



UK Froebel Trust Project (2022-2023)

The “Researched” Child from the 1900s to the 1960s

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Occasional Paper #1

The Learning Career of Teacher Meredith Smith (1871-1956)

Influences from Froebel and Dewey

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Figure 1. Progressive School of Los Angeles, 1928. Source: Meredith Smith, “Science as Play.” *Progressive Education* 6 (April 1929): 189.

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Introduction

This paper describes a history of teachers of young children in their role as researchers, focusing on the way they used observation to understand child development and pedagogy. Educational theorists and philosophers have long believed in the value of basing educational practice on direct observations of children. Rousseau's example in *Emile* encouraged teachers to interpret information from child observations, which led eventually to the development of a "science of pedagogy that would enable teachers to discover rules of human nature by observing children and then to establish the goals of education based on their discoveries."¹ Because observation privileged the sense of sight, the idea that the sense was a main tool for teaching and learning was entrenched in education by the nineteenth century and was part of teacher training.

Observation had an important place in the theories of Froebel and Dewey. Froebel's ideas about teaching were developed from his naturalistic observation of children, which led him to call on mothers, whom he believed were their child's natural first teachers, to undertake "careful observation of the way in which [the child] develops and expresses [their] thoughts" to support their development.² While Froebel believed that children learned from manipulating objects, he also emphasised the "supremacy" of sight in child development. He described sight as "the regnant sense," writing that it "tests and orders the results of all the other senses. In the sense of sight the nature of man as a *seer* and discerner is symbolically declared."³ For Dewey, observation was a means of inquiry for teachers and students to gather information and develop new ideas.⁴ As Dewey described, observation was an active approach to teaching and learning.

The idea of a teacher-researcher is explored in this paper through a biographical study of the Froebelian, later Deweyan, teacher Meredith Smith (1871-1956).⁵ The aim is to connect Smith's experiences with the history of research about children in educational settings. Her career

¹ Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment: From Nature to Second Nature* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 66.

² Friedrich Froebel 1830, cited in Irene M. Lilley, *Friedrich Froebel: A Selection from His Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 75, emphasis in original.

³ Susan E. Blow, ed., *The Mottoes and Commentaries of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play*, trans. Susan E. Blow (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1901), 187, emphasis in original.

⁴ John Dewey, *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1933), 104.

⁵ Craig Kridel (Ed.), *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research* (New York: Garland, 1998); on "learning career," see Barbara Merrill and Linden West, *Using Biographical Methods in Social Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2009).

coincided with new opportunities for women in higher education. Training for kindergarten teachers began a gradual shift in the 1890s, from private programmes to normal schools and teachers' colleges in universities. Smith's career overlapped with these changes, which involved a greater emphasis on academics and connections with the primary grades. She was present at the beginning, and end, of kindergarten as a progressive school reform.⁶ Smith started her career as a Froebelian teacher in 1892; at the end she held a PhD and directed two private schools in Los Angeles that reflected the spirit of Dewey's progressivism. The schools opened in the late 1920s at a time of growing popularity of progressive education ideas. But, by the 1950s, progressive education was a diminished force: One of the schools had closed and the other had changed to a "modified progressive" programme combining play with the three Rs.⁷ Smith subsequently worked as a children's book author and editor until her retirement at age 81.

Early Life

Ella Meredith Smith was born in Omaha, Nebraska, on February 26, 1871. She was the first child of Francis Coon Smith (1844-1932) and Watson Birchard Smith (1837-1881). Professionally she was known as Meredith Smith; Meredith was her maternal grandmother's surname. Francis Smith was from Pittsburgh and Watson Smith from Detroit, where he worked as a bookseller prior to his service in the Union Army during the Civil War. Both their families moved to Omaha during the war. Francis and Watson married in 1869 and Watson became the first federal court clerk in Omaha. Meredith had five younger siblings: Gertrude (1872-1957), Rollin (1874-1959), Louise (1875-1953), Sherman (1879-1946), and Watson Jr. (1882-1968). The youngest child was born a month after Watson Sr. died by a gunshot from his own pistol. The events leading to his death were never determined. Explanations varied: he took his own life; his pistol went off accidentally; he was murdered by saloon owners due to his support for prohibiting liquor sales on Sundays.⁸ In keeping with the latter theory, the Women's Christian Temperance Union called him a "martyr to temperance in Nebraska" and named the branch in his honour.⁹

⁶ Larry Cuban, "Why Some Reforms Last: The Case of the Kindergarten," *American Journal of Education* 100, no. 2 (1992): 166-94.

⁷ "Progressive School Accents Play, 3 R's." *Mirror News* (Los Angeles, CA), 3 April 1951, 27.

⁸ *Evening World-Herald* (Omaha), 16 February 1932, 10; *Omaha Daily Bee*, 7 November 1881, 8.

⁹ *The Omaha Evening Bee*, 28 September 1889, 8.

The impact of Watson Smith's death on the family economy was mitigated by family wealth and the children's contributions.¹⁰ As late as 1900, all the children were unmarried and living with their mother in Omaha; the two youngest were students and the others were employed. In some cases, they benefitted from family connections. The senator from Nebraska, a family friend, arranged for Meredith's brothers to serve as senate pages in Washington, with their pay sent home. The siblings all prepared for professional careers: Meredith in teaching, Gertrude in nursing,¹¹ Louise in home economics,¹² and Sherman and Watson in civil engineering.¹³ Rollin began his working life as an accountant before making his fortune in real estate in Los Angeles. In 1917 their mother moved to New York City to live with Gertrude. The two oldest sisters, Meredith and Gertrude, never married. In their later life they moved to Colorado, where their sister Louise had resided for many years.

Smith entered high school in 1886. I was unable to locate her graduation records. However, a summary of her credentials in a University of Pittsburgh report during her tenure at the institution lists her graduation from Omaha High School. Her studies may have been disrupted by illness: She contracted typhoid fever in late 1888. In 1890 she travelled to California for her health, living with relatives in Los Angeles, and returned to Omaha in September 1891.¹⁴ No information was found on Smith's home life, apart from that the family employed servants. Comfort Baker was an African American youth who worked as a servant for Smith's mother. Baker was a year older than Smith and is known as the first African American female graduate from Omaha High School. Following graduation Baker trained as a teacher in Tennessee.¹⁵

¹⁰ Yannick Dupraz and Andreas Ferrara, "Fatherless: The Long-Term Effects of Losing a Father in the U.S. Civil War," *Journal of Human Resources* 58, no. 3 (2023): online appendix. <https://uwpress.wisc.edu/journals/journals/jhr-supplementary.html#v583>.

¹¹ Graduated in 1901 from the Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing in New York. *Greeley Daily Tribune*, 28 January 1957, 16.

¹² Louise was a scholarship student at the Oread Institute of Domestic Science Worcester, MA. *Omaha Daily Bee*, 10 August 1901, 6; *The Examiner*, 20 September 1902, 12.

¹³ *Greeley Daily Tribune*, 22 June 1953, 28.

¹⁴ Smith in Los Angeles: *Los Angeles Times*, 14 July 1890, 8; *Los Angeles Evening Express*, 27 March 1891, 4; *The Los Angeles Times*, 12 July 1891, 12; *Los Angeles Times*, 16 November 1890, 3. Smith returns to Omaha: *Evening World-Herald* (Omaha), 25 September 1891, 1.

¹⁵ *Omaha Daily World-Herald*, 27 June 1889, 1.

Meredith Smith's CV*	
1893	<i>Kindergarten Certificate, Froebel Association of Omaha</i>
1893-1902	Kindergarten Teacher, Omaha Normal School
1897	<i>Short Course, Chicago Kindergarten College</i>
1902	<i>Diploma for Teaching in Elementary Schools, Teachers College, Columbia University</i>
1902	<i>Summer Session, Teachers College</i>
1902-5	Supervisor of Manual Training, Colorado Springs Public Schools
1906-11	Kindergarten Teacher, Omaha Public Schools
1909, 1910	<i>Summer Teachers' Institute, University of Wisconsin</i>
1912	<i>Diploma in Kindergarten Supervision, Teachers College</i>
1912	Supervisor of Kindergarten Training, State Female Normal School, Farmington
1912	Instructor (summer session), Kindergarten Dept., University of Chicago
1912-14	Teacher, Horace Mann Kindergarten, Teachers College
1912-15	Instructor in Kindergarten Education, Teachers College
1914	<i>Bachelor of Science in Education, Teachers College</i>
1914	Instructor (summer session), George Peabody College
1915	<i>Instructor's Diploma in Kindergarten & Elementary Education</i>
1915	<i>Master of Science in Education, Teachers College</i>
1916-20	Assistant Professor, School of Education & Director, School of Childhood, University of Pittsburgh
1920-22	Supervisor of Childhood Education, State of Pennsylvania
1922-24	Supervisor of Kindergarten Training, New Jersey State Normal School, Trenton, New Jersey
1927	<i>PhD, Teachers College</i>
1927-30	Director, Progressive School of Los Angeles
1930-38	Director, John Dewey School, Los Angeles
1939-40	Instructor, UCLA Extension
1939-52	Author and editor of children's readers

* Italics indicate educational activities and achievements

Figure 2. Meredith Smith's CV.

Starting Out as a Froebelian Teacher

Teaching was a popular option for the female graduates of Omaha High School in 1889—half went on to study at a normal school.¹⁶ This was the case for Smith, who started a two-year kindergarten teacher training class at Omaha Normal School in 1893, the first such class to be offered.

There were few kindergartens in the midwestern United States in the 1880s, and those that existed were privately operated for children from middle- and upper-class families. The growth of publicly funded kindergartens in the 1890s was spurred by a rise in the foreign-born population along with anti-foreign attitudes. Omaha's population increased from 30,000 in 1880 to 140,000 by 1890, including many immigrants seeking work in the stockyards and meatpacking industry. In Omaha, as elsewhere, public school kindergartens were perceived as a means to Americanise immigrant children and prepare them for the first grade. The discourse on the assimilative value of kindergartens was not nuanced. An Omaha newspaper editorial referred to the advantage of kindergarten for providing industrial training for the children of “ignorant foreigners.”¹⁷ In 1891, two interconnected women-led organisations to further this work were established in quick succession in Omaha: the Froebel Society and the Free Kindergarten Association of Omaha. The latter aimed to operate charity kindergartens as an interim measure until they were brought into the public system.

To inspire action, the Froebel Society invited Chicago kindergarten expert Elizabeth Harrison to visit Omaha, and Harrison obliged.¹⁸ Harrison gave a public lecture attended by school board members and many soon-to-be kindergarten trainees (Smith was not present; she returned from California two weeks after the lecture). Harrison stressed kindergarten's role in preventing crime and saving public money: “What would the expense of kindergartens be in Omaha compared with the expense of future increase of the police force, jails and penitentiaries?”¹⁹

Any future savings from kindergarten were, of course, unknown. The Omaha Board of Education was reluctant to cover kindergartens' operating expenses, which were double that of a primary grade due to their specialised materials and furnishings.²⁰ The Board had struck a committee to study kindergartens a decade before Harrison's visit but never resolved the matter of

¹⁶ *Omaha Daily World-Herald*, 28 June 1889, 2.

¹⁷ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 23 August 1891, 4.

¹⁸ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 13 September 1891, 4.

¹⁹ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 15 September 1891, 5.

²⁰ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 23 September 1891, 6.

funding.²¹ Change came with the appointment of reform-minded superintendent Frank Fitzgerald in 1892. Fitzgerald argued that schooling for five-year-old children was the “duty of the state.”²² While some of his rhetoric struck some odd notes—for example, he believed kindergartens were best suited to children in Germany, where they originated, where the “temperament of the children is much more sluggish and not so apt to run to premature mental development as in this country”²³—the Board agreed to establish classes in two schools in 1892 in Omaha’s impoverished Little Bohemia adjacent to the meatpacking district where many residents worked.²⁴

Fitzgerald insisted that the Board appoint well-trained teachers to give the kindergartens “a fair chance to prove their practicability.”²⁵ He wrote to Harrison to ask if there was a graduate from her college in Chicago who could direct a training class; she replied that none were “fully competent.”²⁶ Harrison maintained that despite the teacher shortage (she compared it to the demand for bicycles in the 1890s) she would not compromise on training: “The demand for thoroughly trained kindergartners is so great that we are as badly situated as the bicycle manufacturers. We cannot turn them out fast enough for we send out no one who is not well equipped for the work.”²⁷

Omaha Normal School

Fitzgerald succeeded in recruiting two teachers: Anna Smith and Orietta “Belle” Shields.²⁸ Shields was given charge of the kindergarten training class. The class was organised by the local Froebel Society at the Omaha Normal School and operated by Omaha Public Schools. Shields had trained in a normal class operated by the Board of Education in St. Louis, similar to what Fitzgerald wanted to establish in Omaha. The curriculum for the St. Louis training class was developed by Susan Blow, who trained 200 teachers before leaving the city in 1884.²⁹ Blow was an exponent of

²¹ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 21 October 1884, 5.

²² *Omaha Daily Bee*, 24 February 1892, 3.

²³ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 19 August 1891, p. 1.

²⁴ Wilson J. Warren, *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007).

²⁵ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 19 August 1891, p. 1.

²⁶ *The Omaha Excelsior*, 15 June 1895, 1.

²⁷ *The Omaha Excelsior*, 15 June 1895, 1.

²⁸ Elia W. Peattie, “Kindergartens in Omaha,” *Omaha Daily World*, 16 October 1892, 14.

²⁹ Susan Blow, “Experiment of Establishing a Kindergarten,” *St. Louis Public Schools Annual Report 1874-75* (St. Louis, MO: St. Louis Public Schools), 95-102, 1 August 1875.

idealist philosophy and a member of a group devoted to its study known as the St. Louis Hegelians, which included school superintendent William Torrey Harris and philosopher and Shakespeare scholar Denton Snider. For Blow, Froebel's kindergarten was a practical expression of Hegel's idealist philosophy, which held that acquiring knowledge "involves a self-initiated activity and is at root also a self-creative process"³⁰ that begins in infancy. Blow believed that Froebel's mother play songs were the "centerpiece of his work" and "the main teaching tool for drawing youngsters into a social world and an ideal self"³¹ as opposed to his playthings: the gifts and occupations.³² The mother play songs were part of Shields's training, and in her training of Smith in Omaha.³³

Shields's St. Louis course consisted of weekly lectures and daily practical work: Trainees provided necessary work for the operation of the district's kindergartens. Trainees were contractually required to work as an unpaid assistant for a year in exchange for free tuition in an apprenticeship style of training, a practice that was replicated in Omaha. In general terms, the close relationship between the mentor and mentee was "imbued with intensely personal, intimate and moral qualities"³⁴ and served as the basis for career-long professional supports.

As a student in what historian Barbara Beatty called a closed learning community of like-minded students and faculty, Shields developed high fidelity to the conservative Froebelian pedagogy, reinforced by a scripted, lengthy, and intensive training.³⁵ Learning was by repetition and rote imitation. In time, the students planned and taught lessons themselves in St. Louis kindergartens, supervised by a trained kindergartner. The division of practice and theory was a common approach to training in the era, with theory less important than practical work. Training kindergartners followed the format for children's lessons with adult students in practice sessions making block constructions or listening to stories told by their teacher. Students assembled their exercises and transcriptions of lectures in a scrapbook called a gift book submitted to the instructor

³⁰ Dorothy Rogers, *Women Philosophers: Education and Activism in Nineteenth-Century America*, vol. 1 (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

³¹ Cynthia Grant Tucker, *No Silent Witness: The Eliot Parsonage Women and Their Liberal Religious World* (Bloomington, IL: iUniverse, 2015), 51.

³² Dorothy Rogers, "Before Pragmatism: The Practical Idealism of Susan E. Blow (1843-1916)," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 36, no. 4 (2000): 535-48.

³³ U.S. Bureau of Education, "Early History of the Kindergarten in St. Louis, MO," Report of the Commissioner for the Year 1896-7, Vol. 1, 899-922, reprinted from the St. Louis Annual Report for 1878-79.

³⁴ Wendy Robinson, *Power to Teach: Learning Through Practice* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 35.

³⁵ Barbara Beatty, "The Dilemma of Scripted Instruction: Comparing Teacher Autonomy, Fidelity, and Resistance in the Froebelian Kindergarten, Montessori, Direct Instruction, and Success for All," *Teachers College Record* 11, no. 3 (2011): 395-430.

to assesses at the end of the course. Graduates used their gift books for lesson planning or as the basis for training other teachers or assistants in the classroom, thus increasing programme fidelity through training replication and dissemination.

Shields earned two diplomas at the end of her course: one as a teacher and the other as a trainer. After graduating, she worked in St. Louis for two years as a paid assistant before her appointment in Omaha in 1893.³⁶ Like Blow, Shields taught kindergarten theory to trainees in Omaha using Froebel's mother play songs as a text "as it contains the germ and essence of the complete theory of the kindergarten."³⁷ Meredith Smith was one of twenty-five trainees in Shields's first class. Similar to the pattern in St. Louis, Smith worked with Shields for two years as a volunteer with up to seventy children per day in two half-day sessions.³⁸ When Smith graduated, she began employment as a kindergarten teacher, called a director, working with an assistant and a volunteer trainee.³⁹

There was an urgent need for kindergarten teachers in Omaha. The number of classes expanded to ten in 1894, twenty-one in 1897, and twenty-nine in 1901.⁴⁰ Kindergarten directors were frequently assigned to teach in two schools, working alongside assistants and trainees: In 1897 Smith taught at the Central and Farnam schools. The school board's concern over the expense of staffing was thus eased by low salaries and the use of unpaid assistants (they were guaranteed a teaching position at the end of their two years of training). In the midst of the teacher shortage the school board experimented with hiring younger teachers. Trainees were accepted at age sixteen, and could work as paid assistants at eighteen. The minimum age for directors was twenty-three.⁴¹ The Board chair expressed his concern, with specific reference to kindergarten teachers:

We should avoid the experiment of placing teachers who are too young, however well trained, in charge of the kindergarten. Theories in the hands of the young are frequently harsh facts whose corners they do not know how to round off. We should never experiment

³⁶ *Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis 1892* (v. 38, 1891/82), 41.

³⁷ *Omaha Daily Bee*, October 21, 1895, 8.

³⁸ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 4 April 1893, 8; also see description of kindergarten class in December 1893: *Omaha Daily Bee*, 24 December 1893, 7.

³⁹ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 22 February 1895, 5.

⁴⁰ Omaha Public Schools, *Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Omaha, NB: Omaha Public Schools, 1897), 42; also see Kathryn Margaret Holland, "A History of the Omaha Public School System 1859-1933" (master's thesis, Creighton University, Omaha, 1933).

⁴¹ *Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education of Omaha, Nebraska* (Omaha, NB: Klopp & Bartlett Co., revision of 1900), 57.

with the little ones. If experiments are necessary, practice them upon pupils of older growth and greater resistance.⁴²

While this review is focused on Omaha, the city was not isolated from the broader kindergarten movement in the United States. There was a general growth in American public school kindergartens in the 1890s, which brought an increased need for teachers and a coincident development of training programmes. Omaha was also connected to the national leaders in kindergarten education. In addition to Harrison's lecture in 1892, William Hailmann visited in 1894 and spoke to principals on the relation of the kindergarten to the primary school;⁴³ Amalie Hofer gave a talk on the "national scope of the kindergarten work" in 1895; and in 1896 Shields invited Lucretia Willard Treat to give a talk to Omaha kindergartners. Treat was head of the Grand Rapids Kindergarten Association and Training School and had trained with Blow in St. Louis and worked with Harrison in Chicago.

Chicago Kindergarten College

Smith took a four-month leave in 1897 to study at the Chicago Kindergarten College (CKC). Her time at the college reinforced and deepened her understanding of Froebelian theory and practice. Chicago was a "centre of influence" in the kindergarten movement in the 1890s.⁴⁴ It was the second-largest city in the United States, with profound social disparities and a large foreign-born population and many living in poverty. The situation gave rise to the social, educational, and health interventions that characterised the Progressive Era, including kindergartens. It was home to four training schools, including the CKC, and 250 kindergartens.⁴⁵

Chicago's training schools were distinguished by their orientation to Froebelian education, from the conservative/orthodox position held by Susan Blow and evident at the CKC, to the liberal/revisionist approach at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association's programme led by Anna Bryan. Whereas Bryan was known for her advocacy for child expression through free play

⁴² Omaha Public Schools, *Annual Report of the Board of Education*, 1894, 20.

⁴³ *Omaha World-Herald*, 18 March 1894, 5.

⁴⁴ Kristen Nawrotzki, "'Such Marvelous Training': Grand Rapids, Michigan as a Kindergartening Centre, 1870-1905," in *Kindergarten Narratives on Froebelian Education: Transnational Investigations*, eds. Helen May, Kristen Nawrotzki, and Larry Prochner (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 81.

⁴⁵ Nina C. Vandewalker, "The Kindergarten in the Chicago School System," *Kindergarten Magazine* 9, no. 9 (1897): 679.

methods, Blow argued that Froebel intended for teachers to guide children's play according to principles of development. In her book *Symbolic Education*, which was used as a textbook at the CKC, Blow wrote: "Froebel follows the child in order to lead him. 'What he accomplishes is to enable the pupil to walk freely in directed paths.'" ⁴⁶ Philosopher Denton Snider, who came from St. Louis to teach literature as well as psychology at the CKC, captured the spirit of the debate amongst the positions in his book *The Psychology of Froebel's Play-Gifts*, which was also a textbook at the College. He defined the conservative/orthodox position, which he called the stationary view, as a literal interpretation of Froebel in which those who departed from the "transmitted text" were destined for the "kindergarten Inferno"; he saw the evolutionary view as a middle ground, "unfolding with the progress of time." ⁴⁷ In the revolutionary view, liberal/revisionist approach, Froebel's philosophy and materials were cast away. Snider likened teachers with a revolutionary bent, who advocated for free play, to "those children of God who conspired to dethrone God"—they were "followers of the Destroyer, veritably the Satanic element of the kindergarten." ⁴⁸ While his comparisons were tongue in cheek, they reflected the passion with which positions were held and the discord that was prevalent at the time. Although Smith may have been unaware of the controversies at the time of her studies, they were an important context for her conservatively oriented training at the CKC.

Three kindergarten-themed events took place in Chicago in the months prior to Smith's arrival that were indicative of the debates. The first was a kindergarten conference organised by John Dewey at the Pedagogical Department of the University of Chicago in April, with presentations by professors, graduate students, and local kindergartners. The conference was notable for being the first event Dewey organised in his role as head of the department and his decision to have it focus on a critical evaluation of Froebelian education. Dewey spoke on Froebel's psychology, pointing out what he believed was a mismatch between Froebel's practice and principles. Dewey argued that Froebel "failed to discriminate between the functions of logic and of psychology" leading to his mistaken attention to the symbolic value of children's play. ⁴⁹ Nina Vandewalker, an experienced kindergartner and a graduate student at the University of

⁴⁶ Susan E. Blow, *Symbolic Education: A Commentary on Froebel's 'Mother Play'* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), 134. Blow quoted William Torrey Harris, citing "The Place of the Kindergarten."

⁴⁷ Denton J. Snider, *The Psychology of Froebel's Play-Gifts* (St. Louis, MO: Sigma, 1900), vii.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ University of Chicago, *University Record* 2, no. 6 (7 May 1897), 49.

Chicago, spoke on the weakness of kindergarten teacher training owing to its lack “real scholarship” and its treatment of all subjects solely from the “kindergarten standpoint.”⁵⁰ The poor training led to a mechanical approach to teaching. Moreover, Vandewalker observed that kindergartners were suspicious of higher education due to criticism of their work, and such criticism dominated the majority of the presentations. Despite it, kindergartners, who made up the majority of the audience, stayed to hear more. Five hundred teachers were given the day off work and “invaded the somber shades of the varsity campus” for the event.⁵¹

In addition to talks by Dewey and Vandewalker, Dr. Casey Wood, who taught ophthalmology at the medical school, gave a paper on the impact of kindergarten occupations on children’s eyes. He concluded that “the kindergarten must be considered as an enemy to the national eyesight.”⁵² Dewey’s colleague in the psychology department, George Herbert Mead, lectured on play and education. Similar to Dewey, Mead argued that “play has an immediate, not a symbolic reference” and that to think otherwise is a “psychological fallacy.”⁵³ Grace Fulmer, an instructor at the CKC, followed Mead to present the Froebelian view. Fulmer, who would be one of Smith’s teachers, highlighted that play had symbolic meanings and needed to be directed by a teacher who was aware of its higher purpose. Fulmer’s participation at the conference showed Dewey’s interest in engaging with the training schools in Chicago, as well as his perception of which of the schools represented a conservative Froebelian view to serve as a foil for Mead.

Two other kindergarten events in Chicago championed the conservative approach, the target of criticism at Dewey’s conference. Baroness Bertha von Bülow, who was the Baroness Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow’s niece and director of a training school in Dresden, gave a lecture on the life and work of Froebel, which was attended by 400 teachers.⁵⁴ von Bülow used stern language to scold those straying from Froebelian education:

⁵⁰ University of Chicago, *University Record* 2, 50.

⁵¹ *The Inter Ocean*, 11 April 1897, 20.

⁵² University of Chicago, *University Record* 2, 51.

⁵³ University of Chicago, *University Record* 2, 51-2.

⁵⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, 4 May 1897, 12.

When anyone had thought out a system nobody had the right to disturb the result of the same by mangling it; that it is a very great injustice to the inventor of the system and that the result of a method can only become visible if it is applied as a whole.⁵⁵

The final kindergarten-related event was in the same week as von Bülow's talk, when Susan Blow gave the opening lecture in a series on Froebel's idealist philosophy sponsored by the CKC.⁵⁶

Froebel's writings and life were treated with reverence at the college. Harrison was an adherent of Froebel's esoteric idea of life unification, that is, "the threefold connection of the person with humanity, nature, and God."⁵⁷ As she explained in her textbook on the Gifts, the essence of Froebel's teaching materials was unity:

The presentation of the Cube as the outer, or other of the Sphere gives us, in a material analogy, the second separative stage of the process of the mind, and the later introduction of the cylinder represents the third stage of the process by means of which the mind travels from unconscious unity, through distinct separation on to the conscious union of which Froebel so often speaks.⁵⁸

Harrison's emphasis on symbolism was strongly influenced by Susan Blow, who had been one of her teachers, and the CKC curriculum was formed on Blow's St. Louis model to include classical literature and mythology, reflecting the idea that "true understanding of children required extensive cultivation" including a study of the "liberal arts."⁵⁹ Harrison had experienced studying with Blow to be personally transcendent. She wrote in her memoir:

to have been shown the path by which one might ascend to the realm of truth, such truth that nothing could ever again shake its foundation. The clear-cut logic of Miss Blow's arguments had led me step by step from the commonplace things of every-day life to the possibilities of companionship with God.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Her full lecture, given in Rochester, New York with the same title, was included in full in the local newspaper: *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 18 May 1897, 13.

⁵⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 7 May 1897, 10.

⁵⁷ Helge Wasmuth, *Fröebel's Pedagogy of Kindergarten and Play: Modifications in Germany and the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 62.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Harrison and Belle Woodson, *The Kindergarten Building Gifts* (St. Louis, MO: Sigma, 1903), 44.

⁵⁹ Ann Taylor Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten: Education and Women's Movements in Germany and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 144.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Harrison, *Sketches Along Life's Road* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1930), 64.

She added, “I was compelled in later years to differ radically from Miss Blow in many practical matters.”⁶¹ While this may have been so, it is difficult to determine any important differences between the two women’s teaching philosophies at the time Smith trained at the CKC in 1897.

While Harrison didn’t agree with a liberal approach, she engaged with Dewey, inviting him to visit the College soon after he arrived at the University of Chicago. However, after meeting her, Dewey concluded that she was “busily engaged in reading the Hegelian philosophy via Harris, Snider and Dewey’s psychology, into the kindergarten.”⁶² In other words, whereas reading Dewey would imply a critical evaluation of Froebel’s theories, Harrison meant to absorb his ideas into Froebelian ideology and a narrow interpretation of Froebelian practice. Harrison’s interest was in how Dewey could be helpful to her own purposes. A revision of the CKC curriculum in line with contemporary psychology and Deweyan ideas occurred gradually, and only after Harrison retired in 1920.

Froebel’s metaphysical philosophy imbued the educational culture at the CKC at the time of Smith’s studies in 1897. The college motto, which was attributed to Froebel, was “The destiny of nations lies in the hands of women”; its symbol depicted Froebel’s gravestone formed of a cube, cylinder, and sphere ringed with his entreaty *Kommt, lasst uns unsern Kindern leben*. A pin with the symbol was given as a memento to graduates, affirming their collective identity as Froebelian teachers and CKC alumni. In recognition of her work in Omaha, Smith was admitted to the junior course, which was the second year of a three-year diploma. Because she was only at the CKC for one semester, she received a special certificate. Harrison recognised the importance of credentialling to the professionalisation of kindergarten teaching. The college offered separate certificates after the freshman and junior years and a diploma after the senior year, and few students completed the three years in succession.

Smith’s studies mainly involved attending lectures: She was excused from practice teaching sessions due to her experience. In addition to courses on Froebel’s mother play songs and gifts and occupations, she studied science, drawing, form and colour, vocal music, literature, physiology, psychology, and Delsarte movement training. Instructors were a mix of CKC alumni, professors from the University of Chicago, and local educators. Josephine Locke, who taught art,

⁶¹ Harrison, *Sketches*, 64.

⁶² John Dewey to Alice Chipman Dewey and Children, 18 October 1894, *The Correspondence of John Dewey, 1871-2007* (electronic edition, vol. 1: 1871-1918, number 00210).

was an example of the latter. Locke had taught at the St. Louis and Cook County normal schools, and was supervisor of drawing instruction for the Chicago Board of Education.⁶³ Eleanor Sophia Smith was the music teacher, while her main employment was director of the music school at Hull House. She was well known for composing children's songs in accordance with Froebelian theories. Some of her songs were included in Susan Blow's compilation of Froebel's 1895 *Mutter und Koselieder* (mother play songs), also a textbook at the college.⁶⁴ Similar to some other instructors, Eleanor Sophia Smith taught at institutions in addition to the CKC; she also taught in Dewey's pedagogy department at the University of Chicago and at the Cook County Normal School.⁶⁵ Instructors from the University of Chicago included Dr. John Merle Coulter, head of the botany department. Coulter taught botany to kindergarten trainees at the CKC, and his doctoral student taught them a course on field work in science. Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, a professor of obstetrics and member of the Illinois State Board of Health, taught physiology and child care. She gave a similar course to students at a school for nursery nurses operated in connection with a maternity hospital that she spearheaded.⁶⁶

In contrast to teachers of other subjects, instructors of kindergarten theory and practical work were recent CKC graduates: Grace Fulmer (class of 1893) taught gifts and occupations, and Jean Carpenter (class of 1894) taught Froebel's mother play songs and psychology.⁶⁷ Fulmer and Carpenter were in their late twenties, a few years older than Smith, and had limited teaching experience apart their training. Employing recent graduates was partly due to Harrison's incapacity due to ill health. She had been away in California for two years in an attempt to recover. However, it also served to increase the fidelity of the conservative Froebelian methods.⁶⁸ To refer again to Beatty, Froebelian kindergarten training was successful because it occurred in closed professional

⁶³ Debra A. Corcoran, "'Impudent if Necessary': Josephine Locke and Art Education Reform," *Vitae Scholasticae* 24, no. 1 (2007): 5-22.

⁶⁴ Susan E. Blow, *The Songs and Music of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895).

⁶⁵ Graham Cassano, Rima Lunin Schultz, and Jessica Payette, *Eleanor Smith's Hull House Songs: The Music of Protest and Hope in Jane Addams's Chicago* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

⁶⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 16 January 1897, 13.

⁶⁷ Carpenter's teaching notes were published by the college as a memorial tribute to her in 1914: Jean Carpenter Arnold, *Notes on Froebel's Mother-Play Songs* (Chicago: National Kindergarten College Alumnae Association, 1914).

⁶⁸ Larry Prochner, "Grace Fulmer and conservative and liberal approaches to Froebelian education," in *The Bloomsbury Handbook to Friedrich Froebel*, eds. Tina Bruce, Yukiyo Nishida, Sacha Powell, Helge Wasmuth, and Jane Whinnett (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 131-8.

learning communities.⁶⁹ And, as Vandewalker described at the Dewey conference, all subjects in training programmes were typically taught from only the kindergarten standpoint. Fulmer and Carpenter taught what they had just recently learned. Carpenter underwent a brief course of further training in Germany with Eleanore Heerwart, who had been a pupil of Froebel's widow, Louise.⁷⁰ Carpenter had been in Germany as part of a group of American kindergartners, including other CKC alumni, on a "Froebel pilgrimage" to Thuringia.⁷¹ When the tour ended, Carpenter remained in Germany to study with Heerwart for several months, immersing herself in Heerwart's formalist approach to Froebelian pedagogy.⁷²

In keeping with Harrison's commitment to Froebel's philosophy of education, the College's psychology course was not taught by a psychologist until 1922. To do otherwise would open Froebelian education to further criticism. The situation was different at other kindergarten colleges in Chicago. Dewey lectured on psychology himself at the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association in 1896, and the course was later given by his student.⁷³ At the CKC, Denton Snider taught psychology, a subject in which he had no background. Harrison recruited Snider from the St. Louis Normal School, where he had also taught psychology to kindergartners (he got his start by filling in for the instructor, who was sick).⁷⁴ Psychology was also taught by Carpenter, who had completed Snider's course. When Snider left the college in 1904, psychology was taught by Carpenter and other college graduates. Carpenter's lectures in 1898 convey the flavour of the course. She based it on the "results obtained thus far from the laboratory work of some of the leading physiological psychologists and a correlating of the same with the psychological insight shown by Froebel, and re-emphasized by the rational psychologists of today."⁷⁵ However, it was empiricism, not rationalism, that was the dominant force in psychology in the 1890s.

⁶⁹ Beatty, "The Dilemma of Scripted Instruction."

⁷⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, 31 October 1895, 12; Ann Taylor Allen, "'Let Us Live with Our Children': Kindergarten Movements in German and the United States, 1840-1914," *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1988): 23-48.

⁷¹ B. H. (Bertha Hegner), "A Tour in the Thuringian Forest," *Kindergarten-Primary Magazine* 8, no. 1 (1895): 46.

⁷² Jane Read, "From Keilhau to the U.K.: Eleonore Heerwart's Role in Establishing Froebelian Pedagogy in Britain from 1861 to 1883," keynote lecture presented at the Biannual Conference of the International Froebel Society, Maynooth, Ireland, 16 June 2023.

⁷³ *Chicago Tribune*, 23 February 1896, 35.

⁷⁴ James Dye, "Denton Jacques Snider," in *The Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers*, ed. John R. Snook (Oxford Reference Online, 2010).

⁷⁵ Chicago Kindergarten College, *Annual Announcement of Special Courses (1898-1899)*, 6.

The psychological insights Carpenter attributed to Froebel are glimpsed in Harrison's book *A Study of Child-Nature from the Kindergarten Standpoint*.⁷⁶ The publication was a compilation of Harrison's lectures to mothers and teachers at the Chicago Kindergarten Club. It further shows the way subject matter was filtered through the conservative lens. Harrison described children as having "inborn instincts," an idea that lined up with the common view at the time.⁷⁷ Through their coursework, students were provided with an "understanding of little children, in order that they may be properly trained" in accordance with children's instincts.⁷⁸ Coming to an understanding of children's development did not rely on technical, scientific processes but, instead, the "science of motherhood," which was undertaken through the careful study of Froebel's texts in combination with observation of children.⁷⁹ In this way students would come to recognise the limitations of their own instincts about children's development. Harrison outlined the facts of child development as follows: "The child bears within [themselves] instincts which can be trained upward or downward. These instincts give early manifestation of their existence. The mother's [or teacher's] loving guidance can be changed from uncertain instinct into unhesitating insight."⁸⁰ Harrison's text is filled with practical examples of teachers deciding on a pedagogical intervention based on their knowledge of Froebelian principles and child development, observing its impact, and, after reflection, making a further intervention. As Harrison wrote, "To the practiced eye of a trained kindergartner, the handwork of each child tells [their] mental and moral condition."⁸¹ Children development was visible in the products of their guided play.

Smith's Slow Turn toward Liberal Teaching

As historian Evelyn Weber described it, "Froebel's idealism" was eventually overtaken by "Dewey's pragmatism."⁸² However, this shift had not yet occurred by the turn of the twentieth

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Harrison, *A Study of Child-Nature from the Kindergarten Standpoint* (Chicago: Chicago Kindergarten Training School, 1891).

⁷⁷ Hunter Honeycutt, "Nature and Nurture as an Enduring Tension in the History of Psychology," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*, retrieved 11 March 2022, from <https://oxfordre.com/psychology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.001.0001/acrefore-9780190236557-e-518>

⁷⁸ Harrison, *A Study of Child-Nature*, 11.

⁷⁹ Harrison, *A Study of Child-Nature*, 9.

⁸⁰ Harrison, *A Study of Child-Nature*, 12.

⁸¹ Harrison, *A Study of Child-Nature*, 113.

⁸² Evelyn Weber, *Early Childhood Education: Perspectives on Change* (Worthington, OH: Charles A. Jones, 1970), 8.

century. In his talk at the International Kindergarten Union's convention in 1902, Stanford education professor Earl Barnes distinguished between the two approaches for his audience of kindergartners, one being "the deductive, philosophical, authoritative point of view" of the majority, and the other the "small, but strong impulse rising that favors the inductive, scientific point of view."⁸³ However, the distinction between the views was frequently unclear, as Charlotte Jammer remarked in her biography of kindergartner Patty Smith Hill, who was dubbed a radical:

One of the very confusing aspects of the radical-conservative conflict was that, on the surface, both groups appeared to be saying the same thing and working for the same goals . . . and to talk a jargon that blissfully mixed two distinctly different schools of thought.⁸⁴

Smith's turn toward liberal kindergarten practices reflected this complexity and was a gradual process. As Alessandra Arce Hai et al. explain, "To the extent that teachers incorporated new discourses into established practices, it resulted in entangled practices reflecting discourses in between the new and those which had been previously in use."⁸⁵ And, as Stephen Kemmis points out, teaching practices are part of an ecology of practice relationships of mutual interdependence; they develop in a dynamic process of coproduction and express longer genealogies of practices of educating young children.⁸⁶ The conservative and liberal approaches were mixed but separate entities.

Smith, after completing her studies in Chicago, returned to teach in Omaha. The CKC's conservative approach was consistent with the orientation of her initial training and with the views of her supervisor in Omaha, Orietta (Shields) Chittenden. Under Chittenden's influence, Omaha kindergartens adhered to what Barnes called the majority view. Chittenden identified the principle of the Omaha programme as the "Gliederung's method of giving the gifts."⁸⁷ By using Froebel's obtuse term for the mystical relationship between the child and the universe, Chittenden revealed

⁸³ International Kindergarten Union, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention* (Washington, DC, 1902), 56-7.

⁸⁴ M. Charlotte Jammer, "Patty Smith Hill and Reform of the American Kindergarten: A Report of a Type C Project" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia, 1960), 181.

⁸⁵ Alessandra Arce Hai, Helen May, Kristen Nawrotzki, Larry Prochner, and Yordanka Valkanova, *Reimagining Teaching in Early 20th Century Experimental Schools* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 235.

⁸⁶ Stephen Kemmis, *Transforming Practices: Changing the World with the Theory of Practice Architectures* (Singapore: Springer, 2022).

⁸⁷ Omaha Public Schools, *Annual Report of the Board of Education* (1912), 74.

her alignment with Susan Blow's idealist philosophy.⁸⁸ Chittenden encouraged a directed approach to children's activities and structured the children's programme around Froebel's mother play. She quoted from Plato to explain her approach: "Our youth should be educated in a stricter rule from the first, for if education becomes lawless they can never grow up into well conducted and meritorious citizens, and the education must begin with their plays."⁸⁹

Smith nevertheless pursued further training, travelling to New York City for a summer session at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1902. She was part of a large group. There were 650 students from 39 states; the majority were female and a nearly equal number had previously attended a college or normal school, like Smith.⁹⁰ Historian Geraldine Jonciğ observed that the large summer sessions at Teachers College in the early twentieth century showed "a strengthened professional motivation and a rising belief that pedagogical innovations demand that teachers freshen up in the newer theories and methods of their craft."⁹¹ Teachers College had been branded by its dean, James Earl Russell, as a "national institution"; it offered a range of undergraduate and graduate degrees and a graduate diploma for teachers' professional development.⁹²

Smith may have been influenced to study in New York by her sister Louise, who was a student at the Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing in the city. Smith remained in New York after the summer session ended, taking a year's leave to complete a special diploma for teaching in elementary schools at Teachers College. Special diplomas were courses for students like Smith who were experienced teachers but did not have an undergraduate degree, the qualification for a graduate diploma.⁹³ Elementary education was a new area of study for Smith. While Teachers College offered a kindergarten diploma, the coursework may have been too similar to her training in Omaha and Chicago, or she may have wanted to expand her career options.

⁸⁸ Gliedganzes was a central concept in Blow's conservative report in the International Kindergarten Union's *The Kindergarten: Reports of the Committee of Nineteen on the Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913).

⁸⁹ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 11 December 1910, 23.

⁹⁰ *Barnard Bulletin*, 6 October 1902, 1.

⁹¹ Geraldine Jonciğ, *The Sane Positivist: A Biography of Edward L. Thorndike* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 233.

⁹² Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 60.

⁹³ Cremin et al., *History of Teachers College*.

Smith entered the second year of the two-year diploma on the basis of her normal school programme. The expanded focus of courses at Teachers College differed from Smith's previous training, in which all topics centred on the kindergarten. She studied elementary education theory and practice with Dr. Frank McMurray and had two classes with behavioural psychologist and learning theorist Dr. Edward Thorndike.⁹⁴ McMurray was a Herbartian "known for the application of Thorndike's principles to teaching methods";⁹⁵ Smith later acknowledged McMurray's influence on her ideas about curriculum.⁹⁶

Smith's class with Thorndike on applications of psychology for teaching was a radical change from her previous training in psychology at the CKC with a course taught by Denton Snider based on Froebel's rationalist philosophy. Thorndike's extreme empiricism did not allow for the symbolism of playthings. He famously advised kindergarten teachers that a toothbrush would be a better choice than Froebel's first gift (a set of soft coloured balls) due to its observable impact on children's health and well-being.⁹⁷ In her child study course with Thorndike, Smith conducted observations and experiments in the Experimental School (later known as the Speyer School). Thorndike's courses introduced Smith to experimental psychology and controlled experimentation using precise measurement. Thorndike considered teaching to be a "technical, subordinate task" relative to the role of educational psychologists in students' learning.⁹⁸ Thorndike believed kindergartners were "eager to learn from science and proceed with the facts of psychology" despite what he defined as their secondary role in learning.⁹⁹

But, it was an optional course in manual training that was immediately influential for Smith. Manual training, also called handwork, covered a range of topics including clay modelling, sewing and weaving, cord work, raffia, grass and reed basketry, paper and cardboard work, bent-iron work, and wood work. The aim of manual education was not to train children for

⁹⁴ *Teachers College Announcement 1901-1902* (New York: Columbia University, 1901).

⁹⁵ Jo Anne Pagano, "The Emergence of a Discipline," in *Contemporary Curriculum Discourses: Twenty Years of JCT*, ed. William Pinar (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 86.

⁹⁶ "George Peabody College for Teachers," *Peabody College Bulletin* 2, no. 2 (Summer, 1914).

⁹⁷ Edward L. Thorndike, "Notes on Psychology for Kindergartners," *Teachers College Record* 4, no. 5 (1903): 380.

⁹⁸ Ellen Condcliffe Lagemann, *The Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 60.

⁹⁹ Thorndike, "Notes on Psychology"; also see his textbooks *The Principles of Teaching Based on Psychology* (1906), *Notes on Child Study* (1901).

employment.¹⁰⁰ Rather, its emphasis was on developing children's powers of observation to enable them to construct ideas from observation of material things.¹⁰¹ The course built on Smith's experience with kindergarten occupations (also known as handwork), and it proved important for her career progression from the role of classroom teacher. Manual training classes were a trend in elementary schools that created demand for trained teachers and an opportunity for Smith. She returned to Omaha as a manual training expert and gave a special lecture on the topic to grade three teachers. Smith emphasised the interplay between manual and mental training:

[Manual training] should aim to implant in each child the idea of doing, the idea that [they] can do things. . . . Mental training is of value only as it leads to better doing. Indeed, the greatest mental activity is aroused in the child by doing and making, by working with material things, rather than by abstract mental processes.¹⁰²

Smith went on to publish an article in *The Nebraska Teacher* and taught a class on basket weaving at the YMCA,¹⁰³ signs of a shift in her identity from classroom teacher to teacher educator. She resigned less than a month after she returned to Omaha to take a position as supervisor of manual training in the public schools of Colorado Springs.¹⁰⁴ Figure 3 shows children weaving baskets with reed shortly after Smith arrived in the city.

¹⁰⁰ James Hughes, *Report on Manual Training Presented to the Toronto Public School Board* (Toronto, ON: Publisher not identified, 1920).

¹⁰¹ Hughes, *Report on Manual Training*, 6.

¹⁰² *Omaha Daily Bee*, 19 October 1902, 12.

¹⁰³ *Omaha World Herald*, 30 September 1902, 3.

¹⁰⁴ *The Weekly Gazette* (Colorado Springs), 5 March 1903, 7.



Figure 3. Children making baskets with reed. Source: *The Weekly Gazette* (Colorado Springs), 5 March 1903, 7.

Smith at Teachers College, Columbia, 1910 to 1915

Smith remained in Colorado Springs for two years before returning to Omaha in 1905 to again teach kindergarten.¹⁰⁵ She continued her professional development by twice attending summer classes at the University of Wisconsin. Resigning from Omaha Public Schools for the last time at the end of the 1909-10 school year, she returned again to Teachers College and remained there until 1915, with the exception of a term teaching at a normal school in Virginia. In her five years at Teachers College she completed a special diploma in kindergarten supervision, a bachelor and master of science in education, and an instructor's diploma in kindergarten and elementary education.¹⁰⁶ Along the way she studied with John Dewey, Patty Smith Hill, William Kilpatrick,

¹⁰⁵ *Omaha Daily Bee*, 3 September 1911, 5.

¹⁰⁶ The British kindergarten teacher Jeanie P. Slight studied at Teachers College the year after Smith completed her Kindergarten diploma. For an account of Slight's experience see Jane Read, "Jeanie P. Slight (1890-1973): Disseminating Revisionist Froebelian Pedagogy," in *British Froebelian Women from the Mid-Nineteenth to the*

and again with Frank McMurray. She also taught in the Horace Mann kindergarten and contributed to research in the Speyer School experimental kindergarten, which was inspired by the earlier work by teachers at the University of Chicago Laboratory School.¹⁰⁷ During this time she built her identity as a teacher educator as well as her university student identity.

At the time of Smith's studies at Teachers College, the kindergarten department had emerged as a new centre of influence in early education. It had been reorganised in 1905, with the changes well established by the time of her arrival. Teachers College president James Earl Russell wanted the college to be a forum for diverse ideas, including in kindergarten education. To this end he planned lectures in 1905 and 1906 by the liberal Patty Smith Hill and conservative Susan Blow and Grace Fulmer. The latter had been Smith's teacher at the CKC. Russell subsequently appointed Hill and Fulmer as assistant professors and reappointed Blow as an instructor. Hill and Fulmer supervised the kindergartens associated with Teachers College, Hill the Speyer experimental kindergarten and Fulmer the Horace Mann kindergarten, which was noted for more conservative practice.

Russell's appointment of Fulmer was pragmatic. He believed that graduates trained only in a liberal approach would not be able to find employment. As his biographer put it, Fulmer was hired "to placate the conservatives."¹⁰⁸ Just as she did at the CKC, Fulmer taught the course on gifts and occupations, which aimed to give students a "technical mastery of the kindergarten materials . . . and their place in Froebel's scheme."¹⁰⁹ By the time Smith was a student, the reference to Froebel had been removed, presumably because of its association with the symbolic approach of his disciples. The revised description: "The gifts and occupations are studied as selected materials which help in the organization of the child's experience."¹¹⁰ Despite the change in wording, the course retained Froebel's principles—of unity, development, and activity—underlying the child's experience.¹¹¹ There was no course devoted solely to the study of Froebel's

Twenty-First Century: A Community of Progressive Educators, eds. Amy Palmer and Jane Read (London: Routledge, 2020).

¹⁰⁷ Patty Smith Hill, "Introduction," *Teachers College Record* 15, no. 1 (1914): 2.

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Harold Toepfer, "James Earl Russell and the Rise of Teachers College: 1897–1915" (Unpublished PhD diss., Columbia University, New York, 1966).

¹⁰⁹ *Teachers College Announcement, 1906–1907* (New York: Columbia University, 1906).

¹¹⁰ *Teachers College Announcement, 1909–1910* (New York: Columbia University, 1909).

¹¹¹ John Angus MacVannell, "The Philosophy of Froebel," *Teachers College Record* 4, no. 5 (1903): 335–76.

mother play, although it was on the syllabus in Fulmer's course on kindergarten principles. However, it was not required by students in the kindergarten supervision programme.

Hill's biographer referred to her promotion to assistant professor in 1910 as a "liberal victory" for kindergarten education at Teachers College.¹¹² Yet, the conservative kindergartner Grace Fulmer was promoted at the same time as Hill and remained at Teachers College for another two years before taking a position as supervisor of kindergarten and primary grades for Los Angeles City Schools. And the Speyer and Horace Mann kindergartens shared staff, although the former was designated experimental and the latter conservative; the liberal kindergartner Julia Wade Abbott taught at both.

While the lines between conservative and liberal approaches at Teachers College were blurred in practice and in theory, as noted earlier, Froebel's contributions were often clearly delineated, and diminished. This was the case in Smith's child psychology course, taught by Dr. Naomi Norsworthy. Like Thorndike, who was her doctoral supervisor, Norsworthy identified Froebel's method as "influenced more by his philosophic outlook than by empirical studies of childhood."¹¹³ Grouping him with other rationalist thinkers, she concluded that "Froebel's mysticism, Rousseau's childish lack of self-control and strongly-sexed nature, [and] Herbart's over-analytical mind biased their interpretations and their educational doctrine."¹¹⁴ Further, Norsworthy dismissed the recapitulation theory that underpinned Froebel's unfoldment theory and was the basis for Dewey's curriculum research at the University of Chicago Laboratory School because it was impossible to test.

Smith's studies at Teachers College coincided with the period of Hill's experimental work, both in terms of children's learning and as an orientation for teaching in which students learned techniques to conduct experimental work in their own kindergartens. While Hill and her colleagues called the research they conducted at the Speyer School experimental, it is more accurate to describe it as nonexperimental observational research. As Jammer has noted, for Hill, experimental work "was devoted to finding a definition of the young child and to identifying types of materials and methods that would match the characteristics discovered. Her aim was to understand how

¹¹² Jammer, "Patty Smith Hill," 167.

¹¹³ Naomi Norsworthy and Mary Theodora Whitley, *The Psychology of Childhood* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1937), 467.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

individual children reacted to the materials and the teacher.”¹¹⁵ Children were viewed as self-active and motivated by interests, and teachers’ experimental work centred on creating conditions to support learning in line with their interests. At the Speyer School, “the kindergarten takes these experiences of the children, gives socialized meaning to them, directs attention to the new aspects of them, and leads the way to new experiences.”¹¹⁶ Teachers tried out ideas and observed the results. However, “criteria for judging the worth of innovations were completely lacking” with evaluations based on the sense that “it was right.”¹¹⁷

Smith completed two courses with Hill, who was her faculty advisor for the diploma in kindergarten supervision.¹¹⁸ Both courses were aimed at reconstructing kindergarten education via changes in teacher education. The first course was curricula for kindergarten normal schools and problems of kindergarten supervision. It was “critical study” of the best normal school programmes “with a view to determining the balanced proportions of theory observation, and practice.”¹¹⁹ The course reflected the trend for normal school training to be longer—three or four years—with more time spent on the same content along with increased time spent on practice, observation, and psychology coursework, including educational psychology, child psychology, and tests and measurements.¹²⁰ Similar to Dean Russell, Hill believed that students should be presented with “opposing views” of kindergarten education as part of their training, and this was reflected in her courses.¹²¹ She aimed to free students “from the test of tradition and mere opinion,” which, in her view, would lead “to true freedom and progress.”¹²²

In Hill’s seminar on kindergarten issues, called the Kindergarten Conference, students identified problems in kindergarten education based on observations at the Speyer and Horace Mann schools. Hill aimed to help students develop a sense of themselves as researchers, to be able

¹¹⁵ Jammer, “Patty Smith Hill,” 211.

¹¹⁶ *The Speyer School Curriculum* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), 12.

¹¹⁷ Charlotte G. Garrison, “History of the Horace Mann Kindergarten,” 1941, 10 (unpublished). Cited in Jammer, “Patty Smith Hill,” 144.

¹¹⁸ *Teachers College Announcement, 1910–1911* (New York: Columbia University, 1910), 58.

¹¹⁹ *Teachers College School of Education Announcement 1913–1914* (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), 63.

¹²⁰ Charles H. Thompson, “The Three-Year Curricula in Normal Schools for the Preparation of Kindergarten-Primary Teachers,” *The Journal of Educational Research* 19, no. 5 (1929): 322–30.

¹²¹ Patty Smith Hill, “Second Report,” *The Kindergarten: Reports of the Committee of Nineteen on the Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten*, vol. 1 (International Kindergarten Union, 1913), 293.

¹²² Hill, “Second Report,” 294.

“to see and study children.”¹²³ Students observed for two hours each week over the fall and winter terms, completing specific “subjects of investigation,” for example, “all plays of the children in which they give evidence of a desire to represent something of which they have an image in mind.”¹²⁴ Students recorded their observations using a standard format (Figure 4), and they were reviewed and discussed in the next seminar.

**TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
NEW YORK.**

EXPERIMENTAL PLAY ROOM.

Date:

Name:

Age: **Sex:**

I. Choices:

(1) Gift:

(2) Game:

(3) Occupation:

(4) Story:

(5) Picture:

(6) Toys or other material:

II. Methods of use:

(1) Gift:

(2) Game:

(3) Occupation:

(4) Toys:

III. General remarks:

IV. Problems suggested:

Figure 4. Form for observation record in kindergarten conference course.¹²⁵

Educational psychologists classed observations of this kind as “incidental” and thus not meeting standards for scientific research.¹²⁶ As Thorndike expressed it, “We conquer the facts of nature when we observe and experiment upon them. When we measure them we have made them our servants.”¹²⁷ In the kindergartens at Teachers College the conditions were not controlled, and the trainees were tasked with finding new problems to solve rather than seeking a solution to problems

¹²³ Patty Smith Hill, “The Speyer School Experimental Playroom,” *Kindergarten Review* 17, no. 3 (1906): 138.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Florence L. Goodenough and John E. Anderson, *Experimental Child Study* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 429.

¹²⁷ Edward L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* (New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1903), 164.

defined in advance, as in a scientific study. Psychologists Goodenough and Anderson cautioned, “Although incidental observation of facts as they chance to occur forms the starting point of most scientific investigation, it is not of equal service in the solution of specific problems or the determination of general principles of behavior.”¹²⁸ Hill would later agree with this position. However, during Smith’s time at Teachers College, the observations conducted by students and the teachers at the Horace Mann kindergarten were a pedagogical tool that Hill used to support teacher development and student learning, with analyses undertaken by the students themselves using a collaborative approach.

Research conducted by the Horace Mann teachers, whom Hill considered to be lay scientists,¹²⁹ was similar to that undertaken by students. A set of research papers describing the teachers’ studies was published in 1914 in a special issue of *Teachers College Record* edited by Patty Smith Hill and entitled “Experimental Studies in Kindergarten Theory and Practice.” In her introduction Hill explained that research was needed because critical evaluation was part of university education. The work of the kindergarten at Teachers College needed “to take its turn in being put on the rack of investigation—a most trying experience for any movement but peculiarly so in the kindergarten with its proverbial devotion and loyalty to Froebel.”¹³⁰

Smith taught and researched in the Horace Mann kindergarten during her studies at Teachers College, and contributed a paper on the development of reasoning in young children.¹³¹ As she described her research, she had initially provided children with a specific problem to solve, for example, to construct a chair from materials she made available. However, she found more value in observing children solving problems in their spontaneous play in which they were provided with materials from which problems emerged, writing, for example, “given dolls, children feel the need of clothes, of houses, of furniture, wagons trains, stations, and so forth.”¹³² She explained that in this way children had the opportunity to “discover their own ends and work

¹²⁸ Goodenough and Anderson, *Experimental Child Study*, 426.

¹²⁹ Patty Smith Hill, “Introduction,” in *A Conduct Curriculum for the Kindergarten and First Grade*, Agnes Burke, Edith U. Conard, Alice Dalglish, Edna V. Hughes, Mary E. Rankin, Alice G. Thorn, and Charlotte G. Garrison (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923), xv.

¹³⁰ Patty Smith Hill, “Kindergarten Theory and Practice,” *Teachers College Record* 15 no. 1 (1914): 6.

¹³¹ Meredith Smith, “The Development of Reasoning in Young Children,” *Teachers College Record* 15 no. 1 (1914): 16-25.

¹³² Smith, 18.

¹³² Smith, page number.

out the means for attaining them.”¹³³ She concluded that children’s “power of reason is greater than the ability to retain knowledge.”¹³⁴ And, because the dolls used by children “stand for human beings,” children “are carrying out play purposes which aim to satisfy human need” when they engage in constructive work, for example, using blocks to build a doll’s house.¹³⁵

Smith and her colleagues focused on supporting children’s investigations with materials, allowing for “individual expression, originality, and mastery of material”¹³⁶ and using suggestion as their main teaching strategy. Their ideas echoed Dewey’s view that the teachers’ role was to mediate a child’s experience and the subject matter. While Dewey wrote little that was specific about pedagogy, he was certain that teachers were central to his idea of inquiry learning. The teacher psychologises the subject matter, by which Dewey meant she transforms it by developing it “within the range of and scope of the child’s life.”¹³⁷ To achieve this, the teacher establishes “what there is in the child’s present that is usable with reference to it; how such elements are to be used; how [the child’s] own knowledge of the subject-matter may assist in interpreting the child’s needs and doings, and determine the medium in which the child should be placed in order that [their] growth may be properly directed.”¹³⁸ The teachers’ work is supported by the course of study, which enables them “to determine the environment of the child, and thus by indirection to direct. . . . It says to the teacher: Such and such are the capacities, the fulfilments, in truth and beauty and behaviour, open to these children.”¹³⁹ This idea, which was confirmed by teacher-researchers at the Horace Mann kindergarten, was Smith’s core teaching value throughout her career.

However, shortly after the special issue of *Teachers College Record* on experimental studies was published, research in the Horace Mann kindergarten underwent a marked shift, from observational studies of children’s activity, to identifying “typical outcomes in the individual and social behavior of the group.”¹⁴⁰ To achieve the new aim, the research method changed from

¹³³ Smith, page number.

¹³⁴ Smith, 25.

¹³⁵ Smith, 18.

¹³⁶ Grace L. Brown, “The Play Motive and Experimental Method in Kindergarten Occupations,” *Teachers College Record* 15 no. 1 (1914): 30.

¹³⁷ John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902), 38.

¹³⁸ Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum*, 30.

¹³⁹ Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum*, 30.

¹⁴⁰ Hill, “Introduction,” in Burke et al., xii.

incidental observations to systematised observations conducted by teachers with specific research training. Hundreds of observations were completed between 1915 and 1923, making up what were called the Hill records.¹⁴¹ However, none were analysed out of a concern that it was properly the work of trained scientists, not teachers. In the end, Hill convinced a former Teachers College colleague, psychologist Dr. Agnes Rogers, to oversee analysis of the data. As Hill described, she “directed us in the process of breaking up the captions of our previous records into the more specific abilities and habits involved.”¹⁴² The outcome was an “inventory of desirable habits,”¹⁴³ that is to say, behaviours, that became the basis for a popular curriculum published in 1923 as *A Conduct Curriculum for the Kindergarten and First Grade*. Figure 5 shows a list of social-moral habits and the record sheet to be completed by the teacher for all children once a week. The instructions to teachers for completing the form were detailed and complex, aiming to determine the effect of schooling on the development of behaviours. The teacher-research in this case became a technician.

Consider one habit at a time and decide which children have acquired it. Then opposite the number of the habit and below the pupils’ names [in columns] record the number of weeks each child who has just formed it has actually attended school. For example, if it is November 10, 1922, and during that school week, namely November 6 to 10, a child has never failed to choose a chair suited to his needs, whereas in previous weeks he had always transgressed one or more times, and if further he has attended from September 11 with only five days’ absence, under his name opposite habit number 12 in the Record Sheet for Health Habits write 7, which represents the amount of actual schooling in weeks he has had prior to the last week in which there have been no transgressions observed. An easy way to determine the number of weeks of schooling is to find first the number of days the pupil has been present. Divide this number by five. If the answer gives a fraction, add 1 where this fraction is greater than $\frac{1}{2}$, otherwise neglect it.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Agnes L. Rogers, “Tentative Inventory of Habits,” *Teachers College Bulletin* 14, no. 4 (1922): 5-24.

¹⁴² Hill, “Introduction,” in Burke et al., xiii.

¹⁴³ Agnes Rogers, “Tentative Inventory.”

¹⁴⁴ Agnes Rogers, “Tentative Inventory,” 12.



Figure 6. Kindergarten room showing fireplace and group of students observing play period, Summer Session, Teachers College (1920). Source: Gottesman Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Smith Applies Her Teachers College Training at a Normal School

Smith took a six-month break from her studies in 1912 to work in order to finance her studies. After she completed her diploma in kindergarten supervision in December 1911 she began a new position as supervisor of kindergartner training at the State Female Normal School in Farmville, Virginia, in January 1912.¹⁴⁵ The job was likely posted at the Bureau of Educational Service at

¹⁴⁵ Picture in Normal School yearbook, 1912:

<https://digitalcommons.longwood.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1095&context=yearbooks>. On the normal school, see also State Female Normal School, Farmville, Virginia: Catalogue 1911-1912:

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075992028>. For KG curriculum:

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075992028?urlappend=%3Bseq=50>. *Education of Man* was a course and a text: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075992028?urlappend=%3Bseq=103>. Smith's statement of purpose of Kindergarten Department: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075992028?urlappend=%3Bseq=238>. For degrees conferred, see Columbia University Catalogue, 1915-16: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044093630028>.

Teachers College, which helped graduates find employment. Smith replaced another Teachers College graduate who had stepped down due to ill health.¹⁴⁶

Smith's time at the normal school was brief. She left in June 1912 at the end of the spring term.¹⁴⁷ However, it coincided with an initiative of training school director Dr. Cliff W. Stone to update all of the normal school courses, creating an opportunity for Smith to employ the ideas she had learned at Teachers College. Stone had completed his bachelor of science and PhD at Columbia and was inspired by Dewey's philosophy of education.¹⁴⁸ Smith contributed to changes in the kindergarten courses (the changes appeared in the syllabus for the following year). The normal school's original, conservative Froebelian curriculum was developed in 1904. It included courses on mother play in each term of the two-year programme. In the same way as at the CKC, mother play was used as a basis for teaching child psychology, showing "in the most practical way how to study children in order to gain a correct understanding of their instincts and interests."¹⁴⁹ In Smith's revision, mother play was limited to the senior year and studied as a historical text, the plays serving "as illustrations of the most effective means of meeting the child's impulses and instincts that, up to Froebel's time, had been worked out."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Smith replaced Eva L. Capron: *The Times Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), 28 January 1912, 30, see also *The Akron Beacon Journal*, 6 September 1911, 3; Capron replaced Mary V. Blundy: *The Times Dispatch* (Virginia), 17 September 1911, 6.

¹⁴⁷ *Omaha Daily News*, 6 June 1912, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Betty Jo Whitaker Simmons, "An Historical Analysis of the Development of Teacher Training at the State Normal School, Farmville, Virginia, 1884-1924" (master's thesis, College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA, 1988).

¹⁴⁹ *State Normal School, Farmville, Virginia, Catalogue 1911-12*, 86.

¹⁵⁰ *State Normal School, Farmville, Virginia, Catalogue 1912-13*, 92.



Junior Kindergarten Training Class

Honorary Member MISS MEREDITH SMITH

MEMBERS

FRANCES ANDREWS

FLETCHER BAILEY

MARTHA JAMES

ELIZABETH WALKUP

JOSEPHINE BURNETT

EVA LARMOUR

VIRGILIA BUGG

RUTH GARNETT

MATTIE OULD

MINNIE BUTLER

ROSE PARROTT

VIRGINIA ATKINSON

REBECCA COLEMAN

FANNIE PRICE

KATHERINE WOODWARD

Figure 7. Kindergarten training class, State Female Normal School in Farmville, Virginia, 1912. Source: *The Virginian* (1912). <https://digitalcommons.longwood.edu/yearbooks/96/>.

While at Teachers College Smith gained experience as an instructor at summer programmes for teachers, at the University of Chicago in 1912¹⁵¹ and the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville in 1914.¹⁵² For normal school and university instructors, summer teaching was additional to regular teaching obligations and an important supplement to their salaries. Faculty from one college frequently taught at summer sessions at other schools. For Smith, who aspired to an academic career, summer teaching added to her experience and helped build her curriculum vitae. Smith and two other Teachers College graduates¹⁵³ were personally invited to teach at the summer school at Peabody College by the college president and the future director of the

¹⁵¹ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1911-1912*.

¹⁵² "George Peabody College for Teachers," *Bulletin*.

¹⁵³ Mildred Deering Julian (B.Sc. Ed. 1914) and Ruth Harris Proal (Diploma in Kindergarten Education). Deering Julian also taught courses in the summer session.

demonstration school.¹⁵⁴ Smith was gaining a reputation as an expert trainer. A newspaper report described her as being “in charge of kindergarten work in Teachers College,” seemingly usurping Patty Smith Hill.¹⁵⁵ The programme at Peabody was inspired by the Summer School of the South at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, an initiative started in 1902 to advance education through the mass training of teachers in southern states. The college had opened in new buildings earlier in the month, and the significance of the summer school was described in the course brochure: “The opening of this Teachers’ college will be a realization of the hopes and efforts of the friends of Southern Education during the past quarter of a century, and will mark a distinct epoch in the training of white teachers for the entire south.”¹⁵⁶ The instructors included such luminaries as Edward Thorndike, along with Smith.

Over the six-week summer session, Smith set up and directed an observation kindergarten and taught two courses: educational play and constructive kindergarten work. The courses did not reference Froebel; instead, they were influenced by her recent work at Teachers College with Patty Smith Hill, as well as by Frank McMurry’s theory of curriculum, which centred on the systematic organisation of ideas. McMurry suggested his theory was compatible with the work in kindergarten: “At the kindergarten age the organization of ideas takes place largely through the organization of activity, the ordered act being considered the very best evidence of ordered thought.”¹⁵⁷ McMurry believed that kindergarten teachers could be overly devoted to sequence and technique, which curtailed children’s ability to explore their own interests. Yet, he believed that modern standards for curriculum were met by kindergarten principles. This was the message Smith shared in her courses at Peabody.

University of Pittsburgh

In 1915 Smith was appointed to her first full-time academic position as assistant professor of childhood education in the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. The School of

¹⁵⁴ Association for Childhood Education, *History of the Kindergarten Movement in the Mid-Western States and in New York*, presented at the Cincinnati Convention, Association for Childhood Education, April 19-23, 1938, 62. The demonstration school was established by Richard Thomas Alexander in 1915, one year after the summer school; he is likely the director referred to in the ACE history as Dr. Carter Alexander. Alexander was a doctoral student at Teachers College, Columbia.

¹⁵⁵ *Macon Beacon*, 5 June 1914, 8.

¹⁵⁶ “George Peabody College for Teachers,” *Bulletin*, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Frank Morton McMurry, *Elementary School Standards* (Yonkers-on Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1918), 57.

Education was established in 1910. Smith was hired in a period of expansion due to growing enrolments. From six faculty members in 1910, including the dean, Dr. Will Grant Chambers, by 1915 there were fifteen, with an additional thirty-eight part-time instructors. Undergraduate education students could select from nine major subjects, including childhood education. Smith's colleague in the department was Mary Glover Waite, hired in 1914. She was also a Teachers College graduate, having completed her diploma in kindergarten supervision and a bachelor of science in education a year before Smith.

Smith taught courses that were similar to those in the kindergarten department at Teachers College. In her first year she taught a course on educational theorists in both terms and co-taught two kindergarten methods courses with Waite. In future years her teaching was far more intensive: She typically taught or co-taught eight courses, including teaching in university extension. She taught courses on theory as well as methodology. In her seminar on modern educational problems, she gave "special consideration to Dr. Dewey's theory of education" to consider topics such as the development of reasoning in early childhood and the significance of the method of experimentation.¹⁵⁸ She also served as director of the primary grades of the lab school, called the School of Childhood, and ran a summer "kindergarten for teachers" for teachers seeking professional development.

The lab school gave Smith a chance to use the research training she had acquired at Teachers College. Her research in the lab school became the basis for her doctoral work with Dewey in the 1920s. The lab school was established in 1913. Its first director was Alice May Corbin, also a Teachers College kindergarten department graduate. Corbin had worked as a playground supervisor for the Pittsburgh Playground Association, and the lab school had a unique character due to its combination of kindergarten and playground pedagogy. When Mary Waite became director after Corbin resigned in 1915, the school retained its orientation to playground pedagogy. Corbin later published a book, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play in Childhood*, based on her teaching notes from the University of Pittsburgh along with observation records of teachers

¹⁵⁸ *Announcement of the School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, 1916-1917* (University of Pittsburgh, 1916), 55.

and students in her courses.¹⁵⁹ Corbin's book and her other publications provide important detail on the lab school's research and teaching activities.¹⁶⁰

The School of Childhood focused on the development of individual children. This was noted by Evelyn Dewey in *Schools of To-morrow*, published in 1915. While Evelyn Dewey did not visit the school, she likely had a report from Luella Palmer, who had visited. Palmer was an instructor in the kindergarten at Teachers College. Evelyn Dewey commented that the Pittsburgh school was "conducted along the same lines" as the Horace Mann Kindergarten, but paid more attention to individual activities.¹⁶¹ There were several reasons for this. The Pittsburgh lab school was the brainchild of Dean Chambers, who had a master's degree in pedagogy from the University of Chicago and had taken courses with John Dewey. Chambers acknowledged that although the school lacked specific attention to children's social engagement, it was simply left to the children to initiate: "The socialization of the child proceeds not thru social adjustment compelled by an adult, but thru the give and take of spontaneous participation in the affairs of the group to which one belongs."¹⁶² This spontaneous participation would correct what Chambers identified as a failing of the kindergarten: "One of the most serious criticisms urged against the conservative kindergarten of an earlier day—and I fear it is not yet wholly outgrown—was that directed against the artificiality of the social relations of the children."¹⁶³

Chambers identified both Dewey's laboratory school and Montessori's Casa dei Bambini as inspirations for the Pittsburgh school.¹⁶⁴ The lab school's name, the School of Childhood, was chosen "to be free of the limitations which would naturally be imposed upon the experiment if it bore the name kindergarten, and from having judgements passed upon the work according to

¹⁵⁹ Alice Corbin Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play in Childhood* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922).

¹⁶⁰ Alice May Corbin, "How to Equip a Playroom: The Pittsburgh Plan," *Playground* 7 (1913): 8-15, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3498625?urlappend=%3Bseq=16%3Bownerid=9007199258645871-24>; Alice May Corbin, "The School of Childhood at the University of Pittsburgh," *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* 10, no. 8 (1914).

¹⁶¹ John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey, *Schools of To-morrow* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1915), 116.

¹⁶² Will Grant Chambers, "Childhood Education," *The Kindergarten and First Grade* 1, no. 8 (1916), 327-30; Will Grant Chambers, "Childhood Education: Report of Experimental Work in the School of Childhood," *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* 12, no. 19 (1916): 3-10.

¹⁶³ Chambers, "Childhood Education"; Chambers, "Childhood Education: Report of Experimental Work."

¹⁶⁴ Lawrence Ward Broomall, "Will Grant Chambers, His Contributions to Teacher Education in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1909-1937" (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1966).

kindergarten standards.”¹⁶⁵ The reasoning was similar to Dewey’s approach at the University of Chicago lab school, where the class for the youngest children was called the subprimary group. The name of the Pittsburgh lab school was also suggestive of Montessori’s Casa dei Bambini, which was frequently translated as the House of Childhood in English publications. Director Waite went so far as to describe the lab school to a visiting journalist as “patterned after the Montessori method.”¹⁶⁶ The lab school teachers used nonintrusive strategies in a way similar to Montessori, who described that “the most difficult lesson for the teacher to learn . . . is to keep herself an attractive statue, ever in the background.”¹⁶⁷ However, lab school’s link to Montessori was otherwise weak: Children used her didactic material freely in their play, and none of the teachers had Montessori training. Corbin, who had organised the school at the start, selected material from various sources. However, “they were used differently than by the devotees of any one system.”¹⁶⁸ As she explained it, their use was defined by the children as they investigated problems they themselves had defined and wished to pursue.

The school’s focus on the individual child was a legacy of its connections to the ideas of the playground movement through the Pittsburgh Playground Association. In what was called playground pedagogy, the play of children aged four to six was believed to be individualistic rather than social.¹⁶⁹ There were two strands of the playground movement: a sport and recreation strand focused on physical training, and a child development strand that was concerned with psychology.¹⁷⁰ The Pittsburgh association was linked to the sport and recreation strand. The association operated a School for Playground Workers, which was incorporated into the School of Education in 1911.¹⁷¹ In 1912, half of the academic staff at the School of Education were members of the Playground Association,¹⁷² including its superintendent, George Ellsworth Johnson.

¹⁶⁵ Almira M. Winchester, “Kindergarten Education,” *Biennial Survey of Education 1916-1918* (Washington: United States Department of Interior, 1921), 344.

¹⁶⁶ “School of Childhood Has Odd Curriculum,” *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 5 January 1915, 5.

¹⁶⁷ *The Bulletin* (Pomona, California), 15 November 1917, 5.

¹⁶⁸ Alice Corbin Sies, “Problems in Sensory-Motor Education Involving the Selection of Play Materials and Apparatus for Small Children,” *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* 12, no. 19 (1916): 39.

¹⁶⁹ George E. Johnson, *Education by Play and Games* (Boston: Ginn, 1907), 86.

¹⁷⁰ Joe L. Frost, *A History of Children’s Play and Play Environments: Toward a Contemporary Child-Saving Movement* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009).

¹⁷¹ The School of Education, “The Pittsburgh Playground Association Courses in Play 1911-1912,” *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* 7, no. 16 (1911).

¹⁷² *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Playgrounds, Vacation Schools and Recreation Parks*, Pittsburgh Playground Association (1912).

Johnson was a professor of play, and his mentee, Alice Corbin, taught courses in both play (for playground staff called play-leaders) and childhood education (for teachers).

Johnson outlined his perspective on play in his book *Education by Plays and Games*. He proposed a “curriculum of plays and games” in indoor playrooms as a means of child development.¹⁷³ He described the ideal playroom as one in which children engaged entirely in spontaneous play. As an example, in one programme, “for more than a year and a half the children have been turned, about sixteen at a time, into this room, by the single teacher in charge, the door closed and the children left entirely to their own devices.”¹⁷⁴ A similar approach was adopted for the Pittsburgh lab school.¹⁷⁵ Under Corbin’s direction it was used for observations by childhood education students and to model playground pedagogy.¹⁷⁶ In their course on principles of childhood education, students engaged in “observational child study” for two hours each week to examine “periods of childhood from the best present-day scientific-psychological point of view.”¹⁷⁷ And, as at Teachers College, “the works of Froebel and others were interpreted in the light of modern educational theories.”¹⁷⁸

Though the lab school was not used for courses for playground leaders, under Corbin’s influence it was nevertheless oriented around the theory and methods of the playground movement. Teachers were called “play leaders”¹⁷⁹ and children’s main activity was “spontaneous play.”¹⁸⁰ Yet, children did not have complete freedom; it was believed that because children in industrialised societies had “lost much of the play heritage of preceding generations”¹⁸¹ they needed to be taught to play in the context of a planned and purposefully resourced indoor or outdoor space,¹⁸² an idea with clear links to Dewey. By playing in the lab school setting, children learned to think in the

¹⁷³ G. Stanley Hall, “Introduction,” in *Education by Play and Games*, by George E. Johnson (Boston: Ginn, 1907), xiii.

¹⁷⁴ Johnson, *Education by Play and Games*, 89.

¹⁷⁵ Corbin, “How to Equip a Playroom.”

¹⁷⁶ *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Playgrounds*, 5.

¹⁷⁷ *University of Pittsburgh Catalogue 1914-15* (1914), 155.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ “University to Have School of Childhood,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, 12 October 1913, 3.

¹⁸⁰ Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play*.

¹⁸¹ Clarence Elmer Rainwater, “The Play Movement in the United States: A Study of Community Education” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1921), 242.

¹⁸² George E. Johnson, “Why Teach a Child to Play,” in *Proceedings of the Annual Playground Congress, 1909* (New York: Playground Association of America, 1910), 257-365.

manner of a scientist. As Corbin put it, “The hand that manipulates, the eye that observes, follow the trail of the scientist and formulate laws by direct observation of cause and effect.”¹⁸³

The play leaders’ main role was the “supervision of individual play and spontaneously formed group activities over against group teaching.”¹⁸⁴ Play leaders were ideally trained kindergarten teachers who could thus “sympathize with and understand each play impulse as it blindly gropes its way to conscious and purposeful play.”¹⁸⁵ The play leaders did not follow a standard kindergarten programme. For example, there was no morning circle at the start of the day; instead, upon entering the classroom, children “individually go to pursue some plan of their own.”¹⁸⁶ While play leaders were nonintrusive, supervision was an active process. They observed children’s spontaneous play, keeping narrative records of the children’s activities and dialogue and occasionally photographing their block constructions. Teachers engaged with children based on observations and providing new materials, or prearranging materials in a particular way, making suggestions to extend play, or introducing a new concept. The approach was based on the principle that children’s play, if spontaneous, will unfold “on the plane of instinct.”¹⁸⁷

Students in the lab school used observation records to generate questions about child development. In one record, the play of two children as mother and daughter is taken to reveal unconscious motivations, distinct from the Froebelian teachers’ focus on play revealing universal truths, or the priority at Teachers College to record children’s habits.

The mother was working out a new adjustment. She recognized that the daughter possessed a knowledge of the environment that she herself did not possess; hence she was glad to be told what to do [by the daughter]. . . . Unconsciously [the daughter] was developing leadership, for good or evil, and was impressing upon another her own taste and habits. To the educator this play is teeming with values which need to be sifted, and freighted with social meaning. What attitudes toward homemaking are established in the undemocratic atmosphere this home depicts? How far was the subservient attitude of the mother due to her unfamiliarity with the new environment and how far to innate docility in the presence of masterly behavior on another’s part? All these questions would interest a psychologist who aims to build upon natural capacities in suggesting procedure of a higher order.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play*, 323.

¹⁸⁴ Corbin, “The School of Childhood,” 425.

¹⁸⁵ Corbin, “How to Equip a Playroom,” 11.

¹⁸⁶ Corbin, “The School of Childhood,” 426.

¹⁸⁷ Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play*, 64.

¹⁸⁸ Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play*, 64.

The questions can also be taken to be similar to those discussed by the students in their seminar, which drew on information from their courses in psychology.

Smith took a turn as director of the lab school when Waite resigned in 1917 to continue her studies at Teachers College (Waite later completed her doctorate at Yale). Smith's reports on the lab school included many of the ideas that she developed during her doctoral studies with Dewey and later used as director of private schools in Los Angeles. Like her former teacher Patty Smith Hill, Smith aimed for the "reconstruction"¹⁸⁹ of childhood education. For Smith, this meant basing kindergarten and grade one on a common set of psychological principles and educational aims. When the School of Childhood expanded to include the lower primary grades, Smith aimed to make it an exemplar of a unified kindergarten-primary approach. The furniture was moveable, and there was a variety of equipment with focus on activity—doing and making—echoing concepts from Smith's work in manual training.

In a presentation on the kindergarten-primary work at the lab school at the National Education Association meeting in 1916, Smith explained that they did not teach the children to read because it interfered with experiential learning, which was a priority. She acknowledged that while children are interested in reading, it is due to cultural expectations and asserted that "reading has very little relevancy . . . to the activities of the child of six years or to his mental needs."¹⁹⁰ Once children were at the lab school, "they became more and more absorbed in working out their ideas and had less and less time for reading and soon ceased to ask or care for it."¹⁹¹ The approach at the lab school was that learning to read was best left until age eight, a decision based on research on children's brain and eye development. She also referred to Dewey in her claim that teaching reading to young children was part of old education that stemmed from industrial conditions. In the new education, the focus is "to initiate the child from the first into a direct contact, not an abstract and symbolic one, with the operations and forces, material and spiritual, which underlie and determine our present social life."¹⁹²

Smith used the example of children who were initially playing with blocks who "became interested in reproducing certain phases of country life. They built barns with a hay loft and pulley

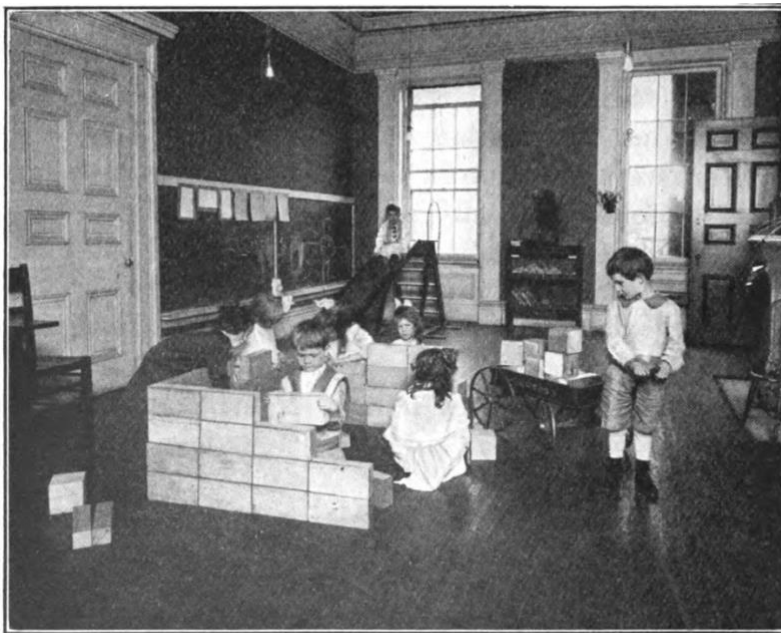
¹⁸⁹ University of Pittsburgh, "Report of Experimental Work in the School of Childhood," *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* 12, no. 19 (1916): 12.

¹⁹⁰ University of Pittsburgh, "Report," 13.

¹⁹¹ University of Pittsburgh, "Report," 13.

¹⁹² University of Pittsburgh, "Report," 14.

and string to draw up the hay, and made bins for their corn and hauled it in wagons to the train, which carried it to the mill.”¹⁹³ Teachers supported children’s learning of this sort by planning related investigative field trips. Smith identified a comprehensive set of learning outcomes for the children including experience with methods of scientific investigation, which “marks the evidence of [human] progress and development.”¹⁹⁴ She credited Dewey for this approach: “The material that constitutes social studies, Dr. Dewey has shown, originated in experience; it grew out of the problem that came up in relation to what people were doing, the activities they were carrying on.”¹⁹⁵



School of Childhood, University of Pittsburgh

OUR HOUSE

Figure 8. Building houses at the School for Children, University of Pittsburgh. Source: Sies, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play*, 76.

¹⁹³ University of Pittsburgh, “Report,” 15.

¹⁹⁴ University of Pittsburgh, “Report,” 16.

¹⁹⁵ University of Pittsburgh, “Report,” 19; also see Meredith Smith, “Report of the Experiment in Primary Education in the School of Childhood of the University of Pittsburgh,” presented at National Council of Primary Education, Detroit, *The Kindergarten and First Grade* 1, no. 7 (1916): 288-90.



Figure 9. Group photo: School of Education faculty at the Oriental Dance at the University of Pittsburgh. Smith is in the middle row, third from the right. Source: *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 14 May 1916, 52.

Smith's time at the University of Pittsburgh ended in 1921, when the institution underwent a retrenchment due to budgetary difficulties. The School of Education was reorganised with fewer departments and staff: Courses in preprimary education were eliminated and the lab school closed.¹⁹⁶ In anticipation of the changes, Smith resigned in 1920, taking a position with the state as supervisor of kindergarten and primary education.¹⁹⁷ For reasons that are not known, her work with the state was short lived, and by early 1922 she was looking for work through the employment bureau at Teachers College. Dewey provided her with a glowing letter of reference.

It gives me unusual satisfaction to testify to the unusual qualification of Miss Smith for a responsibility in Education. She has been a student with my courses and Philosophy at various times for years. I have also seen her work in organizing and conducting in the School of Childhood in Pittsburgh and instructing teachers in the University in connection therewith.

From my knowledge [of her] as student and as teacher I can heartily recommend [her.] I do not know of anyone who has a better grasp theoretical and practical upon the principles of modern education and she is ideally qualified for conducting an experimental or

¹⁹⁶ It reopened briefly off campus as a demonstration school in 1921 and was severed from university in 1922: "Pitt Childhood School to Reopen," *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 12 June 1921, 8.

¹⁹⁷ *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 11 September 1920, 14; Smith still in role: *Pittsburgh Press*, 17 April 1921, 66.

demonstration School in connection with a first class institution and for giving courses for Teachers in Elementary Education either or both combined. Her personal and cultural qualifications are also equal to the responsibility.¹⁹⁸

Smith found employment as a kindergarten teacher trainer at the State Normal School in Trenton, New Jersey. The outgoing director was a Teachers College graduate who had resigned to teach in the Horace Mann School.

Smith worked in New Jersey for two years before returning once more to Teachers College in 1924¹⁹⁹ to complete her doctoral degree under Dewey's supervision. She graduated in 1926 as one of Dewey's last students prior to his retirement. Smith's dissertation was one of only a few ever completed on the topic of preschool education at Teachers College,²⁰⁰ and it was the first preschool study to use an experimental method.²⁰¹

In her dissertation, Smith noted that Dewey had inspired her experimental teaching at the University of Pittsburgh and urged her "to find a psychological basis for the method employed."²⁰² She turned to a theoretical framework in a post hoc manner to explain it, drawing from the work of zoologist C. M. Child and neurobiologist C. J. Herrick, both at the University of Chicago. In keeping with Dewey's interest in identifying empirical relationships among environment, biology, and learning, Smith concluded that the "physiological evidence was consistent with Dewey's view that only through direct contact with the environment is it possible for an organism to make adjustments consistent with its needs."²⁰³ Smith aimed to illustrate the integrative relationship of the central nervous system and the autonomic nervous system. Because organisms shape their own destiny within an environment, "the problem of education becomes the problem of determining what environmental conditions, what opportunities will call out and give play to the potentialities, the abilities, and powers that are for the best interest of the individual child and ultimately for the

¹⁹⁸ John Dewey to Columbia University Teachers College, 16 March 1922, in *The Correspondence of John Dewey* [Electronic resource] (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999-2004) (03971).

¹⁹⁹ Rachel M. Jarrold and Glenn E. Fromm, *Time, the Great Teacher: A History of One Hundred Years of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Trenton, 1955-1955* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955).

²⁰⁰ The other dissertations on kindergarten or preschool education were Mary Dabney Davis, "General Practice in Kindergarten Education in the United States" (1925), and Ilse G. Forest, "Preschool Education: A Historical and Critical Study" (1927).

²⁰¹ Meredith Smith, "Education and the Integration of Behavior," PhD diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927. Her PhD was completed in 1926, and published the following year.

²⁰² Smith, "Education," acknowledgements, unpaginated.

²⁰³ Thomas Carlyle Dalton, *Becoming John Dewey: Dilemmas of a Philosopher and Naturalist* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 133.

welfare of society.”²⁰⁴ The “environment of intentional education” needs to be “rich, full, and varied” to “call out and give play to the greatest number of child potentialities that have value for social progress and that lead to the development of habits of the greatest ultimate scope.”²⁰⁵ An environment of this kind will “be flexible, modifiable by the children themselves as they act upon given materials, building them up into new form and into new ideas which in turn, modifying them, lead to further activity and development. An educational procedure of this type will exemplify the method of experience as it goes on in all life.”²⁰⁶

While Smith’s theoretical framework was oriented around the psychobiological and physiological research of Childs and Herrick, and around Dewey’s ideas of inquiry and occupations, her final chapter described a children’s project. She presented her five-year experiment at the School of Childhood at the University of Pittsburgh as an application of her theoretical analysis to education. She had previously published the material in *The Survey* in 1921. In what she called the Community Project, children used dolls and building materials to play out various scenarios of home and community life in the lab school. She explained the children’s occupation-based project work in terms similar to Dewey’s views on new education in *School and Society* in 1900. Namely, due to the separation of city life from industrial production in modern times, it “becomes the function of the school to give children an insight into the industrial processes that are essential to our civilization.”²⁰⁷ Also similar to Dewey’s ideas circa 1900 was Smith’s use of culture-epoch theory as a framework for the project work, which was pursued through occupations. As Smith summarised it, “an account is given in this study of an educational experiment in which an attempt was made to exemplify the method of race progress.”²⁰⁸

Los Angeles

The next step in Smith’s career took her outside academe and to California when she moved to Los Angeles in 1927 to head a progressive private school for the children of Hollywood’s elite. The idea for the school originated at the 1926 Conference on Modern Parenthood in Los Angeles organised by the Southern California Society for Mental Hygiene. Speakers included experts in

²⁰⁴ Smith, “Education,” 61.

²⁰⁵ Smith, “Education,” 61.

²⁰⁶ Smith, “Education,” 61.

²⁰⁷ Smith, “Education,” 90.

²⁰⁸ Meredith Smith, “Education and the Integration of Behavior,” *Teachers College Record* 28, no. 10 (1927): 1064.

education, social work, and psychiatry. Many of the speakers had harsh words for parents. Psychiatrist Frankwood Williams, the medical director of the National Council for Mental Hygiene, admonished them for ignoring their children while seeking entertainment or pleasure for themselves: He called them “jazz parents”²⁰⁹ who were neglecting their children’s emotional needs, reflecting the new understanding of the home as a psychological family that could harm or help children’s development.²¹⁰ The conference organisers hoped their message would cause “lethargic parents” to be “shaken out of their trances.”²¹¹ In her address, Susan Dorsey, superintendent for Los Angeles City Schools, emphasised that “in Los Angeles we want help in the direction of educating both parents and children toward better school adjustments and better home adjustments.”²¹² Several speakers identified the nursery school as the means to achieve this goal due to its dual focus on children and their parents. Among them were Dr. Elizabeth Woods, director of psychology and educational research for Los Angeles City Schools, and Barbara Greenwood, who taught nursery education at UCLA and directed the laboratory nursery school.

While Woods and Greenwood would be involved as advisors to the Progressive School, it owed its start to a group of wealthy parents. The Progressive School opened in September 1927 serving children aged two to nine, with a nursery school programme for the youngest children. Its aim to educate parents was muted. Instead, it focused on developing “independent children who can think for themselves, express themselves freely and direct their activities with efficiency.”²¹³ The group of parents who founded the school was led by Adeline (Jaffe) Schulberg.²¹⁴ Schulberg, who was married to movie producer Benjamin Percival Schulberg, was keenly interested in progressive education; her son recalled that she considered Dewey to be more of a god than Hollywood stars of the day.²¹⁵ In contrast, Schulberg called the Montessori method “old

²⁰⁹ *The Los Angeles Times*, 16 December 1926, 19.

²¹⁰ Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869-1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).

²¹¹ *Los Angeles Evening Express*, 13 December 1926, 17.

²¹² Susan Dorsey, “The Objectives Are Stated,” *Modern Parenthood. Proceedings of the Southern California Conference held in Los Angeles, California, 1926* (Los Angeles: Southern California Society for Mental Hygiene, 1926), 13. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112064548198>

²¹³ *Los Angeles Times*, 28 August 1927, 68.

²¹⁴ Mik Moore, “Adeline Schulberg,” *Shalvi/Hyman Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, 31 December 1999, Jewish Women’s Archive: <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/schulberg-adeline-jaffe>.

²¹⁵ Bud Schulberg, *Moving Pictures: Memories of a Hollywood Prince* (New York: Stein & Day, 1981), 167.

fashioned”²¹⁶—Montessori had long been out of favour in the United States—and wanted the school to be an exemplar of a modern child-centred education. Schulberg’s wide-ranging interests included psychoanalysis, and she had connections with local mental health experts in her role as a member of the board of the Mental Hygiene Society of Los Angeles; she drew on their expertise in planning the school. Two members of the executive of the Southern California Society for Mental Hygiene were on the school’s advisory board: the Society’s president, Elizabeth Woods, and psychiatrist Edgar Van Norman Emery.

Schulberg had additional connections with the mental hygiene movement through her involvement with the Los Angeles Mothers’ Clinic, a eugenics initiative established in 1925 to “prevent the propagation of the unfit”²¹⁷ by providing information about birth control as well as contraceptives.²¹⁸ At various times, Schulberg was vice-president of the Mothers’ Clinic Association and programme coordinator for its fundraising events.²¹⁹ While her involvement with the clinic was in the tradition of Jewish women’s birth control activism and women’s philanthropy,²²⁰ her interest in birth control may also have incorporated the prevalent eugenics-based ideology.

Joining Schulberg in starting the school were Margaret (Prussing) Le Vino and Dorothy (Walter) Baruch.²²¹ Like Schulberg, they had young children who would be among its first students. Margaret Le Vino had studied at Bryn Mawr and was an actress and screenwriter. She was friends with Schulberg, who had involved her in a movie project at Paramount Studios. Dorothy Baruch also attended Bryn Mawr. Schulberg and Baruch were members of Congregation B’nai B’rith, later the Wilshire Boulevard Temple. Baruch organised and directed the Parent

²¹⁶ *The Morning Call* (Los Angeles), 23 October 1927, 9.

²¹⁷ *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, 22 April 1925, 2.

²¹⁸ Cathy Moran Hajo, *Birth Control on Main Street: Organizing Clinics in the United States, 1916-1939* (University of Illinois Press, 2010).

²¹⁹ Quote is from Alma Whitaker, “Schulberg’s Ex-Wife Molds New Career,” *The Los Angeles Times*, 9 October 1933, 20; also see Alma Whitaker, “On being an ‘ideal’ mother,” *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 1924, 25. In prior times, “she was not expected to psychoanalyze her babes.” Note: Mothers’ Clinic established in April/May 1925: *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, 22 April 1925, 2; Provided sterilization poor mothers based on ideas of eugenics: “It is to help prevent the propagation of this unfit 5 per cent that such organizations as the MCs are founded.” Associated: Dr. Brainerd, Dr. Jno. R. Haynes, Rose Weiner, Dr. Percival Gerson, Dr. Etta Gray, Mrs. Elizabeth McManus, Dr. Olga McNeil, Dr. Marshall Creamer, Dr. Frank Pottenger, Dr. Walter Brem, Dr. N. Dunsmoor.

²²⁰ Melissa R. Klapper, *Ballots, Babies, and Banners for Peace: American Jewish Women’s Activism, 1890-1940* (New York: NYU Press, 2013).

²²¹ Levino and Baruch’s participation in starting the school is noted in the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (1928), 29.

Education Department for the Council of Jewish Women in 1928.²²² She was an experienced teacher and operated a cooperative nursery school at her home²²³ that she incorporated into the Progressive School. Baruch assisted in organising and directing the school. From 1927 to 1932 she was a member of the board of directors and headed the school's education committee.²²⁴ During the same period, she was a student at the Broadoaks School of Education at Whittier College, where she later taught and served as director of its nursery school.²²⁵

The Progressive School was not a solitary outpost of progressive education in California. Helen Heffernan, chief of the Bureau of Elementary Education for California, supported progressive pedagogy in public schools at the state level. Heffernan was a staunch advocate of John Dewey's ideas and committed her career to spreading the "progressive gospel."²²⁶ Like Dewey, she considered classrooms to be "research laboratories for on-going curriculum evaluation and reconstruction"²²⁷ including for using progressive pedagogies. With this in mind, she created demonstration schools in rural areas in California in the 1920s, which were attended by hundreds of teachers each year.²²⁸ Another supporter of progressive education in California was Corinne Aldine Seeds. Seeds studied with William Kilpatrick at Teachers College, Columbia University, and was principal of the University Elementary School at UCLA, which she established in 1929 as a school for demonstrating Dewey-inspired pedagogy.²²⁹ The University Elementary School

²²² *The Pasadena Post*, 22 May 1932, 14.

²²³ She directed the Gramercy Cooperative Neighborhood Nursery in New York City from 1924 to 1927.

²²⁴ George F. M. Nellist, ed., *Pan-Pacific Who's Who: An International Reference Work* (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Honolulu, 1941), 44.

²²⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, 10 December 1929, 30; Ann Hurwitz, "Dorothy Walter Baruch," *The Shalvi/Hyman Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, 31 December 1999, Jewish Women's Archive: <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/baruch-dorothy-walter>. She completed a kindergarten certificate (1930), master of education in child research (1931), and bachelor of education (1931) at Broadoaks School of Education, where she was a member of the faculty and director of its laboratory school. In 1937 she completed her PhD at Claremont College and subsequently worked as a psychotherapist.²²⁵

²²⁶ Hellen Heffernan, "What is the Rural Teacher's Job," Unpublished manuscript, 1926, Helen Heffernan Papers, Special Collections & University Archives, University of California, Riverside. Cited in Morpeth, "Dynamic Leadership," 38.

²²⁷ Ruth Wright Morpeth, "Dynamic Leadership: Helen Heffernan and Progressive Education in California" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 1989), 171.

²²⁸ Morpeth, "Dynamic Leadership"; also see California State Curriculum Commission, *The Teacher's Guide to Child Development in the Primary Grades* (Sacramento: State Department of Education, 1930).

²²⁹ Kathleen Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling in California: The Legacy of Helen Heffernan and Corinne Seeds* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Irving J. Hendrick, "California's Response to the 'New Education' in the 1930's," *California Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (1974): 25-40; Morpeth, "Dynamic Leadership." Seeds recalled attending Dewey's lectures at Teachers College in the summer of 1919 (Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling*, 16). However, this would not have been the case. Dewey was in China at the time.

was considered to be “one of the most progressive schools in California,”²³⁰ and students trained at the UEL were recruited to teach at the Progressive School of Los Angeles.



Figure 10. Student teachers observing in the university elementary school, UCLA. Source: UCLA Library, University Archives: <https://picturingucla.library.ucla.edu/photos/universityarchives:32658>.

Despite their similarities, public schools and the progressive private schools for the elite had different objectives. The former was aimed at social reconstruction—Heffernan believed schools should “build a new social order,”²³¹ her ideas representing what Susan Semel called the social

²³⁰ Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling*, 25.

²³¹ Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling*, 17.

engineering strand of progressivism.²³² The Progressive School of Los Angeles, like many private progressive schools, was concerned with children's individual growth and development in general and their mental and emotional well-being in particular. It was not designed to produce students inclined to work for the common good.

The Progressive School of Los Angeles was embedded in the social world and celebrity culture of the Hollywood film industry. The school initially had an all-male board of trustees chaired by Schulberg's husband and with members including Margaret Levino's husband, screenwriter Albert S. Levino, and Dorothy Baruch's husband, Herbert M. Baruch, whose contracting firm built numerous Los Angeles landmarks including the Wilshire Boulevard Temple and the Hollywood Bowl.²³³ The board of trustees supported the school financially by covering its deficit and creating an endowed scholarships fund for parents unable to afford the tuition of \$40 per month.²³⁴ A separate board of directors undertook the practical management of the school: Margaret Le Vino was president, Ada Schulberg vice-president, and Dorothy Baruch secretary.²³⁵ The school benefitted from the social and business connections of the parents and planned many high-profile events. An exhibit of historic jewels modelled by actresses from Paramount Studios was used to raise funds for the endowed scholarships.²³⁶ A garden tea offered donors the opportunity to hear talks and mingle with "some of the most famous educators in the west" including the new president of the University of California, Robert G. Sproul.²³⁷ The guest list extended beyond education, reflecting its founders' networks: Others attending the garden tea included Hugh Lofting, author of the Dr. Dolittle books, Miriam Van Waters, who worked with the juvenile court, two California state senators, and a Russian film director working for Paramount.²³⁸

²³² Susan F. Semel, "Progressive Education," *Encyclopedia of the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education*, eds. Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., and Asterie Baker Provenzo (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), 619.

²³³ *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, 19 September 1927, 6; board listed in *Los Angeles Times*, 3 June 1928, 24.

²³⁴ *New York Daily News*, 13 November 1927, 64. The school's deficit was met by similar contributions for at least the first 6 years. See *The Los Angeles Times*, 27 August 1933, 36.

²³⁵ *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 September 1930, 47.

²³⁶ *Los Angeles Evening Express*, 6 December 1930, 7.

²³⁷ Greenwood's formal training was fairly limited. She completed a diploma from the Chicago Kindergarten Association and studied at Teachers College, Columbia University, in a summer session in 1911, taking a course with Grace Fulmer. *The Pomona Progress*, 10 June 1911, 3.

²³⁸ *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1930, 25.

The school's location at 2140 North Highland Avenue was linked to the film industry: It was an estate and former movie studio across from the Hollywood Bowl that was initially rented and later purchased by the school's board of directors.²³⁹ Coincidentally, a school had operated at the same address 10 years earlier.²⁴⁰ Maria Montessori opened the Hollywood Montessori School there in October 1917. She was in California to give brief training courses and attend her son's wedding. Montessori was involved in all aspects of her Hollywood school, managing admissions, supervising teaching, and ordering materials.²⁴¹ She described her enthusiasm for the city and its children in a talk at the Hollywood Women's Club, calling the city "a Paradise for children,"²⁴² by which she may have referred to the ability to hold classes out of doors for most of the year. The Montessori school moved to a new location before closing sometime in 1919.

²³⁹ *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, 19 September 1917, 6.

²⁴⁰ *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, 5 October 1917, 1. The article describes Mario as her son. The school opened October 8, 1917, before moving then closing at the end of the school year in 1919. *Sargent's Handbook of Private Schools 1920-1921* lists the school as open in 1920, but it likely closed after it went to publication. While it is often noted that Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. attended the Hollywood Montessori School, there is no record of it. He did, however, attend the Hollywood School for Girls in 1915-16 which may have had a Montessori program.

²⁴¹ *Los Angeles Times*, 3 October 1917, 22.

²⁴² *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, 9 November 1917, 3.

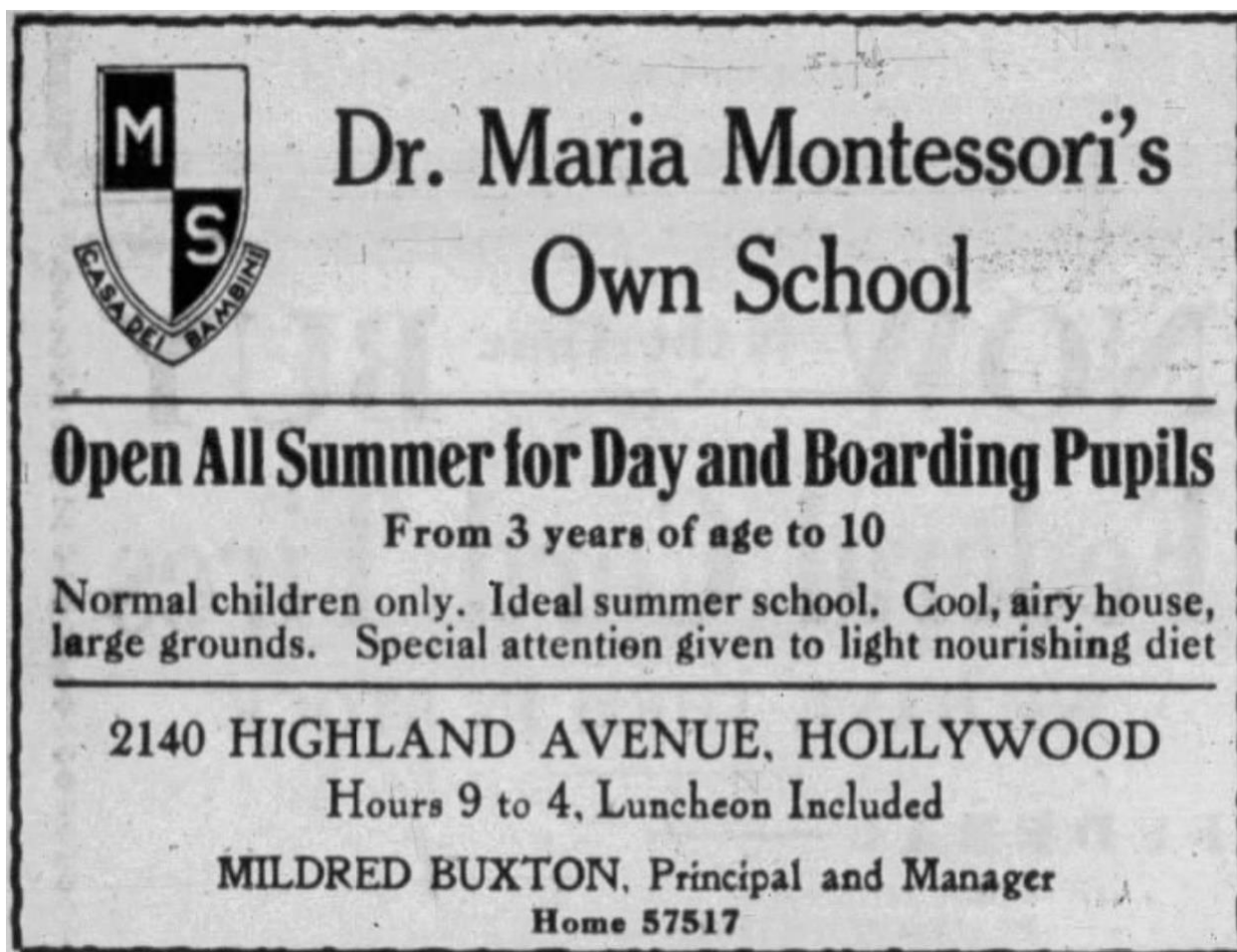


Figure 11. Advertisement for Montessori's school on Highland Avenue, *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, August 9, 1918, 6.

Smith Enters the Scene

The board of directors of the Progressive School of Los Angeles recruited Meredith Smith as the school's head. Frank Mankiewicz, who was a student at the Progressive School for six years, described the path leading to Smith's appointment in his memoir. His father worked as scriptwriter at Paramount, and Ada Schulberg had taken his parents "under her wing."²⁴³

When my mother and a group of her friends wanted to start a private school for their kids, they simply picked up the telephone and called the country's leading educational authority, John Dewey. . . . So, they asked Dewey to come out to Los Angeles and put a school together. Alas, Mr. Dewey was nearly seventy and thought such a task . . . was beyond his physical capability, but he offered to help these nice ladies. Dewey had, it seems, some ex-

²⁴³ Sydney Ladensohn Stern, *The Brothers: Hope, Heartbreak, and Hollywood Classics* (University Press of Mississippi, 2019), 71.

students and even protégés in Los Angeles, and he volunteered to see if, together, they could come up with a faculty and a new school for “the group.”²⁴⁴

Smith was not amongst those already in Los Angeles. The directors recruited her from New York to serve as the school’s first principal, likely with Dewey’s recommendation. Smith wrote Dewey from Los Angeles in July 1927 to express her condolences on the death of his wife, Alice. Smith revealed that the months leading up to her appointment at the school were a low point in her life and she had had suicidal thoughts. “But that feeling has passed away and now life is opening out in a new and interesting way. With the help of the board, and the faculty we have secured, I believe that I am going to be able to build up a—I was going to say—a great school if that would not sound too egotistical.”²⁴⁵ The school was organised quickly, and Barbara Greenwood assisted Smith to hire local teachers. Later, as the school grew, teachers were also recruited from the east using the Bureau of Educational Service at Teachers College.²⁴⁶

Smith developed the programme with a Deweyan focus on teaching via occupations. The school’s motto, “Learn by Doing,” was on a sign at the school’s entrance, with its designation as “A John Dewey School” written below.²⁴⁷ The children’s elaborate projects were similar to the work Smith directed at the School of Childhood in Pittsburgh the decade before. They were designed to introduce children to “the industrial processes that are essential to our civilization.”²⁴⁸ This focus was needed due to the separation of city life from industrial production in modern times. Smith detailed the children’s project work in an article titled “Science as Play” published in *Progressive Education* in 1928. It followed the steps of project work laid out by Teachers College professor William Kilpatrick—purposing, planning, executing, and evaluation—with the children involved at all stages.²⁴⁹ For a study of farming at the Progressive School, the children toured a dairy farm, cultivated individual plots of land on the school grounds, each with a barn, raised chickens, tended to cows they had “sawed and carved out of wood and painted as Jerseys and Holsteins,” tanned an actual cow hide and made crafts from the leather, and designed and built an

²⁴⁴ Frank Mankiewicz with Joel L. Swerdlow, *So As I Was Saying . . . : My Somewhat Eventful Life* (New York: Thomas Dunne, 2016), 20.

²⁴⁵ Meredith Smith to John Dewey, 24 July 1927, *Correspondence* (05640).

²⁴⁶ Elizabeth Brady and Eleanore Field in 1930. *Teachers College Record* 32, no. 1 (1930).

²⁴⁷ Frank Mankiewicz, *So As I Was Saying*, 20.

²⁴⁸ Smith, “Education,” 90.

²⁴⁹ William H. Kilpatrick, *Foundations of Method: Informal Talks on Teaching* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925).

irrigation system by diverting water from a creek on the school property, as shown in Figure 12.²⁵⁰ Smith's article included photographs of the children and their work, but teachers were not included.



LAKE DUG AND BED CEMENTED BY CHILDREN. RIVER BED DUG SO AS TO
PROVIDE FOR FALLS

Figure 12 (also Figure 1 on cover). Diverting water for an irrigation system. Source: Smith, "Science as Play," *Progressive Education* 6 (April 1929): 189.

Teaching of the three Rs was also a regular part of the day, and the curriculum met grade-level requirements.²⁵¹ Mankiewicz recalled that even as a first-grade student he needed to complete a

²⁵⁰ Rosalind Shaffer, "Unique School Found Success," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 June 1928, 23.

²⁵¹ *The Pasadena Post*, 4 February 1929, 7

fifty-question timed arithmetic quiz before moving to other activities. The stress on academics contrasted with the approach at the lab school at the University of Pittsburgh, where, under Smith's direction, children had complete freedom to choose their activities. In describing the lab school's approach, Smith had argued that reading had little relevancy for young children in the first grade. However, Mankiewicz's experience of the academic rigour of first grade was not shared by all of the children. Catherine Mulholland remembered practising the timetable when she attended the school at age seven at the same time as Mankiewicz, but for Mulholland it was an enjoyable activity undertaken with her teacher and the class sitting in a treehouse on the school grounds.²⁵² Mulholland recalled that she started the school day indoors with her eight third-grade classmates discussing current events, and they continued with art classes with local artists and French language lessons. But the day was mainly spent outdoors on student-initiated project work. Mulholland's class went on 22 field trips, including to Paramount Studios and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, where the children met with William Mulholland, Catherine's grandfather, who designed the Los Angeles aqueducts. One of Mulholland's classmates was Sonya Schulberg, Ada Schulberg's daughter, whose obituary noted the influence of her time at the school, where she "learned to follow her talents for observing nature and telling stories, but not to add or spell."²⁵³

Children's storytelling was the subject of a research project at the school led by Dorothy Baruch, a member of the board of directors. The Progressive School was one of four research sites that included the Normandie Nursery School operated by Los Angeles Public Schools, a private nursery school operated by UCLA nursery education graduate Evelyn Schrouder Bell in her home, and Broadoaks Nursery School at Whittier College in Pasadena. Baruch was studying for her master's degree at Broadoaks School of Education, Whittier College, at the time of the research, and she also taught at Broadoaks.²⁵⁴ The focus on learning outdoors at the Progressive School of Los Angeles was no doubt influenced by Baruch's experience at Broadoaks.²⁵⁵

²⁵² Catherine Mulholland, "Times Lost," *LA Weekly*, 21-27 September 1990, 139.

²⁵³ "Sonya O'Sullivan, Writer and Nature Lover," *Vineyard Gazette*, 9 June 2016. <https://vineyardgazette.com/obituaries/2016/06/09/sonya-osullivan-writer-and-nature-lover>

²⁵⁴ *The Pasadena Post*, 6 June, 1931, 9.

²⁵⁵ Sharon Stine, *Landscapes for Learning: Creating Outdoor Environments for Children and Youth* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 1997).

Baruch published her research in a book for young children and their teachers entitled *Blimps & Such* in 1932.²⁵⁶ She added as her co-authors the “many children who are still very young.” Smith is not known to have contributed to the research, but as director she would have needed to support the project. Moreover, it illustrated an approach to teaching as research in the nursery school. In *Blimps & Such*, Baruch compiled children’s stories with illustrations, and in a section for adults she described the methodology for collecting children’s stories as a guide for teachers in their own classrooms. All of the children’s stories originated as spontaneous language, and teachers were encouraged to routinely record it in notebooks during play time. What Baruch called children’s unconscious storytelling was similar to what Lev Vygotsky referred to as private speech, which he and his colleague Alexander Luria theorised served to guide and control their behaviour. Luria presented a paper on the topic at the Ninth International Psychological Congress at Yale in 1929, in which he critiqued Piaget’s concept of egocentric speech as related to cognitive immaturity.²⁵⁷ I have found no evidence that Baruch was aware of the work of Vygotsky and Luria or of Piaget taking place in the 1920s. Moreover, she did not theorise children’s storytelling. Instead, Baruch was drawn to study storytelling by the rhythm and pattern of children’s language and the joy they took in expressing themselves. Recording children’s stories was also a way for teachers to determine children’s interests.

Stories were not used as a way to understand children’s inner psychology; rather, listening to children—what Baruch called hearing them—was a way to affirm the importance of individual children and their stories. Baruch acknowledged that observing and recording stories in this way could be difficult to learn. She advised teachers to “watch for moving lips when children are at activities or just through activities and then unobtrusively record what is being said verbatim.”²⁵⁸ The teacher reviewed the record later to identify the “story” and add punctuation to help with the rhythm of rereading but without otherwise changing the transcript. With practice, teachers learn to hear children’s stories—that is, recognise their self-talk as stories—and can easily gather them while observing children’s play. Hearing children in this way depended on children being engaged

²⁵⁶ Dorothy Walter Baruch, *Blimps & Such* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932).

²⁵⁷ Lev S. Vygotsky and Alexander Luria, “The Function and Fate of Egocentric Speech,” *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Psychology*, 464-5.

²⁵⁸ Baruch, *Blimps*, 75.

in freely chosen play and on teachers being committed to being unobtrusive to the point that children were unaware of their presence.

Smith left the Progressive School in 1930 to lead another school named for Dewey. The reasons for her departure are unknown. Eleanore Field took Smith's place as director.²⁵⁹ Field had been Smith's classmate at Teachers College, Columbia, fifteen years before, and she had worked as a director of a progressive school in the east. The reasons for starting another private progressive school are also unknown. Like the Progressive School, the John Dewey School was founded by a group of affluent parents, though most did not have a direct connection with the movie industry. The school was located in a Sunset Boulevard mansion with surrounding grounds for learning out of doors. One of the founders was Helen Greeley, who had been a student at the University of Chicago laboratory school.²⁶⁰ Greeley believed her time at Dewey's school gave her useful insights as a parent: "I was understood by my teachers. . . . I know what it means to be a child and guided from that premise. Instead of being forced into an adult imitation I was definitely allowed to be a child."²⁶¹ Dewey endorsed the Los Angeles school: He consented to its being named after him and gave a talk to the parents when he was in the city to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of California at Los Angeles.²⁶² While there, he also visited the Progressive School, in which he had played a part by recommending Smith as its director.²⁶³ When he returned to visit Los Angeles in 1931, Dewey was the guest of honour at a dinner hosted by the organizers of the school. Smith attended, along with members of the advisory board Dr. Elizabeth Woods—who was also a member of the advisory board of the Progressive School—and Dr. Charles Waddell, director of teacher training at UCLA.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, 29 September 1930, 7; *Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1930, 32.

²⁶⁰ "John Dewey School to Open Soon," *The Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1930, 30.

²⁶¹ Helen Russell, Edwards Family Papers, File 44-5, Box 44, 1485, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University.

²⁶² John Dewey to Louise Romig, 28-29 March 1930, *Correspondence* (08230).

²⁶³ "Mind Educated through Handicraft," *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 September 1930, 47.

²⁶⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, 12 January 1931, 18.

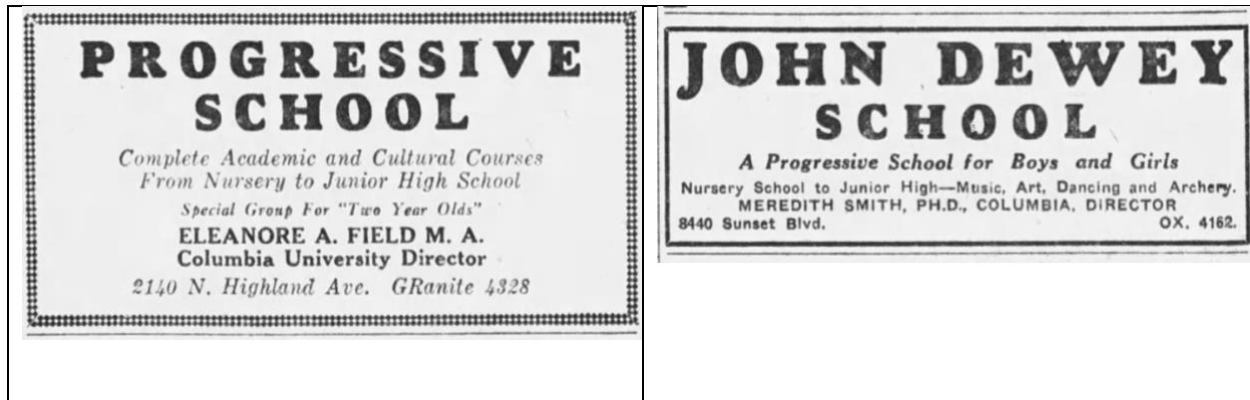


Figure 13. Advertisements for the Progressive School and John Dewey School, *Los Angeles Times*, 25 January 1931, 50.

According to Smith, the John Dewey School's approach was to provide children with individualised attention to support the development of their "inner life," which she called the hallmark of new education.²⁶⁵ She had gained an interest and expertise in psychology. In 1936 she spoke on personality adjustments of young children at a conference for educational administrators in Utah,²⁶⁶ and she was invited to join the Psychoanalytic Study Group of Los Angeles.²⁶⁷

The Progressive School of Los Angeles changed its name to the Highland Hills School in 1953, reflecting its shift to traditional pedagogies in the midst of a Red Scare and antagonism toward progressive education and liberalism. The school's director, Clara K. Dugan, in seeking to distinguish it from the progressive school of the past, crafted a somewhat confused description: "The institution is a modern school as distinguished from the completely progressive. Its modified progressive curriculum seeks to combine the best elements in fundamental and progressive education."²⁶⁸ The school closed in 1956 when the property was expropriated by the city of Los Angeles to be used for a parking lot for the Hollywood Bowl. The fate of the John Dewey School is unknown; however, advertisements for the school ended in 1938. In the same year, Smith undertook to establish a new school in Los Angeles, which failed to find support.²⁶⁹ Smith lived in Los Angeles until 1952, working as an author of children's readers and an acquisitions editor

²⁶⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, 22 June 1934, 9.

²⁶⁶ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 June 1936.

²⁶⁷ Meredith Smith to Margrit Libbin, 29 October 1935, Dr. Ernest Simmel Papers, RG-08.03, Archival Collections, New Center for Psychoanalysis, Los Angeles.

²⁶⁸ *Los Angeles Evening Citizen News*, 30 August 1951, 4.

²⁶⁹ E. R. Hedrick to John Dewey, 17 June 1938, *Correspondence*, 17321.

for publishers.²⁷⁰ She taught a course on writing for children at UCLA and incorporated a research approach in the writing process: “Publishers, like parents and teachers, have changed their point of view since modern research has begun to show us what children are really like—how they grow, and what they need to grow on, mentally as well as physically.”²⁷¹

Summing Up

Meredith Smith’s ideas about observation-based research were rooted in her understanding of child development and pedagogy. Throughout her long career she was guided by the principle that meaningful education needed to start with the child, an idea common to both Froebel and Dewey. Teaching in this way was complex, requiring firsthand observation and professional judgement to make teaching decisions for individual children. Smith’s professional knowledge was seen to shift, from a basis in Froebel’s esoteric idea of life unification having God at the centre-point, to being aligned with Dewey’s transactional theory of knowing, which held that knowledge was constructed socially and in a context. Smith’s move toward a liberal approach was gradual: after her initial training she worked as a Froebelian teacher in Omaha kindergartens for 18 years. As a Froebelian her observations were focused on children’s work with the gifts and occupations, which was believed to be a window to a child’s inner life. In Smith’s studies at Teachers College, Columbia University, Froebel’s contribution to progressive education was marginalized, and Smith’s subsequent connections with Froebelian education were not readily apparent. In courses with Patty Smith Hill she learned to observe children’s free play as a strategy for teaching. As children experimented with materials, teachers were to remain “passive and observant”²⁷², unobtrusive to the point that children were not aware of their presence. Teachers used what they learned from observations to conduct further classroom experiments, for example, by introducing new materials or arranging them in novel ways and, once again, observing children’s responses.

In her reflections on the Malting House School in the UK, Evelyn Lawrence wrote that “the aim of the teachers is as far as possible to refrain from teaching.”²⁷³ As Helen May explains in her paper, Lawrence was making the point that teachers needed to refrain from didactic teaching

²⁷⁰ *Daily News* (Los Angeles), 7 March 1940, 12.

²⁷¹ *Daily News* (Los Angeles), 7 March 1940, 12.

²⁷² Nora Atwood, *Kindergarten Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 124.

²⁷³ Evelyn Lawrence, “The Malting House School,” *National Froebel Foundation Bulletin* 56 (1949): 4.

in order to be co-investigators with children. Teachers used observation as a way to understand the questions or problems they were exploring. Their approach was similar to Smith's experience at the University of Pittsburgh laboratory school, where teachers were trained to use nonintrusive strategies including observation to determine how to support children's learning. This resulted in teaching processes being interiorized, made "invisible" in the words of sociologist Basil Bernstein.²⁷⁴ Of course, children's learning processes in their play were also interiorized or invisible: Teachers observed their actions and interpreted them as evidence of learning. Similar assumptions were made in the field of child analysis in the play techniques worked out by Melanie Klein, where analysts interpreted actions as expressions of emotions or ideas.

²⁷⁴ Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes, and Control (Vol. 4): The Structuring of Pedagogical Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), 68.

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