Anderson County made a protest against resolutions providing for the election of delegates to a convention of slave holding states. From this time forward to the end of the Civil War, the citizens of the community were divided into four distinct groups. Some joined the Union army, some joined the Confederate army, some stayed at home, and others formed guerilla bands that actually belonged to neither army. These bands hid in the mountains and caves of Anderson County, and they existed by preying upon their neighbors for their food and clothing.

After the Civil War, political and personal animosities died out more quickly in this community than in many other sections. Civil law, which had been suspended during the war, was revived. The franchise laws

of 1866-1868 did not seriously affect the voters of Anderson County, as most of them had served in the Union army. In 1868 the county court reported that a total of twelve hundred sixty-four persons had registered their names as voters in Anderson County. The following year, thirteen hundred thirty-four voters registered in Anderson County. A large number of voters could scarcely have been disfranchised, since the voting strength of Anderson County had been only nine hundred ninety seven in 1860. The total number of slaves liberated was less than six hundred, and not more than half of them could have been voters.

After 1870, politics played an important part in county affairs. Party lines were strictly drawn. In the meantime the Whig party had been changed to the Republican party. For a man of any consequence not to vote a straight Democratic or Republican ticket was regarded as treason by those of his party. A political campaign aroused intense excitement throughout the county. Democratic and Republican clubs were organized in almost every community. Rallies and barbecues preceding elections were common. It was estimated that over three thousand people came from various parts of the county to one big rally and barbecue at Clinton in 1888.²

For many years county, state and national candidates received practically the same vote. Toward the latter part of the period there was some change in the political status of the county. County conventions to nominate candidates and to determine the policies of the county on the

²Clinton Gazette, August 31, 1888, p. 1.

subjects of roads, schools, and other public institutions, were generally held at Clinton. Citizens of Clinton generally took a leading part in such conventions. It was charged by leaders from other sections of the county that Clinton citizens took unfair advantage of others in the conventions. A group of Clinton citizens who took an active part in public affairs was called by the other factions, "The Clinton Ring." In 1883 a Democratic paper was published at Oliver Springs, called the Tri-Weekly Democrat. Its avowed purpose was to combat the "Clinton Ring" and the Clinton Gazette, a weekly Republican paper printed at Clinton. It was charged that the Clinton Gazette was owned and controlled by the "Clinton Ring." It was also charged that county officials, who, of course, were Republicans, were corrupt; and in one instance they succeeded in implicating the county trustee, who was forced to serve a term in the penitentiary. The political controversy between the two publications became very intense. The Coal Creek Press, a weekly Republican paper published at what was then Coal Creek, joined with the Tri-Weekly Democrat in the war on the Gazette. Republican harmony in regard to county affairs was destroyed. In presidential elections the county continued to vote overwhelmingly Republican, but in the election of county officials strict party politics was not always observed.³

³R. Clifford Seeber, "A History of Anderson County, Tennessee" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of History, The University of Tennessee, August, 1928), p. 93.

This situation continued to grow in importance during the turn of the century and until the engagement of the United States in World War I. Traditionary Republican control in Anderson County, and in Clinton particularly, gave way to a more democratic form of political control. However, those who had exercised control of county government did not readily relinquish that power to another group or to another political party.

Thus, the effect of social classes was exemplified in a manner different from that of the immediate community that was studied. The county courthouse and all county offices remained within the limits of the Town of Clinton. Therefore, the natural result was the exercising of much influences on the government of Anderson County by the citizens of the community, of which the Town of Clinton is the center. The result of this situation seemed to be that political parties became more or less the dividing line of social classes in the community. Those who were in opposition to the so-called aristocratic element of people in the community grew in number faster than they had grown previously. Upper class control was forced to gradually give over to a more cosmopolitan group. Thus, the birth of political primary elections in the county, which are still predominantly Republican.

Since 1900 there has been very little change in county government. Control of the county court has remained in the hands of the middle class of society, because of the fact that the number of voters in the county outside of the community that was studied was far greater than the number of voters who were in the community. Conversely, and because of the

influence of voters in the community who recognized social classes, every county judge who has been elected in Anderson County since 1900 has been a member of the higher class of society from the community of which the Town of Clinton has remained in control.

It was interesting to note the important roles played by social groups in county governmental affairs. The leveling influence and the trend toward middle class control from control by a higher class of society have been exemplified in the expression of voters through the years, since 1900. The aristocratic element of the higher classes of society have slowly, but reluctantly it appeared, given over to control by a lower class only because of the pressure brought to bear by the increase in the number of voters in the lower classes.

This again was an example of the workings of our democratic way of life. The masses have a chance to be heard through the exercising of the privilege of voting as they see fit in electing those who carry the burden of county government. At the same time, the traditional power and control of government is usually not quickly relinquished by those who carried the load of county government during the early days of the existence of the county.

CHAPTER VII

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASSES ON CIVIC AND PROFESSIONAL CLUBS

The oldest civic club in the community is the Clinton Civitan Club which on March 25, 1955, reached its thirtieth birthday. During its thirty years of continuous service to the community, the Civitan Club has been a strong force in the community, supporting many civic movements of importance for the betterment of the town and community.

The first president of the Civitan Club was Mr. C. S. Kincaid, who, during that time and to the present, has held an important position in the ownership and management of the principal industry in Clinton, a hosiery mill.

One of the first local objectives of the club was the sponsorship of the Boy Scout movement, and the support of this fine organization is still one of the projects of the group.

Through the years "good citizenship" has been the motivating spirit of the group, and as a result the club has been active in encouraging the full use of the franchise by its own members and by local residents. In addition, the club for many years sponsored among the high schools of the county the annual Civitan Good Citizenship Essay Contest, producing both district and state contest winners. In more recent years the club has turned its interests to the awarding of scholarships to worthy Clinton High School seniors, having given \$2,000.00 in awards since 1950.

It was interesting to note, in looking back over the records, that every Clinton mayor for the past thirty years has been a member of the Civitan Club.

Unfortunately this club has been accused of catering to the sons of the more wealthy and influential people in the community, with the result that boys who come from homes of moderate means have not been allowed to enjoy the benefits that might have been enjoyed had the club catered to all boys alike. This situation seems to have resulted in a division of social classes that has caused some residents of the community to feel like they were ostracised, and a rather bitter attitude toward the Civitan Club has developed in the minds of some of the people.

Conversations with members of the club and with those who appear to be antagonistic to it revealed that there is a decided feeling of resentment toward the club on the part of many people in the community. The club has been accused of naming members of its own circle as good citizenship contest winners, regardless of their showing in the contest, and of favoring less needy students in the high school with the scholarships. A survey of this situation resulted in a virtual verification of the accusations that had been voiced by some non-members of the club. It was learned that personages and their social position in the community, rather than achievement in school work, were the things considered when scholarships were to be awarded. The result is that the club has been branded as a private club sponsored by the wealthy for the wealthy.

In June, 1940, one of the most active of the Clinton civic organizations, the Lions Club, was organized with fifteen charter members. This club has been active in community affairs since its beginning. It was one of the original sponsors of the Anderson County Improvement Committee. Club members have worked with the Committee in sponsoring

the annual Anderson County Community Improvement Fair since the group was organized.

Clinton Lions have also been active each year in the March of Dimes campaign, and for the past few years they have raised more than five hundred dollars each year. The club has also supported and worked with the Red Cross and Cancer Committees in their annual campaigns for funds.

One of the leading programs of the Lions is providing glasses for children with defective eyesight. Many pairs of glasses have been purchased for needy children since the club was organized. The Lions have also made possible operations for removal of infected tonsils, and they have furnished clothing for needy children attending the school for the blind.

The Lions Club was also instrumental in starting Little League Baseball in Clinton. This effort has resulted in training for good citizenship for young boys who might otherwise have become community problems, had their time not been occupied and their recreation not been directed and controlled.

The Club has worked closely with the Clinton Recreation Commission, and it has sponsored programs to raise funds which have been divided equally with the Commission.

During the war years, Clinton Lions were active in War Bond Drives, the U. S. O. programs, and the collection of scrap rubber and metal. Used clothing was collected and packaged for shipment for overseas relief.

A study of the membership of the Clinton Lions Club resulted in the discovery that this club was made up mostly of the younger and more new residents in the community. They appeared to have a desire to serve the less fortunate people in the community and to help those who needed help the most. The result has been that the older and more class-conscious people in the community do not belong to the Lions Club. A cross section of this group may be described as an example of a community-minded group. While they did not seem to realize it so much, they are in a social class that is decidedly different from that of the Civitan Club. Consequently, there is not much cooperation between these two clubs. It appears that there has been a rather definite form of rivalry between them, which is fostered, perhaps unknowingly, by the struggle for a place in the sun by members of two distinct strata of society.

Of the several women's clubs in Clinton, two were studied rather extensively for the purpose of making comparisons between them and trying to decide what the nature and extent of the effect of social classes on these clubs appeared to be.

The Timely Topics Club was formed in 1934. The purpose of this organization was to "Be alive to the topics of the day, to promote fellowship among Clinton women of kindred interests and work together for the upbuilding of ourselves and our community."

Originality and creativeness were stressed in the early days of this club. Each member was required to answer roll call with a timely item of news - therefore the name "Timely Topics."

During the year 1941, the major interest of this club was the progress of the Anderson County Library. The library, which had started from a collection of books gotten together by a group called the "Literary Club," had developed very slowly during the course of several years. The Timely Topics Club, Civitan Club, and individuals had given money to keep the library going. In 1941, through the efforts of the Timely Topics Club, funds were received through the Tennessee Valley Authority to employ a full-time librarian and to develop the library itself.¹

This club has also been interested in sponsoring the training of young women in nursing school education and in organizing and sponsoring the Clinton Girl Scouts. These interests have been sustained throughout the years. In 1946 the flower study group was initiated. Interest in growing and arranging flowers has continued since that time, and there are now two study groups. Flower shows open to the public have been sponsored by the groups. The public interest in these shows has been exemplified by the large attendance of the citizens of the Town of Clinton.

Projects which have been carried out during the last two years by the Timely Topics Club include buying of draperies and upholstered chairs for the library, buying of blackout shades for the Recreation Buildings, and sponsoring the yearly poetry contest in the city schools. The club has also contributed to local drives for money for charitable uses and to the work of restoring an old cemetery in the southern part of the town.

¹Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, Civic Club Section, p. 3.

The effect of the activities of this club on the community life has not always been favorable. In the first place, the members of the club during its early days of existence were apparently carefully selected from what might be called the upper middle social class. The result was that people who were not in that social class simply were not invited to membership in the club.

The leaders of this club have been accused of using whatever prestige the club might have had to further their own social positions. This was, of course, not considered as a worthwhile effort by those whose social standing did not measure up to eligibility for membership in the club.

The engagement of the Timely Topics Club in activities that were supposed to be for the general benefit and betterment of the community was noble in character, but the influence of social classes appeared to be evident in practically all they undertook.

In recent years this situation seems to have changed somewhat. However, the pressure of social classes still permeates the activities of this club, even though a more democratic spirit is evident in the attitudes of some who have been members in recent years.

The Business and Professional Women's Club of Clinton was chartered in 1947. Since it was organized, this club has cooperated with other civic organizations and community services by furnishing representatives on the Red Cross Board, Cancer Society Board,

Daniel Arthur Cerebral Palsy Center, Anderson County Community Improvement Fair Association, Clinton Board Committee, Girl Scouts, and Civil Defense. Two members of the club are first aid instructors, and they have taught a first aid class in the club.

Through the years, the club has participated in a number of community projects, including March of Dimes, Red Cross, Cancer, Heart, and TB Christmas Seal campaigns. The club has made an annual contribution of fifty dollars to supplement state aid for dental care of indigent school children in the Clinton schools and has contributed five dollars per month during the school term to the Cerebral Palsy Center in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

The objectives of the Business and Professional Women's Club are to elevate the standards for women in business and in the professions, to promote the interests of business and professional women, to bring about a spirit of cooperation among business and professional women of the United States, to extend opportunities to business and professional women through education along lines of industrial, scientific and vocational activities.²

A study of the membership of this club revealed that the members were, for the most part, from what might be called the middle-middle class of society. They are accepted by the younger, and less class-conscious, people of the community as an organization that is worth something to the community.

A comparison of the latter two clubs mentioned above was made and it was found that they differ in many respects. Members of the Timely Topics Club are, for the most part, descendants from the original

²Clinton Courier-News, p. 2

class-conscious families that were responsible for the founding of the Town of Clinton. Their social prestige has kept them in a class that has not changed much during the last one hundred and fifty years. Conversely, members of the Business and Professional Women's Club appear to come from a more heterogeneous, and less class-conscious, group that is more cosmopolitan in nature.

As a consequence of these differences, it was determined that the women's clubs in the community are affected by social classes much more than most of the members of the clubs realize. It was apparent that there was little cooperation between them, and each of the two clubs seemed to cater to the social class of which the members were a part.

CHAPTER VIII

EXPANSION AS THE NATURAL TREND OF THE COMMUNITY

The Town of Clinton actually became a reality on November 6, 1801, when the Tennessee State Legislature authorized the establishment of Anderson County and designated a place for the town to be placed.

The commissioners who were appointed by the legislature were authorized to lay out the town with the necessary streets and alleys. The new town was named Burrville in honor of the then popular Aaron Burr. When Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel and later became involved in a plot to establish a separate government west of the Mississippi he was discredited. The people of Burrville then asked the Legislature in 1809 to change the name of the town to Clinton.

The commissioners who were appointed in 1801, following their legislative instructions, purchased the site of the town from Mr. John Leach, a German immigrant. Forty acres of ground were bought from Mr. Leach for five hundred dollars. Town lots were then sold at about five dollars each to pay for the erection of the courthouse, jail and stocks.

By 1825, the population had grown to one hundred fifty, and until 1884 it stayed under four hundred. From 1884 to 1889, the population increased to more than fourteen hundred. After much agitation, the Town of Clinton was incorporated on November 10, 1890. The original charter was amended in 1903 and several times since then, the last revision being in 1947.¹

¹Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, History and Government Section, p. 1.

The first charter provided for a mayor, six aldermen, a clerk of the board, a marshal, and an assistant marshal. The immediate problems were law enforcement and the need for streets, both of which were brought about by the sudden growth immediately preceding incorporation. The new Board of Mayor and Aldermen immediately passed ordinances designed to clean up the law violations and authorize mending of the streets.

Installation of utilities, in the form of electric power, water and sewer service, followed in due time. The Town of Clinton continued to grow, and new facilities were added as the need arose.

In 1905, the entire business block of the Town of Clinton was destroyed by fire. The buildings were soon replaced. In 1906, an electric power plant was completed and eleven new street lights were installed. In the same year, the opening of Magnet Mills, Inc. took place. This industry did more than any other toward the development of Clinton. In 1908, fire again consumed the business section of the town, destroying seventeen business houses and fourteen residences. At a special meeting of the city council, an ordinance was passed which forbade the building of permanent wooden structures in the fifth district, which included Depot Street, the business section of the town. By 1912, the town had overcome the effects of the second fire.²

In 1917, an addition was built to the high school at a cost of twenty-seven thousand dollars. In 1925, bonds of the following amounts were voted by the city: for a new water plant, one hundred five thousand dollars; for sewers, sixty thousand dollars; for a high school building, seventy-five thousand dollars.

²Clinton Courier-News, p. 1.

During 1926 and 1927, the following improvements were made:
a high school building at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars;
water works and sewer at a cost of one hundred seventy thousand dollars;
Dixie highway paving at a cost of two hundred twenty-five thousand
dollars.

The establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority brought to Clinton an extensive source of cheap electric power. The result was that the Clinton Power Commission greatly extended their transmission lines in Clinton and the surrounding area. Bought in 1939 at a cost of three hundred thousand dollars the Clinton Power Commission has grown to a property whose plant in service represented an investment of almost three million dollars as of July 31, 1955. The operations of the power commission are housed in one of the most modern public utility buildings found in east Tennessee. The Commission also maintains a fleet of rolling stock to provide prompt maintenance and repair service.

The Town of Clinton grew slowly to a little less than two thousand people by 1930. In 1928, seventy-five thousand dollars was spent on the first street paving program. By 1950, the Federal census showed a population of three thousand seven hundred twelve, not counting the thickly populated urban area around the corporate limits in which there was approximately fifteen hundred people.³

In 1947, further improvements were made in the streets, and a paving program during the summer of 1955 resulted in surfacing all of the existing unpaved streets inside the corporate limits.

³U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 14.

Additions designed to keep pace with the growth of the town have been made since the water and sewer systems were installed, but major improvements were made in 1955 for the first time in many years. Until 1955, the town depended upon springs for its water supply. The increase in population and the corresponding increase in the demand for water became a problem of major importance. Also, the State of Tennessee finally forbade the town the privilege of emptying raw sewage into the Clinch River. As a consequence, a new water filtration plant was constructed on the Clinch River and a new sewage disposal plant was built in 1955. Together, these two projects cost six hundred seventy-five thousand dollars.

In June of 1955, a large area was added to the corporate limits, bringing into the city an increase of over five hundred people. City services to this area include only electric power and street maintenance at the present.

Thus, the Town of Clinton and the area surrounding it have grown from a population of less than one hundred fifty in 1805 to more than five thousand in 1955. Although this has not been a phenomenal growth when compared to the rate of increase in some of the larger cities of Tennessee and of other states, it brought about problems relative to city management and control that were typical of the average community in Tennessee of which an incorporated town is the center.

The city council has been criticised very severely at times because it was claimed that they favored the sections of town where most of the more wealthy people lived. Also, it was claimed that the assessments for tax purposes were too low on the more expensive houses and too high on the

less expensive. At times, it appeared that there was very great interest taken in the elections of city officials. Until about 1940, the upper classes of society in the town had apparently kept the business of the town under their control. The middle classes were forced to favor the upper classes in order to reap the benefits of a city government. As a consequence, the Board of Mayor and Aldermen was made up chiefly of representatives of the upper classes. Because of this situation, the action of the town council was deliberate, conservative and in accordance with the wishes of the upper classes. Progress was comparatively slow, the people of the town who were in control did not greatly favor expansion of the limits of the corporation, industries were not encouraged to come to Clinton, and the people did not seem to care about having strange people come into the community. Life went on much in the same manner, it seems, for a period of one hundred and thirty-five years.

From 1940 to 1955, with the coming of World War II and of the city of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and the influx of people from all parts of the country, the Town of Clinton took on a new aspect. All available houses in Clinton were rented or bought, mostly by people who were of the middle classes of society. New houses were built, both inside and outside of the corporate limits of Clinton. The population of the community increased rapidly during this period. The effect of this increase was noticeable in the business establishments, the churches, the schools, and in the need for expansion of the Town of Clinton.

As a result of this situation, the corporate limits were increased very noticeably in June of 1955, as was referred to earlier in this writing. Development of this newly annexed area has come about slowly. The town is now furnishing free garbage removal, and the streets were surfaced in 1955. Water and sewage disposal services have not yet been furnished, but these facilities are now available and they will no doubt be offered to the people in this area when the demand becomes great enough.

A study of the actions of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of Clinton was made for the purpose of determining how well they represented the people of the town. Also, there was an attempt made to determine what was the extent of interest taken in city governmental affairs by the people. Until 1940, the Board of Mayor and Aldermen had apparently acted as a compact unit without much participation on the part of the people. After 1940, it appeared that the people began to take more interest in town council meetings. Also, there was more interest shown in the elections of mayors and aldermen. The result was that the Board of Mayor and Aldermen has become much more representative of the people. During the year 1955 there were several meetings of the town council that were attended by the people of the town for the purpose of demanding that they be heard by the council concerning problems of legislation that were before the council. At one particular meeting in 1955 when a question as to legislation concerning the sale of beer in the Town of Clinton was under consideration, there were more than one hundred people in attendance. These people, who were interested in the government of

their town were heard if they wished to speak, and the Board of Mayor and Aldermen deferred action on the subject until they had obtained the consensus of opinion of the people who had let their desires be known. This was a specific example of democratic procedure of a governing body that resulted in the wishes of a comparatively large representative body of people being written into law.

The people who have been most interested in the government of the Town of Clinton in recent years were mostly from the middle classes of society. Again, the traditionary control that was exercised by the upper classes for more than fifty years finally gave way to a more democratic form of government. This transition has not been rapid, nor has it yet been completely accomplished. But, the trend was clearly defined, in that the pressure and influences of the middle classes were definitely being felt.

CHAPTER IX

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASSES ON THE SCHOOLS OF THE COMMUNITY

Schools in the community, during the period before 1825, were woefully inefficient. The State of Tennessee gave but little aid to education. In 1806 provisions were made for securing college, academy, and free school funds from the sale of public lands, but the scheme was not carried out successfully. One method used was the "pay school," by which method the parents of school children paid to the teacher a certain amount for each child who attended the school. The curriculum of such schools generally consisted of what is commonly called the three R's: "Readin, 'ritin', and 'rithmetic." School was always held in the church house. If there were no church in the community, a rude log building was erected. Oftentimes there was no floor or fireplace in the building. A fire was built in the center of the room, with the smoke escaping through the roof.¹ The more well-to-do class sometimes hired private instructors for their children, but there were few families in Anderson County prior to 1825, who were in a financial position to do this.

By an act of the Tennessee Legislature in 1806, there was established the first real school in the community. Messrs. Arthur Crozier, Benjamin C. Parker, Jesse Roysten, Hugh Barton, and Samuel Frost were made trustees of Union Academy at Clinton. In 1813 an act of the Tennessee Legislature authorized the drawing of a lottery for the benefit of the new academy, but there were no records available to show that the lottery was ever drawn. The fact that during this early period few boys

¹Knoxville Whig, March 23, 1869, p. 3.

and girls received a higher education, had a marked influence on the social life of the community.²

Before 1825, there was little social class distinction in the community. The people dressed almost alike. During the summer months the women and children, and in many cases the men, went barefooted. Their clothing was of homespun cloth or well-dressed deer skin. Their homes were very much alike. The homes of a few, who were in the more well-to-do class, were the only exception. Instead of the rough hewn one-room log cabin, they built two cabins side by side, and they usually connected them by one roof. One of the cabins, called the "little house," was used as a kitchen and dining room. The other cabin, called the "big house," was used as a living room and bed room. There was usually a loft in which the children slept.

Social gatherings were always for the whole community. When a man wished to build a house or barn, he would notch and hew the logs, then invite his neighbors to a house or barn "raising." In less than one day the structure was usually completed. Very often if some member of the community were ill, the men would gather upon some appointed day and hoe his corn or harvest his wheat for him. "Corn shuckings" were frequently held in the fall. Upon such occasions, when the husk had been removed from the corn, the debris was moved away and the young people joined in the square dance, upon the barn floor. Thus the origin of what is known today as a barn dance. If there were any objections to dancing, games were played instead.

²R. Clifford Seeber, "A History of Anderson County, Tennessee" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of History, The University of Tennessee, August, 1928), p. 10.

While the customs and conventions of this early period appear to have been somewhat narrow and confining, they had a far-reaching influence upon the later development of the community. When the people missed the frequent social contacts which later developed, they made up for it by a splendid home life. The family was the social unit within itself. Where the boys failed to receive an education from books, they succeeded in learning from practical experience. The hoe, the scythe, and the pitchfork took the place of English, Latin, and History in the early training of the boys of this period. Many of the boys who grew up during this period and received little or no education became leading state and even national figures in the next forty years. Anderson County boasted of more prominent men in the period from 1825 to the Civil War than any other equal period of time in her history.

The school system of Anderson County failed to keep pace with the economic development after 1825. Before 1834, the common school system of Tennessee was looked upon by most of the people as a pauper system. The few common schools that were established were not properly supervised. Only an oral examination was required of teachers, while the course of study was exceedingly limited. From about 1854 to the Civil War, there was a growing sentiment in favor of good schools in Anderson County. The best school in the county during this period was Union Academy at Clinton. It had been chartered in 1806, but was evidently not put into operation for several years, probably not before 1820. This school had no set course of study. Any good book might be used as a text, provided the instructor was able to teach it. No diploma or certificate was given to those who finished the course offered. When students had completed the course they wished to pursue, they merely stopped attending the school.

In 1851, the ten trustees of Union Academy were made a permanent board. Three members of the board were empowered to employ teachers, fix their salaries, determine the cost of tuition, and decide on other financial matters relative to the academy. Mr. Milton Tate was evidently chairman of this committee, since it was evident that he virtually controlled the school for many years. Dissension arose in the school, which resulted in the Baptists, under the leadership of Major John Jarnigan, breaking away in 1845 and establishing a Baptist Seminary near Union Academy. In 1847, the seminary was incorporated, with seven of the most prominent men in the community being named as trustees. It was stated in the act of incorporation that no religious tests were to be applied in hiring a teacher.

The rivalry between the two schools was intense and bitter. For instance Major John Jarnigan, who operated a hotel in Clinton, furnished rooms and board to students at fifty cents per week, providing they would attend Clinton Seminary instead of the Methodist school, Union Academy.

The manners and customs of the people of Anderson County had changed somewhat from those of the earlier period. Between 1830 and 1840, several families of the aristocratic type came into the community, thereby creating a new element in the social system of that time. After 1840, the community was in many respects like the older settlements in Virginia and North Carolina. Schools, churches, roads, courthouses, jails, manufacturing organizations, stores, and good homes were beginning to supplement, in a small way, the more primitive aspects of life.

There was some improvement in the school situation between 1840 and the Civil War, and from the close of the war to 1900. But, even in 1900,

the school situation was still very primitive. In 1868, Mr. Charles D. McGuffey, a nephew of the author of the famous McGuffey's Reader, became superintendent of the public schools in Anderson County. The school system was without organization and without funds. An example of the attitude which some of the people took toward school affairs may be seen from an incident that occurred in the New River district. A patron, upon being dissatisfied with the location of the school house, declared that he would not send a single scholar but would draw the eight dollars he calculated would be due his four children and put it in his pocket. This, of course, was more extreme than typical of the general attitude of the people toward school affairs.

The county school superintendent examined each teacher orally. If they passed the examination, they were granted a certificate to teach, written by the superintendent on legal cap paper. Free schools were run by directors for each district or community. Very often the director would be forced to furnish most of the material and labor in building the school house, in keeping it repaired, and in buying school supplies, without compensation. The salaries of teachers were very meager, generally from eight to twelve dollars per month. Very often the teachers would be forced to wait until taxes were collected in February or March to get their salaries for teaching during the autumn before. In order to create an interest in school affairs, the superintendent would very often call a meeting of citizens and discuss with them the school situation in the county.³

³Clinton Gazette, October 31, 1891, p. 1.

A typical meeting of this kind was held in 1873 for the purpose of drawing up uniform rules, regulations, and bylaws for the general government of schools. A lengthy debate took place in this meeting concerning one of the rules which proposed to have a separate playground for boys and girls. A compromise was effected by inserting the rule that good, orderly conduct would be enforced on the playground. The question of good schools was continually agitated. Everyone wanted good schools, but the county was unable to finance the movement.

As late as 1890, there were only a few free schools in the county which taught classes beyond the third grade. Few students studied anything except reading, writing, arithmetic and spelling. Another unfortunate characteristic was the lack of consolidation and uniformity in the school system. In each district or community, there were generally from three to six one-room schools, which except for the most rudimentary branches had a widely varied curriculum. A good example of this was the Oliver Springs Community in which there were six schools, namely a private and select school in which there were only thirty students described as being an elegant crowd of young folks, a private school in Roane Academy the purpose of which was especially to prepare boys and girls for college, a public school taught in Anderson County Academy, a free school at Middle Creek, a colored school held in the Methodist Church, and a colored school in the Baptist Church. In all of these six schools, there was an enrollment of only about three hundred students.

The average free school term was for four to four and one-half months, except in the mining communities where the coal companies deducted a certain amount from the wages of each man for the support of the school.

In many of these communities there was a ten-month school term. In 1892, it was voted to establish a uniform five-month school term for the entire county.⁴

An educational project of this period which, despite its failure, is worthy of mention was the attempt on the part of Pellissippi Lodge No. 73 of the Knights of Pythias to establish a non-sectarian college at Clinton. The buildings were to have cost seventy-five thousand dollars, of which amount ten or fifteen thousand dollars were to be raised in Anderson County. The school was chartered under the name of Pellissippi College. The foundations for the main building were laid, but the panic of 1893-1894 caused operations to be suspended. Work on the structure was never resumed, and finally the whole scheme was abandoned.

In 1915, the county court of Anderson County issued bonds in the amount of fifty thousand dollars for schools. In 1925 and 1926 four hundred thousand dollars worth of bonds were issued for school and road purposes. Agitation for an improved school system went hand in hand with the movement which advocated good roads. The chief needs of the schools were consolidation, a county board of education, modern buildings, and a longer free school term. In 1911, the county school superintendent reported that there were seventy-one schools in Anderson County. Fifty-four of these schools had one teacher each, while fourteen had two teachers.

In 1915, the county built, or assisted the various communities in building, twelve new brick school houses. Each of these new buildings served the purpose of two or more one-room or two-room school buildings. To carry out the plan of consolidation, wagons were furnished to transport

⁴Clinton Gazette, August 11, 1892, p. 1.

children living more than two miles from the new school house. This system, however, was only a partial success due to bad roads, which hindered transportation of pupils, and unwise selection of the locations for the new buildings.

The cost of erecting new buildings and paying for the transportation of students depleted the school funds of the county. For two or three years, the free school term was limited to three or four months. By 1919, the county was able to lengthen its school term to six months. In 1928, there was established an eight month term in all schools in the county, although the school authorities had found it expedient to reopen several of the one and two room school houses. The county board of education, which was provided for in 1907, did not function during the period to 1920 as effectually as many citizens had hoped it would. Some of its members who were apparently actuated more or less by selfish motives, acted according to political expediency or personal interests, rather than for the best interests of the school system. Some of the members of the school board had very little knowledge of the school situation in the various districts of the county, and a few of them apparently knew very little about the situation in the district which they represented.⁵

Steady progress was made in the school system of Anderson County following World War I. During the period to 1955 the total enrollment of elementary students was increased to six thousand one hundred thirty, and the high school enrollment in the county reached fifteen hundred and eighty.

⁵R. Clifford Seeber, "A History of Anderson County, Tennessee" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of History, The University of Tennessee, August, 1928), p. 99.

Modern consolidated school districts have been set up and many new and modern buildings have been erected. There were in 1955 twenty-seven elementary schools and three high schools in Anderson County.

During World War II, the influx of people from all parts of the world created a situation that was somewhat different from that of the period preceding 1941. A crowded condition developed in the schools of Clinton and the nearby communities. The result was that it was necessary for the county to erect many new school buildings, make additions to buildings already in existence, and cope with an overcrowded situation in many of the county schools.

This crowded condition still exists, but by the whole-hearted and efficient work of the county school superintendent, and of the board of education, patron organizations and the county court, it has been alleviated to a great extent. The masses of people, who are predominately of the middle class seem to be community minded and eager to give aid to the school system.

Since the community that was studied in particular was the Town of Clinton and the area immediately surrounding it, this effort was narrowed in its scope somewhat. It was thought best to first consider all of Anderson County from the standpoint of school systems and then center the effort on the one community that was under special consideration.

The first Board of Education for the Town of Clinton was authorized February 1, 1895. It was to consist of three members, all of whom were to be qualified voters of the town. They could not be elected to the Board of Education while holding any other office in the town. Terms of the members were set at three years with one member to be elected before July 1 each year.

The Board of Education of Clinton was given authority to operate the schools of the town, provide buildings and equipment, employ teachers, and do all other acts necessary and incidental thereto.

The first members of the Board of Education, elected in March, 1895, were Messrs. T. E. Meehan, S. B. Hall and J. W. Jarnigan. All three of these were from the more aristocratic families in Clinton at the time. To provide funds for the schools, the Board of Mayor and Aldermen revised the 1895 budget to include \$600,000.00 for education.⁶ One elementary school was erected as the original Clinton Elementary School. The high school that is located within the limits of the Town of Clinton has always been operated by the county.

The city schools entered into an extensive enlargement program in 1954. The oldest and original city school building, located on Hicks Street, was remodeled and a new auditorium, part of a completely new school plant on the site envisioned for the future, was built in 1955.

Completed in 1955 was an entirely new school building in North Clinton where part of the school children of the city attend grades one through five.

The third building is the Green-McAdoo School for the negro children, where a new gymnasium was built in 1955.

There are now enrolled in the city schools of Clinton eight hundred fifty students. The city does not furnish transportation for the school children. During recent years, children who lived outside the corporate limits of Clinton have been required to pay a small tuition fee for the privilege of going to school in the city system. It was noted that some

⁶Clinton Courier-News, October 6, 1955, Magnet Mills Section, p. 7.

children, who lived much nearer to the county school in their district than to the Clinton city school, were attending school in Clinton.

Inquiry into this situation seemed to result in an indication that the parents of these children considered the county school as having less prestige and a lower social rating than did the city schools. Consequently, the extra expense in the form of tuition and transportation was considered well spent and offset by the social advantages gained by the child while in the city schools.

Children from all classes of society in the community attended the county elementary schools together, even though the patrons of the schools were divided into certain social classes. Since the majority of people in the community were in the middle class, the schools were supported by this group more than by those in the higher social classes. Thus, the effect of control by the middle class in the schools.

Finally, since the high school in the community, Clinton High School, is in the limits of the Town of Clinton but operated by Anderson County, students from both the county and city schools enter the same high school and become a cosmopolitan group that is not definitely divided into social classes. The influence of training on students who came from the more aristocratic and class-conscious families seemed to be felt to some extent, but students who came from middle class families were by far in the majority. Therefore, social class distinctions apparently had been broken down, and a more democratic spirit of the majority had assumed responsibility for a leveling influence on all of the high school students.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

The effort put forth in making this study has resulted in a revelation as to existing conditions and situations that have been brought about by the influences and pressures of social classes in a community that is apparently typical of American society as a whole. As a free people, we are shackled by, and we are virtual slaves to, the laws and rules by which our freedom was established.

The effect of social classes on the community that was studied was far-reaching and significant. Few of the people who live in the community seemed to realize, or to recognize, that they were divided into social classes. That which appeared to be tolerance of, and respect for, other people often was actually opposition to those who were in a social class that was different from the social status the particular person was attempting to maintain.

In all activities of the community, of which the sum is the very life of the people involved, the influences exerted by social classes were significant. One very interesting conclusion that was reached was that the people in the community do not realize that traditionary family prestige, the influences of wealth and position, the achievements of ancestors who have long since departed from this life, and the progress made by generations who are now living, have a bearing on the community life that results in a rather definite segregation of the people into social classes.

An attempt to categorize social classes in this community resulted in a designation of the following divisions. About eighty percent of the people in the community belonged to the middle class. This class was further subdivided as follows--twenty-five percent in the lower-middle class, forty percent in the middle-middle class, and fifteen percent in the upper-middle class. Fifteen percent were in the lower class, which was divided as ten percent in the upper-lower class, and five percent in the middle-lower class. The remaining five percent were in the upper class. Some of these were in the middle-upper class, but the majority of them were in the lower-upper class.

The above divisions into social classes are based on observation and study of the entire community. It is not claimed that this is an authentic conclusion that is based on actual statistics, scientific facts or opinion of an authority. On the contrary, it is the decision reached by one who has studied the people more than he has studied the written material that is available on the subject of social classes and their influence on the people. This method of gathering information was necessary, in this case, because of the limited amount of written history available concerning the community of which the Town of Clinton is a part. The value of written material that was available is recognized, and the response of people with whom conversations were engaged in has been of great worth in this effort.

The influx of people into the community due to the coming of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1935 and Oak Ridge in 1943 apparently had a decided influence on the constituency of social class categories.

The trend appeared to be toward an increase in the number of people in the middle class of society. This trend resulted in a decrease in the controlling power and influence of the upper class. Gradually, it seems, the weight of the middle class has increased in influencing decisions and actions that have affected all phases of the community life. Traditional prestige of the upper class has given way to what is supposedly a more democratic rule by the middle class.

No decision was reached as to what is true democracy or true democratic rule or control. Action by the masses of people, so far as government by the people is concerned, often results in rule by the few who are political and social bosses. That which is seemingly a cosmopolitan group of people is often a group affected by social classes more than the people involved realize. Even though we live in a country that is free and democratic, so far as the masses of people are concerned, there are nevertheless many things due to social class distinctions that place restrictions and limitations on the people involved. These restrictions and limitations usually have a direct bearing on the community, including all of the people within its confines. A supposedly free people are actually limited in their opportunity and power to exercise the freedom that the Constitution of the United States sets forth as a heritage of those who live within its jurisdiction.

Freedom, then, is a relative thing. Society is made up of the masses of people, but the masses are divided against each other to a certain extent. Rivalry and competition foster progress of a free people. This results in seeming differences and contention between social classes.

But, such differences usually result in satisfaction for the majority of the people, provided the action taken by the people is democratic in nature, and the people involved are willing to allow the majority to rule. Even though, in some cases, the individual does not belong to the ranks of the majority, he is privileged to enjoy the advantages that a democratic society determines are his to enjoy.

Therefore, our democratic society is not made up of people who may be placed in a particular class of society, simply because of individual differences in human beings. All human beings are alike in some respects, but the right to enjoy equal economic, religious, judicial and social opportunities does not mean that all people will take advantage of these opportunities alike.

The community that was studied in this effort was typical of the average American community. It was found that the people are divided into social classes, whatever be the categories they might be placed in. Also, it was found that these social classes exert a great deal of influence on the way of life of the people in the community. Finally, it was determined that the majority of the people did not seem to realize how much the community was affected by social classes, and, furthermore, they had not been much disturbed nor hindered by these social classes in their efforts to live a normal life.

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