

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by L. Janice Campbell entitled "A Therapeutic Approach to Education: An Ethnographic Analysis of Friendsville Academy, a Quaker Middle and Secondary School." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

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A THERAPEUTIC APPROACH TO EDUCATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC
ANALYSIS OF FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY, A QUAKER
MIDDLE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the therapeutic approach to education which was instituted at Friendsville Academy in Friendsville, Tennessee, between the years 1970 and 1973. This particular approach was oriented toward helping children of middle and secondary school age to resolve their emotional conflicts which often put them at odds with their families, their communities, their teachers, and, in some cases, the law. Their problems ranged from drug addiction and sexual promiscuity to disruptive behavior.

Friendsville Academy is a Quaker school, historically supported and directed by the local Quaker Church. During the administration between 1970 and 1973, the school had little association with the Quaker Church, but was founded on the Quaker principles of "community" and "family." The Academy's headmaster during these years, Arthur Masker, attempted to create a sense of "community" spirit and "familial" reinforcement to the above students. It was his feeling that removal from the home environment would alleviate many of the pressures on the troubled students, but that removal had to be accompanied by such reinforcing agents as a surrogate "community" and "family."

One of the major failures of this therapeutic program was the lack of a knowledgeable and cooperative effort by staff, administration, students, parents, and the local town. This thesis intends to describe, through ethnographic data, the structure of the academic community at the Academy. It also intends to show that without a cooperative and knowledgeable effort by the above-mentioned parties, it is impossible to establish a school as a "community" and a "family," while, at the same time, maintaining academic integrity.

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PART . I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH

This thesis proposes that a departure from traditional formal education in the United States requires a cooperative and knowledgable effort on the part of school administrators, staff, students, parents, and the local town if the program is to accomplish the educational objectives on which it is designed. I have defined traditional education as being primarily fact-oriented. Traditional education can be distinguished from progressive education which I believe to be oriented toward innovation in the instruction of facts and the learning process. The primary objective of this thesis is to provide a descriptive analysis of Friendsville Academy, a Quaker middle and secondary boarding school located in Friendsville, Tennessee, in Blount County. This thesis concentrates on the therapeutic approach to education which was instituted at the Academy in 1970 under the direction of the headmaster. The therapeutic program was a departure from both traditional and progressive educations, as I have defined them, in that the therapeutic approach was student-centered. This particular approach was an attempt to create a sense of "community" spirit and familial reinforcement for students whose lack of an emotionally adequate homelife led

them to seek alternative means of emotional satisfaction which generated conflict with their families, their communities, their teachers, and, in some cases, the law. Between the years 1970 and 1973, much controversy surrounded the direction of the Academy and the orientation toward a therapeutic approach. As will be discussed later, a lack of communication between the Academy's headmaster and the Academy staff, students, and local town disallowed a knowledgeable and cooperative effort to successfully incorporate therapeutic education.

A principle focus of this thesis is on the extent to which a school can provide an atmosphere of "community" and "family" and also maintain academic integrity. The question will be examined by investigation into five areas: (1) the nature of Quaker education and Quakerism in Friendsville; (2) the history and development of the Academy; (3) the setting of the Academy, including the influence and attitudes of the local town people; (4) the type of students served by the Academy, their backgrounds, problems and educational needs; (5) the capacity of the staff to provide academic instruction as well as a sense of "community" and "family," and their ability to keep clear the distinctions between these facets.

The research for this study is based on the extensive fieldwork carried out from 1971 to 1974, by undergraduate and

graduate students of The University of Tennessee under the direction of Dr. Harry M. Lindquist. I was a participant in the project from March 1972, until June 1973, and assisted Dr. Lindquist and his students in supplementary inquiry during 1973 and 1974. The data consist of taped transcripts and untaped interviews with the students and staff at the Academy, and a survey of the attitudes in the town of Friendsville toward the Academy. The gathering of descriptive details through interviews and directed conversations was supplemented by participant/observation in the life and activities of the Academy "community" by the author.

The survey of the town of Friendsville was carried out in April, 1972. An area which included 182 homes was divided among University of Tennessee students enrolled in Applied Anthropology. A questionnaire containing 32 questions was the primary investigatory tool (Appendix B). The results of this study were then compiled and cross-referenced by computer analysis. The possibility of bias in the results was minimized in three ways: (1) the questions were phrased to be as neutral as possible, including a balance of questions which would lend themselves to both positive and negative responses; (2) students were instructed not to offer any personal opinions with regard to the Academy or the local community; (3) any ambiguous responses were coded as "mixed" or "other," etc. (Lindquist, 1972). Results from this study

were intended to provide background data for decisions on the directions which the Academy might take in the future and, further, to eliminate any confusion as to how the people of the town of Friendsville felt about the Academy, students, staff, policies, and potential.

Taped interviews with the Academy's students were carried out from December 1971 until June 1974 by Dr. Lindquist and his students. The students, enrolled in Graduate Research and Readings in Anthropology at The University of Tennessee, were given an outline of questions by which to conduct the interviews. Although it was not always possible or productive to follow the outline precisely, the interviewers were able to obtain information in the areas of background, parental relations, prior school experience, drug and sex experience, feelings concerning the Academy's strengths and weaknesses, the staff, the other students, and the local town. The tapes were transcribed and assembled, but due to the lack of uniformity in interview techniques, a statistical analysis was not possible (see Chapter II, Disclaimer).

During the Academy's 1972-1973 school year, Dr. Lindquist distributed written questionnaires to the staff of the Academy (Appendix G). He received nine responses. There were 14 members on the staff, but only nine members of the staff returned their questionnaires. The questionnaires

contained questions regarding the teacher's background, academic qualifications, duties at the Academy, and general feelings toward the school, staff, students, and the local town. The results of the survey were compiled by this author.

The technical data obtained in the above surveys and the participant/observer method provides the primary information for the ethnographic description in this thesis and the subsequent analysis of the "community/family" approach of the therapeutic program of education at Friendsville Academy between 1970 and 1973.

CHAPTER II

DISCLAIMER

Due to the fragmentary nature of certain of this data, it is necessary to point out those areas in which I was unable to obtain adequate information.

The community survey of Friendsville, Tennessee, was conducted by University of Tennessee students enrolled in Anthropology classes. The students worked individually or in teams of two or three. The interview times varied with each student depending upon student class schedules and transportation from Knoxville to Friendsville. The length of each interview varied, depending upon the respondent's willingness to be interviewed. In some cases the respondent preferred to fill in his/her own questionnaire, in others the students had to ask the questions and record the answers, and in a few cases the respondent requested the interviewer not record any answers. In this latter case the interviewer tried to recall the respondent's answers once he/she left the interview.

The survey of Academy students was also carried out by University of Tennessee students who used a tape recorder as the primary investigatory tool. A prepared question outline (Appendix H) enabled the interviewers to

direct questions toward certain areas. Each interviewer differed in technique of interviewing. Some interviewers simply asked the questions as they appeared on the outline while others approached the interview in a casual conversational manner. Consequently, the questions were rarely asked in identical order, and the context in which each question appeared varied with each interview. An attempt was made to follow up on the students by questions and letters sent to home addresses in December of 1973. I had no formal listing of forwarding addresses for all the students, but I did obtain 20 recent addresses included in a Christmas (1973) newsletter sent out by Arthur Masker and his family. Only one student replied (Condra). I have no knowledge as to whether the others received the letters.

Information regarding the staff's qualifications was not obtained beyond the type of degree (B.A., B.S., M.A.) and the university from which the degree was earned. There are no obtainable records on the staff's major areas of study. Further, the exact ages of the staff were not requested and could only be approximated in this thesis.

I was unable to obtain extensive information regarding the Academy Board of Trustees. The information offered by Masker was obviously biased by his personal feelings on the Board's interest and involvement with the school. Interviews were not made of individual Board members who

served during the 1970-1973 administration. The number on the Board usually averaged ten members, but this figure often varied as some members became less active or resigned and their positions were not immediately filled.

Friendsville Academy did require payments for tuition and board during Masker's administration, but the exact figure is unknown. According to fragmentary correspondence found in the Academy student files, total yearly payments approximated \$2,000.

In the thesis mention is made of incidents when students were involved in sexual encounters and other morally concerned situations. The exact circumstances of these incidents cannot be printed for another three years. Dr. Lindquist assured the Academy students that any morally related incidents would remain unpublished for five years from the interview time.

This thesis was not written until one year after Masker resigned. Since his resignation the Academy has undergone changes in orientation, student enrollment, and administration. There have been two separate and new administrations since September 1973. Because of my close association with the Masker administration, it was difficult to obtain access to the files during these more recent administrations. During the course of writing this thesis, certain questions which could have been valuable to the descriptive

analysis arose, but I was unable at that time to procure the information.

CHAPTER III

IMPORT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

The justification for the inclusion of the study of education and educational processes within the scholarly discipline of Anthropology may be unclear to those only familiar with the discipline as a scientific study of human evolution, both biological and cultural. However, anthropological concerns with education are not new. Ethnographic studies have long included discussions of infancy, child training practices and other aspects of the life cycle of the people involved. Every adequate ethnography has included information about the means by which individuals acquire the skills, understanding, values, expectations and inhibitions which provide for adaptive membership in a given society (King 1967:19). The concept of education, formal and informal, as a universal transmitter of culture has been established by such notable anthropologists as Margaret Mead, Maria Montessori, Jules Henry, George Spindler, Anthony Wallace, Malcolm Collier, Fred Gearing, Murray Wax, and many others (King 1967:19). The most recent scholars who have studied educational institutions have been responsible for applying anthropological concepts to the educational processes in modern technological

societies as well as in the developing nations (King 1967:19).

The Council on Anthropology and Education, organized in 1969, resulted from anthropological interest in educational problems, practices and institutions (Singleton 1970:1). Anthropological studies in education have focused on methodology (Goodman 1971; Ianni 1971; Wolcott 1971), ethnic interests (Henry 1971; R. Wax 1967; Dumont and Wax 1969), the culture of the school (Saranson 1971; Littlefield 1970; Khlief 1971), and a number of other aspects. Recent investigations have delineated appropriate applicability of anthropological concepts to the study of education. It has been noted that anthropologists have not made the contributions to American education (and other cultures) that they could (Gearing 1971). Anthropologists can contribute to objective educational studies in comparative and critical analyses (Wax 1971). Murray Wax has commented that the anthropological approach to this study has distinctive qualities of being (1) comparative and historical; (2) contextual but concrete; and (3) oriented toward being a spokesman for the practices, problems and needs within various educational settings (Wax 1971:293).

There is a need in the newly organized subdiscipline of anthropology and education to obtain a body of

ethnographic materials from which scholars may draw in a continual effort to develop theoretical orientations and to contribute to the studies of education, singular and cross-cultural (Spindler 1971:1).

It is the hope of this author that the description and analysis of Friendsville Academy will add to that body of ethnographic data, and in particular to the study of therapeutically-oriented educational institutions.

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section is intended to review several areas of theoretical interest which bear upon the concept of education. It is not designed to exhaust the total bibliographic effort on education, but rather to cite relevant research most directly pertaining to the study of the organization and purpose of Friendsville Academy. First, it must be realized that education is the "knowledge development resulting from an educational process" (Webster 1973:263). John Ciltcott's article, "Anthropology and the Study of Education" (1967) points out that the process of education includes the acquisition of the tools with which the world can be apprehended symbolically. Education is a social process involving enculturation. It is therefore necessary to extend our definition of education beyond the formal school to recognize that the process of education, in the sense of prediction, learning and experiencing, goes on everywhere (Cohen 1971). The family, peer group, organizations, and the church are all influential factors in the development of knowledge. In the case of Friendsville Academy students, these factors often hindered their mental and emotional growth.

The extension of the definition of education requires investigating the learning which takes place within the school beyond the lectures, facts and homework. Bud B. Khlief's article (1971), "The School as a Small Society" is a review of the variety of groups, interests and social concepts involved in the school as a miniature society. He says it can be viewed as a treaty among unequals (Khlief 1971). There are the teachers and the taught, the administrators and the administrated, the leaders and the led, and so forth. The interaction of each group is a factor in the educational process and will, undoubtedly affect the performance, behavior and attitudes of the students. This point has been further discussed by Robert Dumont and Murray Wax in their observations of the intercultural exchange which takes place when these groups also reflect differences in cultural backgrounds (Dumont and Wax 1969). Their study focused on the interaction between American Indians and American whites, but the cultural variation is also applicable to classroom situations which mix classes, religions, and familial backgrounds as in the case of Friendsville Academy. Boarding students at the Academy were placed in a position of forced contact with people from very different backgrounds. One classroom might have hosted a middleclass, white, Catholic girl from the Midwest, a wealthy Jewish boy from New Jersey, a

lowerclass Black from New York, and a fundamentalist Protestant from East Tennessee. Any valid analysis of the educational process must include the exchange between various groups and the implications of this exchange on learning. Integration of cultures places the school in a prime position to influence social change (Gerberich 1967).

Jules Henry in his book Culture Against Man (1963) points out that there are possible deficiencies and problems in the socializing influence of education when the school sets limits of acceptable and unacceptable behavior on the student by a kind of academic brainwashing. The school has a responsibility to regulate negative behavior, but educators must not manipulate the minds of their students as if they were products on an assembly line. Part of education is learning to think as an individual. A teacher's greatest influence should be to encourage the student's thought based on a rational assessment of all of the facts. Murray Wax and Robert Dumont in their article "Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom" (1969) contend that the teacher need not abide by nor accept the norms and expectations of a student as long as he is willing to learn and to hear about them. The teachers at the Academy definitely did not accept nor abide by the many student norms and ideas, but there was an effort to understand the student's beliefs and feelings.

Recent and rapid technological advances in the United States have greatly affected the role of education. Otto Pollak, in his article "Cultural Pressures on Parenthood" (1971:108) cites four of these changes: (1) rapid decline in professionally supported ideas about child rearing; (2) decline in birth and death rates; (3) interchangeability of parental roles and between the sexes; (4) social development of statuses and roles of women in America. Two important realizations have resulted from these changes. First, much of the socializing process is reduced in intensity in the home because both parents work or at least are involved in their own activities. Entertainment and conversation is largely provided by mechanical stimulation, such as television, radio and movies. Secondly, ever since the post-World War II baby "boom," the small classroom situation has diminished. Much of the literature on education has stated that these changes have put a greater stress on the schools to perform responsibilities of enculturation once met by home, church and community (Edwards 1961:69-70). Though difficult, it is still hopeful that the large school can fulfill these responsibilities to satisfy the needs of most children. But what about the child whose emotional conflicts hinder his academic achievement? In this case, special individual attention, both intellectually and emotionally, is required

and the large school situation does not seem to have either the time nor the willingness to meet these needs. This is the void in education that Friendsville Academy, with its smallness and strong emphasis on community and family, was trying to fill.

Especially helpful for this analysis of Friendsville Academy was Leila Berg's book, Risinghill: Death of a Comprehensive School (1968). She gives an account of an experimental, state-supported school in which the attempts to succeed and the reasons for failure resemble many of the experiences at Friendsville Academy. The students at Risinghill also comprised a variant group, in this case, they were lower-class children whose parental economic disability resulted in social conditions encouraging delinquent behavioral problems from the point of view of the larger, more affluent communities. Like Arthur Masker, the Academy's headmaster, Risinghill's headmaster was organizing his academic program to help curb their delinquency and improve their outlook and behavior. In both cases, the schools were located in communities which did not comprehend the direction of their programs and this misunderstanding contributed to many problems in carrying out their academic objectives.

The disappearance of small classrooms and individual contact may create a need in education for special academic

programs to deal with emotionally troubled children whose personal problems prohibit or hinder their achievement in the large, public schools. The therapeutic approach at Friendsville Academy was aimed at the education of the students, both emotional and academic. Group interaction, cultural exchange, individual contact and mutual responsibilities were all part of the educational process at the Academy. Knowledge development went on in and out of the classroom, and, realizing this fact, the staff directed their efforts toward assuring the students of the acquisition of positive knowledge and experience and an understanding of the implications of negative and unproductive action.

As a private institution which recruited its students, Friendsville Academy was in a position to institute therapeutic education by recruiting those students with emotional conflicts which the academy staff believed they could help, thus limiting enrollment based on emotional needs.

The need for therapeutic education is definite, and the integration of "community" and "family" into the academic program is one method by which such schools can be established. The potential for successful application of such an approach can be partially measured by an examination of the structure and purpose of Friendsville Academy, and the impact it had on the students and staff.

PART II

ETHNOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

QUAKERISM IN THE UNITED STATES:

FRIENDSVILLE, TENNESSEE

Quakerism is derived primarily from the thoughts of George Fox, born in England in 1624. He emphasized the need for human beings to seek and to rely on an inner light in seeking the truth of God. Fox stressed the importance of moderation in all mannerisms and behavior. It is not intended here to provide a detailed historical description of the evolution of the Quaker Religion, or The Society of Friends, as they are also called, but rather to point out the internal structural differences within the Quaker religion in America and to locate the Quaker Church in Friendsville, Tennessee in that spectrum. (For further elaboration on the history and doctrinal nature of the Quakers, see Vipont 1954; Bronner 1966; Brinton 1952.)

The following discussion of Quakerism in America is taken from American Quakers Today, edited by Edwin B. Bronner (1966). Quakers have been somewhat divided in the United States since their first arrival in the 17th century. In the 17th century there were six distinct Yearly Meetings of Friends in the colonies. The Yearly Meeting was an annual meeting of local Quaker congregations. The difficulty

in mobility was the primary reason for establishing six meetings, located in New England, Philadelphia, New York, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas. The westward expansion of the 1800's brought with it an increase in the number of regional Yearly Meetings.

Although much of the division was geographic, there also developed schisms in religious response to political and religious change. Elias Hicks (1748-1830) became the leader of one group which desired change and deviation from the strict evangelical teachings. The evangelical Quakers opposed Hicks and his followers, denouncing them as supporters of dangerous teachings based on French Rationalism. Deeper divisions in the twentieth century resulted in a further breakdown of Yearly Meetings, this time into Monthly and Quarterly Meetings which were even more localized and provincial.

As of 1966, there were five branches of Quakerism in the United States--Friends United Meeting, Friends General Conference, Evangelical Friends Alliance, Conservative, and Unaffiliated. The Southeast is considered Unaffiliated. There are two reasons for their lack of affiliation, which simply means a lack of involvement with a Yearly Meeting: (1) most were too far from the site of the Yearly Meeting to make the trip (held in the Midwest) and (2) there was a feeling that the formal organization of

the Yearly Meeting was unnecessary to meet local or regional needs. These needs and business matters could be considered at regional Monthly or Quarterly Meetings.

The Friends Church in Friendsville, Tennessee, was established in 1808. (This discussion of the Friends Church in Friendsville is taken from The History of Blount County by Inez Burns 1957.) During the Civil War, the Quakers were Union supporters, often arranging for southern men to travel to the north if they preferred to fight for the northern cause. The church lost heavily during the war because of this sympathy: 165,000 gold value; 76 out of 96 horses; 2,852 bushels of corn; 1,586 bushels of oats and other items.

All of the Friends Churches in the area (exact number unknown to this author) remained strong from the late 1800's until 1915. The most outstanding members of the congregations were involved in the operation of Friends schools, including Friendsville Academy. In 1915, the Quaker schools suffered a decline and, subsequently so did the strength of the Friends Churches. In the late 1800's, there were three Quaker supported schools in Blount County, all of which had received financial aid from Philadelphia, New England or Indiana Friends. They were the Freedman's Institute which was organized in Maryville, Tennessee in 1867, to educate teachers for the Negro population;

Maryville Normal and Preparatory School which was built in Maryville in 1873 to educate teachers for isolated mountain areas; and Friendsville Academy. The Academy was the first Quaker supported school to be established in the area (1857) and its aim was to provide a scientific and religious education for Quaker and, eventually, non-Quaker children in the region of the Great Smoky Mountains. It did require tuition payments and later payments for room and board, but the amount was put on a graduated basis depending on need. The school was founded on the motto that no deserving child would be turned away.

An elaboration of Quaker doctrine is not necessary to appreciate the interest and concern of Friendsville area Quakers for promoting endeavors which served the good of humanity. They expressed a deep commitment to education (discussed in the following section) and, further, believed that peoples of all race, creed and religion were deserving of proper and adequate training.

Of the three original Friends schools in Blount County, only Friendsville Academy is still in operation. The school grounds are owned by the Board of Trustees which has traditionally been composed of members of the local Quaker Church. Support for its operation has come partially from the Quaker Church, a greater portion from tuition and room and board payments, and most recently,

from the sale of bonds (1974). During the late 1960's and early 1970's, Quaker involvement in the direct operation of the Academy has been more limited, with only active Board members and several church members showing visible participation. Although participation in the operation of the Academy is not extensive, the local Quakers have expressed interest and concern (Chapter III).

Business of the Quaker Church and religious concerns are still taken care of at Quarterly Meetings, held once every three months. During those meetings, area Quakers concern themselves with issues such as those that relate to Quaker schools and budgets, while enjoying the fellowship and inspiration of others.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL QUAKER PHILOSOPHY ON EDUCATION

The Quaker philosophy on education should rightly be associated with the founders of the faith and the first schools. Just as the various churches underwent changes and divisions, so did the schools adapt to regional differences. This section is a review of the original and fundamental aims of Quaker education as they were first outlined in the 18th century. Early Quakers were providing for a very strict religious education. As new ideas and norms became apparent, Quaker schools altered rigid rules and regulations.

Education was seen as an integrating process which involved continual growth. There were two aims of Quaker education. The ultimate aim of education was to instruct both boys and girls so that they could live according to the religious faith of Quakers, and the immediate aim was to give instruction in and opportunities for personal experience and growth in religion, morals, secular education and manual arts (Homan 1972:46). Religion was involved in education as the Quaker beliefs considered religion a living experience.

Religious education was carried out in worship where

the child learned to understand the meaning of inner light and the truth of God through silent prayer. Also important was instruction in the message and use of the Bible. This religious training began in the home and was extended into the Quaker schools, as worship meetings were held regularly on campus.

Quakers of the 18th century believed religion and morality to be interrelated. Moral education basically instructed the children in moderation and abstinence. Their principle of morality included: modesty, plainness, simplicity and sobriety in apparel, habits and language; and condemned the use of profanity, war, games, sports, plays, dancing and the like (Homan 1972:58). It was felt that such diversions would lead people away from God and into lust, vanity and wantonness. Recreation should rather take the form of quiet reading or conversations. Strict adherence to this morality was demanded of the children in school as well as in the home.

Secular education was practical, including instruction in mathematics, reading, writing, spelling, grammar and science. It was directed at preparing the student intellectually to pursue a chosen career.

Quaker education also offered instruction in manual arts such as farming, store-keeping, industry, etc. While secular education broadened the minds to comprehend the

world, manual skills allowed the student to prepare for a vocation.

All areas of education were motivated, in these early (1700's) thoughts on education, by religious concern. The outlines for a sound Quaker education intended to educate the total person, man or woman. Although especially strict in their orientation, the early Quaker education appears in writing to have been well organized and well executed.

CHAPTER III

FRIENDSVILLE, TENNESSEE

The exact date when Quakers moved into Blount County, in which the city of Friendsville is located, is not known, but in 1796, a nucleus of Quakers inhabited a district very near the present location of Friendsville (Burns 1957:154). By 1808, a Quaker church had been officially established in that area. The first sawmill and gristmill were built in 1819, by John Hackney, one of the original colonists of Friendsville (Burns 1957:281). It was not until 1850, that town lots were sold, a store was opened and a post office established and given the name of Friendsville (Burns 1957:281). Around 1883, the first marble workings were begun in the area and provided one of Blount County's most important industries, and in 1900, Friendsville became a station on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, but did not incorporate until 1952 (Burns 1957:281).

The town has remained virtually unchanged since the 1950's. It is a small, rural and conservative community which in 1970 numbered 575 people. As shown by Appendix C, Friendsville is no longer predominantly Quaker. During The University of Tennessee survey of the town in

1972, the interviewers were provided by Dr. Lindquist with a map of the town which showed 182 homes. The interviews obtained 132 responses to those 182. (See Appendix B for a total breakdown of the survey responses.) Thirty-two of the respondents were under 40; 54 were between the ages of 41 and 60; and 33 were above age 60. The majority of the town is clearly over 40, and it was further noted that 80 of the 132 people interviewed had been life-long residents of Friendsville. Fourteen people had lived in the town for more than 10 years.

Sixty-two percent of the women and 56.8 percent of the men in the survey had not pursued any education beyond high school (12.9 percent of the women and 18.2 percent of the men had not gone beyond grade school). The majority of the husbands were employed in technical or labor-oriented occupations. A simple majority of the women were housewives (44).

The town was found to be predominantly white with only four black families. However, there were 10 families in which the interviewer neglected to fill in race, so this information is not known. Incidence of divorce or separation was very low with 93 of the respondents reporting they were living with their spouses. Information was not requested as to whether any had been previously married.

The strongest church affiliation was Baptist (42), then Quaker (21), Methodist (20) and Catholic (1). Thirty-three of the respondents did not reply to the question of religion and 11 reported they belonged to churches other than Baptist, Quaker, Methodist or Catholic.

Twenty of the Quakers interviewed expressed a favorable opinion of Friendsville Academy. Fourteen Quakers definitely wanted the Academy to remain open. This response might be the result of the Academy's long tradition in the town and its equally long affiliation with the local Quaker Church. Twenty of the Quakers said that at least one member of their family had attended the school.

Feelings of the Quaker respondents regarding the Academy students were evenly distributed between those who expressed favor (4), those who expressed disfavor (4), those who had no opinion (6), and those which were coded as mixed (7).

The majority of all people interviewed had no opinion on the academic program of the school or the staff. Yet 63 of the total respondents believed the town would suffer a great loss if the Academy were closed, and only 26 could see no loss.

The results of this survey reveal very little overt hostility toward the Academy from the town of Friendsville.

There seemed to be a general lack of knowledge concerning the Academy's operation and direction. The vast majority of students were boarding students whose parents or guardians resided in another city or state. They enjoyed little contact with the people of Friendsville; consequently, the town tended to judge the students by their actions and appearances and the townspeople were judged in like manner by the students. Any dislike or disgust for the students by the town (or conversely by the students for the town) was a result of a lack of contact in this author's opinion.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY

The following description and history of the Academy are primarily based on two sources--Inez Burns' (1957) aforementioned book and an anonymous paper from the school's files.

By the mid-1850's, the westward expansion of Quaker settlers across the Great Smoky Mountains raised the issue that their children were not receiving a good scientific and religiously guarded education. In 1854, the Quaker residents in the area of Friendsville considered a proposal to establish a Quaker school. Plans were originally made for two schools in the same location, Friendsville Institute for boys and Newberry Female School. In 1856, the trustees were authorized to operate both schools in one building, employ teachers, and establish rules and requirements for operation and to fix tuition rates. One building was constructed with a brick division between floors to separate the sexes. Further, a stout plank fence seven feet high was built to separate the boys from the girls on the grounds. Although the Quakers were interested in educating both males and females, they were very conservative in allowing much

interaction between them. The schools were officially opened in January of 1857, and in the school year of 1858, 120 students were enrolled. Interestingly, during the first sessions of the school, its student body was made up of Quakers as well as a number of non-Quakers (exact figures not known). In 1860, there was a decrease in enrollment to 94 students. This decline was most probably due to the growing strife between the North and the South which resulted in the Civil War between the years 1860 and 1864, as many local Quakers moved west to avoid involvement in the war. During that four year span, there is no record of the school's being in operation.

After the destruction and disruption of community organization brought on by the War, many families from surrounding areas were seeking out possible new schools to which they could send their children for a stable and quality education. The distance of many children's homes from the school demanded that the Academy make provisions for board and maintenance for these new students. This began a transition from a more or less parochial school to a church related boarding school. In 1881, Friendsville Institute and Newberry Female School were joined under a new charter to establish Friendsville Academy. Tuition was placed at \$1.00 and \$2.00 per annum

for males and females, respectively. Until after World War II, Friendsville Academy was a mission school for children living in the area of the Smoky Mountains, maintaining that no deserving child would be turned away from Friendsville Academy for lack of funds. The charge to the students was kept at an absolute minimum, the emphasis instead being maintaining high standards and educational rigor. The Academy survived World War I, the Depression, and World War II; but in the late 1950's, it almost collapsed primarily due to four reasons: (1) no provisions were made for a sinking fund from which to build new buildings or repair old ones; (2) tuition, room and board rates had been held at so low a figure that it was practically impossible to operate the school, much less have any surplus funds; (3) salaries for staff were so low that top-notch teachers and administrators were difficult to hire; (4) in trying to meet demands of the budget, administrators accepted many students of inferior academic abilities. These problems were compounded by a division among local Quakers over the administration of the school. Some of them wanted it closed permanently, and others wanted a return to a pure parochial education. During 1963, the Board of Trustees set up a planned program for expansion and management of the Academy, accepting the fact that the school must have a far-reaching program if

it was to survive. The program had to be ready and willing to meet the needs of students from all parts of the United States. Further, the Board realized that the school could not rely solely on support from Quakers, but had to appeal to people of all denominations who were interested in the future of education and religious training of their children.

The intentions in 1963 were sincere and enthusiastic, but were impractical in reality given the educational and social transitions which had taken place during the years the Academy was fighting for survival. After the turn of the 19th century, public schools were established in Blount County, Tennessee (Burns 1957). As the public schools grew, fewer families were willing to pay any tuition at all when they could send their children, at no expense, to the public school. Also, the desire for a strict religious education had declined, and many of the younger citizens of Friendsville with school-age children were leaving the town. This population loss was unaccompanied by any growth or influx of new people. By 1970, when Arthur Masker took on the position of headmaster of Friendsville Academy, fewer than 20 full-time students were enrolled. The drop in enrollment was due to the following reasons: (1) the aforementioned lack of interest in a strict religious education; (2) more of the Friendsville families with

middle and secondary age children were of another religious persuasion and preferred the public school; (3) the academic program was no longer competitive with the public schools; and (4) the facilities and buildings were far inferior to those of the public schools.

The Academy seemed a shadow of what had formerly been a quality institution built on Quaker philosophy. It served many of the elderly townspeople as a reminder of their own school days there; others hated to see it closed simply because it had always been a part of the town; and to the remainder, it was a complex of buildings in general disrepair that served neither the town nor its students to any advantage.

CHAPTER V

ORIENTATION TOWARD THERAPEUTIC EDUCATION

The orientation of Friendsville Academy toward a therapeutic approach to education was begun in 1970 by the then incoming headmaster, Arthur Masker. (His qualifications will be discussed in Chapter VII.) Despite the lack of much supportive interest from the local town, Masker embarked on a program designed to provide educational innovation and experimentation by a redirection of the purpose of Friendsville Academy. He believed the old statement of purpose offered little meaning or guidance for the school in 1970; moreover, Masker considered it to have been a source of recent failure in attracting new students. Included in the Student Handbook for years, the purpose was written in such a way as to emphasize a narrow and conservative religiosity. Secondly, a fundamentalist purpose did not seem compatible with a therapeutic approach. This second fact may have had more import in Masker's decision to revise the statement. The following is the statement of purpose prior to 1971. Information was not available as to how long this purpose had been applied to the Academy or its author(s).

Friendsville Academy is dedicated to the purpose of offering a well-rounded, Christian education to children of the junior-senior high school levels. The whole being of the Academy is pledged to this purpose. "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, in the way he will not depart from it." (Prov., Chapt. 22, Verse 6)

Under the direction of God's will we have flourished, and by the steering of His hand we shall continue to prosper. Students are taught that there is a wisdom greater and more powerful than a mere academic education. The basic belief at the Academy is that of the "truth," the truth of God's will as exemplified by the life of Jesus Christ. The Academy strives to develop the individual toward a realization of the power of the spiritual soul in dealing with the lives of men. "And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." (Eph., Chapt. 6, Verse 4)

At no time in history has this characteristic been more direly needed. Friendsville Academy attempts to direct the students thinking toward a firm belief in God, and at the same time provide enough knowledge of man's culture and civilization in order that each may form sound, inspired ideals of what life means and to what purpose he will be dedicated.

The Christian Doctrine of the Society of Friends as declared by George Fox in 1671 firmly binds the Academy to the ideal: "We do declare, that we do esteem it a 'duty' incumbent on us to pray with and for, 'to teach,' 'instruct,' and 'admonish'. . . ." To this end Friendsville Academy is dedicated.

Arthur Masker restated the purpose of the Academy, giving what he felt was real definition to the school. Again, this definition was based on his own evaluation of the requirements of therapeutic education. Masker was endeavoring to reorganize the Academy to be compatible with the educational changes and needs of 1970 as he personally viewed them. Below is Arthur Masker's re-statement of purpose which he believed would be more

successful in drawing the interest of potential students and their families.

Friendsville Academy is dedicated to the purpose of offering a well-rounded school experience with opportunity for emotional, spiritual, social and educational growth. We believe that our small size is an asset, allowing strong individual consideration for each student.

Life at Friendsville Academy is characterized as a community endeavor in living and learning, where the program is designed to foster a sense of family living and community responsibility. While here, one has the freedom to discover the many facets of his education beyond the academic. We believe that individuals are important, and that love, work, and a better understanding of self all contribute to fulfillment in life.

Friendsville Academy is owned and operated by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). While fundamental in belief, we believe that worship is both a community and an individual endeavor. Through silent meditation and audible expression, community members attempt to experience the Spirit of God which dwells in the hearts of all men. Worship also attempts to apply the teachings of Jesus Christ into individual daily life experiences.

The Academy is student-centered rather than subject-centered, emphasizing the individual dignities of the student--the God-essence in each soul, as well as beauty, truth, oughtness, and love. Attention is given to nurturing the traits of integrity, honesty, responsibility, and the courage to stand for one's convictions, with the end goal being a fruitful relationship between the student, God, and his fellow man.

The preceding statement was taken from a letter sent by Arthur Masker to a member of the Quarterly Meeting. The year this new purpose was included in the Student Handbook, applications tripled over the last year. The information on the Academy which appeared in magazine advertisements and the Student Handbook, which was sent on

request, seemed to generate considerable interest among families with a child who was having certain difficulties achieving or adjusting in the public school system.

(Elaboration on the difficulties will be discussed later in Chapter VI.) Masker's new statement of purpose and the resultant interest of the above type families gave rise to his establishment of Friendsville Academy as a therapeutic middle and secondary non-sectarian school. Masker wanted to initiate an educational program dedicated to the development of physical, mental and emotional health, and to the spiritual growth of all members of the academic "community."

The non-sectarian nature of the school was a pivotal factor in the determination and practical application of its goals. Although Masker, not a Quaker, ignored the early Quaker emphasis on strict morality and moderation, he did consult recent Quaker thoughts on education, all of which stressed the importance of academic preparation being instilled in the students by developing a sense of community and family spirit. Masker continued the Quaker tradition of heading boarding schools with a family. His wife, Marty, and baby lived with him on campus. Marty Masker was not employed by the school in any specific capacity, but she participated as an active member of the school "community,"

attending most community meetings and often the weekly staff meetings. The students and staff felt free to visit in her home frequently. Many of the students, girls especially, spent time with Marty and the baby during free periods after school. The atmosphere in the Masker household was more relaxed and informal than a headmaster's home had been in the 1700's and 1800's, but this was a necessary change to encourage and generate, in the 1970's, the Quaker tradition that boarding school community members learn to work efficiently in an atmosphere of loving intimacy "where participants know and trust each other and feel free to speak their concerns and feelings openly" (MacDonald 1971:2). In a pamphlet by Doug Heath, a Quaker and a professor of Psychology at Haverford University, entitled "Why a Friends' School?", the major justification for the existence of such a non-sectarian school is the sense of Quaker community, which is the consensus of the students and staff regarding decisions and organization (Heath 1969). The concept of Quaker community, today as in the past, stresses the individual worth of all persons and the dignity of all convictions and opinions. Doug Heath is quoted as saying that students need to learn the "skills of being," "learning how to listen to others as well as to one's own self, how to find mutually accommodating solutions

to conflicts and how to make choices" (MacDonald 1971:2). The community meetings at the Academy (discussed later in Chapter IX) were held to foster these "skills of being." The integration of "community" spirit and "family" support educated the emotional student, while the academic instruction enlightened the mind. Some Quaker educators believe education must attune itself to the whole individual, but its traditional and more recent primacy has been in developing emotional well-being. Scholastic achievement was measured more by an ability to think rationally than by the capacity to regurgitate facts.

The importance of "community" and the "skills of being" are still esteemed, but the early stress on strict morality (i.e., physical separation of the sexes) and condemnation of sports, dancing, games and play have disappeared in most 20th century Quaker schools (Bronner 1966). As in the case of Friendsville Academy, recruitment failures and financial liabilities have placed many Quaker schools in a position of competing, unsuccessfully, with well-funded public schools. For this reason and to fulfill his own personal vision of therapeutic education, Arthur Masker redirected the purpose of the Academy, implementing the traditional Quaker concepts of "community" and "family" and directing the program toward providing a

service not adequately furnished by the public school system, that of treating the emotional conflicts and correctional needs that hinder academic and social adjustment of many children.

The following are Masker's guidelines for the prosperous maintenance of therapeutic education on the basis of Quaker philosophy (taken from the Academy Student Handbook of 1972-1973):

A. We believe that Christian ideals and attitudes should be the guiding principles and goals of community life.

In addition to requiring courses in theology and participation in worship services, the student was asked to exhibit respect for the rights and feelings of the other "community" members in his daily behavior.

B. We believe in the inherent dignity of every individual as brothers and sisters in a Christian community, and that every individual should be treated with respect.

Masker felt that the small "community" of Friendsville Academy could treat each person as an individual with regard to his personal needs, discipline, work requirements and academic efforts. Although this smallness allowed for one-to-one instruction and interaction, the concepts of "community" and "family" meant that all

members were subject to the same restrictions and regulations.

C. We believe in individual freedom as a basic element of life, that this freedom demands an obligation to responsible action.

This principle stressed that freedom had to accept some logical limits if it was to protect the rights and freedoms of others. Each person at the Academy was free to make decisions regarding his beliefs, behavior and efforts, but in making these decisions, the individual had to be willing to accept their consequences and effects, be they negative or positive.

D. We believe the individual student should be responsible for seeking out help from others when he needs such help.

The faculty and staff were willing and available to help individual students with personal problems or learning difficulties, but the initiative for seeking help was left to the student. Part of the Academy's role in treating the emotional conflicts of the students was to encourage each student to help him/herself.

E. We believe that students learn to respect and value property and that they learn to be responsible community members as a result of participating in a campus work program.

The concepts of both "family" and "community" supported the need for reciprocal rights and responsibilities by all members. The work program engaged the participation of all students and live-in staff in the maintenance and operation of the school facilities and program.

The therapeutic approach was aimed at educating the mind, while at the same time, teaching the individual responsibility to him/herself and to others, encouraging decision making based on rational thinking, allowing for spiritual growth, and pointing up the fact that help is best offered and received when it is requested with sincerity. To all incoming and returning students, Masker emphasized the strong commitment to the idea that the school was a "community" endeavor in living and learning. He pointed out to them that the school was not the facilities or the physical setting, but rather the people who were there, and urged their recognition of reciprocity in responsibilities. The actions of each student at the Academy affected the experiences of fellow academic "community" members and for achieving a situation in which all members could grow.

The strictly religious atmosphere was gone, as was the stout plank fence to separate the sexes. The strong adherence to Quaker simplicity and moderation was

no longer evident. Only one student was even a Quaker (discussion of students' religions in Chapter VI).

Masker had deviated significantly from the school program as originally conceived (1857), and the students represented very opposite types from the Quaker children of the 1800's; but a theme of Quaker spirit was continued in the concept and the operationalization of 'community' and "family."

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDENTS

The students at Friendsville Academy represented a broad cross-section of economic, social and religious America. They ranged from the sons and daughters of wealthy East Coast families to the children of lower middle-class southern families (see Appendix I for a breakdown of home towns). Their parents were lawyers, doctors, farmers, factory workers, secretaries, corporate executives and many other occupations. There were 70 students in attendance between 1970 and 1973; 43 boys and 27 girls. They ranged in age from 12 to 18 years old. Religious preferences were varied from liberal Protestant to Orthodox Jew. The majority of the students were Protestant (47). Eight were Catholic, two were Jewish, and 13 professed no particular religious preference. It was ironic that in an historically Quaker institution, only one student was a Quaker. The majority of the students were experiencing some kind of emotional conflict brought on by an emotionally inadequate homelife or community environment. Problems such as parental marital stress, unhealthy peer pressure, divorce and parental alcoholism had led them to seek out other sources of

emotional satisfaction which put them at odds with their families, communities, teachers, and, in some cases, the law. Consequently, their performance in the public school system was incompatible with their abilities. Their lives had been disrupted by an overindulgent use of drugs, extensive sexual liberty and truancy. Their special problems and educational needs were not and perhaps could not be met by the public schools in their home environment. The students needed removal from the home community in order to come to grips with their conflicts. In every case this was recognized by at least one party involved with the student, be it a teacher, a parent, a probation officer, a counselor or the student. The very purpose of the Academy had become directed at providing an atmosphere where these youths could emerge from states of self-confusion to an appreciation of their own self-worth.

Most of the students exhibited a certain naivete regarding their behavior, deficiencies and attitudes. This is not to say that they were totally unaware of their personalities and actions. On the contrary, they knew exactly what they were getting into with the excessive use of drugs and sex as a means of rebellion. They also realized the types of individuals they were becoming as a result of addiction or near addiction,

legal discipline and truancy; but they were oblivious to the possible consequences those expressions of rebellion had on their lives in the long run. Making the students aware of these consequences and encouraging them to rely on their strengths instead of their weaknesses were aims of the therapeutic approach at the Academy as personal growth and self-awareness were intended to be integral factors in the combination of "community" and "family."

Information about the Academy had reached the students and their families through advertisements, word of mouth, and referral by the court or a psychological counseling center. Each application (Appendix J) for acceptance to the school included a space for the child to cite his/her reasons for wanting to attend. This allowed the staff at the Academy to evaluate the child's emotional conflicts and prepare themselves to deal with them once enrolled. This statement of interest was supplemented by letters of recommendation from persons who had frequent contact and substantial knowledge of the student and his family. Such letters were obtained from ministers, relatives, neighbors, teachers, counselors, and family friends. In addition to this written contact, each student and one or both of his/her parents were interviewed by a member of the Academy's staff, usually an administrator. Admission or rejection was based on whether

the student would benefit from and adjust to the "community/family" orientation. Although the school was governed and partially supported by the local Quaker Church, religious preference was not a factor in admittance.

Once admitted to the Academy, the student and parents were responsible to the school's rules and regulations. The student became a member of the Academy's "community" and "family" which was responsible for their emotional, mental and physical well-being and to which the student was responsible for his/her behavior, participation and actions.

CHAPTER VI

THE STAFF

In an essay on new approaches to education, George Von Hilsheimer submits that "real education goes on in any literate community as long as adults are freely available in real and living situations" (Von Hilsheimer 1966:70). The adults most intimately involved in the real and living situations at Friendsville Academy were (1) the non-administrative staff, which included the teachers and dorm parents; and (3) the administrative staff.

The teaching staff was accountable for providing academic instruction, but the emotional conflicts of the students demanded they be friends, guardians, wardens, judges and psychologists, depending upon the particular situation. The faculty consisted of 14 women and men, all of whom had completed their undergraduate training and held either a Bachelor of Arts, a Bachelor of Science, or a Bachelor of Fine Arts Degree. During the school year of 1972-1973, seven of the teaching staff of 14 had obtained a Master's Degree. From the nine interviews gathered in Dr. Lindquist's staff survey of 1972-1973, seven of the teachers were judged to be between the ages

of 25 and 35; one woman was in her late thirties; and one woman was well into her fifties. Of the 14 member faculty, five were women and nine were men. Four of the nine teachers interviewed had had no previous teaching experience (three women and one man); three had had only nominal teaching experience (one woman and two men); and two had had extensive teaching experience (one woman and one man). Not one of the nine teachers responding to the questionnaire had ever been involved with therapeutic education. (See Appendix F for a total breakdown of qualifications.)

The outstanding reason for accepting a position at the Academy was a poor job market for middle and secondary teachers. However, Virginia and Daniel Schnurr, who performed dual capacities as teachers and dorm parents, said they came to the Academy "to do something meaningful." And Steve Root, the art teacher, noted that he wanted to have "an extensive community involvement" and felt "he could make a strong commitment to the stated purpose of the Academy."

Each dormitory housed a married couple and their families whose responsibility it was to see that the student's behavior and actions were in line with the rules and regulations of the Academy. (During one academic year, the school employed students from

Wilmington College in Ohio, but the project did not last because the college students were too close in age to the Academy students to be able to maintain discipline.) As dorm parents, they also took on responsibilities that natural parents should have provided had the students been living at home in a favorable situation. This required incredible patience and willingness on the part of the dorm parents to listen to student problems, counsel and console when necessary.

The faculty's meagre teaching experience coupled with the nonexistent therapeutic educational experience created a situation in which the maintenance of the school as an academic institution as well as a "community" and a "family" was a full-time challenge. Further, although information regarding the religious preference of the non-administrative staff was not obtained, the majority expressed near ignorance of the Quaker philosophy on education and the concept of Quaker community.

During their orientation, only one week prior to the school year, the staff was briefly acquainted with (1) the type of student enrolled and served by the program; (2) the purpose of the school and the importance of the dual concepts of "community" and "family" to that purpose; (3) the structure and policies of the Academy with regard to the rules of behavior, the work program, worship,

counseling and "community" decision; (4) the influence of the Quaker philosophy on the purpose of the school; and (5) the role of the local Quaker Church and the local town of Friendsville in the operation and maintenance of the Academy. This was the only attempt to prepare the staff for the many responsibilities they would have to assume as therapeutic educators, yet response to their orientation and the prospective educational experience appeared to be positive.

Based on the questionnaire and subsequent interviews, four factors stand out as reasons for their continued interest in teaching and working at the Academy: (1) the majority of the teachers were under 35 and lacked the experience to be intimidated or disinclined by the potential difficulties in dealing with the emotional conflicts of the students and in stimulating academic interest; (2) most of the staff was young enough to test the job for at least one year; (3) the Academy, with its troubled students, therapeutic leanings and emphasis on individuality, was an ideal and intriguing setting for experimentation and innovation within the Academy's budget; (4) the teachers believed it would be impossible to locate an alternate teaching position as late as September.

In order to stimulate academic interest, the faculty

tried to structure many of their courses to offer the curriculum they believed was necessary in their particular area of specialization as well as to involve the students in special projects and independent research. Robert Broome, chaplain and religion teacher, developed a course entitled Christian Discipleship in which the students performed voluntary services for several members of the town of Friendsville. In the classroom, various views of religious ethics were raised and discussed, and out of the classroom they performed such services as helping a farmer with chores, mowing lawns and general "handyman" tasks. The class had been a seventh and eighth grade program, but many of the high school students expressed such favorable interest that plans were being made in 1972 to include it in the secondary curriculum the following school year.

Terry Maxwell, librarian and social studies teacher, initiated a campaign to solicit book donations to the school's library in order to expand the reference sources available to the students. Although the students did not spend an extraordinary number of hours in the library, their research for papers and projects was expanded and improved because Maxwell himself enjoyed the library and spent most of his free periods helping the students locate relevant material. Maxwell was a

former career officer in the Armed Forces, but in the late 1960's he resigned from the service to pursue a Master's Degree at The University of Tennessee. (The biographic information on Terry Maxwell was obtained in an oral interview by the author and not in response to the questionnaire.) His age is approximated by this author to be between 35 and 45 years old. His decision to return to school was prompted by a desire to teach at the middle and secondary levels. He was an enthusiastic teacher whose courses were well-received by the Academy students because of his personal interest in the subject of social studies and his willingness to provide individual attention.

During the 1972-1973 school year, an experimental program was initiated to allow exceptional students to audit courses at The University of Tennessee. The first student to do this was Condra, a young senior girl whose intelligence and prior school experience placed her on a higher academic level than others in her senior class. The staff recognized that she was not being challenged enough by the curriculum at the Academy and felt she could benefit more from attending university classes. This gave her the opportunity for greater academic challenge and the chance to investigate possible major areas to pursue in college.

The regulated routine of Academy school life and the strictness of the rules with regard to off-campus privileges necessitated the staff offer activities to fill free hours and alleviate student lethargy and boredom. During dorm meetings the students were asked to offer suggestions as to the types of activities they would enjoy and in which they would participate. There was considerable interest in karate, art, modern dance and music instruction. Staff members qualified in these areas offered their free time to promote the activities. In the event present staff members were unqualified to instruct a popular activity, the staff was agreeable to bringing in someone who was adequately trained at no extra expense to the students. Initially, the response from the students was favorable, but actual participation was minimal. It is significant, however, that the staff seemed willing to accommodate any interest that did arise.

The responsibility of academic instruction with a therapeutic approach and, especially when teaching was compounded by the duties of being a dorm parent, was strenuous and demanding. Although a precise breakdown of salaries is not available to this author, it is certain that the staff was underpaid, overworked, and ill-prepared therapeutically to meet this exacting

challenge; however, it is my opinion that they did make a concerted effort to reach the students both academically and emotionally.

The administrative staff comprised three persons-- Arthur Masker, Ron Johnson, and Katherine McCallie. Katherine McCallie was employed as the secretary in the main office of the school. She was not involved in administrative decisions, but her job allowed for daily contact with the staff and students. The atmosphere in the main office was congenial and relaxed. She had a genuine concern for the students and compassion for their problems. When a student reported to the office because of an alleged breach of rules, Katherine usually knew the student's version of the incident before Masker or Johnson ever had a chance to speak with the student.

Ron Johnson's official title was Program Director and Dorm Life Supervisor, but he did not limit himself to any single area in the operation and maintenance of the Academy. He assumed much of the responsibility for discipline; consequently, he was understood and liked by some of the students, misunderstood and hated by others, and probably feared by all of them. I knew him to be a truly warm-hearted person with a very tough facade. He had to be a stern disciplinarian because the backgrounds and emotional conflicts of the students demanded it and

he cared enough to be hard. He had come to the Academy from New York City where he had witnessed enough corruption and misfortune to want to help the Academy students avoid further self-destruction. He was consistent in demanding they accept responsibility and in punishing them when they failed to do so. On one occasion he staged an impromptu inspection of the girl's dorm and found the rooms to be unkempt and littered with trash. He ordered them cleaned at once. Anyone whose room was not acceptable when next inspected would be penalized. His action created a stir of emotional complaints and criticism from the female students who claimed they had the right to keep their rooms as they chose to; but, despite their outcries, they complied with his demand and several of the girls even admitted the rooms could stand a cleaning.

Johnson also took over part of the responsibilities for interviewing prospective students and their families. During this initial contact, information on the familial background and the educational needs of the student was collected and evaluated. It was important that the interviewer try to appraise the personalities of parents and child and the apparent emotional conflicts with which the school would have to deal. Johnson was incisive and understanding, and his impressions

were frequently accurate. Below are excerpts from two of his reports.

Condra sat very quietly through the interview until her parents left. Then she was able to open up and indicated that she simply could not live at home any longer. She may go through a period of appearing somewhat withdrawn, but I think she will blossom out and become very much a part of the community.

I sensed a warm person who is having a great deal of difficulty in adjusting and weaning away from this strict, over-protective father. I don't see her as a behavior problem, and I think she will adjust to the community very well.

Johnson had faith in the potential of the "community" and the "family" and tried to evaluate each applicant in terms of what they could receive and, conversely, what they could offer. He was, perhaps, too convinced that the Academy could solve most emotional conflicts and this permitted students, in some cases, to take unfair advantage of his willingness to help them. Overzealous generosity is hardly a fault for criticism, but it can result in giving some students the impression they can win sympathy with a tearful expression or a melancholy tale.

Ron Johnson and Arthur Masker differed in temperament and personality, and while this produced a balance in the administration, it often led to conflict over procedure and administrative decisions. Some of the students felt they could rely on and talk to Johnson better,

and others were more comfortable going to Masker. Both men refrained from revealing any discord between them to the students, thus avoiding the possibility of the students pitting one administrator against the other on a statement of policy.

Arthur Masker was employed as headmaster of the Academy in 1970. He was responsible for restating the purpose of the Academy and orienting recruitment toward students with some type of emotional conflict. He held a Master's Degree in Educational Psychology from The University of Tennessee. Masker had a serious interest in providing therapeutic education for students whose needs were not being met by the formal public school system. He presumed Friendsville Academy could establish itself as a quality example of therapeutic education. Conscientiously, he restructured the school so as not to conflict with, but rather to perpetuate several basic elements of the traditional Quaker philosophy on education. When he informed the students that the school was a "community" endeavor in living and learning, he hoped that all members of the "community," adults as well as students, would learn. Masker realized that quality would develop slowly, being established by the experiences, successes and failures, of the school's early growth ("early" as far as it was oriented toward a therapeutic

approach). Although certain guidelines and rules were initially devised for the maintenance and operation of the Academy, Masker acknowledged there would have to be some adjustment and change to adapt the school successfully to a therapeutic aim. One example of such adjustment was evidenced shortly after the beginning of the school year in 1972, when several of the students were suspected of using and possessing an illegal drug, marijuana. Masker met with Ron Johnson and Robert Broome until two o'clock in the morning to decide on the proper course of action. Together they made a decision to approach each student individually, requesting they admit or deny their use of drugs at the Academy. The response proved this tactic to be successful as seven boys and three girls conceded involvement. These students also agreed to attend a meeting to discuss the problem, their reasons for using drugs and their feelings about punishment. The Academy had a stated policy of immediate expulsion for any student found in illegal possession of drugs, but Masker preferred to avoid this extreme if the situation could be resolved. For several hours the students met and expressed their opinions on drugs and the possibility of expulsion. This was followed up by a general staff meeting. After much discussion, it was finally agreed that, because the students had

volunteered their admissions, expulsion would not be advantageous to either the students or the operation of the school. Masker felt that as a "community" and a "family," the school should handle the breach of rules as a unit and he was supported by a majority of the staff in this belief. Discipline took the form of additional work assignments, restriction to dorms during certain periods of the day and designated study periods beyond class time. Masker was instrumental in influencing the staff to make this allowance for three reasons:

(1) the students had complied voluntarily; (2) the students would learn from their discipline at the Academy; (3) if the school was to be a true "community" and "family," it had to be based on mutual trust and responsibility. The level of honesty used in dealing with the students, and the honesty which was expected in return reinforced the "community" spirit by involving the students in their own discipline, and it reinforced the feeling of "family" by not sending them away to an environment which could be nothing but harmful.

There were a number of occasions when a student was suspended for breaking rules consistently. Masker gave each of these students the opportunity to reapply after they had given a great deal of thought to what the Academy meant to them. One student was found smoking

marijuana after the first disciplinary action. During his suspension he wrote the following letter to the "community."

TO THE COMMUNITY OF FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY

While at Friendsville, I had a problem of smoking marijuana. As a result I was dismissed from school. Now I have realized that smoking marijuana is hurting everyone at Friendsville Academy and the community at large. In order to finish school I need a place like Friendsville Academy to grow and to become a good person. While I was away from Friendsville I didn't smoke marijuana even though I could have. All it does is mess up my life and hurt other people. I hope that you, the people of Friendsville, will allow me to return to the Academy. I made a commitment last time, but I've messed it up by smoking marijuana.

His letter was read to the Academy "community" as it was up to a consensus decision of staff and students whether he would return or not. He was eventually readmitted, but in the process he had hopefully gained some new insight into his responsibilities to other people.

Masker was interested in serving the needs of emotionally troubled students through a therapeutic approach to education which he believed to be a positive alternative to condemnation and disciplinarian reform. He encouraged the staff to make certain allowances, such as the two cases cited above, in order to assure the Academy the time and experiences it would require to develop and sustain a successful therapeutic orientation. The vision of therapeutic education was a product of his

ambitions and not always fully understood by his staff (discussed in PART III, Chapter II), and often he tended to dictate policy. This frequently created dissension among the staff over rules and regulations, but it is the opinion of this author that Masker's occasional abuse of his power was not a conscious act, but rather it was prompted by genuine concern for the students and a sincere belief that Friendsville Academy could be a therapeutic institution.

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOL LIFE AT FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY

School life at Friendsville Academy was structured by the rules, regulations and requirements necessary for the proper maintenance of academic responsibility and discipline.

Sixteen units (one unit = one year's study in a course) were required for graduation from high school which included grades nine through twelve. The course requirements were distributed as follows: (Student Handbook 1972-1973)

Mathematics	2	Health and Physical Education	1
English	4	Bible and Religion	1
Science	1	American History	1
		Electives	6

The courses offered were those prescribed and approved by the State of Tennessee Department of Education and the credits were accepted by all colleges and universities. The teachers were all certified to teach in the state of Tennessee.

The academic day lasted from 8:30 a.m. until 3:30 p.m. and punctual attendance was compulsory except in cases of illness or approved absence from campus. Students who had achieved a B⁺ average or above were

reviewed by the staff and permitted to spend free periods during the school day as they chose to on campus. All other students were required to spend free periods in study hall or the library. There was also an evening study period required of all students regardless of their academic performance.

In addition to their academic courses, twice each week, the students were responsible for attending worship services in the campus chapel. This aspect of school life was discussed in the preceding chapter.

Two dormitories, sexually segregated and geographically isolated, housed approximately 60 students. Certain times, primarily in the evenings and on weekends, were designated for visitation in the lounge of the girls' dorm. Boys and girls were not allowed to visit in each other's rooms except during occasionally specified and supervised open dorm periods.

Cigarette smoking was permitted in designated smoking areas for those students who had obtained written permission from their parents or guardians. Possession or use of alcoholic beverages or non-prescription drugs was strictly forbidden. There were few restrictions on dress, only that students present a neat and clean appearance. Often this meant simply clean jeans and workshirts or casual tops.

Participation in a work program was mandatory for the students. For elaboration of this program, see the following section.

During the week, all students had a curfew of 10:45 p.m., and during the weekends it was extended until 11:30 p.m. The staff did make exceptions in certain cases where a student had explicitly requested permission to have his/her hours extended. The boys were allowed to leave campus at any time after school and before curfew, but the girls were required to sign-out and be in the company of another girl. Any weekends spent off-campus had to be cleared by the staff and approved by the student's parents or guardian.

The small teacher/student ratio allowed for a great deal of individual attention as well as providing supervision. The activities of the students were very closely supervised, during the academic day by the teachers and at all other times by the administrative staff and the dorm parents.

Friendsville Academy exhibited a tendency in their rules toward strict supervision of all students, but many of their activities went unnoticed or were carried out in secrecy. Violation or abuse of the rules and privileges was supposed to result in severe warnings at best and possible suspension or expulsion at worst,

but the rules could be bent depending upon the particular situation. Realizing this, the students learned to manipulate many of the rules, but they were constantly made aware of the very real possibility of leaving the Academy for good.

CHAPTER IX

THE OPERATIONALIZATION OF "COMMUNITY" AND "FAMILY"

The effort to create a sense of "community" within Friendsville Academy was instituted in four ways: (1) weekly "community" meetings; (2) special call meetings; (3) the work program; and (4) "community" worship.

Regular meetings were held each Sunday night. Both the staff and students were in attendance to discuss policies and rules, to plan Academy activities and events, and to propose solutions to any existent problems which may have arisen during the week. Each person was encouraged to offer suggestions and to voice opinions on any subject which concerned the school as a whole. On some occasions these meetings were simply a social hour and little was accomplished, but at other times, the meetings lasted two hours or more, taken up by intense debate, argument, suggestions and numerous decisions. The significance of the "community" meetings was that the opportunity for such exchange was available on a regular basis and open to all members, students and staff.

Special call meetings were held to discuss a particular problem or situation which affected the entire Academic "community," and required immediate attention.

One such call meeting involved a letter from a student suspended for drug use readmission to the school. The letter was read aloud and opinions as to the appropriate course of action were solicited. It was during these crucial meetings that suspended students often were readmitted, reasons for possible suspension or punishment were discussed, financial problems were brought up and conversations about the future of the school were engaged in. These meetings were vital to the stability of the "community" so that every member could be actively involved in making important decisions which affected the welfare of the group or individuals in the group.

Since Quaker doctrine dictates that the maintenance and operation of the Quaker school must be the responsibility of everyone, the work program was designed to involve the students and live-in staff in a cooperative effort to assure that the Academy remained in good functioning order. Work assignments ranged from washing dishes, setting tables, mowing the lawn, and making repairs, to seeing that the dorms were kept clean and the classrooms and lavatories were uncluttered. The duties were rotated periodically so that no one was responsible for care in only one area. The work program was hardly a source of enjoyment for the students, but it never seemed to cause resentment; moreover, in one case, it was

enthusiastically received. One of the day students who lived in Friendsville took a special interest in seeing that the lawn was mowed every day.

Although the students and staff were encouraged to attend weekly services in their own church or synagogue, the students, in particular, seemed to find a hundred excuses why they could not attend. They were obligated, however, to attend bi-weekly non-denominational worship on campus. One service was dedicated to silent meditation and lasted only 10 or 15 minutes. The second service was dedicated to audible expression with the staff and students volunteering their participation. One such service included a community sing with students and staff members playing their own instruments. During others, the students and staff read poems of inspiration, prepared readings for the congregation, and some delivered brief sermons. The range of religious affiliation was so great among the staff and students, that these nondenominational services served to unite the "community" in spiritual growth without preaching any particular religious dogma.

The concept of "family" was not operationalized in the sense that there were any guidelines for its existence. Rather, the feeling of "family" was derived from "community" closeness in living and working together. There was one meal, three times a day, for everyone at the Academy.

Students and staff sat at the same tables, and it was not unusual to see a young student bouncing a teacher's three year old on his/her knee while the mother ate. Children of the staff members came with their parents to "community" meetings, ate with the students and played in the dorms.

The students rarely addressed the staff as Mr. Masker or Mr. Johnson, but called them by their first names. Their respect and authority in the academic setting was clearly understood so there was little need to reinforce it by clinging to titles. The personal contact between students and staff created friendships which did not necessarily negate the distinctions between their respective roles, but which did allow them to communicate and interact on a much freer basis than would be possible in the public school.

The entire staff at the Academy was united in their concern for the students, although they differed in individual methods and opinions. They combined their efforts to create a school which was "child-centered" rather than "fact-oriented." Murray and Rosalie Wax commented that "most intellectuals, including anthropologists, are so sold on the value of children learning calculus, that they have forgotten about the value of dancing; and they are made so irate by the diction of incompetent educators who prate about the value of learning

to play with others, that they have forgotten the intimate relationship between play and freedom" (Wax and Wax 1971:17).

It was not to the exclusion of facts that the Academy encouraged play and freedom, but rather toward a greater appreciation of the significance of the facts for them and for others.

Friendsville Academy remained under the direction of Arthur Maskers from September, 1970, until June, 1973. Those three years can only be regarded as a period of learning, experiencing and growing. The orientation of the school toward a therapeutic approach read well on paper and sounded good in principle; but from its inception, the program was hindered by problems, situational conflict and misunderstanding (to be fully discussed in PART III). Any experiment in education is slow to develop efficient and successful organization, but the internal development of the Academy was hampered by the school's subordination to the Quaker Church and its location in a conservative community.

The church and Board of Trustees had invested time, energy, and patience over the school's long history, to keep Friendsville Academy in operation. They had enjoyed success and endured failure in order to perpetuate the Quaker tradition of offering a scientific and

religiously guarded education. Masker's vision of therapeutic education was a sharp deviation from the school's tradition as the founding fathers of Quaker education had never foreseen the possibility of applying Quaker philosophy to the correctional needs of children with emotional conflicts. Further, Masker never outlined his intentions in sufficient detail to either the church or the Board. This should have been his first assignment as headmaster. It can only be assumed that, had he done this, the Board and church would have either approved and supported his plan, or expressed disapproval and reservations. In either case, the purpose would have been announced as stated policy and all parties involved would have been prepared for the type of educational approach and the type of student. As it was, Masker's failure to adequately communicate his intentions created uneasiness toward the school and resulted in the church and Board never understanding his application of Quaker philosophy.

As already mentioned, the town of Friendsville is a rural and conservative community. The majority of the population is well over 40 and have lived in the town for a long time. The type of student who could benefit from a therapeutic education presented an image to the local townspeople which was contrary to their concepts of what young junior and senior high school students should be.

The students, in faded jeans and work shirts or braless tops, appeared slovenly in the eyes of the town, especially the older (60 plus) members of the community. A number of the older citizens lived across the street from the school and the open expressions of affection (kissing, hugging, handholding) they witnessed truly offended their sense of propriety. It was not uncommon to hear one of the Academy students utter a string of obscenities over some accident, problem or mishap.

The townspeople felt the students were not receiving enough religious guidance (Survey 1972). Their attitude was not so much one of hostility as it was disapproval.

It is the opinion of this author that the lack of solid relations and communication between the Academy and the town and church was the factor which precipitated the following Board action in the spring of 1973. Early in spring of that year, the Board informed Masker that sufficient funds might not be available to reopen the school the following fall. This news prompted a massive effort by Masker, the staff and students to seek out additional sources of financial aid. Press releases were drafted, letters of appeal were sent out, television interviews were set up and numerous long distance calls were made, all in search of outside help to keep the

Academy going. The campaign did receive some favorable response, but not to the degree it was hoped. In June, 1973, the Board informed Masker that the school would be able to open, but they were requesting several changes in its orientation, changes which he felt would have made therapeutic education impossible. So, during that summer, Arthur Masker resigned as headmaster of Friendsville Academy. The following year, Dr. Howard Perkins was brought in as superintendent and a consulting firm was hired to straighten out the school's financial difficulties. Many of the students did not return as a result of this change.

In assessing the demise of Masker's therapeutic approach, it is fruitless to attempt to place blame on any group or individual. Nor was Masker's resignation the result of any one incident. Three years is not long enough to measure the long-range potential of Masker's intentions or the changes which might have occurred had the program had time to develop more fully. The combination of the students enrolled, the lack of communication and stated purpose and the conservatism of the town precluded longevity of the Academy. But the number of students who enrolled in the Academy under this program do bear witness to a void in education which a therapeutic approach might help alleviate.

PART III

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER I

CASE HISTORIES, ADJUSTMENT AND REMARKS--THE STUDENTS

In analyzing the therapeutic approach to education, it is necessary to understand the type of student it served and then the possible benefits of integrating the concept of "community" and "family" in an academic setting. A brief discussion has already been made of the general emotional conflicts and backgrounds of the students. In this chapter, I intend to present several case histories of students and their experiences with the "community/family" concept.

Many of the students at the Academy were being raised by working mothers whose husbands were deceased or from whom they were separated or divorced.

Case #1--Cindy: born 1956, East Coast urban home, white, mother employed in clerical position.

The absence of the father from the home has been cited in some cases as a reason for children's rebellious search for alternate means of emotional fulfillment (Pollak, 1961). By her own admission, Cindy was looking for an adult male to give her the time and attention she would have received from her father. Cindy's mother and father separated when she was a small child. According to her, her mother "kicked" her father out of the house because he was "no good." From that time, her

only parental guidance came from her mother, and apparently a strong bond of reciprocal dependence grew between mother and daughter. This bond found Cindy involving herself more and more in her mother's activities and friendships, consequently cutting herself off from the activities of young people in her own age bracket. Whether her father's presence, or a permanent substitute father (her mother had not remarried), might have staved off her later problems with amphetamines is purely hypothetical, but nevertheless, when she was 12 or 13 she was hospitalized for addiction to stimulants.

I spent three and one-half months one summer in a hospital and I felt like it would be all right, and then things got so bad at home, the tensions just got so bad at home, that I went back to doing speed. Then I decided that that wasn't going to do any good, so I left home and I was gone for about four and one-half months; then I got busted for being a runaway and I got back and I committed myself back to the hospital because I got involved with dope again. And when I was in the hospital, I heard about the Academy and I asked my mother if I could come here.

Cindy never fully explained what she meant by "things got so bad at home," but she did say that the situation was not the way she wanted it to be. Although Cindy declared, many times over, that she and her mother maintained a sound relationship, the paragraphs below, taken from two separate letters of recommendation by neighbors, indicate there had been disharmony between mother and daughter.

Mrs. H. (Cindy's mother) is a very honest and intelligent person and I am sure has told you about Cindy's rebellion and resultant problems in the last two years.

Until recent years, Cindy was brought up in a world almost exclusively composed of adult companionship . . . she has been having trouble in the last year or year and one-half getting along with her mother, teachers and trying to reconcile her own desires with the limitations and disciplines placed upon her.

Evidence of Cindy's emotional conflicts is found in this inability to sustain good relations with her mother and to curtail her overindulgent use of drugs within her natural home environment. From conversations and interviews with Cindy, I had the impression that her mother had been encouraging her to cultivate more friendships and activities with people her own age, something Cindy wanted, but did not feel confident in trying to accomplish. Consequently, she felt that her mother was beginning to exclude her and turned to the use of amphetamines to combat the exclusion. The drugs were a source of emotional fulfillment for four reasons:

- (1) the drug itself made her feel happier and increased her confidence;
- (2) she thought that her involvement with drugs would make her more popular with young people;
- (3) her mother disapproved of the use of drugs;
- (4) it would cause her mother concern and she would pay much

more attention to Cindy so that her daughter would not find the free time to experiment further with drugs. In fact, her use of drugs only frustrated her attempts to form meaningful friendships; and her mother's worrying over the problem resulted in weakening, instead of strengthening, their relationship and her ability to communicate with Cindy. While in the hospital, Cindy began to realize that the solution to her problem was not the overindulgent use of drugs, but rather learning to function socially on her own. That could best be accomplished by removing herself from the home situation which fostered the tendency toward overdependence on her mother. Her constant denial of any difficulty between her mother and herself attested to the fact that she understood her mother's reasoning in wanting her to be with people her own age and that her emotional conflicts resulted from her own difficulty in making friends. Cindy was not a problem child in the sense that she could not be reasoned with, but rather, she acted and reacted in ways that delineated certain unfulfilled emotional needs, needs which Maskers was trying to help satisfy in the "community/family" atmosphere at Friendsville Academy.

Case #2--Condra, born 1954, Catholic, upper middle class northern city, white.

Like Cindy, Condra's emotional conflicts were due

to strained relations with her family, but her problems were precipitated by two situations. First, although she loved and respected her parents, Condra found it impossible to remain true to the manner in which she was raised, a staunchly Catholic and conservative atmosphere. Secondly, she was a highly sensitive and extremely intelligent girl, and did not feel that she was receiving the kind of education and experiences which promote growth, emotionally as well as academically. She expressed this second problem in commenting on her desire to attend the Academy.

I feel that the school I now attend ignores the person in attempting to educate merely with facts, thus glorifying accomplishments on their own merits instead of the human behind it. Friendsville Academy seems to provide the sense of warmth and caring that I think is an integral part of growing and learning.

Although Condra was a sophisticated 17 year old and exhibited a strong desire to direct her own life, she also began to overindulge in drugs as an emotional supplement. Condra was referred to the Academy through an Advisory Center in another city where she had been hospitalized for addiction to heroin. She was a mature girl with a very gentle demeanor, hardly the stereotype of the "hard core junkie," a characterization she offered of her former self. Ron Johnson, the Academy staff member who interviewed Condra, commented that she seemed

"to have a burning rage inside of her." In frequent verbal and social exchange with Condra, I found her to be an emotionally intense person in full command of her actions and desires. The "burning rage" was a kind of strength that comes only in an individual who is trying desperately to overcome a truly damaging weakness, in this case, heroin. She freely admitted that her use of heroin was a "foolish rebellion" against the rigidity of her religious upbringing and her parents conceptions of what constituted success and "proper" social adjustment. Her liberal political, religious and social opinions created an uncomfortably tense relationship with her family and an inability on her part to adjust and function eagerly in the Catholic girls' school she was attending. Condra wanted to place herself in an environment which would allow her to pursue her goals without producing the conflict and resultant rebellion that was evidenced in her home. The Advisory Center, Ron Johnson and Condra were all in agreement over the potential of Friendsville Academy to offer her the type of atmosphere in which she could pursue her goals and best establish her own sense of values.

Many of the emotional conflicts of the students at the Academy were almost completely resolved by their removal from an unhealthy community environment. During

adolescence the development of social potentialities is greatly influenced by the peer group (Strang 1967:17-25). If the influence is detrimental, the child may develop negative behavior and personality traits that are difficult to change as an adult.

Case #3--Bruce, born 1954, Catholic, lower class northern urban home, black.

Bruce was a good example of the problems which arise from the unhealthy influence of peers. Bruce came to the Academy from a community environment characterized by three factors: (1) widespread and frequent drug use; (2) a high rate of truancy; (3) the existence of gangs and gang behavior. Peer pressure toward truancy and hard drug involvement resulted in his increased absenteeism and failures from his freshman to his junior year in high school. His family environment may be characterized by four factors: (1) hard-working and concerned parents; (2) heavy financial pressure, necessitating his parents' working extremely long hours; (3) the lack of adequate adult supervision and guidance; (4) an older brother who had received psychotherapy for two years and had been and remained a hard drug addict.

Because of their heavy financial burden, Bruce's parents were unable to give him the time, security and advice that was needed to counter the unhealthy pressures

exerted on him by the neighborhood and his older brother. Both he and his parents recognized the importance of removing him from an environment which could be nothing but detrimental in its influence. In an interview with Bruce and his parents, they outlined reasons for selecting Friendsville Academy which pointed to the advantages offered by the "community/family" atmosphere. They wanted to place him in a school which assured genuine concern for Bruce as both a student and as an individual. As they understood the purpose of the Academy, Bruce and his parents believed he would receive attention and supervision from strong but supportive adults as well as the academic opportunity to achieve at his highest level. Aptitude tests had indicated that Bruce was capable of producing on an average level, yet his performance in the public schools had shown a marked decline throughout his first three years in high school. Despite his repeated failures, Bruce did want to graduate from high school, but did not believe that he would if he remained in the public school in his home neighborhood. He cited two reasons for this pessimism: (1) the schools were too large, impersonal and did not meet the needs of individual students; and (2) the pressure toward truancy was too great. Both Bruce and his parents felt he could achieve his academic potential better at a smaller rural

school like Friendsville Academy.

In Bruce's case his parents were conscientious but strapped by financial burdens; they were unable to offer proper guidance and supervision. Some of the emotional conflicts were directly related to ineffectual parents who, because of their own conflicts, were unable to provide an emotionally secure home. Children acquire many anxieties, fears and values from persons who are most important in their lives. At an early age those persons are usually the parents who influence, either negatively or positively, the emotional health of their children. A negative influence, in some cases, results in the child either retreating into a world of fantasy or openly expressing hostility and resentment (Strang 1967:20-21).

Case #4--Casey, born 1960, Protestant, southern residential middle class home, white.

Casey was one who entered a fantasy world to escape from the problems in his home. He first came to the Academy when he was in the seventh grade. Casey's family background and subsequent emotional needs created in him a combination of childhood rebellion, indecisiveness and a tremendous deficiency in understanding his own personality. On his application for admission, his mother related the reasons for wanting him to attend the Academy.

My son needs to learn to learn, especially in math. The small ratio is impossible to find in the public school system. He also needs to find himself, who and what he is. Being away from the home situation will help.

Casey's home situation was complicated by parental marital stress (noted by the family's minister, a psychiatric interviewer and the staff interviewer from the Academy) and by a division between his parents on discipline and guidance. His father was employed in a job which kept him away from home for extended periods of time. He impressed both the psychiatric interviewer and the Academy's interviewer as being easily frustrated, intolerant, rigid in his attitude toward Casey and lacking in paternal warmth. He was overly demanding of Casey, especially in his academic performance, and contributed to the child's low self-image through lectures about becoming a "bum" or a "ditchdigger" when he grew up. He further added to Casey's emotional problems by making him feel guilty for not expressing enough appreciation for the opportunities he had which his father had lacked in his own childhood. His mother was a depressed woman who resented being tied, often alone, to the responsibilities of caring for the house and the children. Because of his father's overbearing attitude, Casey's mother tended toward being possessive and excessively sympathetic, oftentimes ignoring or excusing Casey's behavioral problems.

The frequent absence of his father, his parent's differences of opinion with regard to his discipline and handling, and the marital tension between husband and wife augmented Casey's lack of confidence, indecisiveness and extremely short attention span. At age ten and one-half, he was making plans to "go away when I am about 13 years old" and he had already begun to save money to do this. It was his fantasy that he could be really happy if he stayed away from cities and was free to go to movies and play games with two friends who shared his dream. Physically, Casey was smaller than most boys his age and cute-looking in a way that made people want to cuddle and protect him. Ron Johnson remarked that Casey's tender appearance could result in problems of overprotection on the part of the teachers and the dorm parents. This factor may have also been responsible for his lack of close friends in his neighborhood. He described the children as being "mean" because they wouldn't let him play with them. He said they thought they were "better" than he. In a letter to Arthur Maskers, a former teacher detailed the type of school structure required to deal adequately with Casey's problems.

Casey's parents are referring him to a private school. In this rare instance I would recommend a private

boarding school where Casey will have structure and consistency the majority of the time. I do not feel that he would be stable enough to cope with a public high school at all.

His psychiatric interviewer considered Casey's emotional profile to represent unsocialized aggressive reactions of childhood and recommended placement in a school which would assure him some degree of success, acceptance and attention, and one which would aid him in learning to express his negative feelings in appropriate ways. It was essential to Casey's emotional stability that he learn how to express his own opinions without the fear of ridicule or rejection, as had been the case in his relations with his father. Both his former teacher and his psychiatric interviewer felt the Academy could provide the consistency in care and discipline which was found lacking in his natural home. Casey was cowed and confused by the conflict between his parents. His psychiatric interviewer believed this confusion to be the source of his fantasies and failure to form friendships. Away from the home situation, he was happier and functioned better. His minster wrote:

Casey has been pictured as a problem child on numerous occasions, but none of us have found this to be true. We have enjoyed frequent contact with the youngster during our summer camp program and feel he is a gifted child who responds to love.

Casey was ready and able to respond to love and care, but

the divisions and existent marital tension between his parents disallowed any security or deep affection in his mind.

Case #5--Jessie, born 1956, Protestant, lower middle class southern residential home, white.

An example of negative parental influence resulting in open expressions of hostility and resentment was that of Jessie. His emotional conflicts led eventually to difficulty with the law when he was arrested for unlawful possession of prescription drugs and marijuana. The court postponed decision on Jessie upon the recommendation that he and his mother seek counsel individually and jointly from a local drug help center. Jessie's problems reached their peak when he returned home one night and tried to kill both his mother and himself. As a result of this action, he was detained by the court under a \$10,000 bond. After consultation with the director of a State Psychiatric Hospital, it was determined that Jessie's involvement with drugs was secondary, resulting from a detrimental relationship with his mother. Jessie, an illegitimate child, was in desperate need of strong adult guidance. According to a probation report, his mother represented a weak and inconsistent woman, plagued by ambivalence in her feelings toward Jessie and her role as a mother. Although she made

superficial efforts to maintain a home situation for the two of them, she showed absolutely no insight into her own deficiencies as a mother or the problems she created by her inability to discipline and advise her son. She tended to view Jessie's behavioral difficulties as a result totally of evil peer pressure. Jessie's intellectual capability was well above the average, but he tended to direct his potential in a demanding and manipulative fashion. A probation officer was struck by the fact that Jessie claimed to have many friends, yet had trouble even remembering their names. The staff at the Academy further noted that Jessie formed friendships of a very superficial nature. Jessie's illegitimate birth, his mother's weakness as a parent and his subsequent involvement with drugs combined to produce an unruly and headstrong personality. He required positive, but forceful guidance and discipline. In cooperation with the court and appointed guardians, the Academy drew up a list of rights and responsibilities for Jessie to adhere to if he were allowed to remain in school rather than be sent to a State House of Correction. Included in this list were instructions as to when and how often he could return home, his financial allowance, and a provision that he make no demands on his mother. In this particular case, the Academy represented one

student's last chance to prove himself and to prove to others that he could be positive and productive.

These case histories and many more like them testify to the need for schools in which the efforts of teachers and administrators are extended beyond academic instruction and preparation to the care of the emotional and psychological growth of the student. It was solely the decision of Arthur Masker to re-orient Friendsville Academy to offer this type of education. Its purpose was not to minimize the importance of the family or the public schools, but rather to provide a place for a certain type of student whose intellectual and emotional needs demanded special attention. The emphasis was on the students as individuals, helping them to resolve their conflicts in order to develop their unique potentialities. One educator commented that "when students are required to face their own needs, they begin to discipline themselves" (Von Hilsheimer 1966:67). Once removed from the source of their conflicts, whether the home or the home community, and placed in a totally new environment among new people, these students did indeed begin to face their needs. Their responsibilities as members of the Academy 'community' and 'family' necessitated an understanding of themselves, their problems and their desires. Otherwise, the degree

to which they could contribute and benefit from either the "community" or the "family" was negligible.

The concept of "community" was therapeutic in three areas: (1) it involved the students in the direct execution of the goals of the school, and although many of its rules and policies were non-negotiable, the pupils were at least permitted to raise issues and questions, giving a degree of validity and respect to their opinions; (2) it encouraged decision-making; (3) it required the students to understand and accept their responsibilities to themselves and to others. Cindy learned to function on her own in relationships with people of all ages, independent of her mother's example. She was forced to recognize what she wanted out of these relationships and what others expected of her. She described her relationships at the Academy by saying, "I became really close friends with a few of the people, liked a lot of them, and tolerated the rest." Her social confidence increased as she began to understand that she didn't have to be popular with everyone to enjoy meaningful friendships with a few.

In Condra's case, she was seeking an education which would afford her growth as a human being, emotionally as well as intellectually, and the opportunity to test her values in her interaction with people other

than family and close childhood friends.

The Academy was my idea of a self-imposed exile. Friendsville was my means of alienation and orientation/integration. The emphasis was on learning to appreciate your own worth and the worth of others. We learned of necessity to get along with others whom we most certainly would have shunned in another situation.

The personal torment Condra endured as a result of her drug addiction and the realization of the pain it had caused her family effected a significant change in her attitude and behavior. During her "self-imposed exile" in Friendsville, she determined that her judgment and values had worth on their own merit and did not require illustration through over-reaction. When she disagreed with certain policies or rules, she was free to express herself openly. The nature of the "community" also taught her that the worth of her personal beliefs did not negate the worth or importance of the beliefs of others.

We sat and talked, but most importantly listened to each other. And from being aware that others had something to say we learned that all we needed was to love and to be loved.

Condra believed the interrelationships she had with the students and staff at the Academy enabled her to better accept her parents' ideas and life-style with more tolerance and understanding.

During Bruce's first three weeks at the Academy,

his class attendance was punctual and his academic work ranged between "C's" and "B's." He showed no tendency toward truancy and appeared to be interested in his courses. However it should be noted that the close supervision and small teacher/student ratio obviated the chance for unexcused absences.

Away from his father's criticism, Casey began to express himself openly, participating in discussions during "community" meetings and offering his opinions in class. He had also made a considerable number of new friends and was no longer thinking about running away. With the support of the "community" and "family" at the Academy, Casey was encouraged to view himself, his strengths and his weaknesses, from a new perspective and within a circle of caring adults and youths who did not attempt to make him a reflection of their own personal goals and ideals, but rather accepted him for the kind of person he was and heartened him in the pursuit of the kind of person he wanted to be. Because of his young age (13), Casey was in a better position to benefit from the Academy than many of the older children. He had not been involved with drugs or sex, so his primary interest was in being happy and having friends.

Jessie might have benefitted from the "familial" reinforcement of the Academy because his superficial

manipulation of friendships and overt hostility had been the result of the poor relationship with his mother and a personal disbelief that he was important to anyone. The very purpose of the school was the emotional welfare of its students, thus it was offering Jessie a place where people, his own age as well as those older and younger, were genuinely concerned about him. It was up to him to accept their concern and subsequently build strong relationships based on true interest. The community organization gave him a chance to channel negative reactions into positive involvement. With a person like Jessie it was difficult to discern the moment when he ceases his superficial pleas and manipulative actions, and begins to speak and to behave with sincerity; but there was one instance in which he sounded earnest in his appeal. After being reprimanded for a breach of one of the rules, Jessie wrote a note to Arthur Maskers which requested that he be punished in a particular way.

I would like to work instead of being dormed because it would help me as a person and the community as a whole. I could help make improvements such as improving the coffeehouse, rec-room, chapel, gym bleachers and whatever else that needs improvement. I believe by helping make improvements on what needs improving is one way of gaining back my trust and respect.

If he really felt as if he'd sacrificed the trust and respect of the Academy, Jessie might possibly have begun

to seek something deeper out of his relationships. His request for work assignments as a form of punishment did represent a positive approach to the situation. Jessie really needed the stability and security provided by the "community" and "family" atmosphere at the Academy, but he was one student whose willingness and appreciation I found impossible to measure. I personally don't believe he ever accepted or understood his responsibility to the "community" and "family." But it is certain that he preferred school over a reformatory and his "rights and responsibilities" did enable him to maintain a cordial and workable relationship with his mother on those occasions when he went to stay with her. At the very least, this improved one tense situation.

The incorporation of the school as a "community" and a "family" did not immediately resolve emotional conflicts and some conflicts might never have been resolved. Nor did it avoid the appearance of other problems and conflicts within the Academy itself. Despite any grievances or dislikes, the students were at least adjusting to the academic demands, something they had been unable to do in their former schools. They were also participating in "community" activities and discussions, performing their work assignments with few complaints, and learning that the freedom to be an individual carried

the limits and responsibilities of respecting and protecting the individuality of others.

As mentioned above the intention of the "community/family" atmosphere did not stave off conflicts and problem situations within the Academy. The students were not always convinced of the effectiveness of "community" meetings. There were numerous occasions when they felt their opinions were overlooked. Many of the students refused to admit that certain rules were non-negotiable and even the staff could not change them. Compulsory attendance in chapel was not a source of great delight among the students as most were not deeply tied to their religion. The worship meetings which included audible expression were usually received better than the silent services. It would also be shortsighted to say that the Academy had shown students the "evils" of drugs. Many still found ways to obtain marijuana and, after the first disciplinary action, they also found places to smoke it without worrying about being caught. Sexual encounters also occurred, primarily between dating couples. A number of the incidents did not result in suspension or expulsion and a great many more went unnoticed by the staff.

The students were, at times, their own worst enemies. Most wanted desperately to remain at the Academy, yet they

continued to indulge in activities which tempted severe penalties.

When confronted with the possibility of the Academy's closing in May, 1972, the majority of students were depressed, confounded and anxious over the personal consequences of this action. For the first time, many were confronted with the very real possibility of leaving a place which had forgiven and supported them time and again. Below are three student feelings with regard to closure.

There's no way I can physically and mentally stay at home and listen to her (mother) telling me you're gonna do this and you're gonna do that. I guess that's why it scares me most, cause it means I'm gonna have to give up just about everything I've worked for for a long time.

There's a lot of people that are counting on coming back and it kind of affects them the same way, because it's a last resort for a lot of people. A lot of people know that if it goes under, if this chance goes under, then that's the last chance they've had.

If it closes, what I'll have to do is find a new boarding school and start all over again. Here, you know, it's a home in a way.

It is unfortunate that the students recognized their attachment to the Academy just as they were about to lose it.

During the interviews with the Academy students it became apparent that many of the students did not fully understand the concepts of "community" and

"family" to be defineable. Their feelings about the therapeutic approach centered around their own individual needs and conflicts. The students recognized their inability to adapt at the present time to their home environment; consequently, the Academy represented a place where they could have the needed time to sort out their own difficulties and establish goals within a closed and protected environment. The students appreciated the responsibility given them as members of the "community" for this gave them the opportunity to express opinions and to participate in decision-making. The concept of "family" allowed them closeness to others and emotional support while trying to solve their emotional and behavioral difficulties. Not one Academy student who was interviewed could flatly define their concept of "community" and "family," but their appreciation of the school's attempts is reflected in many letters written by students who were suspended or disciplined for breach of rules. One student who was suspended for possession of marijuana wrote to Masker asking that he and all other students suspended for the same reason be readmitted.

I realize that my case is not special and I beg you to let all the students back in. I know that I was lucky to stay as long as I did, but that, in a way, makes it hurt more because there are so

many beautiful people there and I miss them all so much. There are also some people that I want to see stay on the right track. I feel that I can help the community in this respect and in others.

In this case the student expressed an interest in helping others in the "community" if he were allowed to come back. Although many such good intentions fall by the wayside when the end, in this case readmission, is achieved, the period of suspension gave the student the time to ponder what he/she wanted, had lost, and wanted to contribute. Another student, suspended for the same reason, drugs, wrote that he was ready to return and accept his academic and "community" responsibilities.

I realize that a great deal will be expected of me if I return. Being a student of one year, I must set an example for the new students by participating more actively in the community not only for my own benefit but for the benefit of others as well.

The students' emotional attachment to the Academy "community" and "family" was also evidenced by parents' comments regarding changes they had noticed in their children. One mother whose recent remarriage had distressed her daughter and increased hostility in the home wrote that the Academy's therapeutic approach was appearing to reach her daughter.

We are encouraged by Diane's letters, one received this morning, that she appears to be happy in her school work, and her own personal goals.

Another parent wrote that the change in her daughter had made her cognizant of many failures in the family to provide the emotional support and reinforcement that her daughter so desperately needed.

Such a change has come over Martha that I can hardly believe she is the same person. She likes dorm life and your community endeavors. She says that for the first time she feels truly involved with other people and that they are truly involved with her. Perhaps we were not involving ourselves enough in Martha's dreams and feelings. Understanding what was lacking at home and abundant in your school helps me to amend this problem.

There can be no accurate measure of the students' appreciation or even understanding of what the "community" and "family" were trying to do or actually accomplishing. But the students regarded their teachers, dorm parents and Arthur Masker as more than professionals doing a job. They were people, concerned with the students' success or failure and a place to turn when they needed help.

CHAPTER II

ADJUSTMENT AND CRITICISM--THE STAFF

As evidenced by the case histories in the preceding chapter, the backgrounds, experiences and problems of the students made instruction and help an ominous task for the teachers. Generally lacking in therapeutic training and a real understanding of the concepts of "community" and "family," the staff was faced with the responsibility of stimulating academic interest as well as trying to resolve emotional conflicts. An analysis of their ability to accomplish this is actually an analysis of their growth as staff members and their opinions on that experience.

Their brief orientation was hardly adequate preparation for their assignment, but once the school year had begun, the staff was better able to assess the structure of the Academy, the students and their respective roles. The students were charming in many ways and their emotional conflicts elicited much sympathy from the staff; consequently, the staff began to actively involve themselves with the students, in and out of the classrooms. They offered extra time to tutor students who were having difficulties in their courses and they were always ready to lend an ear to a student problem. There was no

conscious attempt by the staff to preach or to lecture the students, but occasionally their concern made it impossible to refrain from offering an opinion. In some cases their remarks were appreciated and in others they were rejected with hostility. A couple of the students could be especially crude in this rejection which only frustrated faculty attempts to help them. I was told on more than one occasion, that a staff member had to actually suppress the urge to inflict physical punishment. Most were in agreement that the students needed to learn to help themselves before anyone else could help them.

Those teachers who were interviewed in 1972 were in accord on four obstacles, precipitated by emotional conflicts, which hindered the students' former school experience and threatened their adjustment at the Academy. First, the most obvious problem was a lack of purpose and direction on the part of the students. Secondly, the same lack of purpose and direction resulted in a lack of motivation, for without general or specific goals, the student had no stimulus toward achievement. Thirdly, boredom was the inevitable successor to the above problems. Paul Witkowsky, one of the English teachers, considered poor family relationships, weak, hostile or nonexistent, to be a major reason for

the students' apparent lack of purpose and direction. When Cindy's rapport with her mother changed, she became depressed and incapable of defining what was important to her in her life. Condra, however, understood precisely what was important to her, but did not feel she could freely pursue goals which she considered to be contrary to those of her family. Regardless of whether the familial relations were weak, hostile, or nonexistent, the children had not received the adult guidance and support necessary to determine purpose. Steve Root, the art teacher, pointed to another reason for the students' lack of purpose and direction. He maintained that many of them were unable to make strong commitments because they were unable to act individually against pressure from their peers. This factor was partially responsible for Bruce's repeated failures in the public school. He allowed an unhealthy element to direct his activities even though he was aware of the detriment to his future.

Bored and dissatisfied with their lives, the students turned to drugs, sex and truancy to satiate their emotional needs. By the time they had arrived at the Academy, most of the children had rejected the use of hard drugs, in particular, barbiturates, heroin, amphetamines, and morphine, although there was still

overwhelming agreement that marijuana was both harmless and enjoyable. Most of the males expressed few, if any, regrets over their early sexual experiences (by early I mean age 15 or younger), but the incidence of regret and recrimination was much higher among the females. The majority of the girls had lost their virginity between 13 and 14, indicating that their first sexual encounter had been prompted by the desire to be loved and protected. However, their memories of these experiences were clouded by feelings of "disgust" that they had been "used." There had been no tenderness or loving affection, just "pain" and "the constant fear of pregnancy." The above reactions to sex are substantiated by the Kinsey report on premarital coitus. Only 3 percent of the females in his study had engaged in coitus between the onset of adolescence and age 15, while 40 percent of the males in that age bracket had had sexual experience; moreover, regret was extremely high among the young females and nonexistent among the males (Kinsey 1965:301). The students' lack of purpose, motivation and apparent boredom, brought on by emotional conflicts, had led them to seek out alternatives which, for the most part, they were too emotionally immature to handle. Steve Root believed the involvement with drugs and sex at early ages had created "growing up problems" for the

children. Root thought the obstacles could, at least, be minimized by teaching the students to "be happy and laugh and be young." Root in my opinion was accurate in saying these problems could be minimized instead of erased. If the students could smoke (marijuana), drink and have sexual relations without being caught, it would be a naive assumption to think that they did not. Most of this above activity was concentrated among the older students, those in high school. The staff opposed the use of drugs and premarital sex; and, moreover, most of the faculty was unfamiliar with the vocabulary or effects of drugs. This often crippled their ability to discern whether or not a student was using drugs.

Many staff members sympathized with the lack of activity such as that the students had been used to in cities like Baltimore and New York, but they also recognized that the students had come to Friendsville for reasons unrelated to entertainment. There were attempts made, however, to alleviate boredom by arranging visits to Knoxville and attendance at concerts, shows, etc., but these excursions were not frequent enough to stave off student boredom.

Most of the teachers lived off campus, and even though they enjoyed their involvement at the Academy,

there was a very real need to get away at the end of the day. The dorm parents, however, lived on campus, and, even at day's end, they were still confronted with tense situations, discipline, emotional outbursts and the simple monotony of remaining at the school. In this respect they were better able to empathize with the students and frequently overlooked or excused misbehavior. At the same time this empathy also had the potential to cause resentment. One dorm parent said she "would sometimes get so mad I'd want to scream 'look I'm stuck here too.'" While the responsibility of many teachers ended with the school day, the tedium and anxiety of duties continued into the night for those who also had the position of dorm parent. The potential for breaking under such strain was apparent in one dorm parent who kept herself going by ingesting amphetamines.

Structuring the Academy as a "community" and a "family" provided a good foundation for therapeutic education, but living in such close and continuous contact with little diversion proved wearisome and led to a number of the emotional outbursts, irritations and problem situations. The staff was in general agreement that teaching positions should be kept separate from the responsibilities of dorm parent. It was also suggested

that more dorm personnel be added to allow for rotation and increased free time.

Because of their brief orientation, the staff (with the exception of Johnson and Masker) tended to view the therapeutic approach as being a structural tendency in the school rather than a stated purpose.

Paul Witkowsky, an English teacher, stated:

We need to decide once and for all whether we're going to be a boarding prep school or a half-way house for kids with emotional problems. I think we're definitely leaning toward the latter function, the faculty knows it (mostly) and so do the students. I don't know how the community (Friendsville) would react if we decided to be a half-way house and made an official statement of intent and policy.

Virginia Schnurr, wife of an Academy teacher and dorm parent, expressed a similar concern about the school's direction.

To decide what we are trying to accomplish--if we are a therapeutic community then I would change the staffing, etc. Anyway it seems absurd to discuss changes until we determine what we are and want to be and where we are headed.

If the school were going to be a therapeutic "community," the staff believed certain additions and changes were necessary. First, there was unanimous agreement among the nine faculty members interviewed that at least one psychiatric or psychological counselor should be hired, not only to work with the students, but also to work with and to advise both the staff and parents as well.

Second, many expressed the need for additional teachers, a permanent librarian, dietician and disciplinarian. Third, it was suggested the school require a comprehensive physical, mental and emotional check-up for each student prior to admission. Fourth, a more intense and longer period of orientation was necessary. Fifth, the staff wanted access to a more detailed file of student case histories and academic records. Sixth, the staff wanted a required number of visits to campus by parents or guardians. Seventh, the need for increased communication and involvement with the local town and Quaker Church was expressed. And finally, the staff urged more structure both academic and social in rules, requirements and discipline.

Clearly, the staff did not consider Friendsville Academy had established itself as a therapeutic school. Their suggestions and concerns reveal a disparity between their opinions of the needs of therapeutic education and those of Arthur Masker. Masker had a distinct outline of the therapeutic approach he was trying to establish at the Academy, but he had failed to communicate it adequately to the staff as well as to the town and the church. He believed that therapeutic education should be administered through a humanistic approach, without trained psychologists. He believed the reinforcement of

"community" and "family" was best realized by everyday normal human interaction.

I believe there are two faults in his logic:

(1) Masker had been a student of Educational Psychology himself, and had had the training that his staff lacked; (2) the Academy students were not typical of most children their age, and the staff was frustrated more by their own assumed inability to reach them than by the students' conflicts. The staff wanted more training and guidance, in particular from Masker. His reluctance to instruct or advise them was, in this author's opinion, his way of maintaining a humanist approach, yet the staff felt this void in their experience circumvented their competence in dealing with the students' problems.

Despite this disunity between Masker and the staff, they all tried very hard to make the "community/family" orientation work in an academic arena. Working with students whose emotional conflicts hindered their academic achievement could be frustrating to people whose education had only equipped them with the skills and methods to teach facts; but the rewards of this experience were perhaps greater. The best support for this statement comes from the following paragraphs which were taken from the responses of five teachers to the

question "What do you find most satisfying about teaching at the Academy?"

The closeness of the staff, especially in times of conflict and crisis and seeing students become concerned about others occasionally.

Although I've never taught at a public school, I imagine the rewards and frustrations about Friendsville Academy are greater than those at most public schools. What is most satisfying to me is occasionally to strike a real response in a student who didn't respond before--perhaps to achieve an emotional closeness with a student outside of class--to relate to them as people and kids and not just as students.

Close relationships with students. Small classes. Few disciplinary problems (classroom). The feeling of being needed, and useful teacher friendships.

Occasionally one feels they may have helped a student.

Personal growth, my relationships with some staff, my relationships with the students.

These comments reflect the thoughtful concerns of the Academy staff. The fact that they did not understand Masker's therapeutic intentions did not diminish the personal attempts to provide a "community" and "family" atmosphere, nor did it lower their opinion of Masker. Even in times of disagreement, the staff appeared to have respect for his ability and efforts. One staff member commented:

I believe in action or discipline now and Art prefers to wait and hope it'll go away on its own. So the problem is really mine, not Art's, he is conscientious and does a really fine job.

Other teachers made comments about Masker which commended him for his ability and commitment. One faculty member said, "I feel Arthur Masker is a capable educator." And another said of him, "Art is a fine, sensitive administrator." Perhaps the best characterization of Masker came from a student who was respected and liked by the whole staff. After a year at college, Condra wrote the following paragraph:

Art was a very interesting person to know and love. He was a friend, a comforter, an authority figure, a singer, a psychologist, and the father of a new baby. He had dignity and pride and conviction in his own decisions. That is perhaps what we wanted out of the school--I did, at least.

PART IV

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

SUMMATION

In evaluating Arthur Masker's therapeutic orientation of Friendsville Academy, one factor must be outstanding. The school was only under his administration for three years, a span of time which is not sufficient to gauge the long-range results. I have attempted, in this thesis, to support in theory, the potential of utilizing the dual concepts of "community" and "family" in a therapeutic situation; however, in this particular experiment, I believe Masker's therapeutic reorganization of the Academy would not have stood the test of time without certain changes and modifications. Three problem areas hindered its successful adaptation.

First, its location in a small, rural and conservative community demanded patient and tolerant communication between the school and the town. Whether the town could have ever accepted and supported a therapeutic program at Friendsville Academy is purely conjecture, but Masker's failure to adequately inform the town of his intentions was diplomatically unsound. The relations between the town and school began, in 1970, with misunderstanding. Admittedly, it would have been difficult

to establish good relations without some liaison effect, but he had a valuable liaison in the Quaker Church and Board of Trustees. Yet, again, he failed to explain to the Quaker congregation precisely the type of program and therapeutic orientation he hoped to establish at the Academy. Citing reasons such as the Academy's recent recruitment failures (1960's), the school's financial inability to compete with the well-funded public school, and the need in education to develop therapeutic programs, he might have enjoined their support. The support of the Church and Board might have helped much of the town to understand the students and the program. At the very least, the people of Friendsville would have been better informed of the transition which Masker was initiating at the Academy. As mentioned in PART II, the town was not hostile toward the school or students, but they were disenchanted by changes in the student body and orientation which they did not fully understand.

Further, Masker did not endeavor to present the students with a positive view of Friendsville. The students tended to regard the town as a stagnant "hick" town which offered little in the way of entertainment.

Masker's first effort should have been to establish sound relations with the church and subsequently the town, and then to reinforce these relations by presenting a

favorable environmental image to the students.

Second, the staff orientation program was not sufficient to prepare the faculty for their responsibilities. When first applying for a position, a prospective staff member should have received a detailed narrative of the Academy, town, students and therapeutic reorganization. This should have also included a complete description of the demands the job would make on their time and energies. It is true that Masker could not have known all of the possible problems and challenges prior to the school year, but as a student of Educational Psychology, he should have been able to anticipate many of them. Once the staff member accepted the position, an extensive period of orientation would have better equipped him/her with the skills and knowledge necessary to deal with emotional problems. One staff member suggested "role playing" techniques where one person assumes the role of teacher and another assumes the role of students. Also beneficial, would have been a series of lectures by experts in the fields of psychology, education, social work, etc. An adequate training period should last at least three weeks to a month according to the nine teachers interviewed in 1972.

I have already mentioned the staff suggestion of

adding dorm parents to allow for more rotation and free time. The dorm parents were under too much strain to maintain discipline, stability and respect for six or seven days in a row. Further, a breakdown of dorm supervision would have severely crippled the operationalization of "community" and "family."

Third, in the area of the students, one important change requested by the staff members was to require a certain number of parental (or guardian) visits to the campus. The hope was that such visits would reinforce the student's home life and also allow the staff to have a chance to meet with parents and discuss the students' academic performance and emotional adjustment to the Academy.

Additional staff members such as drug experts and vocational experts would have expanded instruction into much-needed areas. Drug experts could have offered courses in the chemical makeup, physical and psychological effects, and legal boundaries of drug use. Vocational training would have provided many students with an alternative to college as well as involving them in learning manual skills. Many of the students were not planning on attending college, but yet, were untrained for any other vocation.

The concept of "community" and "family" reinforcement

has the potential to be successfully applied to therapeutic education, but it must involve the entire staff and student body in a joint, knowledgeable effort to sustain its operation. As revealed by the surveys of students, staff and the local town, there was no clear understanding of Masker's therapeutic intentions.

Although he did set down outlines for the maintenance of the school, even the use of words such as "therapeutic" and "emotional conflict," were omitted. Friendsville Academy was never adequately established as a therapeutic school. The lack of proper communication between administration and staff, school and community (local town), and faculty and students' families hindered the program from its very inception in 1970. It can only be regarded as an experiment in education from which other programs of its nature can learn. The unfortunate fact is that other schools will probably learn more from the mistakes of the Academy than from its advantages.

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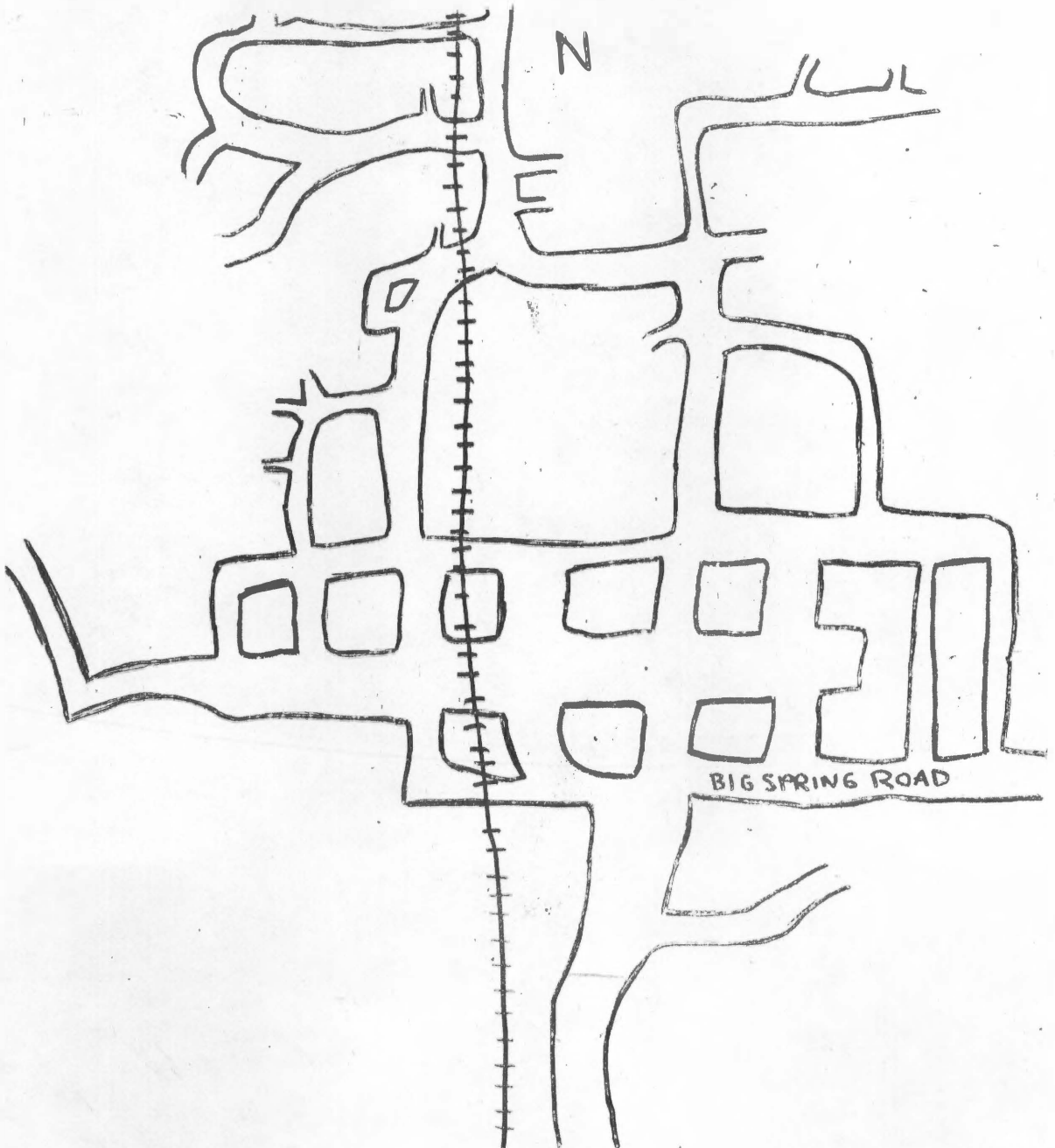
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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

MAP OF FRIENDSVILLE



APPENDIX B

FRIENDSVILLE COMMUNITY SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
FRIENDSVILLE ANTHROPOLOGY FIELDWORK PROJECT

1. Name:
2. Address:
3. Telephone number:
4. Date of birth:
5. Race: (Interviewer's observation)
6. Marital status: Married, living with spouse
Married, separated from spouse
Divorced
Single
Widowed
7. Children (with names and birthdates):
8. Other dependent family members: (Relationship and age)
9. Husband's employment:
10. Wife's employment:
11. Children's employment:
12. Husband's educational background: (Highest number of years completed. Include description of any college, professional, or technical training)
13. Wife's educational background: (Highest number of years completed. Include description of any college, professional, or technical training)
14. Children's educational background: (List by name)
a. b.
c. d.
(list on back if necessary by 14, e., etc.)
15. How long has the family lived in Friendsville?
16. Where has the family lived previously? (By place and date):

17. Has any member of the family attended Friendsville Academy? When?
18. How did he like it?
19. Has any member of the family worked in the Academy?
20. Any other direct contact with the Academy?
21. How do you feel about the students there? How would you describe them?
22. What is your opinion of the Academy?
23. How do Academy students compare, in your opinion, with public high school students?
24. How do you think the Friendsville community feels about the Academy?
25. Would you like to see the Academy closed? Why or why not?
26. If the Academy closed, would Friendsville be a better or safer place to live? Why or why not?
27. If you could make changes in the Academy, what changes would you make?
28. How do you see the relationship between the local Quaker Church and the Academy?
29. What Christian influences do you see in the Academy?
30. What opinions do you have about the Academy's academic programs?
31. What are your impressions of the Academy's staff?
32. What would Friendsville lose if the Academy closed?
33. If you had a chance, how would you like to become involved with Friendsville Academy?
34. What are the future prospects of the town of Friendsville as you see it?

APPENDIX C

SURVEY OF FRIENDSVILLE COMMUNITY--1972

Total number of respondents--132

AGE 0-20 (8)
 21-30 (12)
 31-40 (12)
 41-50 (26)
 51-60 (28)
 61-70 (20)
 71- (13)
 No answer (13)

RELIGION
 Quaker (21)
 Baptist (42)
 Methodist (20)
 Catholic (1)
 None (6)
 Unknown (31)
 Other (11)

PLACES LIVED BEFORE
 Out of Tennessee (20)
 In Tennessee (72)
 No other place (33)
 No answer (7)

TIME IN FRIENDSVILLE
 Life (80)
 More - 10 yr (14)
 Less - 10 yr (36)
 No answer (2)

EDUCATION - Wife
 Grade school (17)
 High school (65)
 College (17)
 Other (1)
 No answer (32)

EDUCATION - Husband
 Grade school (24)
 High school (51)
 College (13)
 Other (4)
 Technical (7)
 No answer (33)

OCCUPATION - Wife
 Technical (2)
 Professional (20)
 Laborer (17)
 Other (5)
 Unknown (6)
 No answer (38)
 Housewife (44)

OCCUPATION - Husband
 Technical (23)
 Professional (19)
 Laborer (36)
 Other (25)
 Unknown (5)
 No answer (24)
 Farmer (3)
 Combination (1)

NUMBER OF CHILDREN
 1 (18) 5 (10)
 2 (23) No answer (13)
 3 (30) 0 (25)
 4 (12) Not coded (1)

RACE
 White (118)
 Black (4)
 Unknown (10)

MARITAL STATUS

Married/living with spouse (93)
 Married/not living with spouse (1)
 Divorced (2)
 Separated (13)
 Widowed (20)
 Unknown (3)

Has any member of the family
 attended Friendsville Academy?

Yes 51
 No 78
 No answer 3

How did he like it?

Like 45
 Dislike 2
 Undecided 2
 No opinion 2
 No answer 81

Has any member of the family
 worked in the Academy?

Yes 27
 No 101
 No answer 4

Any other direct contact
 with the Academy?

Yes 43
 No 79
 No answer 10

How do you feel about the
 students there?

Favorable 45
 Unfavorable 23
 No opinion 24
 Mixed 18
 Other 22

What is your opinion of
 the Academy?

Favorable 61
 Unfavorable 22
 No opinion 21
 Mixed 13
 Other 15

How do Academy students com-
 pare, in your opinion, with
 public high school students?

Academy/better 6
 PHS/better 20
 Same 55
 Other 22
 No answer 29

How do you think the
 Friendsville community feels
 about the Academy?

Favorable 29
 Unfavorable 34
 Mixed 19
 Other 38
 No answer 12

Would you like to see the
 Academy closed?

Yes 10
 No 91
 Other 8
 No opinion 9
 Yes, unless changes
 made 12
 No answer 2

If the Academy closed, would
 Friendsville be a better or
 safer place to live?

Safer and better 10
 No different 24
 Other 20
 No opinion 72
 No answer 6

If you could make changes in the Academy, what changes would you make?

Changes (general)	32
No change	17
No opinion	31
More religious influence	11
None	14
Stricter	27

What Christian influences do you see in the Academy?

Enough	3
Too few	13
None	30
Does not know	46
No answer	10
Other	11
Some	19

How do you see the relationship between the local Quaker Church and the Academy.

Bad because of Academy	7
Bad because of town	1
Bad, no cause	10
Good because of town	5
Good, no cause	12
No opinion	26
Does not know	40
No answer	31

What opinions do you have about the Academy's academic programs?

Bad	10
High	27
No opinion	84
Mixed	8
No answer	3

What are your impressions of the Academy's staff?

Good	33
Bad	14
No opinion	64
Mixed	10
No answer	11

What would Friendsville lose if the Academy closed?

Great loss	63
No loss	26
No opinion	13
Does not know	25
Mixed	5

If you had a chance, how would you like to become involved with Friendsville Academy?

Would want to	43
Would not want to	58
No opinion	21
Mixed	10

What are the future prospects of the town of Friendsville as you see it?

Will grow	38
Less growth	8
Stay the same	23
No opinion	34
No growth/no response	29

APPENDIX D

CROSS-TABULATION OF RESPONSE TO FRIENDSVILLE COMMUNITY SURVEY AND RELIGION BASED ON THE THREE DOMINANT RELIGIONS IN FRIENDSVILLE, TN. N=83

#28*	(21) <u>Quaker</u>	(20) <u>Methodist</u>	(42) <u>Baptist</u>
<u>Academy Relations/Church</u>			
Bad because of Academy	2	1	3
Bad because of Church	0	0	0
Bad/no blame	4	1	0
Good because of Academy	2	0	3
Good/no cause	0	2	3
 #27			
<u>Changes in Academy</u>			
Needed	4	5	10
No change	1	2	7
No opinion	5	6	10
More religion	4	1	1
Stricter rules	4	5	6
 #25			
<u>Should Academy Close</u>			
Yes	3	1	2
No	10	19	34
Other	2	0	2
No opinion	1	0	1
No/conditional	4	0	3
No answer	1	0	0
 #20			
<u>Personal Contact/Academy</u>			
Yes	11	4	11
No	9	15	30
No answer	1	1	1
 #17			
<u>Family Attended Academy</u>			
Yes	20	10	7
No	1	10	35
No answer	0	0	0

*The number above each phrase refers to the number of the question on the survey, Appendix B, page 129.

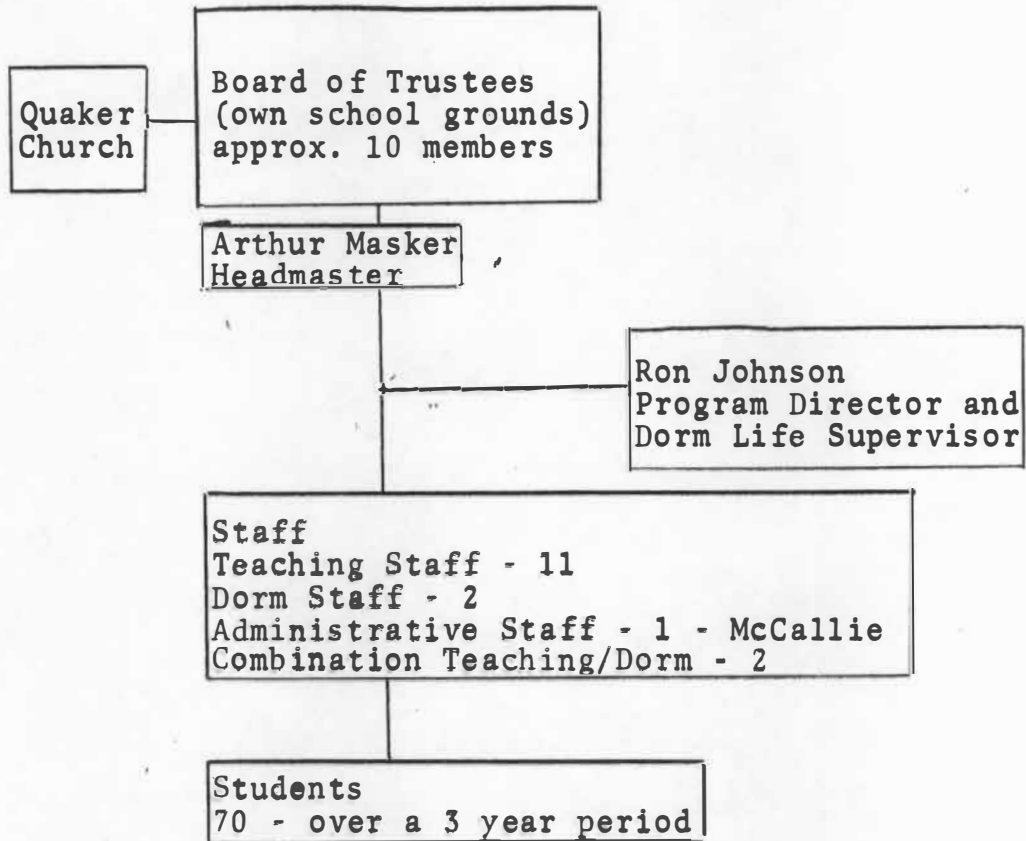
#22	(21)	(20)	(42)
<u>Feelings/Academy</u>	<u>Quaker</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Baptist</u>
Like	20	7	5
Dislike	0	1	1
Indifferent	0	1	1
No opinion	0	0	1
No answer	1	11	34

#23			
<u>Public High School</u>			
<u>Compared to Academy</u>			
Academy/better	2	1	2
Public school/better	3	2	7
Same	10	6	18
Other	1	4	10
No answer	5	7	5

#21			
<u>Students/Academy</u>			
Favorable	4	9	15
Unfavorable	4	2	8
No opinion	6	2	4
Mixed	5	3	5
Other	2	4	7

APPENDIX E

HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY 1970-1973



APPENDIX F

QUALIFICATIONS FOR 1972-1973 FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY TEACHERS

- Pauline Berggren, B. S. (Purdue University)
- Rebecca A. Broom, A. B., M. A. (University of Tennessee)
- Robert C. Broome, B. A. (William Carey College),
M. Div. (Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary)
- Mary R. Broome, B. A. (Carson Newman College)
- John A. Glover, B. S. (Memphis State University),
M. A. (Tennessee Tech. University)
- Richard K. Little, B. S. (Carson Newman College)
- Arthur S. Masker, B. S. (Maryville College),
M. S. (University of Tennessee)
- E. Terry Maxwell, B. S., M. S. (University of Tennessee)
- Carlton Oliver, B. A. (Tennessee Wesleyan College)
- Judith Q. Ratledge, B. S. (University of Tennessee)
- Stephen L. Root, B.F.A. (Alfred University, Pennsylvania
State University)
- Daniel F. Schnurr, B. A., M. S. (State University of New
York, Buffalo)
- Mildred L. Walton, B. S. (University of Tennessee)
- Paul W. Witkowsky, B. A. (Swarthmore),
M. A. (University of North Carolina)

APPENDIX G

FRIENDSVILLE ANTHROPOLOGY FIELDWORK PROJECT STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:

Do you live at the Academy?

Please give a brief statement about your education and previous teaching experience:

Education: (Please list degrees, college or university, and dates)

Previous teaching experience: (Please list location, type of school, dates)

Please describe the length of your service at Friendsville Academy, your principal duties, and what drew you to teach at Friendsville Academy.

What do you find most satisfying at the Academy?

What bothers you most about the Academy?

What changes, if you were able, would you make at the Academy? What prevents the Academy from adopting your ideas? Would they meet with the approval and support of other faculty members? What about the students? The Friendsville community?

What are the principal problems you have encountered with Academy students?

If you have taught elsewhere, how do students here compare with those you have previously taught?

What are the primary individual problems, personal problems you have noted in Academy students?

Have the problems you have just described increased in incidence? If yes, what do you think are the reasons for the increase?

What additional staff do you think are necessary to fulfill the kind of institution you would like to see at Friendsville?

Would you change the admissions policy at the Academy?
How and why?

How do you see the relationship between the Academy and the Friendsville community? What changes would you like to see?

Do you feel that staff meetings accomplish what you want them to do? What changes would you like to see?

If you could make policy on drugs, alcohol, and sex at the Academy and, for the moment leaving aside community and Board reactions, what policies would you make on
 Marijuana (grass)
 Prescribed drugs
 Hard drugs
 Alcohol
 Sex

What kinds of reactions do you feel within yourself to student requests for staff overlooking experiments with drugs, alcohol, and sex?

Would you support an attempt to free the Academy of Board control over internal community policies? Would such an attempt be successful?

Would you favor an attempt to form the Academy on the model of Summerhill?

Would you favor the Academy's becoming a "free" school with more communal aspects?

Should birth control information and contraceptives be available to the students?

How do you feel the staff could be better prepared for their jobs at Friendsville Academy? Please be as specific as possible.

How do you see the Academy Board's relations with (a) the school; (b) the staff; (c) the students; and (d) the community.

the school:

the staff:

the students:

the community:

Do you feel any guidance and/or support from the Board either individually or as a group?

If you were to design a pre-service orientation for the staff, what would it be?

What in-service training programs are needed?

Do you feel any need for professional consultation services to the staff? What are they? Where do you think they may be available?

Do you feel any lack of more support and guidance from the Academy administration? Why? What kinds?

What do you feel are your individual needs? (a) In educational resources? (b) In living conditions? (c) In working conditions?

Please use the remainder of this space, and more if you need it, for additional comments.

APPENDIX H

ACADEMY STUDENT QUESTION OUTLINE

Name

Birth date

Birth place

Residence

Who was most productive person in student's life?

Who was most destructive person in student's life?

How is your relationship with your mother?

How is your relationship with your father?

Have you had any experiences with drugs, sex?

Why did you come to the Academy?

How do you like it?

How do you like the students, staff, local town?

What changes would you make?

How do you feel about Arthur Masker?

Do you understand what he's trying to do?

What will you do if the Academy closes?

APPENDIX I

BREAKDOWN OF ACADEMY STUDENTS' HOME STATES AND RACIAL AFFILIATION N=70

Home States

Alabama 5
Arkansas 1
Georgia 5
Illinois 1
Indiana 2
Maryland 9
Michigan 1
Missouri 1
New Jersey 1
New York 7
North Carolina 5
Ohio 1
Oklahoma 1
Tennessee 23
Texas 1
Virgin Islands 1
Virginia 4
Unknown 1

Racial Affiliation

Black 4
Indian 1
White 64
Unknown 1

APPENDIX J

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION
FRIENDSVILLE ACADEMY
FRIENDSVILLE, TENN.

Name _____ Date _____
Address _____ Race _____ Sex _____
Birth Date _____ Birth Place _____
School Last Attended _____
Address _____
Grade Completed _____ Graded Repeated, if any _____
Parent or Guardian _____
Address _____
Parents Chief Occupation _____
Do You Have Good Health? _____ If Any Particular Illness or
Physical Defect Explain _____
Have You Ever Been Refused Admission to Another School? _____
Explain _____
Church Membership _____ Or Preference _____
Write a Short Paragraph Telling Why You Desire to Attend
Friendsville Academy. _____

Signed _____ (Student)
Signed _____ (Parent or Guardian)

REFERENCE AND ADDRESS

Minister _____
A Neighbor _____
A Former Teacher _____
A \$5.00 Application Fee Is Required With Each Application.

Please Send Transcript of Grades.

VITA

L. Janice Campbell was born at Greenville, South Carolina, on February 16, 1950. She attended public schools in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Shaker Heights, Ohio. In 1968, she entered The University of Tennessee at Knoxville, Tennessee, and, in June, 1972, she received the Bachelor of Arts Degree in Religious Studies.

In September, 1972, she entered the Graduate School at The University of Tennessee. During the next two years, she worked as a graduate teaching assistant in Cultural Anthropology courses. She received her Master of Arts in Anthropology in March, 1975. After completion of course requirements, she began working as an instructor in the Sociology Department at Carson-Newman College at Jefferson City, Tennessee.