NOTES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BSC: BEE Archives at Bank Street College of Education, New York City.
C&C: BEE Archives at City and Country School, New York City.
RBML: Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York City.

FOREWORD

1. BSC: “For Discussion by the Bureau of Educational Experiments.” Minutes Executive Committee, November 27, 1918. Minutes Working Council, November 25, 1918. “November 27, 1916.” “Statements to be Challenged by the Bureau of Educational Experiments at a Bureau Meeting to be held Monday, November 25th, 1918 at 8 P.M.”


RBML: Diaries of Wesley Clair Mitchell; 1916, 1917, 1918.

INTRODUCTION


3. For scientific research in New Learning schools, see, for instance, Blok, Oostdam, & Peetsma, 2007; Oostdam, Peetsma, Derriks, & Van Gelderen, 2006; Smit, Driessen, Sluiter, & Brus, 2008; Teurlings, Van Wolput, & Vermeulen, 2006.

4. Extensive research outside of The Netherlands suggests that metacognitive learning strategies, including ‘modelling,’ ‘monitoring,’ ‘scaffolding’ and ‘peer learning,’ indeed stimulate students self-directing their individual learning processes (Trabasso & Bouchard, 2002).

5. On August 6, 1921, the New Education Fellowship (NEF) was established — an international organization with local sections in Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland. Among others, Marietta Johnson, Maria Montessori, and John Dewey attended the Congrès Fondateur (founding conference). The NEF formally affiliated with the American Progressive Education Association in the early 1930s. In 1958, the NEF became the World Education Fellowship (Brehony, 2004).

6. I use the term professionalization as a sensitizing concept (Blumer, 1969).

CHAPTER 1

7. The phrase New Education appears in England in the 1860s (Selleck, 1968). Throughout the 1870s, as with English practice, New Education was commonly used in the United States in kindergarten literature. Through the late 1860s to the early 1910s, New Education headed a variety of general education books and articles (Reese, 2005). Ravitch (2001) observes that by 1900 the phrase had come to indicate work-related studies, including manual training, domestic science, and agricultural and commercial studies as well as industrial and vocational education. The connotations were already manifesting in the literature of the 1880s and 1890s. Still, New Education was only used sporadically during World War I, the 1920s and early 1930s.
8. Between 1897 and 1899, John Dewey issued signed texts as well as anonymous texts in *University Record* — in 1900 and 1901 reprinted in a series of nine *Elementary School Record* monographs, edited by Dewey and Lab School history teacher Laura L. Runyon. There were few contemporaneous reports of teaching practices at the school published by its teachers (e.g., *American Kitchen Magazine*, 1900; Runyon, 1900; *School Education*, 1901; Tough, 1900). Former Laboratory School teachers Mayhew and Edwards (1936) finally compiled *The Dewey School*, forty years after the school's founding.


10. E.g., J. Dewey, 1898, p. 328; 1899, p. 16; 1902, p. 20. In *The Educational Situation*, Dewey (1904) acknowledged that a New Education did not exist, as yet. “The real conflict is not between a certain group of studies, the three R’s, those having to do with the symbols and tools of intellectual life, and other studies representing the personal development of the child, but between our professed ends and the means we are using to realize these ends” (pp. 39-40).

11. Evelyn Dewey (1889-1965) graduated B.A. in 1911, Barnard College, New York City. During 1910-1911 she was Editor-in-chief of *The Bear*, supplement of the *Barnard Bulletin*. She and her mother Alice Dewey travelled in Italy (Europe) in 1913-14 to visit various Montessori schools, meeting Montessori on January 31, 1914. In 1915, together with her father John Dewey, she published *Schools of To-Morrow*. In 1916, she became charter member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see Chapter 4). In 1919, she resigned from her work at the Bureau and travelled to Japan to visit her parents there. Later she regularly published on education.


13. Even when the majority of reviews of Henderson’s *Education and the Larger Life* were mildly positive, the *National Magazine* may well have expressed a general feeling of the public: “If the United States were heaven, and all its youths angels with a bent for knowledge, then Mr. Henderson's educational plan would be ideal…It is a lofty, stimulating but wholly impractical hope, this of *Education and the Larger Life*” (D. L. S., 1902).

14. After 1902, Henderson published a few books on education and two novels. In 1914, ending his tenure as director of the Pratt Institute High School in New York City, he became principal of the Marienfield Open-air School for Boys in Samarcand, North Carolina, where he more and more retreated from public discourse.

15. Davis (1967), however, does not identify the carpentry shop teacher, or her method of teaching. The Hartley House, in the densely populated Midtown West Hell’s Kitchen neighbourhood of Manhattan, was established in January 1897 under the auspices of the New York City Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (A.I.C.P.). Hartley House was named for Robert M. Hartley, first General Secretary of the A.I.C.P., established in 1843 (Woods & Kennedy (Eds.), 1911). “Forty thousand persons in twenty-three overcrowded blocks constitute the “parish” of this settlement” (Montgomery (Ed.), 1905, p. 78). From November 1903, when May Mathews began work as head worker of Hartley House (she would remain half a century), its settlement workers “were encouraged to invent new ways of handling already-established activities” (Carlton, 1986, p. 158). Hartley House was characterized by an atmosphere of “encouragement, sympathy, and understanding” amongst its social settlement workers, offering “an unusual opportunity for [them] to create, develop, and experiment with new ideas” (ibid.).

16. According to Carlton (1986), the *Hartley House News* reported Pratt’s activities on November 2, 1901; February 7, 1902; December 5, 1902; March 8, 1903; April 2, 1903; January 11, 1905, and February 1, 1905. I found additional reports (see *Hartley House News*, 1902a-b, 1905a, 1906, 1907, 1908a-d).

17. In his *My Pedagogic Creed*, John Dewey (1897) stressed that education is “a process of living and not a preparation for future living” (p. 7).


19. Mary Marot was a daughter of Philadelphia well-to-do Quakers Hannah (*née* Griscorn) Marot and Charles Henry Marot, bookseller and publisher of *The Gardener’s Monthly*. One of their
four daughters died young. Mary Marot’s siblings were younger sisters Elizabeth and Helen, and younger brother William. Mary Marot received her education at Philadelphia Friends schools and privately at home. Around 1890 she began working at a Philadelphia kindergarten (Lodor, 1895; *Primary Education*, 1894; Witse, 1895). In 1918, she was hired by the Bureau of Educational Experiments as their record keeper (see Chapter 4).

20. Harriet Merrill Johnson (1867-1934) was born in Portland, Maine. She taught for a number of years in a private school in Bangor, Maine. In 1895 she entered the nurses’ training course at Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital in Boston. After graduation from the nurses’ training in 1898, she became a private nurse for two years; for another two years, she was Superintendent of the Nurses' Training at the Homeopathic Hospital in Biddleford, Maine (Homoeopathic Hospital, 1900, p. 33). In 1902, Johnson completed a one-year course in Hospital Economics (Banfield, 1902), and attended other Nursing and Health courses at Teachers College, Columbia University (I. L. Pratt, 1903). In March 1903, she began work at Hartley House under auspices of Henry Street Settlement (*Hartley House News*, 1903). In 1905, both Johnson and Harriet Forbes worked at Hartley House. The same year they published *Home Nursing*, promoting basic hygienic skills (Forbes & Johnson, 1905). In the winter of 1906, they took up joint residence in a three-room flat in the tenements in the East Side as an extension of the Henry Street Settlement (*New York Press*, 1906). In 1916, she became charter member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see Chapter 4).

21. Harriet Forbes (1867-?) began nurses' training at Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital in Boston in 1894; she graduated in 1897 (Homoeopathic Hospital, 1900, p. 33). In 1902, Forbes completed a one-year course in Hospital Economics at Teachers College, Columbia University (Banfield, 1902). Forbes was also a graduate nurse of the Sloane Maternity Hospital, New York City. In 1916, Forbes and Harriet Johnson adopted a baby girl, born in Milo, Maine, who was baptized Mary Pauline (Polly) Forbes-Johnson (1916-2002). Harriet Johnson became the girl's legal parent. In 1916, Forbes became charter member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see Chapter 4).

22. Johnson (1905) reported her work in the *American Journal of Nursing*, stressing cooperation with other social agencies. Early in 1906, in *The Dietetic And Hygiene Gazette*, Johnson (1906) maintained, “We claim for our work a certain educational value, and here is field enough to test its worth” (p. 249).

23. During the winter of 1906, Marot “made an investigation into the conditions in several cities and in an effort to learn ways of getting parents at home to reinforce and supplement the educational aims of the schools” (Carlton, 1986, p. 158). Following her return to Hartley House in the spring of 1906, Marot began her work as a visiting teacher. In the fall of 1906, she formed a committee for home and school visiting. The committee was composed of Marot, her colleague visiting teacher Effe Abrahams, head worker of Hartley House May Mathews, head worker of College Settlement Elizabeth Williams, and head worker of the Richmond Hill Settlement House Elizabeth Roemer.

24. *Charities and The Commons* (1907), the *New York Times* (1907a), and the *New York Tribune* (1907) reported on the Visiting Teacher Committee of the Public Education Association.

25. Marot reported on her work in the media (see *Evening Post*, 1909a; M. Flexner, 1913b; M. S. Marot, 1907, 1908a-b, 1910a-b, 1911, 1912, 1924; *The Sun*, 1909b).

26. See also Mason, 1908; *New York Tribune*, 1910c; Richman, 1910. In 1913 a second Miss Johnson employed by the Association — that is, Eleanor Johnson (1913b) — published about the *work of visiting teachers in The Survey*. She narrated the story of a visiting teacher investigating the home of undersized eleven-year-old “Utterly Bad” boy Nello (p. 178), to find out why he was incorrigible in school. “She found ample cause. Nello’s mother was dying of cancer. His father was a heavy drinker...who shared his beer with the small boy...Nello was the only nurse his mother and the three younger children had, and his burden of responsibility gave him no other outlet except the schoolroom tantrum” (p. 174). Not long after this publication, Johnson began working with the Neurological Institute. In 1916, she joined the staff of Sprague Mitchell’s Psychological Survey at the Public Education Association.
27. In 1912, for instance, visiting teachers Mary Flexner, Eleanor Johnson, and Harriet Johnson were among the experts at the Annual Meeting of the New Jersey Conference of Charities and Correction held at Orange, New Jersey, to “demonstrate efficient methods and effective achievements in the educational ‘treatment’ of feeble-minded and otherwise ‘defective’ children” (The Survey, 1912, p. 115; see also E. H. Johnson, 1913). In April 1913, the Association report by Mary Flexner (1913a) noted the success of the Visiting Teacher project with supportive statistics. A month later Flexner (1913b) published an article in The Survey, on the “new type of ‘school ma’ams’” (Geneva Daily Times, 1913), that is, visiting teachers. In June 1915, the Association released a report on truancy by Elisabeth Irwin (1915) citing the efforts of visiting teachers to maximize regular school attendance.

28. Wealthy social activist Dorothy Payne Straight (née Whitney) liberally subsidized the program. In 1910, for example, she subsidized the Public Education Association’s Visiting Teacher Fund to pay the salaries of visiting teachers Forbes and Johnson.

29. Harriet Johnson (1917) also gave a presentation on visiting teachers at the Ninth Congress of the American School Hygiene Association, July 4-8, 1916, at New York City.

30. See Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1908a-b; Marsh, 1908; Martin, 1908.

31. Helen Marot (1866-1940) was the youngest daughter of Charles and Hannah Marot (New York Times, 1910a). Marot received her education at Philadelphia Friends schools and privately at home. In an era when it was unusual for women born into means to work outside the home, except for charity, she had a remarkable career path. In 1890, she was a manager at the West Philadelphia Hospital for Women (Comyges, 1909). Between 1893 and 1895, she worked for the Philadelphia University Extension Society. She graduated in the class of 1895 at the Philadelphia Drexel Institute Library School (Library Journal, 1895). In 1896, she worked as a cataloguer at the Wilmington Institute Free Library, Wilmington, Delaware (Sewall, 1897). Three years later, Marot (1899b) published a book review and compiled A Handbook in Labor Literature (1899a), her first book. During 1899 and 1900, she co-authored the Report of the Committee on an Association of Librarians to Maintain the Standard of Work and Wages (Marot, Morris, & Randall, 1900). Later, in New York City, during the end of 1905 and the first months of 1906, Marot worked with the School Visiting Committee of the Public Education Association until she became the Secretary of the Women’s Trade Union League in New York City. In 1917 she was hired by the Bureau of Educational Experiments as researcher (see Chapter 4).

32. Cohen and Mohl (1979) document the overcrowding of schools in 1914. “Some 20,000 teachers handled almost 800,000 students…expansion of the system had not kept pace with New York City’s population…The city did not have enough schools” (p. 36).

33. Elsa Ueland, who worked for the Vocational Guidance Survey of the Public Education Association, became Secretary-Treasurer of the School and Civic League of the Ninth District. Ueland (1888-1980), born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, was a graduate of the University of Minnesota in 1909. She attended courses at the NYC School of Philanthropy and at Columbia University, obtaining her M.A. degree. She also worked at NYC Richmond Hill Settlement House where Elizabeth Roemer was head worker since a few years. Ueland may have been a volunteer picker during the 1909-1910 shirtwaist strike; she co-authored an article about the shirtwaist trade in the Journal of Political Economy (Goodman & Ueland, 1910). See also Notes 51, 64, 234, and 259.

34. See Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1913b; Evening Post, 1913a; New York Call, 1913a; New York Herald, 1913; Oswego Daily Palladium, 1913.

35. The Teachers’ League’s main aims, as listed in New York Call (1913a), were promoting teachers’ claims to seats and the right to vote in the Board of Education, promoting teachers’ claims “to have a share in the administration of the affairs of their own schools,” promoting “scientific study of educational experience,” promoting the decrease of unhygienic conditions in numerous schools, and promoting the decrease of the size of schools and the size of classes, meaning a decrease of school congestion. The League also aimed to fight other unfavourable conditions in schools, like “the excess of clerical labor, the salaries and ratings of teachers and the lack of opportunity for professional improvement during tenure of office.”
36. The second decade of the twentieth century marks the founding of laboratory schools akin to the Dewey School in Chicago — by parents. Diverse motives guided the establishment of such (private) schools. The Moraine Park School of Dayton, Ohio, for example, had its inception in the mind of Arthur E. Morgan, a parent who together with other parents sent a questionnaire to educationists inviting suggestions for the school’s curriculum. Morgan became the first President of the PEA. The financing of the school was unique too — fees proportioned to the parents’ income (Cobb, 1920; Slutz, 1920; Slutz & Gillmore, 1921). Banker Frank Vanderlip founded a laboratory school at his home in Scarborough-on-the-Hudson, New York, where students could proceed from their interests and traditional schooling was absent. A small group of NYC political activists who adhered to libertarian anti-authoritarian ideas founded the Modern School at Stelton, New Jersey (Sargent, 1918).

37. Pratt filed claims on November 23, 1908 (Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office (1911b, p. 496); they registered Pratt’s trademark on December 12, 1911 (Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office, 1911a, p. 248; 1911c, p. 580).

38. “Garyizing,” with and without the quotation marks, was in the lexicon of early twentieth-century writers on education. Once de-“Garyizing” of the NYC public schools took place, “Garyizing” dropped from the lexicon.

39. Alice Barrows Fernandez did not hyphenate her name. She first published as Barrows, then Barrows Fernandez, and again as Barrows, depending on her marriage state.

40. Barrows Fernandez’s columns also address other plans to solve the problems related to the city’s severe school congestion (e.g., Barrows Fernandez, 1915, 1916b-c). In 1915, American Teacher, The New Republic, School, and Vassar Quarterly had articles by Barrows Fernandez about the Gary plan too (McMillen, 1917). Note that the New York Call also had a column about “Garyizing” of the city’s public schools (see, for instance, Tanenbaum, 1915, 1916a-c).


42. Schneider failed to make an impact on his superiors at Lehigh University. He was unable to show advantages of his system over existing methods of instruction (Yates, 1992).

43. The Cincinnati continuation schools had a half-day per week arrangement with the apprentices and their employers. “The boys are sent to school one-half day per week for four years. They are rotated in such a way that the school has always the same number of students...The boys are paid for their time in school just as if they were working at their machines” (American Engineer and Railroad Journal, 1909, p. 405). Circa 1910, the plan was introduced at the American Steel & Wire Company in Cleveland, Ohio, to benefit the sons of its employees (Kempton, n.d.). These continuation schools, by 1914 also introduced in the state of Wisconsin, were known as four-hours-a-week schools (Bourne, 1917a). Also in 1909, Schneider (1910) presented a paper relating his scheme at a special meeting of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers in New York City.

44. Schneider’s plan was discussed at the Second National Conference on Vocational Guidance organized by the Public Education Association, held in New York City in October 1912 (Ueland, 1913). See also American Machinist, 1913; Schneider, 1913a-b, 1915a-b. Kreuzpointer (1913) stated that Schneider’s plan had been previously executed at the shops of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co., with evening continuation schools in addition to day apprentice schools.

45. Ten High Schools and sixty-three firms participated in the experiment in 1915 (Park, 1943). A year later School Review (1916) reported, “Eighty-seven firms, 95 schools, and 486 students are in 1916 experimenting with this plan” (p. 558).

46. Commercial courses using Schneider’s plan were offered in 1914; they were successful on a small scale (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1914). These courses eventually led to the establishment of the Haaren High School in 1921 (Calkins, 1921a).
47. See Dounce, 1917; New York Tribune, 1918; School Review, 1916. Principal William Grady of P.S. 64 was extremely enthused by Ettinger’s system. He promoted the plan in speeches and newspaper articles (e.g., Grady, 1915a-b; Rodman, 1915).

48. See American Review of Reviews, 1915; Cohen, 1990; Cohen & Mohl, 1979; Cremin, 1961; Grady, 1916; Haaren, 1916; Ravitch, 1974. Wirt’s plan, also known as the Double School Plan, the Duplicate Schools Plan, the Gary System, the Platoon System, the Two-School Plan, and the Work-Study-Play System, applied principles of “multiple use and balanced load” (Meyer, 1945, p. 185).

49. All students were allowed to participate in so-called released time off-campus religious instruction.

50. Lucy Sprague (1878-1967) was the fourth of six children of Otho Sprague (co-founder of the Chicago based Sprague Warner and Company, the later General Foods) and Lucia Sprague (née Atwood). In 1900, she majored with honours in philosophy at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1906, she became the first Dean of Women as well as the first female English instructor at the University of California in Berkeley. Sprague was the first to organize field trips for university students to community institutions, social settlements, etc. (Antler, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1992; Cenedella, 1996; Gordon, 1990; Grinberg, 2005; Marcus, 1992; Rauchway, 2001; Sprague Mitchell, 1953; Vascellaro, 2000, 2011). After her marriage in 1912, she moved to New York City where she co-authored the Directory of Trade, Technical and Vocational Schools in Greater New York (New York Times, 1913a). She attended lectures by John Dewey and Edward Thorndike and took courses at Columbia University’s Teacher College (Cenedella, 1996). She also offered her services to the Public Education Association. Lucy Sprague Mitchell did not hyphenate her name. Here I will further refer to Sprague Mitchell. In 1916, she became charter member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see Chapter 4).

51. Two hearts and minds Johnson immediately won for the Gary experiment were Elizabeth Roemer and Elsa Ueland. Roemer (c. 1870-1961), born in Denmark, had attended universities in Denmark and France (Cohen, 1990). In 1901, she moved to New York City, becoming head worker at the Richmond Hill Settlement House in 1906. The New York Times (1909a) listed her as a “college girl” volunteer picket during the 1909-1910 shirtwaist strike. In September 1911, Ueland and Roemer began work for the Public Education Association Vocational Guidance Survey under the direction of Alice P. Barrows, later Alice Barrows Fernandez (Contosta, 1997). During the 1909-1910 shirtwaist strike, Barrows investigated sanitary conditions in shirtwaist sweatshops (W. Hutchinson, 1910). She also wrote about the millinery trade (Barrows 1910; Van Cleeeck & Barrows, 1910). From 1911 to 1914, Roemer and Ueland worked for the Vocational Guidance Survey, renamed Vocational Education Survey in 1912 (Ueland explained her work in a New York Tribune (1914b) interview).

Roemer and Ueland became so engaged with Gary schools that they resigned their Survey work in August 1914 to begin teaching in Gary a month later. Ueland first taught in the middle grades at Jefferson School. In the spring of 1915, she was reassigned to Emerson School. She spoke excitedly about the Gary schools curriculum in her 1915 articles (Ueland, 1915a-c). Roemer taught in the middle grades too, but in 1916 became director of registering children, keeping track of truancy and organizing a scheme of visiting teachers. In July 1916, at the New York City conference of visiting teachers organized by the Public Education Association, Roemer delivered an address on visiting teachers in Gary called Register Teachers (Schoff & Lombard, 1916, p. 294). By 1917 she made a career switch, succeeding Barrows (now named Barrows Fernandez) as director of the Gary School League. By the end of that year she was suggested as social worker to the Bureau of Educational Experiments (BSC: Minutes Working Council, December 5, 1917). Early in 1916, Ueland was appointed special Secretary to Superintendent Wirt. Ueland’s work for Wirt included gathering of data, guiding visitors, and “possibly contribute a volume to a projected series [of books and articles] on the Gary Plan” (Cohen, 1990, p. 53). See, for example, Ueland’s (1916) The New Republic article. However, there was to be no series of books and articles as foreseen; after a few months she resigned her job in Gary to become President of Carson College for Orphan Girls in Flourtown near Philadelphia (Evening Public Ledger, 1916, 1917; McGarry, 1921; The Survey, 1924). In May 1917, she also became a
non-resident member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. (See also Note 33 above, and Notes 64, 234, and 259, below).

52. For example, in April 1915 Barrows Fernandez (1915a) wrote a flaming page-long illustrated article about the Gary schools for the New York Tribune, and she made presentations on Wirt’s system at a meeting under the auspices of The Teachers’ League of New York (Evening Post, 1915b), and at meetings with the editors of The Survey and The New Republic. This resulted, for example, in a series of articles on Gary schools by Randolph Bourne in the spring 1915 issues of The New Republic. In June 1915, the New York Tribune had an opinion piece by Howes and Barrows Fernandez (1915). And in July 1916, Barrows Fernandez (1916a) unreservedly recommended the plan in a lengthy article in the Daily Star. Others, like Agnes de Lima, Secretary of the Women’s Municipal League, endorsed the plan (Evening Post, 1916a). On May 30, 1916, the Education Committee of the Woman’s Municipal League of the City of New York issued “Modern Schools for New York City,” a report compiled by Agnes de Lima, promoting the Gary plan.

53. See, for instance, Manny, 1916. Manny wrote that Wirt carried over “the Dewey experiment into the conditions of a city public school in what is popularly known as the Gary system” (p. 542). See also Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1916; Evening Post, 1916c.

54. Alice Barrows Fernandez, Alice Ritter (principal of P.S. 89 in Brooklyn) and Angelo Patri (principal of P.S. 45) spoke in favour of the Gary Plan, while William Grady (principal of P.S. 64) spoke in favour of the Ettinger Plan. In February 1915, Ritter, Patri, and District Superintendent of Schools Joseph S. Taylor visited Gary to study the Gary schools more extensively (Taylor, 1917). Patri would write about implementation of the Gary Plan in P.S. 45 (see Bonner, 1915; Edman, 1916) in an unpublished memoir (see Wallace, 2006).

55. Historians of education Cohen and Mohl (1979) confirm: “William Wirt and Alice Barrows [Fernandez] represented the…principal strains of progressive education: he, the efficiency and control side, she, the human and reconstructionist side” (p. 32).

56. For example, journalist Tristam Metcalfe, who in June 1914 visited schools in Gary in the company of Mayor Mitchel, fulminated against the plan in speeches and in his Globe columns — inducing a strong rebuttal by Barrows Fernandez (1915b) in the New York Tribune.

57. Another complicating factor is the fact that annual reports of the Public Education Association for the years 1914-1917 are missing (Cohen, 1964, p. 89).


59. Ostensibly, many religious Jews feared the released time off-campus religious instruction. Their members wanted no religious instruction of Jewish children during (public) school hours. Instead, they lobbied for religious education in Hebrew schools after school. This conflict appears emblematic of a deeper rift. The progressive educators and settlement house workers were descendants, in many cases directly, of a tradition of education dating the Congregationalist settlers of New England. With the establishing of schools like Boston Latin School (in 1635) and Harvard University (in 1636), they instituted an effective and extensive education system of indoctrination into Protestant values. Settlement house workers can be viewed as secular missionaries of these values. However, while religious leadership among Jews, Catholics, and other religious groups were naturally distrustful, friendships established between settlement house workers and immigrant strikers could have led to more trusting relationships with the immigrant religious leaders had city politicians promoted the Gary plan in a less top-down manner.

60. Ironically, settlement house workers had, only a few years earlier, lent support to union organizing among immigrant women garment workers in these very communities.

61. Eleanor Hope Johnson (1871-1969) graduated B.A. from Smith College in 1894. Afterwards she was a social settlement worker at Hull House — Jane Addams’s settlement house in Chicago. In 1897, she spent six months in England. In 1898, she lived in Eagle Pass, Texas. In 1899 she moved to New York City and worked at Hartley House. In the fall of 1900 she moved to Farmington, Connecticut, where she became the Editor of The Farmington Magazine. Between 1901 and 1904, she was School Visitor at Farmington. During the 1900s, Johnson (1900, 1902a-b, 1906, 1907, 1908) authored children and adult fiction. Around 1905 she moved back to New York City and worked for the College Settlement Association and the 8th District local school
board. During the early and mid-1910s, Johnson worked as Secretary of the Committee on Hygiene of School Children of the Public Education Association and later with the Bureau of Ungraded Classes at the New York City Department of Education. She regularly published about her work (see Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1913a; E. H. Johnson, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914a-b, 1915, 1916, 1917a-b). She also wrote the introduction to Colored School Children in New York by Francis Blascoer (1915), the first Secretary of the NAACP, on request by the Public Education Association (compare Popenoe, 1920). Early in 1916, Johnson joined the staff of Sprague Mitchell’s Psychological Survey at the Public Education Association. In May 1916, she began her work at the Bureau of Educational Experiments when she became charter member of the Bureau. In 1917 she became Chairman of Advisory Board of the newly founded Committee of the Volunteer Service of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1917d; E. H. Johnson, 1917a); she also became a member of the New York Committee on Feeble-Mindedness. In 1920 she began work with the bureau of ungraded classes at the NYC Department of Education. She received her Master’s degree at Columbia University in 1921 (see E. H. Johnson, 1920a-b, 1921a-c). In the fall 1922 Johnson became Instructor in Psychology and director of the Psychological Laboratory of the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, Hartford, Connecticut. A few years later, a book review by Johnson (1924) shows her ongoing involvement with her former work with ungraded classes.

62. After the move to New York, Alice (née Chipman) Dewey’s career stood in the shadow of her husband’s (Stack Jr., 2009). She mainly devoted her time to the cause of woman’s suffrage. In 1907, she taught elementary education at Teachers College. She also worked for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League. In 1910, she invited African American women to join the Woman Suffrage Party. Between 1910 and 1913 she worked as Manager of the State Hospital for the Care of Crippled and Deformed Children. In 1912, she began work as a member of the Columbia University Extension Board. In 1914 she began working for the New York Board of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. She became a member of the Committee on Education of the Woman’s City Club that informed the Public Education Association when writing their report The Status of the Kindergarten in the New York Public Schools, and she gave lectures on kindergarten education at the New York School of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Alice Dewey (1915) wrote a letter to the editor of the New York Times, defending college education for women. In 1916, she joined the Woodrow Wilson Independent League. In 1917, she was hired by the Bureau of Educational Experiments to write the history of her 1896-1904 Chicago University Laboratory School (BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, January 19, and February 13, 1917. Minutes Department of Teaching Experiments, October 29, 1917. C&C: Minutes Working Council, March 12, 1917. See also Dalton, 2002). After her return from a trip to Japan and China, she (1921) wrote an article on Chinese women for the New York Tribune.

63. See Dobbs Ferry Register, 1916; Evening Post, 1916b; School and Society, 1916; Tanenbaum, 1916d.

64. After her move from Gary to Philadelphia in September 1916 to become President of Carson College for Orphan Girls (see also Note 33, above), no longer working for Wirt, Ueland still occasionally promoted his cause. In May 1917 she narrated a film on Gary schools, shown at the William Penn High School in Philadelphia (Civic Club Bulletin, 1917).

65. Eleanor Johnson still chaired a Gary School League committee in 1917. Among other officers, Public Education Association director Nudd was on the Finance Committee, and Secretary of the Women’s Municipal League Agnes de Lima chaired the News and Literature Committee. Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Alice Dewey no longer chaired a sub-committee in 1917. Also in 1917, with 200 members and affiliated with the Public Education Association, the League paid salaries to at least two women to propagandize the Gary plan at street corners and at mothers’ clubs meetings (Daily Standard Union, 1917a-b).

66. See Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1917a-b. At the same time, the New York Times and The Sun had illustrated articles praising Wirt’s plan. The Evening World had an analysis of the city’s overcrowding of schools. Angelo Patri of Bronx School No. 45 defended the Gary Plan (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1917c), while the President of the Interborough Women Teachers’ Association opposed the “Garyizing” of the city’s schools (Marshall, 1917).
67. In September 1917, John Dewey co-founded the pro-Gary Committee on Public Education. This action came too late to be of any importance regarding the Gary School War.

68. Through the 1910s, schools in other parts of the country began experimenting with the plan too. Bourne (1916b) mentioned schools in Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. By 1920, more than thirty cities had implemented Wirt’s system in almost 120 schools; by 1929 more than two hundred cities had “Garyized” more than 1,000 schools. During the 1920s, Barrows Fernandez (Barrows again after her divorce), who in 1918 began work for the United States Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C., organized conferences where she spoke of Wirt’s plan (e.g., Barrows, 1922). As of 1925, she edited The Platoon School, a quarterly propagating the “Garyizing” of schools (Cohen, 1990). All this hard work, however, failed to lead to a national movement for progressive education reform of classroom teaching.

69. The book was Alexander’s (1918a) Man’s Supreme Inheritance. Randolph Bourne (1918a) and Carl Zigrosser’s (1918) reviews of Man’s Supreme Inheritance show strong similarities. Both reviewers knew each other since they, Columbia University students in 1911-1912, served the board of Columbia Monthly. Later they shared rooms for a while at East 31st Street, Manhattan (Avrich, 1980). Most probably they analyzed the book together.

70. RBML: Randolph Bourne Papers, Box 9; draft of a letter to John Dewey, 28 May 1918. The existence of Bourne’s final letter to Dewey in the Columbia University Butler Library remained unknown until the end of last millennium (see Staring, 1994, pp. 29-33).

71. Bourne “was convinced that government officials had been hanging around the New Republic asking about his loyalty — on a tip from John Dewey, [Bourne’s friend] Dorothy Teall remembers him saying” (Clayton, 1984, p. 256). Moreau (1966) cited Bourne telling a friend, “You don’t know Dewey…He is terribly vain. He was offended by my article and would do anything to injure me” (p. 193).

72. Bourne died in the arms of Agnes de Lima (not his fiancé), at the time director of the Public Education Association (Moreau, 1966).

73. The five co-founders were Anne George, Marietta Johnson, Otis Caldwell, Stanwood Cobb and Eugene Smith.

74. The seven PEA principles read: Freedom to develop naturally; Interest, the motive of all work; The teacher a guide, not a taskmaster; Scientific study of pupil development; Greater attention to all that affects the child’s physical development; Co-operation between school and home to meet the needs of child life; The progressive school, a leader in educational movements.

75. ‘Progressive education’ was meant to express the esprit de corps: “The word “Progressive” is now recognized as implying specific ideals in education. This fact is significant, for not until the term “Progressive Education” comes to have a specific meaning, the specific meaning assigned by our founders, will the Association exert its greatest influence. A further advantage lies in the sense of unity which this name, thus understood, brings to people all over the country who have been carrying out or advocating some of the ideals upheld by our Association” (Cobb, 1921b, p. 1).

76. The PEA constitution (1920) declared that the Association aims “1. To act as an exchange bureau. 2. To council and to cooperate with parents in solving their educational problems. 3. To encourage the training of teachers in the principles and methods of progressive education. 4. To give field aid to those who are organizing or developing progressive schools. 5. To influence public education toward progressivism by educating the public to demand it. 6. To propagate the principles of progressive education by means of: (a) Lectures. (b) Newspaper and magazine articles. (c) A periodical publication to serve as the official organ of the Association, issued free to all members” (pp. 44-45). Only the second paragraph specifically refers to counselling and cooperating with parents.


78. The April-May-June 1926 Progressive Education number, titled “Creative Expression Through Art,” for instance, was first reprinted in book format in 1926 (see Hartman (Ed.), 1926).
An extended edition edited for the PEA was issued in the 1930s (see Hartman & Shumaker (Eds.), 1931, 1939).

79. It is true, for instance, that parents of children attending progressive schools who were PEA members would articulate better “their troubles as problems for professional treatment and seek corresponding professional service for the problems so defined” (De Swaan, 1988, p. 245).

80. The Brooklyn Daily Eagle (1921b) declared that after the Gary system “had been overwhelmingly rejected by popular vote,” New York City would certainly not “experiment with small primary classes which would double the demand for new schoolhouses and teachers.”

81. John Dewey (1933) listed four conditions to be fulfilled by projects. The first condition, interest, was usually met. Further conditions are: project activities must be worthwhile intrinsically; projects ought to “present problems that awaken new curiosity and create demand for information” (p. 218). And lastly, projects should involve considerable time spans for their “adequate execution” (p. 219). Only in case the four conditions are fulfilled, projects or “constructive occupations…may be truly educative” (p. 217).

82. The phrase was broadly applied before in manual training and vocational training education, for example by Calvin Milton Woodward (1887) who brought in the concept of learning by projects in a book describing his own vocational education school and its methods. In 1879, Woodward had founded the Manual Training School — a public high school at St. Louis, Missouri. The President of Harvard University suggested the name Manual Training School to Woodward — after having rejected several other promising names like Hand-and-Head-Work School, Technical School, Industrial Trade School and Skilled Labor School. The school had carpentry and machine shops and a smithy and introduced a manual skills education which Woodward dubbed shop-work. Students were supposed to learn the basic tools of a diversity of jobs. Once students had learned these basic manual training skills through graded shop exercises, they were given the opportunity of undertaking projects marking the end of their vocational education, applying and showing their technical skills. “When these exercises are finished, a variety of combination pieces may be executed by the members of a class jointly or separately. These projects should be carefully matured” (p. 159).

According to Knoll (1988, 1995, 1997), Woodward’s learning by projects approach had a long history in Academies of Art and Architecture in Rome (Italy) and Paris (France) and in European and American technical universities in Paris (France), Karlsruhe (Germany), Zürich (Switzerland) and Boston (USA). Kliebard (1995) refers to Rufus Stimson and his Home Project Plan as Kilpatrick’s precursor. Stimson (1912) reported a successful introduction of learning by projects in agricultural education in 1908. Stimson (1919) elucidated his Project Study suitable for vocational agricultural education. His writings strongly influenced David Snedden’s writings on vocational education, advocating learning by projects.

83. Educational methods come and go. Although first results of an early study of the project method were optimistic (Collings, 1923), it soon came under harsh criticism (see Note 83, below). Kilpatrick (1923) applauded Collings’ study. However recently, Knoll (1996) has shown that Collings (1923) manipulated his data. Another evaluation of teaching by projects courses shows that students conceded the following advantages of learning by projects: self-reliance; general orderliness; good fellowship, aroused and increased interest. On the other hand, they conceded the following disadvantages: loss of time due to parliamentary and needless discussions, required subject matter slighted, and non-participation on part of some students. The findings strongly suggest that a critical fraction of the students was idling, misusing the freedom given to them (Hatch, 1921). It is likely that such conduct led to problems of discipline (The Sun, 1924).

84. Soon after schools began teaching by projects, charges were made against the reform. The phrase “‘project method’ caused endless trouble because it had become associated…with a type of undirected and more or less chaotic school organization” (Rugg, 1926, pp. 4-5). And, “unbridled freedom was responsible for unruly, unmannerly behavior of children” (Tenenbaum, 1951, p. 232). Did this originate from a wide-ranging fear for the unknown? Unrelenting charges of unguided freedom made against schools where students learned by projects, indicate that it most probably was not (Harris, 1928). Instead, one defence of project method is that inexperienced teachers were to blame when problems did exist. John Dewey (1930) held, “To fail to assure [students] guidance and direction is not merely to permit them to operate in a blind and
spasmodic fashion, but it promotes the formation of habits of immature, undeveloped and egoistic activity” (p. 205). Dewey (1902) feared that there is always a possibility that exceptionally progressive teaching approaches will toss students back onto themselves: “The child is expected to ‘develop’ this or that fact or truth out of his own mind. He is told to think things out, or work things out for himself, without being supplied any of the environing conditions which are requisite to start and guide thought” (p. 24).

85. Gertrude Hartman (1876-1955) attended the Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Girls’ High School. Between 1901 and 1903, she was Holder of the New Century Club Scholarship, and attended the Philadelphia Normal School for Girls. Hartman graduated B.A. at Bryn Mawr College in 1905. Between 1905 and 1915, she taught English in the Baldwin School for Girls, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; was assistant director of the Winsor School, Fenway Station, Boston, Massachusetts, and head of the English department at the Veltin School in New York City (Evening Public Ledger, 1915). In 1908, she co-authored Exercises for Parsing and Analysis (Choate & Hartman, 1912). In 1915, Hartman became principal of a newly established open-air school, the Merion Country Day School, Merion Station, Pennsylvania (Kingsley & Dresslar, 1917). Pratt listed the school among experimental schools (Pratt & Deming, 1917). Hartman began work as special field worker with the Bureau of Educational Experiments in New York City in October 1917.

86. Hartman’s initial duty concerned the preparation of a publication on sex education. Later, before writing her The Child and His School, she made a study of children’s drawings.

87. Vandewalker (1923) referenced Pratt’s City and Country School (formerly the Play School) in her article “Suggestions Concerning the Application of the Project Method to Kindergarten Education” (emphasis added). See also Collings, 1924.

88. Ravitch (2001) observes, “The curriculum revision movement paved the way for the activity movement in elementary schools” (p. 242). Note that learning by activities in Pratt’s experimental school (founded in 1913) was reviewed in Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Bonser, 1926, p. 355). A section of the yearbook was devoted to curriculum design in private laboratory schools. Eleven associated contributors to the yearbook introduced the curriculum of their own school (see, for instance, M. L. Johnson, 1926a; Pratt, 1926). Note further that Marietta Johnson (1915b) stated in 1915: “[We] must obey the law of growth and provide occupations and activities which will satisfy the needs of the growing body, the inquiring mind, and the delight of the spirit” (emphasis added). Johnson, however, did not deliver a theory of learning by occupations and activities (consult also Herring, 1910; M. L. Johnson, 1910, p. 568).

89. Calkins (1921b) claimed that Pratt’s school offered “an elaboration of the project method, clear through the several years. It is the seductive inductive method. Question gives rise to answer, and answer to question. The children determine the next step. Arithmetic, if allowed to do so, gives birth to marketing, and marketing to arithmetic. The practical and the theoretical are so cleverly intertwined as to be inseparably attractive” (p. 698).

90. Courtis (1926) agreed with Pratt; he thought that a curriculum of a truly progressive school would be best written “in terms of activities and opportunities and not in terms of content at all” (p. 96). In 1928, Pratt stated, “We are not willing to be dominated or have the children dominated by subject matter...We wish them to form strong habits of first-hand research and to use what they find” (in M. J. Taylor, 1928). Pratt explained in 1927: “We are pretty sure that if children are sent to us early enough, we can establish the habit of being motivated from within...This principle of motivation is, to me, what the new education stands or falls by” (p. 108).

CHAPTER 2

Ernest became a registrar at the University of Minnesota (Marquis (Ed.), 1907). In 1890, Florence, Harriet, Everett, and Clifford starred in two plays (Saint Paul Daily Globe, 1890).

93. See State of Minnesota, 1887, 1895; Superintendent, 1885.
94. See Galbreath, 1896; Kirkpatrick, Rowe, Lawrence, Rankin, & Blaisdell, 1897; Parr & Koehler, 1896.
95. See Saint Paul Globe, 1896b; 1897, 1899c.
96. See M. L. Johnson, 1898; Koehler, Cox, Robbins, Darling, Earhart, & Johnson, 1898.
97. Newman (1999; 2002), following Gaston (1984), dates Johnson's conversion experience as having occurred in 1901, instead of during 1898-1899. The origin of this discrepancy is a 1913 New York Times interview, when Johnson told of receiving Oppenheim's book from the superintendent of the St. Paul Teachers' Training School (Edwards, 1913). However, in a 1928 interview in the Evening Post she remembered that she worked as “head of the primary department of the State Normal College” in Minnesota when she was given Oppenheim’s book (McCarroll, 1928); this is when she was principal of the Primary Practice School at the Mankato State Normal School, 1896-1900.
98. See, for instance, Bennett, 1912; Edwards, 1913; M. L. Johnson, 1913a, 1923a; McCarroll, 1928; Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, 1929.
99. Fairhope housed the first utopian single tax colony, officially the Fairhope Single Tax Corporation, established by George devotees in the U.S.A. The corporation owned the land, which it rented out. The rental payment of home, farm, and business owners was used to pay, among other taxes, the taxes on the land. In 1900, another Georgist single tax community was founded in Arden, Delaware (see Edwards, 1993; Municipal Record, 1921; Robinson, 1914; Sreenivasan, 2008).
100. Comings (1904) opposed memorizing of what he called the “dry facts and abstract statements of principles” (p. 31), injuring the character and moral development of students and deadening the “joy of learning” (ibid.). He argued that Froebel's insight to train “hands, head and heart at the same time” (p. 17) should be put to practice in industrial training, using handicraft training; cabinet work; gardening and horticulture; and practical studies in biology as “formative influences” (p. 69) to develop “creative power of hand and head” (p. 17); “moral and spiritual uplift” (p. 34); self-government (p. 40); and “habits of care, nicety and thoroughness of detail” (p. 67). Note that, in speaking of “race elevation” Commings' racist ideas were unmistakably identified by W. E. B. Du Bois in a 1904 letter to Comings (in H. Aptheker (Ed.), 1973, pp. 80-81).
101. Henderson (1902) also used the phrase organic training.
102. In 1908 the school was named Comings Memorial College of Organic Education, renamed School for Organic Training in 1909, renamed Comings Memorial School of Organic Education in 1910, and later renamed School of Organic Education.
103. In this light it is interesting to note that Hermann Kutter’s (1908) They Must, a treatise about Christian Social Democracy by the Zürich, Switzerland, based Minister, references George’s 1883 book Social Problems (pp. 181, 186) and specifies that “Mrs. Mariette [sic] L. Johnson, Fairhope, Ala.,” purchased three copies (p. 221).
104. Henderson (1902) propagated a similar class organization in Education and the Larger Life: “The work itself is so largely individual that a single group may properly include children of quite unlike ages” (p. 190).
106. The often-cited line by Henderson (1902) reads, “The social purpose is a humanized world, composed of men and women and children, sound and accomplished and beautiful in body; intelligent and sympathetic in mind; reverent in spirit” (p. 48). Note that even though Dewey and Henderson never credited Herbert Spencer, they were influenced by his 1866 Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical (Cremin, 1961; Kieran, 2002).
Notes

107. It concerns the text of a paper presented at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Maine Federation, held in Portland, October 20-22, 1908. According to the Pensacola Journal (1908a-b), Comings presented a paper titled “Organic Training” at the First Methodist Church on November 27, 1908, Pensacola, Florida. The text of this paper is missing.

108. Possibly the article constitutes the text of a paper titled “Organic Education” which Comings — according to the Utica Daily Express (1909) — presented at the Utica, New York, New Century Club on January 7, 1909.

109. Like Pratt (1902b) had done prior to 1909, Johnson evidently referenced John Dewey’s (1897) My Pedagogic Creed, stressing that education is “a process of living and not a preparation for future living” (p. 7).

110. Marietta Johnson dubbed the field trips “field geography and nature study in the form of walks” (in Ogden Standard, 1913).

111. A second 1910 article in the Boston Daily Globe by Herring (married in the meantime) references Johnson’s Comings Memorial College of Organic Education as well (Christopher, 1910). See also Boston Evening Transcript (1912).

112. The official transcript of Johnson’s address (1910b) in the Minnesota Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction does not speak of Fairhope, though, or of single tax plans.

113. The Arizona Republican (1910), the Christian Science Monitor (1910b), the Commoner (1910), the Daily Star (1910) and the Labor Digest (1910) reprinted the article.

114. The 10 December 1911 San Francisco Chronicle also printed Potter’s article. In 1920, Potter became the first director of the Fairhope Educational Foundation (Huntington, 1921).

115. See Bismarck Daily Tribune, 1911; Washington Herald, 1911a; Washington Times, 1911a-b.

116. No wonder that Foster (1924) stated that Johnson was purely concerned with health problems; that her views were “health education theories,” and that work in her school was planned “to meet health needs” (p. 153).

117. See also Marietta Johnson’s contribution in Sidis, Baker, Johnson, & Maxwell, 1911.

118. Johnson travelled first to Washington, D.C. to attend the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Women’s National Single Tax League where on May 28 she gave a talk on “Education and Economics” (Luther, 1912; Single Tax Review, 1912) and where she lectured at the Sherwood Presbyterian Church on June 17 (Washington Herald, 1912b-c; Washington Times, 1912a-b).

119. The Boston Daily Globe (1912), the Brooklyn Daily Eagle (1912), the Illustrated Buffalo Express (1912) and the Washington Herald (1912a) reprinted the article. Chesman (1912) is the source of circulation numbers.

120. See also American Educational Review, 1912a-b.

121. Other, less significant, 1912 articles highlighting the school are not reviewed here. See, for instance, The Sun, 1912b; Trenton Evening Times, 1912; Trenton Evening True American, 1912a-b.

122. Edwards’ (1913) New York Times article was published on March 16, 1913. The same day Johnson lectured about “The Value of Organic Education as Opposed to Public School Methods” at a meeting of the Brooklyn Philosophical Association (Daily Standard Union, 1913).

123. See Syracuse Journal, 1913; Washington Herald, 1913a-b; Washington Times, 1913a-b.

124. See Arizona Republican, 1913; Baltimore Sun, 1913; Bennett, 1913a-c; Case and Comment, 1913; Clinch Valley News, 1913; Fourth Church, 1913; Hearst’s Magazine, 1913; Hopkinsville Kentuckian, 1913a-b; Mt. Sterling Advocate, 1913; New Smyrna News, 1913; New York Times, 1913e; Pittsburgh Press, 1913; Primary Education, 1913; Trenton Evening True American, 1913; Stanstead Journal, 1913; Wilcox, 1913a-d.

125. Jean Lee Hunt was the former Assistant Mistress of the New Milford, Connecticut, Ingleside School. In 1915, she began writing book reviews (see, for instance, Hunt, 1915, 1918a, 1921, 1925). She also translated a book (Hamaïde, 1924) and co-authored a book on creative activity (Hunt, Todd, & Winship, 1926). In 1916, she became charter member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see Chapter 4).


129. See *New York Times*, 1913b-d; Naumburg, 1913.

130. See, for instance, Adams, 1914; Brooks, 1914; F. S. Marshall, 1914a-b.


132. Johnson (1929) later stated, “The child is not a little adult” (p. 20). In this sense she agreed with Rousseau. However, she did not share a Rousseauan view that children should be “allowed to grow without any adult restraint” (Meyer, 1945, p. 2). Even though the *Buffalo Morning Express* (1912), the *Evening Post* (1913b), and *Young* (1914) called Johnson’s school a do-as-you-please school, and even Marietta Johnson did too (in *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1912b; Todd, 1913), she (M. L. Johnson, 1926b) explained that her approach to education “does not mean a ‘do as you please program.’ The child is too ignorant to know what is best for him...It means that he must be guided and controlled but this guidance and control must be determined by his nature and need rather than by any external standard or pre-conceived notion of the adult” (p. 338). (Consult also *New York Times*, 1923). Sinclair (1920) wrote, “Mrs. Johnson is frequently asked about discipline. She would develop discipline in the child through giving him the opportunity to persist and struggle for an end which to him was of supreme importance, for she says that all work under impulsion, or direction, without freedom of choice, tends to weaken the will and make him dependent on external decisions.” Note, on the other hand, that Johnson told a *Baltimore Sun* reporter that there were “penalties for misconduct” in her school and that she had “even gone so far as to spank” (Hamilton, 1914). And in 1921, Johnson stated, “We must insist upon obedience, even using physical force, if necessary” (*Educator-Journal*, 1921).

133. See, for instance, Comings, 1915; Davis & Kroll, 1915; Scott, 1915; Writer, 1915.

134. Note that when *The Survey* published a letter to the editor by Johnson’s pen in the 25 December 1915 issue, the editor felt he should remind readers that the letter would be of more interest if they knew that Johnson’s school had received Dewey’s praise, and that *The Survey* had earlier run an article on her methods and philosophy. “Health of School Children,” Johnson’s (1915a) letter to the editor, does not contain new views, though. She attacked the early learning to read, the sitting behind a desk by little children, the prevailing egotism, nationalism, self-deception and insincerity undermining “character as well as health.”

135. See, for instance, Colby, Churchill, & Krans (Eds.), 1916; Graves, 1916; Hall, 1916; *Oswego Daily Palladium*, 1916; Sargent, 1916.


137. See, for instance, Beery, 1917; Bourne, 1917a; Crane, 1917; Grupe, 1917; Miller (Ed.), 1917; Sargent, 1917.


139. BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, March 5, 1917. Sprague Mitchell added, “Miss [Elisabeth] Irwin would like the approval of the Executive Committee to her plan to have Mrs. Johnson devote some of her time to Miss Irwin’s class of precocious children in P.S. 64” *(ibid.)*.

140. C&C: Minutes Working Council, March 12, 1917. Johnson would also supervise the teaching of a class at Public School 64; see Irwin & Marks, 1926, pp. vii–viii + 115-117.

141. BSC: Budget recommended, June 1917. Around October 1917, the definitive 1917-1918 budget plans show that Johnson received $2,500 salary, and another $300 expenses (see BSC: Budget – 1917-18).

**CHAPTER 3**

142. Pratt (1948) wrote in her autobiography, “I read Shakespeare and the English novelists before I was fifteen” (p. 85).
143. Note in this light that the abolitionist Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826-1898) had resided in Fayetteville since 1854. Her father helped escaped slaves during their Underground Railroad journey north. Since the early 1850s Gage was a nationwide campaigner for women’s suffrage. She was President of the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1875 and 1876. In 1880, in Fayetteville, women who were property owners won voting privileges for the first time — in school board elections (school suffrage) (Carlton, 1986).

144. The May 24, 1892, letter of recommendation by neighbour Mrs. A. L. Seward to addressee Walter L. Hervey, Dean and Acting President of the College for the Training of Teachers, is reprinted in Carlton, 1986, p. 129. Carlton notes, “Hervey immediately sent off a letter with the offer of a scholarship” (ibid.).

145. The College had already affiliated with Columbia University but was still situated at 9 University Place near Washington Square, Greenwich Village.

146. See Board of Public Education, 1896, 1897, 1898; Fayetteville Recorder, 1895; Howe Company, 1897.

147. See Woodward, 1887, 1889, 1890.

148. The Journal of Education (1896) reported that George H. Cliff, principal of the Normal School for Girls, had placed Pratt in special charge of the “study of carpentry, or the training in sloyd…a revelation of the city of Brotherly Love.” The journal further indicated, “The equipment is complete, the training skilful, the effect upon the girls’ physical, intellectual, and professional life noticeable.”

149. The Kindergarten Magazine (1901) states, “What a charming place and life must be that of the students who summer at Nääs, Sweden — the now famous sloyd center. Miss Caroline Pratt, of Philadelphia, describes it in Education” (pp. 445-446).

150. See also Craig, 1901; A. Johnson, 1921; Thorbjörnsson, 2006.

151. Pratt (1948) found that Marietta Johnson was “a disciple of Henderson,” behaving like a preacher. But then again, at one fell swoop she confessed that Henderson “had stirred up [her] own thinking years before” (p. 57).

152. See City and State, 1898; Library Journal, 1897, 1900; Mrs. Logan, 1912; H. Marot, 1902.

153. See also, for instance, Marot’s (1909) letter to the editor of the New York Call.

154. The 1900 United States Federal Census reveals that Caroline Pratt (as boarder) and Helen Marot lived under one roof together with Helen’s (widowed) mother and Helen’s sister Elizabeth.

155. Neither the 1901 report, nor the 1903 booklet, have been often referenced (see, for instance, Blodgett, 1966; Gaudioso, 1992; Mrs. Logan, 1912; Polansky, 1987). Bernheimer (1905) prominently acknowledged, “The writer is indebted to Miss Helen Marot and Miss Caroline L. Pratt for some of the data furnished in reference to the clothing trade” (p. 122). The executive committee of the 1906 Industrial Exhibit, held in Philadelphia, acknowledged, “The schedules of [a number of] Booths…were taken very largely from the reports of an investigation published in 1903 by Miss Helen Marot and Miss C. L. Pratt” (Industrial Exhibit, 1906, p. 18).

156. The outspoken manner in which Marot and Pratt presented the results of their investigation apparently provoked the College Settlement of Philadelphia, Pratt’s new employer, to respond. They issued a circular, denying, on the one hand, the impression that ready-made clothing always “bears the stigma of the sweat-shop, and that sweat-shops are places to be shunned by all who care to have their clothing made in sanitary workrooms.” On the other hand, they offered suggestions to enable customers to identify first-class tailors who make clothes “on the premises or in sanitary workrooms suitable for the purpose” (City and State, 1901, p. 231).


158. See Davis, 1967; Felt, 1965; The Churchman, 1903. The Child Labor Committee included, among others, Lillian Wald (head worker Henry Street Settlement), Florence Kelley (Secretary of the National Consumers League) and Mary Simkhovitch (head worker Greenwich House settlement).

160. See Charities, 1902; Durland, 1905; H. Marot, 1904. Helen Marot (1905) issued “Progress in Pennsylvania,” a report of her work. See also Daily Star, 1904; Philadelphia Record, 1905a-b; Pittsburgh Press, 1904.

161. It is interesting to note that Florence Kelley, Helen Marot and Lillian Wald were among the signers of the 12 February 1909 call to form the National Association of the Advancement of the Colored People (Current, 1959; Ovington, 1914). They remained active supporters of the NAACP (Daniels, 1989; McDaniel & Julye, 2009).

162. See Barnum, 1908; Basch, 1990; H. Marot, 1911a-b, 1912a-b; New York Times, 1907b. The affluent sisters Alice Lewisohn and Irene Lewisohn paid Marot’s salary (Dye, 1980).

163. See, for instance, Charities, 1903b; Hartley House News, 1903, 1908c.

164. Settlement worker, municipal reformer, political activist, millionaire and philanthropist James Graham Phelps Stokes — “the moving spirit of Hartley House,” according to Elton (1903) — introduced Pratt’s letter to the editor (Phelps Stokes, 1905), giving high praise for Pratt’s work as an instructor of manual training.


166. In “A Socialist Education,” a draft of an unpublished article, Pratt asserts that “our schools will remain what they are — direct feeders to the factory system” (in Antler, 1987, p. 242).


168. According to Hampton’s Magazine (1910), WTUL allies were “college girls, students of social questions and others…sympathetic with the cause of organized labor” (p. 423).

169. The shirtwaist makers’ strike was also known as waistmakers’ revolt and as the Uprising of the 20,000.

170. Earlier, on September 10, 1909, during a strike against her former employer’s sweatshop, the shop’s hirelings had assaulted Lemlich and beaten her unconscious (New York Call, 1909b; New York Herald, 1909).

171. See Hampton’s Magazine, 1910. Lemlich joined the WTUL during the strike and became a member of its Executive Board (Foner, 1979). In 1912, The Sun (1912a) listed her, Helen Marot and Caroline Pratt as “women prominent in its organization work.”

172. For a contemporaneous account of the WTUL role in the Uprising of the 20,000, see Clark & Wyatt, 1911. For a brief history of the role of the International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union and the militancy of newly immigrated Jewish workers from Russian and Poland, see Sachar, 1992.

173. The New York Times (1910b) dubbed Marot “the league’s strike-leading secretary,” while Collier’s (1910) found that the “personality of Helen Marot” had been a “powerful factor in the shirt-waist strike” (p. 10).

174. Marot and her life-partner Caroline Pratt shared living quarters but did not openly declare sexual preference.

175. Did members of the Socialist Party meet at the rooms of Pratt and Marot before going to the 22 November ILGWU meeting at Cooper Union? Basch (1990) mentions, “union officials, socialist lawyers, and members of the WTUL sat on the platform” (p. 30).

176. E.g., Hofstadter, 1955; see also Casper, Cuffaro, Schultz, Silin, & Wickens, 1996; Dye, 1986.

177. Edna Smith would finance Pratt’s Play School in 1913.

178. During 1910, Mary Marot and Harriet Johnson also organized evening English classes for foreign-speaking girls at the WTUL headquarters (New York Call, 1910a).
Notes

179. See also *New York Call*, 1909a. *Hampton’s Magazine* (1910) explains that the phrase ‘uptown scum’ originated as a sobriquet for WTUL allies, Colony Club members, as well as suffragists. See also Dorr, 1910.

180. Rose Pastor Stokes’ millionaire husband James Graham Phelps Stokes, founder of Hartley House (Felt, 1965), had introduced Pratt’s letter to the editor in the *Evening Post* (see Note 163, above). Helen Marot and Phelps Stokes knew each other since 1903 when they both were on the subcommittee on legislation of the Association of Neighborhood Workers’ Committee on Child Labor (Davis, 1967).

181. While working at Hartley House in 1906, Forbes, Johnson, and Mary Marot had initiated the flourishing Visiting Teacher program (see Chapter I) — inspired by the Visiting Nurse Service program initiated by Lillian Wald at Henry Street Settlement house (see Beard, 1915; Daniels, 1989; Lagemann, 1979; Wald, 1915).

182. Marot remained busy as ever; see, for instance, Bruere, Poole, Marot, Fraiser, & Mailly, 1910; H. Marot, 1911a, 1912a. Carlson (1986) states that Marot went to Europe, that is, France and Italy, for six months in 1911. Between May and July 1912, she toured the United States, visiting Kansas City, St. Louis, Denver, Scranton and other places as a special WTUL National Organizer (*Evening Post*, 1912; S. M. Franklin, 1913; H. Marot, 1912b).

183. It is very likely that Marot and Pratt were actively involved in the 1913 Paterson Silk Strike. There are however no confirming data. Pratt was involved in the 1912 Lawrence Strike (Dye, 1980).


After *The Masses* had merged with *New Review*, Marot served the editorial board of *The Masses* until December 1917 — when the government for its believed antiwar policy repressed the publication of the magazine. She continued to be a fierce advocate for labour and peace causes. Marot’s (1917b) review of Thorstein Veblen’s *The Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation* in *Political Science Quaterly*, for instance, shows her strong commitment to peace efforts. In November 1919, she joined the Executive Committee of the League of Oppressed Peoples, which soon disbanded.

185. See Spargo (Ed.), 1912. Helen Marot was a member of the Socialist Party too (*International Socialist Review*, 1913; Walsh, Marot, & Harvey, 1917a-b).

186. Recall that the *School Journal* (1895) already pointed out that Pratt’s 1894-1901 teaching goals in the Philadelphia Normal School for Girls included facilitating prospecting teachers to become educators “able to correlate and co-ordinate the woodworking with the language, arithmetic, and other work of the school” (p. 475).

187. Since the editor of *The Coming Nation* (Simons, 1913) announced in their 24 May 1913 issue that Pratt would report on shop work in public schools, it is very likely that “Tools vs. Rules” (Pratt, 1913) reviewed in this section is the report on shop work announced in *The Coming Nation*.

188. See *Kindergarten Review*, 1909; *Kindergarten-Primary Magazine*, 1909.

189. Advertisements in the 19 December 1910 *Evening World* and *Evening Telegram* show that Pratt’s Do-With Toys™ were available at Gimbel Brothers, corner Broadway and 32nd Street, New York City.

190. The text also appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* (1910a) and in the *Daily Metropolis* (1910). A synopsis of the article appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* (1910).
191. Sections in the *New York Herald* (1910a) article are virtually identical to sections in the *Evening Post* (1909b), the *New York Tribune* (1910a), the *Washington Herald* (1909), and the *San Francisco Call* (1911). Besides, several photographs illustrating the *New York Herald* (1910a) article also appeared in the *San Francisco Call* (1911). Likely journalists made use of a press kit assembled by Pratt.

192. Pratt’s *Unit Blocks* — also known as *Caroline Pratt Blocks* (Benedict, 1942) or *Pratt Project Play Blocks* (Franklin & Benedict, 1943) typically measure 5.5’’ long by 2.75’’ wide by 1.375’’ in height. Different blocks range in size from half the unit in length to four times the unit in length (Cuffaro, 1996). See *Christian Science Monitor*, 1910a, 1913, 1914a; *Daily Metropolis*, 1910; *Detroit Free Press*, 1910; *New York Tribune*, 1910a; O’Reilly, 1911; Pratt, 1911c-d, 1914a-b.

193. The *Handbook of the New York Child Welfare Exhibit* explicitly refers to the Do-With dolls and toys as well as to Pratt’s activities as an expert demonstrator during the exhibit (New York Child Welfare Committee, 1911). A few months later the handbook of the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit had the text too (Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit, 1911).

194. See, for instance, *American City*, 1911; *Bisbee Daily Review*, 1911; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1911b; C. S. Brown, 1911; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1911; *Evening Recorder And Daily Democrat*, 1911; Friedman, 1911; *Geneva Daily Times*, 1911; *Hyde*, 1911; Lunsford, 1911; M. M. Marshall, 1910; *New York Times*, 1911; *New York Tribune*, 1910b; *Picket Line Post*, 1911; Ralph, 1911; Thompson, 1911; The Spectator, 1911; *The Survey*, 1911; *Washington Herald*, 1911b; Watson, 1911; *Winona Republican Herald*, 1911.

195. The *Whitesville News* interview was reprinted in the 2 June *Castilian*; the 2 June *Dakota County Herald*; the 3 June *Corbett’s Herald*; the 9 June *North Platte Semi-Weekly Tribune*; the 12 June *Sheboygan Daily Press*; the 12 June *Oelwein Daily Register*; the 19 June *Evening Telegram*, and the 10 August *Waukesha Freeman*.

196. The photo also appeared in Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 1911; Zachert, 1913.

197. The final paragraph on the history of playing in Pratt’s (1905a) letter to the editor of the *Evening Post* (the epigraph beginning this chapter) completes theoretical aspects of her *Survey / Reform Advocate* article.

198. The following laudation in *The Mother’s Book* shows that Do-With Toys™ were still remembered as late as in 1919: “In the [1911] “Child Welfare Exhibit,” a great revelation was made…in what they called “do-with” toys; that is, toys that the child can do something with” (Burrell, Forbush, & Burdick (Eds.), 1919, p. 118).

199. In a *Boston Daily Globe* (1911) article about the Hingham Society of Arts and Crafts, the reporter praises Pratt’s toys for empowering children and letting their imagination surface, declaring that she approached her work from the standpoint of artist and teacher. Between 1910 and 1912 Pratt was a Craftsman Member of the Society of Crafts and Arts (Society of Arts and Crafts, 1910, 1911, 1912).

200. In 1910, both Pratt and Hill served on the Sub Committee on Home Life to organize the Child Welfare exhibit of toys and playthings (New York Child Welfare Committee, 1911). At the exhibit’s Playshop they demonstrated Pratt’s toys, sharing numerous ideas on toys and children’s play.

201. Other reports that drew attention to the Do-With Toys™ include: *Evening Post*, 1911a-b; *Merrill*, 1912; *New York Herald*, 1911a-b; *New York Tribune*, 1911.

202. A few years later, the *Kindergarten Review* (1914) reported a talk delivered by Hill before the New York Public School Kindergarten Association, again referencing Pratt’s toys.

203. See, for instance, Burrell, Forbush, & Burdick (Eds.), 1919, p. 118; *Christian Science Monitor*, 1913, 1914a-b, 1915; Johnston, 1918.

204. Perhaps the Do-With Toys™ were too costly (Pratt, 1911c) or too abstract, as suggested (Hirsch, 1978)?

205. Pratt (1911c) argued that toy manufacturing needs to keep pace with changing social conditions. Toys manufactured to her specifications, she asserted, “satisfy the [child’s] demands of playability, durability, make-ability, and of artistic merit” (p. 893).

206. The *Christian Science Monitor* (1914a) quoted Pratt’s (1914b) article almost in its entirety.
207. Pratt probably read William James’ (1899) *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* that articulates a related theory of habit acquisition. For example, Pratt (1905b) wrote that the children’s “instinct of ownership” (p. 160) when making an object during her Hartley House manual training class represents a means to get them exercise their will and their intelligence. It was Pratt’s view that around the time that children start to want to own things for what these things can bring them in the way of pleasure, shop work will appeal to them — boys and girls alike. The idea is very much in agreement with James (1899) who wrote, “Sloyd successfully avails itself of this instinct in causing the pupil to make a collection of wooden implements fit for his own private use at home” (p. 58).

208. The structure of Pratt’s *Educational Foundations* lead article seems to be: (1) aims of an experiment; (2) current unfavourable conditions; (3) ways to reverse these unfavourable conditions; (4) principles of an experiment; (5) financing of the experiment. The first three items are present in the article. The latter two are not.

209. Edna Louise Smith (1885-1922) was born in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. A 1907 Vassar graduate, she studied at the Chicago Art Institute for two years. She was a draughtsman during 1908 and 1909. In 1909 and 1910, she studied at the University of Illinois in Chicago. Her father, the millionaire Captain Charles H. Smith, was President and main stockholder of the Western Wheeled Scraper Company, Aurora, Illinois. Smith’s mother was Selma (Teuscher) Smith. In November 1910, Edna Smith succeeded her father on the Board of Directors of the company. At that time, she was the owner of stock in the concern valued at more than $300,000 (*Syracuse Journal*, 1910).


210. Carlton (1986) used the phrase *bineted* after Alfred Binet (1857-1911). In 1911, Harriet Johnson attended the Summer School at the Training School for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys at Vineland, New Jersey, supervised by Henry Goddard (compare also H. M. Johnson & Steinbach, 1911); she was taught how to administer intelligence tests.

211. See the 17 January 1915 *Sun* under the heading “Business Troubles;” the 20 January 1915 *Sun* under the heading “Business Troubles / Receivers Appointed” and the 1 February 1915 *New York Times* under the heading “Trade Sales This Week / Monday.”

212. Marten (1917) has a working drawing of “one of the ‘Do-With’ models manufactured by C. Pratt, 9 Jones Street, New York” (p. 119).

213. It is very likely that Pratt and Rodman knew each other since the 1909-1910 shirtwaist makers’ strike, when they were both politically active. Rodman supported the 1913 Patterson Silk Strike (Golin, 1988). Rodman and Pratt certainly knew each other since early 1913 when they both were among the signers of the call for founding the *Teachers’ League of New York*.

214. At least three other newspapers issued a short article about Pratt and her teaching methods immediately in succession to Rodman’s *New York Tribune* article. The New York *Utica Herald-Dispatch* (1915) printed a photograph, claiming it was a photograph showing Pratt. Since it is virtually identical to a photograph showing Rodman in the 12 November 1914 *New York Tribune*, it is likely that it is not Pratt’s, but Rodman’s. See also *Kingston Daily Freeman*, 1915; *Sunday Independent*, 1915.

215. Carlton (1986) calls these activities “constructive play.” See also Reed & Wright, 1932; J. S. Taylor, 1928a-b.

216. Herring (1910) described field trips by Marietta Johnson. Roger de Guimps, a former student of Pestalozzi (1746-1827), spoke of field trips during summertime in a description of Pestalozzi’s institute at Yverdon-les-Bains, Switzerland (in Curtis & Boulwood, 1966, p. 336). And Brubacher (1947, p. 206) stated that educator August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) of
Halle, Germany, organized field excursions. Around 1900, Dewey’s Chicago Lab School organized exploring field trips (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936), and around 1914, schools in Gary, Indiana, organized field excursions to “dairies, factories, bakeries, food-stores” (Bourne, 1916b, p. 128).

217. See Chesler, 1992; Katz, Hajo, & Engelman (Eds.), 2003. When Sanger was in exile, feminists who knew her from the Heterodoxy Club organized the National Birth Control League (NBCL). Among these women were Helen Marot and Lucy Sprague Mitchell (The Survey, 1915b).

218. The Stelton Modern School, Piscataway, New Jersey, first opened its doors on January 1, 1911, then located at St. Mark’s Place, New York City. The school was the educational part of the ‘Ferrer Center and Modern School.’ The Ferrer Center was named after Spanish Fransisco Ferrer (1859-1909), who had founded his first ‘modern’ school, the Escuela Moderna, in Barcelona, Spain, in 1901 (Avrich, 1980). One of the school’s first eleven students was Sanger’s firstborn son Stuart. Later, the school moved to East 12th Street, then to East 107th Street, and finally, in May 1915, to Stelton, New Jersey. A farmhouse near the school, the so-called Living House, had been converted into the school’s boarding house.


220. Elisabeth Antoinette Irwin (1880-1942) was daughter to cotton exchange merchant William Henry Irwin and Josephine Augusta (née Easton) Irwin. She attended Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn, New York City. In 1899 she entered Smith College (Northampton, Massachusetts) where she obtained a B.A. degree in Psychology in 1903 (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1903a). She then studied Philanthropic Work during the sixth summer school session of the NYC School of Philanthropy (Charities, 1903b; Charity Organization Society, 1903). From the fall of 1903 and until mid-1904 she was outdoor Play Leader (playground supervisor) at Seward Park, Manhattan (MacDonald & Irwin, 1904; Davis, 1967). In 1905 she was in charge of a model flat in a tenement house. After working a year at the College Settlement, Irwin became free-lance reporter writing for The American Magazine (Irwin, 1907a), The Craftsman (Irwin, 1907b-c, 1908a) and Good Housekeeping (Irwin, 1908b-c). After working at the College Settlement again, during 1909 and 1910, she joined the Public Education Association of the City of New York as fieldworker of the Committee on Hygiene of School Children in 1911 (Beard, 1915; Cenedella, 1996; O’Han, 2009; The Sun, 1911a).

Irwin regularly reported on results of psychological testing (Irwin, 1912a-1912f, 1913a-b, 1914, 1915a, 1916). Until 1916, according to Cohen (1964, p. 125), Irwin also worked with the Bureau of Ungraded Classes of the Board of Education. She wrote a report on truancy (Irwin, 1915b). The media regularly reported about her work: Beard, 1915, p. 19; Buffalo Morning Express, 1913a; the Evening Post (Monttler, 1915); Hudson Evening Register, 1917; Illustrated Buffalo Express, 1913; Morning Herald, 1913; New York Times, 1913a, 1915b; the New York Tribune (Rodman, 1915d); The Sun, 1911, 1915b; Utica Daily Express, 1913. From 1916 to 1921 Irwin administered intelligence tests at Public School 64, identifying so-called ‘superior children.’ Irwin and principal of P.S. 64 Louis Marks and the media reported results of the work (Evening Post, 1919, 1920, 1921; Franklin, 1919; Hall, 1920; Hudson Evening Register, 1917; Irwin, 1918a, 1919, 1920; Marks, 1921a-c; New York Tribune, 1919c, 1920a; School and Society, 1919b; Strayer & Evenden, 1922; Suffolk County News, 1924; The Sun, 1919b). Irwin also explained the curriculum of the newly built Manhattan Trade School for Girls in the New York Tribune (Irwin, 1918b).

In 1921, Irwin established and became principal of the elementary education Little Red School House (Bell, 1925; Biber, Murphy, Woodcock, & Black, 1942; Cohen, 1964; De Lima, 1926; 1942; Evening Post, 1936; Irwin, 1924a-b; 1928a-b, 1929, 1930; Irwin & Marks, 1924; O’Han, 2009).


222. See Deming, 1917; minutes of the 1918-1919 weekly Play School teachers meetings at City and Country School archives; The City & Country School, 1919. In 1918, Pratt hired William Zorach (1887-1966) to give art instruction twice a week (Stack Jr., 2004; Zorach, 1967). Other artists who taught at Pratt’s school are painters Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975), Charles...

223. To my knowledge, Pratt’s name was only mentioned a few times by the press in 1916 — however, unrelated to her educational views (see New York Call, 1916b; New York Herald, 1916; The Sun, 1916).

CHAPTER 4

224. In 1914, Sprague Mitchell worked with Harriet Johnson in Public School 3, and collaborated with Elisabeth Irwin at Public School 15 and Public School 64 (Antler, 1982; Cenedella, 1996). For a brief time in 1914, she also worked at the Department of Mentally Retarded Children of the New York City Board of Education, under Elizabeth Farrell (Davis, 1967).

225. An article by Sprague Mitchell (1914) in The Survey likely parallels her 1913 presentation proposing novel means to implement sex education program in elementary schools. Little more than a year later, Sprague Mitchell (1916) reported first results of the proposed instruction, taught by an unnamed special teacher (almost certainly Laura Garrett) in an undisclosed school (most likely Pratt’s Play School). Sprague Mitchell was also present at the October 1915 meeting of the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, discussing matters of sex education; see Gregory, 1916; Leland, 1915; Wile, 1915.

226. Laura B. Garrett (1872-1953) attended the Friends School of Baltimore, the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, and graduated in 1901 in Philanthropic Work at the New York City School of Philanthropy. Her thesis was called A Study Among the Italians in New York City. In 1904, she published “Notes on Poles in Baltimore” (Garrett, 1904), her first article. In 1909, she began offering courses in sex education in New England secondary schools, colleges, and social settlements (Baltimore Sun, 1909a-b; Cabot, 1914; Garrett, 1910a). While working as salaried field Secretary for the Maryland Society of Social Hygiene (Hooker, 1910), and for the American Purity Alliance too, she lectured on sex education at numerous meetings and conferences (New York Call, 1914); e.g., in Baltimore (Evening Post, 1910; Washington Times, 1910); in Boston (Auburn Semi-Weekly Journal, 1911; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1911a, 1911c; El Paso Herald, 1911; McCrady, 1913; The Sun, 1911b); in Essex County, New Jersey (Pinneo, 1911); in Little Rock, Arkansas (Garrett, 1910b); in Philadelphia (Evening Telegram, 1912; Russell, 1912; Syracuse Journal, 1912a-b); in Richmond, Virginia (Children’s Charities, 1911; Mathews Journal, 1911; Missionary Voice, 1911; Times Dispatch, 1911); and in Utica, New York (Utica Sunday Tribune, 1913). In 1913 she read a paper at the Fourth International Congress on School Hygiene in Buffalo, New York (Buffalo Morning Express, 1913b; Chadwick, 1913; Garrett, 1913a-b). In New York City and in Clinton, New York, she lectured on eugenics and “race progress” (Clinton Courier, 1913a-b; New York Call, 1913b; WTUL, 1913, p. 19; see also WTUL advertisement in the 16 February 1913 New York Call). Garrett — a staunch eugenicist (see her contribution in A. Johnson (Ed.), 1912, p. 283) lectured on birth control as well (e.g., The Sun, 1917). She published several letters to the editor (Garrett, 1912, 1914b). In 1914 she delivered a paper on sex education before the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union in Rochester, New York (Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, 1914). And she published an article about her teaching and a book review in the New York Call (Garrett, 1914a, 1914c). In 1915 she lectured on eugenics in Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh Gazette Times, 1915) and explained her teaching and lecture arrangements in the Journal of Social Hygiene (Garrett, 1915). At the June 1915 convention of the WTUL, Garrett opposed the U.S.A. entrance into the war (New York Call, 1915). In 1916 and subsequent years, she lectured at the NYC Socialist Party’s Rand School of Social Science. See also M. L. Pratt, 1913. During the 1920s she organized Housatonic Camp, a spring vacation and summer vacation camp in Canaan (Connecticut), at the foothills of the Berkshires (see, for instance, The Sun, 1929).

227. Frederick W. Ellis (1857-1949) graduated in 1889 in psychology at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. He became director of the Department of Social Research at the Neurological Institute (Collins, 1912; Elsberg, 1944). Between 1912 and 1917, Ellis wrote the
Neurological Institute’s annual reports, including results of mental examinations of children that he conducted (Ellis, 1912, 1913a-b, 1914a-b, 1915b, 1916, 1917; Ellis & Bingham, 1915, 1916). Ellis (1915a) explained interpreting Binet and Simon Age Scale tests in *Ungraded*. Early in 1919, Ellis and Wesley Mitchell were among the co-founders of the New School for Social Research (*New York Tribune*, 1919b). In February 1919, they delivered founding lectures at New School.

228. Then President of the American Psychological Association Robert Yerkes directed administration of the widely discussed U.S. Army Intelligence Tests (Cremin, 1961). As well as Goddard, Yerkes’ team at Vineland included Stanford’s Lewis H. Terman, Carnegie Foundation’s Walter V. Bingham and other leading American psychologists of the era (Du Bois, 1970; Zenderland, 1998). However, the Army tests were administered to groups (1.75 million military recruits). Irwin mainly focused on administering tests to students individually, more along the lines of the original intent of Binet-Simon test protocols (Irwin, 1913a-b).

229. Sprague Mitchell wrote the proposal in consultation with Eleanor Johnson, Harriet Johnson, Elizabeth Farrell, and Lillian Wald (of Henry Street Settlement), and the professional male academics John Dewey and Frederick Ellis.

230. The early BEE comprised twelve active members: nine women and three men. They met in diverse councils, forming various standing and special committees. The female members were Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Evelyn Dewey, Harriet Forbes, Laura Garrett, Jean Lee Hunt, Elisabeth Irwin, Eleanor Johnson, Harriet Johnson, and Caroline Pratt. Together with her husband, Sprague Mitchell also sat on the BEE Board of Trustees. The other two men, Frederick Ellis and Arthur Hulbert (1870-1937), shared committee work with the female members. Hulbert was, and remained director of a high school in Park Ridge, New Jersey; he did not stay long with the BEE. There are few biographical facts available about him. He became director of the Park Ridge School in 1900.

231. C&C: “By-Laws of the Bureau of Educational Experiments.” See also Hunt, 1917a; Poffenberger Jr., 1916; Rugg, 1917.

232. Sprague Mitchell, Eleanor Johnson and Alice Dewey probably joined the “Committee of 100 Women” on the Gary School Plan in March 1916. In April, the Committee became the Gary School League (Tangenbaum, 1916d).


234. Elsa Ueland, who in 1915 had already published her views regarding the Gary System (Ueland, 1915a-c; see also Notes 33, 51, and 64, above), compiled the *Gary Bibliography* (see BSC: “June 26th, 1916”), now missing.


236. After the Gary School League declared they had no interest in using them, the screens were set up in a Community Center, and later stored. After New York City Mayor Mitchel failed to win reelection in November 1917 and the Wirt Plan to “Garyize” the city’s public school system came to a halt, the BEE Working Council withdrew the screens from further exhibition. In 1918, William Wirt accepted transporting them to Gary to be on display in one of the original Gary schools.


238. Dewey declined an offer to become the Bureau’s educational advisor. Noteworthy too: both Dewey and Wirt were frequent dinner guests at the Michells’ home.

239. This exhibit on toys and school equipment was later shown at a meeting of the National Kindergarten Association in Boston and then moved back to New York City, to the Women’s City Club.

240. This exhibition on psychological tests produced by Elisabeth Irwin was later exhibited at the National Psychological Association Annual Meeting at Columbia University, and then moved and used in the BEE offices (*Pedagogical Seminary*, 1917).

241. See Bureau of Educational Experiments, 1917; Boardman, 1917; Hunt (Ed.), 1918c; Mitchell & Ruger, 1918; Ruger, 1918.
242. See also statistical assessments in articles by one of the Bureau’s psychologists: B. J. Johnson, 1918, 1919, 1920b; B. J. Johnson & Schriefer, 1922.

243. The American Library Annual, 1916-1917 (American Library Annual, 1917) reported that in the winter of 1917 the BEE library had “about 250 volumes and about 500 pamphlets chiefly in the specialities of primary and elementary education, psychological and pedagogical tests, educational theory” (p. 395). In 1922, the library counted already 1500 volumes. See also American Journal of School Hygiene, 1917a; Hunt, 1917c.

244. See Boardman, 1917; Bureau of Educational Experiments, 1917; Garrett, 1917; Goodlander, 1921; Hunt (Ed.), 1918b-c; R. H. Hutchinson, D. D. Hutchinson, Bates & Deming, 1917; H. M. Johnson, 1922; M. S. Marot, 1922; Mitchell & Ruger, 1918; Naumburg & Deming, 1917; Pratt & Deming, 1917. Additionally, in 1918, the Bureau issued a supplement to the psychological tests bulletins (Ruger, 1918). The Bureau also subsidized translating a foreign language article and publishing it in an American journal (Schiotz, 1920).


246. Among the proposals in the BEE archives at City and Country School (C&C) are: (1) Harriet Forbes: “Proposed Study of Nutrition.” (2) Laura Garrett: an untitled proposal concerning a Civic Center for Children. (3) Harriet Johnson: “Plan for Bureau to put in next year’s program; Plan for an Observation Class.” (4) Caroline Pratt: “A Summer Play School. (Country).”


249. C&C: “An Interview with Mr. Ellis,” p. 9.


256. Psychologist David Mitchell (1884-1956) was hired in the fall of 1917. In 1910, Mitchell graduated A.B. from the University of Toronto. In 1911 he gained his master’s degree in psychology at the University of Pennsylvania and in 1913 a PhD at the same university. Until he became director of psychological research at the BEE in 1918, he was Instructor of psychology at the University of Pennsylvania. Mitchell (1916) published a survey on schools and classes for exceptional children (see also Goddard, 1916), and delivered community talks, for instance on spiritualism (Albany Evening Journal, 1919a-b) and on mind reading (Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1922).
He accepted a post as BEE psychologist in 1917 (BSC: Minutes Working Council, October 15, 1917). Between 1921 and 1927 he held the post of Assistant Professor of Psychology at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He also lectured at Teachers College in New York City. In 1921, he founded the New York State Association of Consulting Psychologists, of which he was President until 1930.

257. Psychologist Buford Jennette Johnson (1880-??) was hired in 1918. In 1916, Johnson earned her doctorate in Psychology at Johns Hopkins University, published the following year (B. J. Johnson, 1917). Next, she worked as assistant psychologist at the Laboratory of Social Hygiene in Bedford Hills, New York. She resigned in 1918 to accept the position as BEE research assistant (BSC: Minutes Social, Mental and Physical Experiments Committee, December 5, 1917; Science, 1918). While working for the Bureau, Buford Johnson (1918, 1919, 1920a-b, 1922) published about testing, emotional instability in children, and fatigue effects. She co-authored Health Education and the Nutrition Class (Hunt, Johnson, & Lincoln, 1921), and an article on mental age testing (B. J. Johnson & Schriefer, 1922). In 1920, she accepted the position of Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University. Three years later she published her monograph based on data she had gathered while working at the BEE: Mental Growth of Children in Relation to Rate of Growth in Bodily Development (B. J. Johnson, 1925). See BSC: “Report of Studies from Psychological Laboratory Presented by Dr. Buford Johnson to the Research Committee. January 20, 1923.”

258. Physician Edith (Maas) Lincoln (1899-1971) was hired in 1919. In 1916, Edith Maas received her medical degree at Johns Hopkins University. In 1917 she married Asa Lincoln and was accepted for training in pediatrics at the NYC Bellevue Hospital. Edith (Maas) Lincoln began work as pediatrician in the Children’s Chest Clinic at Bellevue Hospital in 1922. Later she pioneered treatment of childhood tuberculosis. Donald (2013) describes Lincoln’s full career.

259. In 1922, after completing the text of her BEE bulletin School Records — An Experiment (M. S. Marot, 1922), Mary Marot moved back to her birth town Philadelphia to become Recorder at Elsa Ueland’s Carson College in Flourtown (Contosta, 1997; McGarry, 1921; The Survey, 1924; Willets & Marot, 1922). Ueland (1918, 1924, 1925) regularly informed colleagues about progress made in her school. In May 1917, the BEE welcomed Ueland as a non-resident member. During the mid- and late 1920s Ueland was on the Executive Committee of the Progressive Education Association (PEA, 1926). During the 1930s she was a member of the Central Staff of the Cooperative School for Teachers (CST), founded by the BEE in 1930 — predecessor of Bank Street College of Education. (See also Notes 33, 51, 64, and 234, above).

260. Jacob Theobald was the principal of Public School 89. In 1915, P.S. 89 was among schools examined by the Public Education Association for achievements of so-called ‘colored’ students (Blascoer, 1915a-b; New York Times, 1915a; Theobald, 1920).


262. Of further importance was Pratt’s (1917a) approach to the school’s toys: “children supplement the [toys] stock by constructing toys for their own special use” (p. 13). Many items made by toy manufacturers were, and still are, not used in City and Country School. Stated Harriet K. Cuffaro, a former teacher at the school, “If you needed a vehicle you made it at the workbench. Need a tree? Draw it and attach to a block. Need vegetables for the grocery store? Make them out of plasticine or draw them” (personal communication, August 7th, 2010).

263. Deming (1917b) portrayed the school’s interior and reported the school’s curriculum. Interestingly, the Modern School magazine — in 1912 grown out of the Ferrer Association’s News Letter issued by the Ferrer Colony at Stelton, New Jersey — carried educational articles which originally appeared as BEE bulletins (see also Rugg, 1917, p. 759). The “Editorial Note and Comment” by Carl Zigrosser (1917a) in the November 1917 issue draws attention to the BEE. “Few educational institutions in this country have a more enlightened attitude or constructive intention than the Bureau of Educational Experiments” (p. 159). Zigrosser stated that the Modern School magazine was reprinting, “by Caroline Pratt’s permission, a part of her admirable essay on ‘Playthings’” (ibid.). The text of the Playthings bulletin appeared in two successive issues of the
Notes

Modern School magazine — the first part in the November 1917 issue (Pratt, 1917b), credited to Pratt in both the contents table and at the end of the first part of the article, the concluding part in the December 1917 issue with the BEE Committee on Toys and School Equipment credited at the end of the article (Committee on Toys, 1917b; see also Modern School, 1917). Presumably the greater part of the bulletin's intellectual contents should indeed be attributed to Pratt. Nevertheless, the BEE Committee on Toys and School Equipment claimed authorship of Playthings (Bureau of Educational Experiments, 1917).

264. Minutes of the 18 March 1918 BEE Working Council meeting state that the Bureau wished a conference “to be arranged with Mrs. [Barrows] Fernandez [of the Gary School League] to enable the Bureau members to listen to her new plans for [work] with public schools” (BSC: Minutes Working Council, March 18, 1918).


268. BSC: Minutes S. P. & M. Department, January 30, and February 6, 1918.


271. BSC: Minutes Department of Information, December 6, 1917. Minutes Department of Teaching Experiments, October 19, November 16, November 23, and December 6, 1917; January 18, 1918. Minutes of Teaching Committee, December 14, 1917.

272. Editor of The Modern School Carl Zigrosser (1917c), related that after a lecture at “an old-fashioned dinner in the country” (p. 172), date and other details not given, Johnson sped back home on the train in his company. Zigrosser took the opportunity to interview Johnson for his magazine. In his editorial (1917b), he stated that Johnson had maintained a “Modern Experimental School,” though her school was not “quite so thoroughly radical as the logical extremist might desire, but it is ever so much more liberal than the orthodox school” (p. 190). Throughout the interview (Zigrosser, 1917c), Johnson said not a single word about her non-resident BEE membership, the sensitive issues of her work at P.S. 95, BEE plans to remove her Summer School to Hopewell Junction and train teachers during summer months. She merely mentioned her schools in Fairhope and in Greenwich, giving examples of how the children learned following their spontaneous interests and how guidance by teachers stimulated their interests, in woodshop, in geography class, and in music classes.


275. BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, April 24, 1918.

276. First effects of growing parental influence after the November 1917 NYC mayoral elections became visible immediately in P.S. 95. Harriet Johnson reported during a December 1917 meeting of the BEE Social, Mental and Physical Experiments Committee, that the principal of P.S. 95 “said that special permission would be necessary before arrangements could be made for the physical examination of the children of P.S. 95 [in the experimental organic education class supervised by Marietta Johnson], and that the work would have to be done in the school building” (BSC: Minutes Social, Mental and Physical Experiments Committee, December 5, 1917). See also BSC: Minutes Department of Teaching Experiments, February 1, 1918. Minutes S., P. & M. Department, March 13, 1918.

277. The principal’s reasons were not recorded in BEE minutes. Bureau archives hold no data revealing Johnson’s reaction to the sudden change of plans, nor of her activities in P.S. 64. It is likely she felt offended. BEE minutes (BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, May 13, 1918) suggest that she considered that a BEE letter addressed to her may have adversely affected her.
“professional reputation;” see also BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, May 1, May 3, May 8, and May 27, 1918. Minutes Working Council, April 28, 1918.

278. The first Bureau-backed publications, announcing the upcoming experiments, appeared in The Sun and in The Survey, referencing the 1918 preparatory work (Uzzell, 1918a-b). In 1919 and 1920, Bureau researchers published several interim reports (Mitchell, 1919; Mitchell & Forbes, 1920), which received positive media reviews. An accounting of the 1918-1921 nutrition researches at P.S. 64 appeared in Health Education and the Nutrition Class (Hunt, Johnson, & Lincoln, 1921). Jean Lee Hunt and Buford J. Johnson were also members of the New York Nutrition Council’s Committee on Statistics. In 1922 they published Height and Weight as an Index of Nutrition Including Practical Instructions (Committee of Statistics of the New York Nutrition Council, 1922).

279. This particular nutrition research was originally suggested in 1916 in a plan handed in by Bureau member Harriet Forbes (C&C: “Proposed Study of Nutrition”). In 1917, Forbes interviewed Tufts University Professor of Pediatrics William Emerson to set up and supervise the research (BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, April 19, May 17, June 4, and June 11, 1917). At the time, Emerson also directed the Woman’s Home Companion Clinic for Delicate Children and was President of the Nutrition Clinic for Delicate Children. See Emerson, 1917, 1919a-b, 1922; Emerson & Manny, 1920; Marshall, 1922; New York Times, 1917.

280. Many BEE minutes in the archives of Bank Street College of Education and City and Country School discuss the Bureau’s matters related to the nutrition research project. See also Andress, 1919, pp. 63-67.

281. E.g., Antler, 1982, pp. 575-576. Sprague Mitchell’s skepticism about the value of rank order reports from standardized test administrations anticipates late twentieth and early twenty-first century debates among psychometricians. Sprague Mitchell and her Bureau colleagues sought measure of student growth. However, conventional mental test assessments, which at the time were based on population sampling, were not designed to generate growth measures. Instead, they provided static snap shots. Benjamin Drake Wright (b1926), the Chicago University psychometrician who initiated that debate among American psychometricians, attributed his scientific interests in education measurement to when he was an elementary school student at Little Red School House, the NYC experimental school that grew out of BEE member Elisabeth Irwin’s experimental classes in P.S. 64 (Bouchard, 2010). Instead of population sampling statistics, Wright championed a method of item analysis models developed by the Danish mathematician Georg Rasch. See also Rasch, 1980; Ward, Stoker, & Murray-Ward, 1996a-b; Wright & Stone, 2004.

282. First, however, the year 1917 would almost end in disaster. The McDougal Alley Play School annex barely escaped destruction during a fire that began early morning of December 27 in an adjacent two-story building occupied by the “Board of Education as a school for defective children” (Evening Post, 1917). Marot and Pratt’s townhouse still housed two groups of the Play School in 1917 and 1918.


285. BSC: Minutes Department of Information, January 6, 1918.

286. Marot (1918b) dedicated The Creative Impulse in Industry to “Caroline Pratt whose appreciation of educational factors in the play world of children, intensified for the author the significance of the growth processes in industrial and adult life” (p. v).

287. It will come as no surprise to learn that the underlying theme, as one reviewer so pointedly précised, was the idea that the “industry to properly perform its function must be first of all a continuation of the educational process begun at school, and must therefore offer opportunity for first-hand experimentation” (Wolf, 1918, p. 209).

288. Marot criticized the Gary Plan, saying, “while the Gary system did offer children much first hand experience in industry, it did not give them a proper conception of its connection with the world” (Evening Telegram, 1919; School, 1919).
289. Marot (1918b) declared: “[The] work done by Caroline Pratt on children’s playthings has disclosed the fact that the present toy market is below grade from the point of view of the service of toys to children. The market does not supply the children with the sort of material and the sort of tools they require in their play schemes. Therefore, the product chosen has a legitimate social claim on the market” (p. 116).

290. Later in her life, Marot (1939, pp. 208-213) would again refer to Pratt and her school, in her *Oneself*, a yet unpublished manuscript. Hauser (2006) states, “A manuscript [Marot] was working on when she died…was never published” (p. 48). Leja (1993) states, “The present location of the manuscript is unknown” (p. 357). In 2011, I discovered the manuscript is not missing, but is in safe and sound condition in the archives of City and Country School, including a letter of Columbia University Press, dated May 9, 1950, addressed to Caroline Pratt.

291. The 1919 BEE “Annual Statement to the Trustees” states that Helen Marot had associated with Mr. Constantine, “a man who has been a production manager…and later supervisor of industrial education in the schools of Passaic,” and that a set of models that had been made, called “Little World Toys,” had received “favorable comments from toy manufacturers and buyers.” The statement further reads, “The factory is to be initiated first and toys for the Christmas trade made before the plan for a school is attempted. The success of the venture depends of course on Mr. Constantine’s ability to raise the necessary capital. The toys are on exhibition at the Bureau office” (BSC: Annual Statement to the Trustees — May 1919, p. 4). See also BSC: “Annual Statement to the Trustees — May 1919.” Minutes Department of Information, December 13, 1917; January 8, and May 9, 1918. Minutes Executive Committee, April 13, May 20, May 27, June 25, and December 19, 1918. Minutes of Miss Helen Marot’s Special Committee, May 6, 1918. Minutes Teaching Department, March 22, 1918. Minutes Working Council, April 8, May 6, and December 16, 1918; January 6, 1919. “Reports April 1st and June 15th, 1918.” “To Every Member of the Working Council,” letter by Lucy Sprague Mitchell, December 2, 1918.

It is likely that a collection of painted wooden dolls in the Bank Street College of Education archives forms part of, or is, the set of Little World Toys models which had been made — most probably — by Caroline Pratt. At some time during the 1930s, either Lucy Sprague Mitchell or Harriet Johnson gave the set of dolls to Bank Street College of Education educator Barbara Biber. In September 2011, her daughter — former Sarah Lawrence College Child Development Institute Director Margery B. Franklin — donated them to the Bank Street College of Education archives (personal communication Margery B. Franklin, September 7th, 2013).

292. Between 1916 and 1920, Marot was also active outside the BEE. She had accepted the Vice-Chairmanship of the National Labor Defence Council (Walsh, Marot, & Harvey, 1917a, 1917b). In 1918 she began writing for *The Dial*. She served its editorial staff from October 1918 until November 1919. She was a member of the United States’ Industrial Relations Commission (Leja, 1993, p. 143; *New York Call*, 1916a) and often received invitations to give addresses and lectures. In 1919 she was “summoned to inquisitorial State hearings and bound under some undisclosed threat not to reveal what questions were asked” (Mumford, 1982, p. 244). At the time she lectured at the Rand School of Social Science. Marot remained a frequent speaker at conferences until she retired around 1920 (Shaplen, 1919; Wayne, 1919). She published her final article in 1920; her final book review appeared a year later (see H. Marot, 1920, 1921). Mumford (1982) claimed that she then turned to writing, though unsuccessfully, and to studying psychology. Helen Marot died in 1940. Ten years later, Pratt sent Marot’s (1939) manuscript *Oneself* to Columbia University Press for publication, but the publishers were not interested in adding it to their program.

293. BSC: Minutes Executive Committee, October 6, 1919. Minutes Working Council, October 6, 1919.

294. “To Every Member of the Working Council. December 2, 1918.”

295. C&C: “Plan for Bureau to put in next year’s program,” by Harriet Johnson.


297. Cobb, a co-founder of the PEA, taught English at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, also near Washington, D.C. Johnson delivered the lecture at Park School in Baltimore. Eugene Smith, also a co-founder of the PEA, was principal of the school.

298. Hartman, a BEE consulting researcher, was then writing a book on progressive education (see Chapter I).

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301. BSC: Minutes Working Council, February 18, 1918.

302. BSC: Minutes Working Council, March 31, 1919. BEE members Harriet Johnson and Jean Lee Hunt were empowered to consult with Cobb. On April 9, 1919, the BEE Working Council discussed whether the Bureau would financially support the Association, whether Jean Lee Hunt would become a member of the Association’s executive committee, and whether the Bureau would advice about handling copy for a magazine the Association wished to issue. See BSC: Minutes Working Council, April 9, 1919.

303. BSC: Minutes Department of Information, January 17, 1918; italics added.

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305. BEE charter member Jean Lee Hunt was among the Association’s fifty-five 1919-1920 contributing members who paid $5 to $50.

306. Later Cobb listed the names of the educators who co-formulated the preliminary principles (Cobb, 1928, pp. 16-17). He also listed the principles, including explanation.

307. During the 1920s, Bureau members regularly contributed services to the PEA. BEE members Laura Garrett, Jean Lee Hunt, Elisabeth Irwin, Harriet Johnson, Caroline Pratt, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, and Elsa Ueland published numerous articles in Progressive Education. From the mid-1920s, Bureau member Elsa Ueland was on the Association’s Executive Committee. BEE founding mother Lucy Sprague Mitchell (1928a) even chaired a Group Conference during the 1928 PEA annual meeting, as did BEE member Caroline Pratt (1928).

308. Pratt’s school was referenced in Bailey, 1919; Burrell, Forbush, & Burdick, 1919; The City & Country School, 1919; Dunbar 1919; Moses, 1919; New York Tribune, 1919a; Pratt, 1919; Sargent, 1919; Severance, 1919.


310. For instance, Health News (1922, p. 96) reported, “The development of motor-coordination, symptoms of fatigue, and its causes, irritability and other expressions of maladjustment are being studied by the physician and the psychologist who are in charge of the research work of the Bureau.” BEE physician Lincoln began making a study of City and Country School children’s postures in 1921. Since F. M. Alexander at that time did not work at Pratt’s school, nor had official contacts with the BEE as shown by surviving minutes, Sprague Mitchell (1953, pp. 464-465) herself worked with a group of children teaching Alexander’s breathing and posture education method. She may also have taught at the BEE Nursery School because she told a reporter that in an undisclosed “experimental school for little children…beginning with babies of 16 months, the children are taught muscle co-ordination” (in Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1921a).
Earlier, Sprague Mitchell had lectured about “Emotional Attitudes Produced in Little Children by the Adult Approach to Physical Habits” (*New York Call*, 1920).

311. Goodlander, 1921; H. M. Johnson, 1922; M. S. Marot, 1922. One booklet issued by the BEE in 1921 — Jessie Stanton’s *Record of Work, Group III, 1919-20* — is missing.


313. One educator wrote that the Bureau’s aim was “to promote the cause of “free education” by fostering experiments under classroom conditions and by disseminating information on experimental schools” (Martz, 1924a, p. 251; 1924b, p. 256).

314. See M. S. Marot, 1922. Marston (1927) indicates that in 1927 six child development researchers worked for the BEE: Frederick Ellis, Veda Elvin, Elizabeth Farber, Katherine Greene, Edith Lincoln, and Ruth Sawtell.

315. BSC: “General Staff Meeting, October 13, 1916.”

316. Until 1925, apart from publications cited above related to statistics, mental testing, and nutrition research in P.S. 64, as well as several BEE bulletins, Bureau-backed publications were limited to longitudinal socio-psychological research by the BEE consulting psychologist Buford J. Johnson (1920a, 1922, 1925). In 1927 and 1928, BEE physician Lincoln, who in 1921 co-authored *Health Education and the Nutrition Class* on the nutrition program of P.S. 64, published her results of long-term studies of respiratory and circulatory functions of City and Country School children in a medical journal (Lincoln, 1927, 1928b; Lincoln & Nicolson, 1928; Lincoln & Spillman, 1928). Lincoln (1928a) explained the school’s health program in *Childhood Education*. See also Allen, Discoll, Shaddy, & Felter, 2008, pp. 947-948. For a certain time in the 1920s, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial provided research funding.

317. Plans to establish a so-called “Student-Teachers Laboratory” already existed within the BEE since 1916; see C&C: “A Plan for a Student-Teachers Laboratory.”

318. The Cooperative School for Teachers (CST) began enrolling students in the fall of 1931. CST, organized like the BEE, originally counted eight cooperating schools: BEE Nursery School, Little Red School House and Livingston School (these three in New York City), Carson College for Orphan Girls (Flourtown, Pennsylvania), Manumit School (Pawling, New York), Mount Kemble School (Bernardsville, New Jersey), Rosemary Junior School (Old Greenwich, Connecticut), and Spring Hill School (Litchfield, Connecticut). Around 1932, two schools left CST (Livingston School, Manumit School), and one school joined CST (Woodward School, New York City). See 69 Bank Street, 1933, 1935; Antler, 1982; Cenedella, 1996; Fiedl, 1999; Grinberg, 2005; Sprague Mitchell, 1950, 1953, 2000; Sprague Mitchell (Ed.), 1954; *The Sun*, 1931, 1933a-b; *Vassar Miscellany News*, 1935; Winsor, 1976.


**EPILOGUE**

320. Later, Johnson (1928) would express her political views again in a straightforward way, stressing equality of opportunity related to Georgist philosophy.

321. Johnson’s (1974) autobiography fails to give any account of her 1917-1918 involvement with the BEE and teaching and supervising at P.S. 95 and P.S. 64. That aspect of her life had remained virtually unknown. Her publications during the 1920s and 1930s never referred to her BEE involvement too. Much as she never referred to the death of her child, she seems to have suppressed even thinking about that personal history. I have found only eleven references to her tenure at P.S. 95 and/or P.S. 64. Four are by persons who worked with the BEE: Irwin, 1920, p. 188; Irwin & Marks, 1926, pp. vii-viii + 115-117; B. J. Johnson, 1925, pp. 4-5; Sprague Mitchell, 1953, pp. 457, 575. The others are Antler, 1982, pp. 566-567; Cenedella, 1996, pp. 111-113, 121; Cohen, 1964, p. 125; De Lima, 1926, p. 124; *Journal of the New York State Teachers’ Association*, 1918; *New York Call*, 1918; Rawson, 1920.

322. Johnson also travelled to Europe. Not only did she travel to Europe in 1921 for the founding conference of the New Education Fellowship in Calais (France), she attended
conferences in England (Cambridge, 1922), Germany (Heidelberg, 1925), Switzerland (Locarno, 1927) and Ireland (Dublin, 1933).

323. The contents of The City & Country School (1919, p. 3) show that BEE members Harriet Forbes, Laura Garrett and Sprague Mitchell taught at Pratt's school. Note further that Pratt (1921a) contributed a book chapter to the second volume of The Home Kindergarten Manual. It was taken from the school information pamphlet for parents (The City & Country School, 1919).

324. Hirsch (1978) writes that at an unspecified time during the early 1920s a tragedy forced Pratt to abandon the school's summer facility. The incident happened during either the 1922 or the 1923 summer play camp.

325. See also Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago, 1919, 1920; Democratic Banner, 1919; Ely, 1919; Jewett, 1919; Post-Standard, 1919; The Sun, 1919a.

326. See Art Institute of Chicago, 1919, 1920; Arts & Decoration, 1919a. The catalogue of the exhibition shows that Pratt's dolls and toys were not exhibited (The Art Institute and Art Alliance Chicago, 1919).

327. See Arts & Decoration, 1919b; Bugbee, 1939; H. M. Johnson, 1933; Life, 1945; The Ounce, 1928.

328. Sprague Mitchell had purchased three adjacent buildings on West Twelfth Street and three adjacent buildings on West Thirteenth Street (New York Herald, 1920; New York Tribune, 1920b). The Mitchell family moved in, as did Harriet Johnson and her life-long companion Harriet Forbes and their daughter, the complete Bureau of Educational Experiments, Harriet Johnson's experimental Nursery School, and to finish, Pratt's City and Country School — using several back-gardens as one great joint playground. Johnson's Nursery School had its playground on the roof of the West Thirteenth Street buildings (Barnard, 1926; The Survey, 1926).

329. See Pratt (Ed.), 1924; Pratt & Stanton, 1926; Stott, 1927, 1928. Helen Marot (1939) wrote that each group of students at Pratt's school was made responsible for a job assigned to them, a job “of importance to the school itself, that is, to their own communal life. One group is responsible for the transmission of messages from one part of the school to the other and for postal service. Another operates a store for the sale of school equipment to the different classes; another carries on the printing of school information and so on” (pp. 210-211).

330. See also Blanshard, 1931; Boston Daily Globe, 1929; Brock, 1926; Dunbar, 1920; Evening Tribune, 1929; Meister, 1921; New York Times, 1920a, 1927, 1928; Pittsburgh Press, 1922; Pratt, 1921b-c; Rice, 1921; Rohe, 1921a-b, 1922; Ryan, 1921; Seabrook, 1925; Sunday Chronicle, 1922; The Sun, 1928; Utica Sunday Tribune, 1922; Woman Citizen, 1919.


332. In June 1931, parents of children at Pratt's school together with the school would purchase the buildings from Sprague Mitchell (Evening Post, 1931).

333. The Associated Experimental Schools (AES) included seven schools, five in New York City, one in Pawling, New York, and one in Croton-on-Hudson, New York. Elisabeth Irwin of the Little Red School House became President of the AES; Pratt became Secretary. The City and Country School archives hold the AES records.

334. Leila V. Stott (1867-1969), assistant director at City and Country School, became director of the school's Extension Service. Stott became a Play School teacher in 1916 (Schenectady Gazette, 1917). She had worked at the Hartley House and was a member of the WTUL. The Sun (1932) claimed she also worked as a visiting teacher for the Public Education Association. Stott published about her work at Play School (Stott, 1921, 1927, 1928) and was even a character in an impromptu play (Amidon, 1932). She was not a prolific writer, but over the years published a book review in The Survey (Stott, 1933), several articles in Progressive Education (in 1939 and in 1943), and an article in School Life (Stott, 1941). She wrote book chapter contributions too. She resigned from City and Country School in 1945. The school's Extension Service first advised Central School in Putnam Valley, New York. Subsequently, the latter school experimented with Pratt's curriculum and play program (Putnam County Courier, 1935; Franklin & Benedict, 1943).

335. See, for instance, Arthur, 1942; Benedict, 1942; Ed, 1942; Franklin & Benedict, 1943; Melvin, 1943; PM's Sunday Edition, 1941; R. A., 1942a-b; Seeley, 1943, 1945; The Sun, 1938, 1939, 1940; 1941, 1942a-c, 1945c.