Arthur Ernest Morgan and the Moraine Park School, 1916-1927

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Beginning in 1916, Arthur E. Morgan, an engineer, and several business leaders in Dayton, Ohio created the Moraine Park School to allow students to engage in small business enterprises so they could learn how to apply academic subject matter, to be practical, to maintain industriousness, and to become socially responsible. With few variations, Morgan applied this curriculum in schools he built as part of his efforts for labor reform while he constructed dams in Dayton.

Educational reformers such as Stanwood Cobb pointed to the Moraine Park School as one of the first, most important progressive schools.¹ Although the schools that joined the Progressive Education Association followed widely different curriculums, the founders of these schools shared concern for students' full and free development.² Even among these innovative schools, Moraine Park School was unique in that the teachers helped the students start their own small businesses. The hope was that the students would increase their understanding of democracy, refine their moral qualities, and improve their entrepreneurial skills by engaging in their own profit making activities.

Although this paper focuses on Morgan's connection with Moraine Park School, this relationship was brief. In 1921, Morgan moved from Dayton to Yellow Springs, Ohio to become president of Antioch College. About twelve years later, in 1933, he resigned the presidency of Antioch College to become chairperson of the board and chief engineer the Tennessee Valley Authority. He did not remain with the TVA for long. In 1938, President Roosevelt fired him. During these times, Morgan gained his livelihood from his dam building company even though educational reform remained important to him as a way to improve the world.³

Founding a School

Morgan was the head of a flood control company when he came to Dayton, Ohio shortly after the flood of 1913. After establishing the Miami Valley Conservancy District and beginning the extensive work as the chief

engineer on the project, Morgan formed a seminar group in 1916 with a few wealthy business men who shared his desire to create a new school for their children. The members of his reading group included Charles F. Kettering, who was credited with the invention of the starter motor and worked for General Motors Research; Edward A. Deeds, an industrialist who had worked with Kettering; Orville Wright, who with his brother invented the airplane; and Fred Rike, who owned a large department store in Dayton. They discussed such books as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude*, Hanford Henderson's *Education and the Larger Life*, and Frederick Burk's *A Remedy for Lock-Step Schooling*. The members of the group promised to support a new private school, and Morgan wrote a leaflet describing their hopes for the new school.⁴

Entitled "An Outline of a Proposed Boy's School for which a Headmaster or Teacher is being Sought," Morgan's leaflet stated that a number of men and women of Dayton wished to provide an education for their children using methods too innovative for the public schools. The school was to serve six to twelve normal boys from ten to twelve years of age whose parents had an extraordinary interest in education. Morgan and his fellows acknowledged that they were not familiar with then contemporary theory and practice of education. Although they expected the person they hired to direct them in their efforts, they had definite opinions about the proper curriculum. Since the students had to prepare for college, they needed to acquire such skills as reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling. To Morgan, these studies enhanced what he called the technic of living. Thus, he wanted the students to acquire academic skills while obtaining other knowledge such as commercial habits, the art of being solvent, and the judgment of material values. To make academic studies appear relevant to everyday life. Morgan suggested that the school should be organized as an industrial plant with the students studying the activities, analyzing the cost and value of production, maintaining budgets, and developing the moral standards required by proper manufacturing. Morgan believed that students would show interest in these activities because they had commercial value. Calling this system manual training, Morgan wanted it to be the center of the school. At the same time, though, he worried that the need to prepare for college could prevent older boys from enjoying such methods of learning. As a possible compromise, he suggested that the students receive individual instruction so that they could proceed through subject matters at varied but appropriate rates, yet they should have opportunities to learn to work in teams.⁵

In his leaflet, Morgan described the role of the teacher as well as the appropriate curriculum. To Morgan, the teacher would be a companion to the students and could interest them in such subjects as science, literature, poetry, history, and art through this friendship. Teachers should encourage the students to ask about the meaning of life; they should help the boys to recognize the importance of integrity; they should help the students to maintain a comprehensive unity of purpose; and they should enable the students to develop a sense of social responsibility. Thus, he noted that the parents expected the teacher to help the boys become well mannered, independent, self reliant, and adventurous.⁶

Morgan added an accompanying supplement promising that students whose parents could not afford to pay tuition would be invited to attend. This would provide a mixture of children whose families followed a variety of callings, maintain the spirit of democracy, and provide the stimulus for the improvement of the schools in the community.⁷

Charles W. Eliot, then former president of Harvard University, received a copy of Morgan's circular. In a letter to Morgan, Eliot noted that the description of the position appeared to require a deeply religious man. Thus, Eliot wondered if Morgan's school was affiliated with any denomination. Morgan replied that he was a Unitarian who had reacted against the strictures of his upbringing and that the school had no religious ties. Morgan added that the supporters of the school were from what he called the usual denominations. They were prominent businessmen who could be expected to support the school because they recognized the flaws in the public schools of Dayton.⁸

When the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Ellery Sedgwick, received Morgan's outline for a proposed school, he wrote to Morgan indicating that the leaflet expressed new ideas free of the prejudices and beclouding influences of technical education. Sedgwick invited Morgan to write an article describing the ideas that provided the basis of the new school.⁹

According to Morgan, more than 2500 candidates answered his call. In his travels around the country for his engineering firm, Morgan interviewed several of these applicants and made extensive notes of his reactions to the many candidates he met. On 7 February 1917, Morgan sent a letter to Frank Durward Slutz, then Superintendent of Schools at Pueblo, Colorado, hiring him to be headmaster at a salary of \$6000 per year with a contract for five years.¹⁰ On 13 April 1917, Morgan met with his supporters to decide whether the school should be coeducational. Two of the men who supported Morgan's idea of a school had young daughters. Since the school was for the children of the supporters, they wanted their daughters to enroll. Morgan's

daughter, Francis, would not have been eligible to enroll. She had been born in 1914. When the advocates of single sex schooling noted that boys and girls had different interests and abilities, the other supporters pointed out that those differences resulted from training rather than biology. One person claimed that the presence of girls would inspire the boys to work harder. After their discussion, the group of supporters agreed that the school would begin at the senior level with a few boys; girls would be admitted to the primary division after the school was started; and the girls would be added to the secondary level after they finished the lower levels or grades. At the same meeting, the members selected the name, Moraine Park School, to reflect the fact that the building was to be located on a moraine, an accumulation of rocks deposited by a glacier, four miles south of the city of Dayton. To expedite the school's formation, they agreed to form a corporation to hold the property with the initial capital of \$5000. Prominent among the individuals named to the first Board of Trustees was Morgan.¹¹

On 1 May 1917, Slutz wrote a letter to Morgan agreeing to the plan to incorporate girls into the school. Slutz noted that boys and girls had to live together. While he acknowledged that some courses were more interesting to girls than to boys, he had found that these differences were not great. He added that women had to do many of the same things men did in public life and in business.¹²

On 3 May 1917, the board of trustees drafted a "Statement of Progress for the Moraine Park School." In this statement, the board noted the school had acquired the services of Slutz and of Arthur A. Hauck, then in charge of educational work at the State Industrial School of Idaho. Acknowledging they had broadened the scope of the school, the trustees described the plan to open a primary department for boys and girls. In the statement, the trustees wrote that they were examining applications from students and hoped to admit twenty to twenty-five boys as the first group of students. The aim of the school was to develop proficiency in fundamentals and in the occupations of life. The method of instruction was to be what the trustees called the project plan used in such ways to secure individual instruction and group training. The trustees defined a project as an objective of a definite kind chosen by the boy because of his interest in it. While the student could receive guidance in making a selection, this was not necessary. Projects would include such things as raising chickens or using wireless telegraphy. The hope was for the projects to serve as mediums for the development of the students because they held the students' interests. To aid the boy in his project, the teachers would find assistance from local stores, factories, and airfields. As a result, the equipment of the school would be held to a minimum because the students would make as much as possible. They would maintain accounting systems, incorporate to conduct business, and prepare budgets. In this way, the projects would offer experience in what the trustees called the great occupations of life.¹³

School Opens

The school began its first session in June 1917. For two months, the 33 boys that had enrolled and the two teachers met in a building located in what Morgan called Delco Dell Community. Since it was summer, the students did most of their work outdoors. When Morgan considered building something to house the school, he found state authorities required many arrangements that would raise the cost to about \$25,000. In order to avoid such expense, he recommended using the greenhouse, 225 feet long and 50 feet wide, that Charles Kettering had built for research into photosynthesis. When Kettering offered to donate this greenhouse to the school, he quipped that he would rather raise kids than cucumbers. To make it suitable, the directors had carpenters lay flooring and build eight foot high partitions to create different classroom spaces. Transportation to and from the city was easy. The trolley, or electric traction, stopped fifty feet from the building. Connected to the greenhouse was a stone building. In a short period, this was divided into the boiler room, a manual training room with five benches and a good supply of tools, a photography dark room, and a chemistry laboratory.¹⁴

Local papers greeted the new school with praise. On 30 September 1917, the *Dayton Journal* carried a two page story with large pictures praising the way the school was built around activities such as student government, a cooperative company, and a school store. The reporter, Harriet Gebhart, was impressed that each of the boys in the senior division had a private cubicle with a desk and chair in which he could study, and she praised the projects.

During the first year, the students in the Moraine Park School engaged in eighteen different projects such as forming a bank for student funds, manufacturing chemicals for sale, setting up a store to sell school supplies, establishing a print shop for school publications, a photo shop to maintain a pictorial record of the school, and gardens. Created by the students and reflecting their interests, these projects were organized as businesses to make profits because the students provided services for which they were paid. The teachers' roles were to tie the students' school work to the projects. The students worked on their projects during the last forty-five minutes of each day.15

Each month, teachers sent written reports to the parents describing achievements in categories with such labels as *congregating*, *languaging*, *acquiring possessions*, *cosmologizing*, and *man-conserving*. Teachers asked the parents to report on what they considered the changes they had seen in their children, what needs the children expressed, and how well the school had served the children. At the end of the year, the teachers provided letter grades for each subject, but the four grades that they used represented the portion of the class in which the student's achievements fell.¹⁶

The nine categories under which Slutz had divided the report card bore the name, occupations. Although not occupations in the usual sense, they represented skills that people needed in life. For example, languaging denoted the students' abilities in self expression, congregating was a synonym for the students' human relations skills, and cosmologizing meant the students' efforts to understand the world that surrounded them. This awkward list of occupations was something that Slutz and a group of school masters had coined in workshops they held from 1913 to 1916 when he was superintendent of schools in Colorado. After he accepted the position at Moraine Park School, he sought their permission to use the list in his new job. Slutz contended that the use of this list of occupations would prevent the subject matters from dominating the curriculum. At the same time, though, student work appeared as less significant than what might be called life adjustment skills because most of the projects, such as working in a print shop, fit under the label, acquiring possessions, and most of the academic courses fell under languaging, which came to be known as thought expression.¹⁷

Moraine Park School as a Model for Labor Reform

In 1917, as the supervisor of the flood control project in Dayton called the Miami Conservancy District, Morgan needed to build camps or towns to house the laborers who would build the dams. The pattern for the schools he decided to establish in those camps came from the curriculum of Moraine Park School.

Writing an advertisement for teachers for these camp schools, Morgan extolled the success of the Moraine Park School. He claimed the aim of the school was not to teach skills and information; it was to shape the character of the students. To enable the boys and girls to become masters of some field of activity, they were to practice academic skills in ways that

allowed them to assume responsibility, take initiative, and develop their powers. Morgan went on to note that the school sought to avoid the lock step nature of education by allowing the students follow their interests and proceed through the subjects at rates appropriate to their abilities. While Morgan acknowledged that teachers presented some subject matters in traditional ways, he characterized the classes as informal. Pupils undertook projects such as carpentry, banking, and printing that often returned a profit. Morgan noted that the school was supported by tuition, but he was proud to note that parents paid varied rates. He claimed that the most prosperous parent paid 100 times more than the least endowed parent paid. In the ad, Morgan stated that he had to create five temporary towns for the workers' families, Morgan hoped that the success of the Moraine Park School would attract teachers to Dayton to staff the schools for the workers. Although the pay would be modest, Morgan thought these could be the appropriate jobs for young people who lacked extensive credentials but who were interested in advancing what he called the new education. Morgan expected the dam construction would take five years.¹⁸

Many years later, in 1951, Morgan claimed that, when he was director of the Miami Conservancy District, he sought to change the conditions under which most dams were built. When he began, he found that dam construction was done by migrant workers who were homeless and thriftless. He complained that such men would often quit their jobs after working for two weeks, go on drinking sprees, ride to another section of the country on freight trains, and find more work. To Morgan, the result was human desolation. Thus, in the five construction camps, one at each of the necessary dams, he built one or two family homes for married workers and bunk houses for single men. These homes were well designed, attractive, and comfortable. The bunk houses had showers and lounging areas. In four of the camps, Morgan built schools. The children in the fifth camp attended a nearby district school.¹⁹

Morgan claimed his efforts with the construction camps and the schools were not charity. They brought about improvements in the work. Drunkenness among the workers declined. As a result of the nice homes and good schools, the workers developed increased loyalty to the conservancy and took more interest in their jobs. With the improved performance of the workers, the work went more smoothly and efficiently. Thus, in Morgan's eyes, the camp cottages and the schools paid for themselves in increased efficiency of the workers as well as enhance the lives of the workers and their families. Not surprisingly, Morgan used the same system when he directed the dam construction with the Tennessee Valley Authority as part of the New Deal.²⁰

Moraine Park School Gains National Attention

In 1918, the *Atlantic Monthly* published Morgan's article about the educational principles behind the Moraine Park School. Entitled "Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life," Morgan's article began with a description of a school he visited where the teacher, a woman, taught academic skills that have been in schools for centuries. In this case, though, she allowed the students to guide the direction of the lesson by expressions of their own interests. At times, she directed and punished the students. Morgan approved of her actions because he thought she recognized that education originated within the child and she considered her job to awaken and guide the children's impulses or interests. Many contemporary experts in education did not trust the children, Morgan complained. They wanted to drill the children thereby smothering the students' senses of adventure and inquiry.²¹

To Morgan, it seemed these experts ignored the recent past where children learned discipline and practical arts on farms and they supplemented these acquirements with academic training from schools. When educators forgot that schools should supplement the home, they caused problems. One type of error was a classical school where students learned no practical skills. Another type of error was a vocational or technical school where the students did not learn about culture. To Morgan, educators could avoid such unnecessary separations if they recognized that the subject matter of education had to change as social conditions altered. Since there were few opportunities for children to do real work, schools had to consciously teach practical business skills that all people needed such as the art of being solvent, appraising one's possessions, and judging material values. When homes did not teach manners, schools had to take on this task. While Morgan thought schools should teach such values as love of humanity, he warned against religious training. For Morgan, schools could impart morals by helping children form the habit of searching out answers about the meaning or purpose of life. Unfortunately, Morgan believed that many schools forced children to pour over lessons and to close their eyes to the wonders of nature, literature, and art.22

In suggesting how schools could teach these arts, Morgan described students undertaking projects. In a primary school, young children kept chickens while older children acted as wholesalers supplying feed for the poultry. While Morgan acknowledged that drill and routine could not be eliminated from schools, he felt that academic skills could be given value by relating them to practical affairs. When children engaged in projects, such as planting a garden or building a boat, they could see the value of practicing number facts or learning to spell correctly. Building on projects, the teachers could recognize the interests of children, utilize the community resources to direct the children, and work out the projects with ramifications into literature, science mathematics, history, and business.²³

Morgan's idea that students should master the arts of life was an important aspect of the Moraine Park School. For example, entitling the school bulletin for 1918-1919, The Arts of Life, Slutz explained that the school labeled the essential arts of life occupations. In this bulletin, the students in the senior division wrote brief descriptions and offered photographs showing how the students mastered each of the nine arts or occupations. In each section, there was a list of questions to determine the extent of the students' mastery. For example, the art of congregating offered a survey of eleven questions that the boys had to answer and grade themselves. One question asked if the student spent time alone while another asked if he opposed the wishes of the group in a selfish manner. Under the art of languaging, one of the eleven guestions asked if the student disliked inaccurate or vague statements. Another asked if he could write a neat, carefully worded business letter. The section about the art of acquiring offered descriptions of the projects that the student had organized to make profits such as setting up a bank and operating a lunch room.²⁴

Progressive Education Association and the Moraine Park School

According to Morgan's biographer, Roy Talbert, Jr., the circular seeking a headmaster and his article, "Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life," brought Morgan's name to the attention of people interested in educational reform.²⁵ In 1919, Columbia University had offered a course on experimental schools that included discussions of the Moraine Park School along with such exemplars as the Gary schools, the Fairhope School, and the Horace Mann School of Columbia University. These schools joined together in the Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education and published the results of this discussion. The report noted that Moraine Park School had been founded by successful engineers who were also the parents of the students in the school. The parents participated in the selection of the program and the conduct of the school. Further, Moraine Park School had an ingenious system of apportioning tuition at the end of the year according to the parents' ability to pay. According to the report, the fees that parents paid ranged from \$25 to \$2500.²⁶

During the 1920 meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education, the members offered Morgan the presidency of the

association. He accepted and suggested that the name of the association be shortened to the Progressive Education Association (PEA). In 1921, he arranged for the annual meeting of the PEA to be held in Dayton so that members could visit the Moraine Park School. During the morning of the first day, 8 April, 1921, attendees visited the Moraine Park School. Returning to the Miami Hotel and the Engineers Club in the center of Dayton, the members attended smaller meeting. After dinner, the invited speaker was Charles Kettering, in whose greenhouse the Moraine Park School was held. Kettering told members that the aims of education should be the discovery of new facts, the application of these discoveries to the public welfare, and the encouragement of the quality of open-mindedness.²⁷

During the PEA convention, Mrs. Milan V. Ayres, secretary of the association, complimented the Moraine Park School by observing that if progressive education had not started in the East, it would have begun in Dayton, Ohio. Despite the affinity in the reforms taking place in the two areas of the country, Ayres noticed an important difference. In the East, women such as Marietta Johnson worked with men such as Eugene R. Smith. In Dayton, though, Ayres noticed that the trustees of the Moraine Park School were all men. Although she acknowledged that the men, such as Kettering, possessed important facts, she claimed there were different types of facts. She said there were facts of the head, such as men possessed, and there were facts of the heart, such as women had. The movement needed both of these types of facts. Since she believed that the men in the East who worked with PEA tended to think with their hearts, she believed the people in the East could represent the feminine side of the reform. The men of the Moraine Park School could represent the masculine side. The movement continued to spread, she concluded, because each side aided the other.²⁸

In his remarks to the PEA in Dayton, Morgan described how he planned to transplant the model of Moraine Park School to Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio where he had been newly appointed president. Acknowledging that he lacked a college education, Morgan saw the problems that colleges faced in the graduates. The engineers that he hired did not have any understanding of their culture while the graduates of liberal arts schools lacked vocational skills. Morgan suggested that the answer was to join these artificially separated parts.²⁹

Morgan claimed that his plan for Antioch College had two parts. First, he wanted the students to undertake a survey of general information in a broad array of fields of human interest such as biology, physics, and geology. Any student with an interest in a particular area would be allowed to follow that specialty with a professor. Morgan assumed that this arrangement would require few faculty members and thereby reduce costs. Second, the students would spend one half of their time practicing a profession or operating a business. These obligations would provide money to the students although they would increase the time the students needed to finish the program. Morgan anticipated it would take someone six years to complete the courses.³⁰

To begin, Morgan hoped to send students to work in industries close to the campus. He envisioned having about six little factories nearby. Under his plan, students would spend half of their time in classes and the other half working. He hoped that some students would start their own businesses after they had worked at some enterprise for a period of three or four years. He believed there were opportunities in machine shops or in educational administration. In each case, Morgan claimed that the training for proprietorship and for administration differed from the training needed to be a machinist or to be a teacher. Thus, a potential proprietor had to learn to control an entire shop. Educational administrators might begin as country school teachers in which they had complete control over the buildings.³¹

Although Morgan transplanted the idea of business enterprises from Moraine Park School to Antioch College, he did not expect the college students to start their own businesses as had the students in Moraine Park School. Instead, Morgan hoped that the students could find work in small industries or schools in Yellow Springs. In this way, their work would be part of established firms.

Despite the innovative nature of Moraine Park School, the school closed quickly. In February 1924, the *American Educational Digest* praised the engineers and business men who had founded a school that strengthened the American virtues of ambition, business shrewdness, and religious faith. At the same time, the *American Educational Digest* presented a table that showed the school's dependence on donations. In 1918, after one year of operation, the student body totaled 63 and the deficit was about \$2,700. In 1922, the student enrollment reached its high point of 206 students and the deficit was about \$8,400. In 1923, enrollment dropped to 172 and the deficit climbed to about \$20,000. Despite these rapidly climbing debts, in 1924, three supporters, Patterson, Deeds, and Kettering, built a new gymnasium and a new shop for the Moraine Park School.³²

Slutz tried to raise money to cover the deficits. Issuing a prospectus, he urged Dayton citizens to buy stock in Moraine Park School to show

that they had faith in the school as an educational laboratory dedicated to the discovery of better educational methods.³³

Dayton newspapers carried full page stories about the wonders of Moraine Park School. Newspaper editorials praised Slutz as a local resource whose campaign for the growth of Moraine Park School deserved attention. Slutz had a national reputation and had begun a series of regular meetings where as many as 250 men met in a local auditorium to listen to discussions about religion and education. Newspaper editors urged local citizens to attend to Slutz's pleas for the growth of his school.³⁴

Slutz's campaign was in vain. In 1926, the Moraine Park School student paper, *The Quadrant,* reported that two principal benefactors of the school had withdrawn support adding that the complete story may never become public. In June 1927, Slutz sent a form letter to the parents stating that the school would close permanently at the end of the year.³⁵

In 1947, a Harvard University graduate student wrote to Morgan asking why Moraine Park School closed. Morgan replied that there were two main reasons. First, the Dayton public schools had greatly improved thereby reducing the demand for the school's services. As a result, it could not attract enough tuition paying students to meet expenses. Second, many of the people interested in the school had moved away from the area or their children had grown and left the school.³⁶

Effects of Moraine Park School

According to historian Judith Sealander, Moraine Park School was part of an arrogant idea devised by business leaders in Dayton. Sealander claimed that the progressive business leaders adopted plans, such as Moraine Park School, to turn Dayton into a stable, model city wherein citizens respected private property and acted in orderly ways. Acknowledging that these hopes seemed philanthropic, she added that an orderly well-engineered society produced profits for the businesses. In a point important for this paper, Sealander contended these business leaders sought to impose a masculine style on education to teach young men to be tenacious, stubborn, and dedicated to their tasks while they relegated women to the domestic aspects of life because they believed that women were incompetent and soft.³⁷

Sealander's accusation about sexism in Moraine Park School misstates the aim of the educational program. The teachers at Moraine Park School wanted women to develop the ability to work as the men did. Although Moraine Park School began as a school for boys, women moved from the junior division to the senior division during the academic year 1920-1921. As a result, they attended classes with the boys. Writing in the bulletin for that year, *Self Measurements*, the teachers took pride in the ease with which the transition to a coeducational school took place. For example, the teachers reported that a girl conducted a campaign to become one of the three school commissioners. Winning her office and serving admirably, she made a good impression for coeducation. Other female students served on departments of safety, finance, recreation, law, and welfare. The trustees built a separate cottage for these female students where they had a living room, dining room, kitchen, study, nursery, and bath. According to the teachers, the trustees built separate study facilities for girls to prevent such distractions as a boy gazing at a girl and to allow the girls opportunities to keep house so that each girl could learn to manage a home should the occasion demand.³⁸

The point about domestic abilities is important. As the teachers' expressions of pride in the civic accomplishments indicate, they did not believe women could perform only household tasks. Nonetheless, they believed women should know how to cook and sew in the event that situations calling for those skills arose. While this attitude may be sexist, it does not imply a belief in women's inferiority.

The strength of the Moraine Park School was the narrowness of its aim. Unfortunately, this was the source of its weakness as well. In the bulletin for 1921-1922, Edward Deeds, one of the supporters, claimed that when the founders agreed to support Morgan's idea for a new school, they did so because his idea was simple and practical. Deeds claimed that Morgan followed the homely, helpful doctrine of responsibility and self reliance that trained for actual life problems. Although men like Deeds could afford to establish a special setting for their children, the model of Moraine Park School did not offer a reasonable alternative to the vocational training and the more progressive practices found increasingly in Dayton's public schools.³⁹

The legacy of Moraine Park School is mixed. On the one hand, it was an elite institution to prepare future leaders through a curriculum organized around the idea of teachers and students cooperating on projects such as running businesses, keeping track of expenses, fulfilling obligations, and reinvesting the profits. For Morgan these profit making endeavors served moral development and foster personal qualities of responsibility, independence, and cooperation in the students. On the other hand, Morgan used the basic idea to bring about other reforms such as schools for dam construction workers and changes in the curriculum of higher education. Thus, the Moraine Park School was the first of Morgan's utopian projects based on the spread of small businesses and small communities⁴⁰

NOTES

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16. Slutz, "An Experiment in Educational Engineering," Morgan papers; Pupils of school, *Moraine Park School, Dayton, Ohio, 1917-1918*, Morgan papers, 34.

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22. Morgan, "Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life," 339-343.

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36. "Moraine Park School: A Progressive Education," *Columns* 11, no. 1 (Winter 2004):3, 4; Morgan to Marcus, 29 September 1947, Morgan papers.

37. Judith Sealander, *Grand Plans: Business Progressivism in Ohio's Miami Valley,* 1890-1929 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 12-16, 176-185.

38. Teachers of the school, Self Measurements, 35-36.

39. E. A. Deeds, "A Word from a Sponsor," *Reflections from the Home, Moraine Park School, 1921-1922,* [1923?], 11, 12, Dayton Collection Pamphlets.

⁴0. Readers should see such descriptions of the development of the project method as Herbert M. Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum* 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 1995), 132-143 to evaluate how much of an innovation Morgan offered.

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