

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Helen Greeley, quoted in Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), 406. While both Mayhew and Edwards worked on the book, Anna Camp Edwards wrote all but one chapter (see Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, ix); nonetheless, I have referred throughout my book to both Mayhew and Edwards as the authors of *The Dewey School*, as that is how they chose to attribute the book's authorship.
2. John Dewey to Alice Dewey and children, July 12, 1894 (00158) *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). See Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 318, where Menand, citing this quote, discusses Dewey's reaction to Chicago, and earlier, on page 305, where Menand discusses University of Chicago sociologist Albion Small's description of Chicago as a "vast sociological laboratory." When it opened, the Laboratory School was called the University Elementary School.
3. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009), 225–226. On this era, see also John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in John Higham, ed., *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970), 73–102.
4. William James to Sarah Wyman Whitman, October 29, 1903 (09546), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). On pragmatism, see (among others) James Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

5. Fellow pragmatist Charles Sanders Peirce is often credited with the phrase, and certainly the concept, of a “community of inquiry.” See Matthew Lipman, *Thinking in Education* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20. On Peirce, see also R. Jackson Wilson, *In Quest of Community* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968), 46.
6. Jane Dewey, “Biography of John Dewey,” in P.A. Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1939), 29–30.
7. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 373.
8. Robert Westbrook argues that the Laboratory School was “above all an experiment in industrial democracy,” or workplace democracy. See Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 88. On Dewey’s “organic circuit” theory, see my discussion in Ch. 3.
9. John Dewey, “Democracy in Education,” *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 4 (December, 1903), 198. See also Ella Flagg Young, *Isolation in the School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901).
10. Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 4.
11. Helen Greeley, quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 406.
12. Throughout this book, when referring to the women before marriage, I will use their original family names; when referring to them after marriage, I will use their married names: Anna Camp Edwards, Katherine Camp Mayhew, Althea Harmer Bardeen, and Mary Hill Swope. One exception is when I occasionally refer to Mayhew and Edwards, in connection with their 1936 book *The Dewey School*, as the Camp sisters. Biographical sketches of the four teachers at the center of this study are outlined in Ch. 2.
13. For the phrase “circle of friends,” see George Herbert Mead to Jane Addams, December 1, 1910, Jane Addams Collection, Swarthmore College (on microfilm). Mead wrote, “May I add my affectionate appreciation—the appreciation which I feel whenever I think of what you are to Chicago and to those who are fortunate enough to feel that they belong to the circle of your friends.” Ellen Condliffe Lagemann describes this as the “creative community” that formed in Chicago around the Laboratory School. See Lagemann, “The Plural Worlds of Educational Research,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 29, 2 (1989), 195.
14. In *The Dewey School* appendices, the authors include a list of teachers and assistants, and of those listed, 80 were women and 31 were men. (In addition, two were listed just by initials, and one just by the title of Dr.) See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, Appendix III, 479–480. Just as importantly, of a total of 13 members of the Laboratory School community who were listed as authors of articles on the school, three were men (and that included John Dewey), and ten were women. See “A List of Articles by Teachers

- in the Dewey school,” box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. For a philosophical analysis of the intersections of pragmatism and feminism at the Laboratory School and Hull House, see Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*. On Hull House as a women’s institution, see Maurice Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 25–27.
15. On the “New Woman,” see Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women’s Movement in America, 1875–1930* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).
 16. Alice Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, July 3, 1898 and July 2, 1898, Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. On the bicycle craze in late nineteenth-century Chicago, see Perry R. Duis, *Challenging Chicago: Coping with Everyday Life, 1837–1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
 17. As I shall discuss in later chapters, many of these hopes would be dashed for women in the early decades of the twentieth century.
 18. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 312.
 19. John Dewey, Introduction to Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, xiii, and “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” Appendix II in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464–468.
 20. Robert Westbrook, “Dewey’s Truth,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 20, 3 (Autumn, 1980), 351.
 21. Dewey, “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464–468.
 22. Katherine Camp Mayhew, notes taken at mother’s luncheon, October 15, 1928, in Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), box 12, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 23. Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, early draft of Chapter III: Experimental Practices Developing the Curriculum, page 14, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 24. John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1939), 176.
 25. Dewey, “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464–468.
 26. John Dewey, “Psychology of Occupations,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (April 1900), 82. On the occupations as the “common center” of the curriculum, see Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 43. On the occupations at the Laboratory School, see Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 69–74.

27. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 256. See also Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 323.
28. Alice Chipman Dewey, unpublished manuscript on The University Elementary School, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library; and John Dewey, *The School and Society* [1900] and *The Child and the Curriculum* [1902] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
29. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 167–168.
30. *Ibid.*, 271. As Robert Westbrook argues, “It is apparent why Dewey identified science with democracy and pragmatism with both. Science was most significant to him as the exemplar of a progressive, participatory, problem-solving approach to experience by a cooperative community in search of shared meanings. Conceived in this fashion, scientific method was the method of democratic community.” See Westbrook, “Dewey’s Truth,” 349.
31. John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1929), 245–246. This quote appears in slightly different form in Ross Posnock, *The Trial of Curiosity: Henry James, William James, and the Challenge of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 87–88.
32. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 373.
33. On the Progressive Era, see Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998); and Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
34. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* [1910] (New York: Signet Classics, 1961). See also Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams*, 159–161.
35. “Dewey’s Labs,” *Newsweek*, June 3, 1963, 75.
36. Flora Cooke, “Review of *The Dewey School*,” *Progressive Education*, XIV, 3 (March 1937), 218. Cooke worked with Colonel Francis Parker at the Cook County Normal School, and then was appointed principal of the Francis Parker Elementary School on the city’s North Side. The changed Laboratory School continued (and still exists today) as the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools. The demise of Dewey’s Laboratory School will be discussed in Ch. 6.
37. Althea Harmer, “Textile Industries,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (1900), 79. Others at the Laboratory School used the term “constructive imagination.” See Lillian Cushman, “Principles of Education

- as Applied to Art,” *The Elementary School Record*, 1, 1 (February 1900), 3; Dewey, *The School and Society*, 11; and Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, 29 December [1899], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10; University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
38. See Richard Allington, *Big Brother and the National Reading Curriculum: How Ideology Trumped Evidence* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002); Susan Eaton, *The Children in Room E4* (New York: Algonquin Books, 2007); Anita Ede, “Scripted Curriculum: Is It a Prescription for Success?,” *Childhood Education* 83, 1 (Fall 2006), 29–32; Donald H. Graves, *Testing is Not Teaching: What Should Count in Education* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002); David Kauffman, “Curriculum Prescription and Curriculum Constraint: Second-year Teachers’ Perceptions” (Cambridge, MA: NGT Working Paper, 2005); Linda McNeil, *The Contradictions of School Reform: Educational Costs of Standardized Testing* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Deborah Meier, *In Schools We Trust: Creating Communities of Learning in an Era of Testing* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002) and *Will Standards Save Public Education?* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000); Vivian Troen and Katherine C. Boles, *Who’s Teaching Your Children?* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); and Greg Winter, “Make-or-Break Exams Grow, but Big Study Doubts Value,” *The New York Times*, December 28, 2002, A1, A15.. On mathematics, see Bill Jacob, “Implementing Standards: The California Mathematics Textbook Debacle,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, 83, 3 (November 2001), 264–272. There is also evidence of a narrowing of the curriculum in schools across the nation, as they focus on these high-stakes subjects; see Richard Rothstein, *Grading Education: Getting Accountability Right* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2008); and Claus von Zastrow and Helen Zanc, *Academic Atrophy: The Condition of the Liberal Arts in America’s Public Schools* (Washington, DC: Council for Basic Education, 2004).
39. For literature in support of Open Court, see Daniel Gursky, “What Works for Reading,” *American Teacher*, 82 (March 1998), 12–13. Gursky cites an AFT Publication that includes Open Court among “Seven Promising Reading and English Language Arts Programs.” For research challenging the efficacy of Open Court, see Gerald Coles, *Misreading Reading: The Bad Science that Hurts Children* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), especially chs. 3, 4, and 5.
40. Susan Ohanian, *One Size Fits Few* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999). My experience reflected what D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly characterize as the prevailing expectations regarding curriculum: “that schools and teachers will learn to do well what the thinkers and policymakers tell them to do.” See D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly, “Teacher as Curriculum

- Maker,” in Philip W. Jackson, ed., *Handbook of Research on Curriculum: A Project of the American Educational Research Association* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 379. See also William F. Pinar, *What is Curriculum Theory?* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004). Pinar maintains that teacher unions have contributed to this situation, arguing that: “By ignoring pressing professional concerns such as discretion over curriculum content and the means by which its study is assessed, union leaders have failed to mobilize America’s teachers or to persuade the American public that quality public education is worth paying for” (177).
41. Certainly a lack of adequate resources in many schools, especially in impoverished schools, is a connected problem that is too infrequently acknowledged as a reason for academic troubles. For instance, many in California in the 1980s and 1990s condemned whole language methods while schools lacked class sets of books, well-stocked school libraries, and manageable class sizes. See Stephen Krashen, “Whole Language and the Great Plummet of 1987–1992,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, 83, 10 (June 2002), 748–753.
 42. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 366. In her 1997 work on the Laboratory School, Laurel Tanner discusses this quote by Dewey, and concludes: “There is clearly a lesson to be drawn here, and Dewey as much as said it: Avoid extremes. We have not paid attention. He would have been troubled by the general lack of intellectual freedom for elementary teachers, on the one hand, and the failure to give teachers assistance where needed, on the other.” Laurel Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School: Lessons for Today* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997), 69.
 43. Such practices might also ensure that the teachers most interested in such roles remain in the profession. See Barbara Benham Tye and Lisa O’Brian, “Why Are Experienced Teachers Leaving the Profession?” *Phi Delta Kappan*, 84, 1 (September 2002), 24–32, for their claim that some teachers are leaving the profession because of standardization measures that diminish their intellectual freedom.
 44. Nature of the report of third period, transcribed conversation among John Dewey, Anna Camp Edwards, and Katherine Camp Mayhew, box 22, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Historian Robert Crunden questioned the accuracy of the Mayhew and Edwards account of the school, claiming that from a distance of time, the sisters surely distorted the aims and results of the school. See Robert Crunden, “Essay,” in John D. Buenker, John C. Burnham, and Robert M. Crunden, eds., *Progressivism* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1977), 103. But in his introduction to *The Dewey School*, John Dewey maintained, “The account of the Laboratory

School contained in the pages that follow is so adequate as to render it unnecessary for me to add anything to what is said about its origin, aims, and methods.” He added that: “Because of their long connection with the school, the authors have a first-hand knowledge, while their responsible share in the work of the school has enabled them to make an authoritative statement of its underlying ideas, its development, and the details of its operation.” See John Dewey’s Introduction to Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, xiii. As archival records such as this recorded conversation attest, Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards worked closely with Dewey to complete the book, and relied heavily upon the written record of the school, including teachers’ reports and published articles. Mayhew and Edwards solicited remembrances of the school from teachers, parents, and students, whom they quoted, along with Dewey, throughout the text. In several instances, they borrowed from articles published by the teachers in *The Elementary School Record* and *The Elementary School Teacher*, usually with citations, but occasionally without. When I have caught these unattributed cases, I have cited both the original and *The Dewey School* pages.

45. John Dewey, “Democracy in Education,” 197. See Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 89, for his discussion of this quote. For Jane Addams’s related views, see Louise Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 401; and Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*.

CHAPTER 1

1. John Dewey to Frank A. Manny, January **, 1897 (01871), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). For a discussion of a related assessment in Dewey’s autobiographical essay, see Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (NY: W. W. Norton, 1995), 81. For this essay, see John Dewey, “From Absolutism to Experimentalism” [1930], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *The Later Works, Vol. 5: 1929–1930* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 147–160.
2. My findings regarding the importance of such collective intellectual endeavors for Dewey stands in some contrast to the work of Neil Coughlan, who maintains that “provincial isolation” prevailed in the United States until the 1890s. See his *Young John Dewey: An Essay in American Intellectual History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 108–112. My research indicates that during the years up to and including his Chicago period, Dewey indeed sought out associations with others engaged in various forms of social experimentation.

3. Fellow pragmatist Charles Sanders Peirce is often credited with the phrase, and certainly the concept of, a “community of inquiry.” See Matthew Lipman, *Thinking in Education* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20; and Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005). On Peirce, see also R. Jackson Wilson, *In Quest of Community* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968), 46. The teacher quoted is Katharine Andrews Healy, writing to Katherine Camp Mayhew, undated, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
4. In the early part of the century, the Dewey family also visited Byrdcliffe, the Arts and Crafts colony in Woodstock, New York. See Tom Wolf, *Eva Watson-Schutze: Photographer* (New Paltz, NY: Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art, State University of New York at New Paltz, 2009).
5. Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), xiii–xiv.
6. Jane Dewey, “Biography of John Dewey,” in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, P.A. Schilpp, ed. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1939), 3.
7. John Dewey, “From Absolutism to Experimentalism.” In their essay on John Dewey, Elizabeth Flower and Murray Murphey argue that both the autobiographical essay and biographical essay were “fudged.” See the chapter on Dewey in their volume, *A History of Philosophy in America*, Volume 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1977), 813. Larry Hickman, Director of the Center for Dewey Studies, argues that these essays should be considered memoirs, and not error-free accounts of fact and chronology. (See private e-mail correspondence of October 13, 2008). In his introduction to the online resource *The Correspondence of John Dewey*, Vol. 1, 1871–1918, Hickman further argues that we must rely on Dewey’s correspondence to “understand the man behind the writing.” See John Dewey’s letters, exhaustively edited by the Center for Dewey Studies and published in digital form as *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). In my discussion of Dewey’s life, therefore, I will rely on more recent biographical studies, but will look to Jane Dewey’s biographical essay, John Dewey’s autobiographical essay, as well as the Dewey correspondence, when corroborated by the recent studies, to provide direct testimony from Dewey and his family regarding his own understanding of his life and influences.
8. For full-length biographical studies of John Dewey, see Coughlan, *Young John Dewey*; George Dykuizen, *The Life and Mind of John*

- Dewey* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1973); Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Ryan, *John Dewey*; and Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).
9. This study will also rely on the related body of work on the history of pragmatism. See Theo Anderson, "One Hundred Years of Pragmatism," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 31, 3 (Summer 2007), 27–35; Richard Bernstein, "The Resurgence of Pragmatism," *Social Research*, 59 (Winter 1992), 813–840; David Hollinger, "The Problem of Pragmatism in American History," *Journal of American History*, 67, 1 (June 1980), 88–107; James Kloppenberg, "Pragmatism: An Old Name for Some New Ways of Thinking?," *Journal of American History*, 83, 1 (June 1996), 100–138, and *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1986); Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001); C. Wright Mills, *Sociology and Pragmatism* (New York: Paine-Whitman, 1964); Robert Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2006); Alan Ryan, "Deweyan Pragmatism and American Education," in Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, ed., *Philosophers on Education: New Historical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 394–401; R. W. Sleeper, *The Necessity of Pragmatism: John Dewey's Conception of Philosophy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); and Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*. My work here will be to integrate these often overlapping lines of analysis—bringing together biography with intellectual and social history.
 10. See Mills, *Sociology and Pragmatism*, 75–76, on the family backgrounds of John Dewey, William James, George Herbert Mead, Charles Sanders Peirce, and James Tufts. While Dewey's family was friendly with such academics as James B. Angell, his father was a shopkeeper, and his mother, while from a more privileged background than his father, was steeped more in religion than in academic studies.
 11. Coughlan, *Young John Dewey*, 10.
 12. In his autobiographical essay, John Dewey addresses this risk; see his "From Absolutism," 150. See also Coughlan, *Young John Dewey*, 15–20; and Flower and Murphey, *A History of Philosophy*, 815. Coughlan discusses the struggles of George Herbert Mead and his brother-in-law, Henry Castle, and on their assessment of the problems of aspiring philosophers who were agnostics. (117)
 13. Max Eastman, "John Dewey: My Teacher and Friend," in his *Great Companions: Critical Memoirs of Some Famous Friends* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959), 258.
 14. Arthur Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator: His Design for Work in Education* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), 7.
 15. Westbrook, *John Dewey*, 30.

16. See Ryan, *John Dewey*, on democracy and the scientific method in Dewey's formulation of pragmatism.
17. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 15. On the history of Johns Hopkins, see John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 112, 117.
18. On Dewey's early career, see Coughlan, *Young John Dewey*; Flower and Murphey, *A History of Philosophy*; Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*; Ryan, *John Dewey*; and Westbrook, *John Dewey*.
19. John Dewey, "From Absolutism," 22.
20. Lewis Feuer, "John Dewey and the Back to the People Movement in American Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20 (1959), 555.
21. See Feuer, "John Dewey," on the Samovar Club and their reading of Turgenev, whom Feuer calls the "novelist of the Russian back to the people movement." (548)
22. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 20.
23. See Irene Hall, "The Unsung Partner: The Educational Work and Philosophy of Alice Chipman Dewey," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2005.
24. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 21.
25. Eastman, "John Dewey," 273.
26. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 25.
27. On Dewey and religion, Alan Ryan claims that 1891 was a "turning point" for Dewey ("insofar as anything so untroubled could be a turning point") when he ceased to be "conventionally religious." See Ryan, *John Dewey*, 29. On Mead's more anguished religious struggles, see Gary A. Cook, *George Herbert Mead: The Making of a Social Pragmatist* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), especially ch. 1.
28. See John Dewey's comments in a tribute to Mead after his death, 13–14, in George Herbert Mead memorial booklet, in George Herbert Mead Papers, Box 1a, Folder 18, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.
29. Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 119. See also Coughlan, *Young John Dewey*; Mills, *Sociology and Pragmatism*, ch. 5; Ryan, *John Dewey*; Westbrook, *John Dewey*.
30. On coeducation at the University of Michigan and elsewhere during this period, see Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History Of Coeducation in America," in John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe, eds., *Women and Higher Education: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1988), 107–129. On the University of Michigan and President Angell, see Ruth Bordin, *Women at Michigan: The "Dangerous Experiment, 1870s to the Present* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Howard H. Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817–1992* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press,

- 1994); and Brian A. Williams, "Thought and Action: John Dewey at the University of Michigan," *Bentley Historical Library Bulletin*, 44 (July 1998), 1–36.
31. See ch. 2 on the Camp family.
 32. Ryan, *John Dewey*, 107.
 33. See Westbrook, *John Dewey*, 94. See also Williams, "Thought and Action."
 34. John Dewey to Jane Addams, January 27, 1892 (00475) *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 35. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 29–30. Charlene Haddock Seigfried argues that Jane Addams was a pioneer in exploring, through her settlement house work, how the relation between democracy and morality developed into a pragmatist ethics. See Charlene Haddock Seigfried, "Introduction" to Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002, first 1902), x. See also Seigfried's *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and "Socializing Democracy: Jane Addams and John Dewey," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 29 (June 1999), 207–230. For an excellent biography of Addams, see Louise Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005); on the early connections between Dewey and Addams, see 237–240. For an insightful explanation of the relationship between Dewey and Addams, see also Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, ch. 12.
 36. William Knight, ed., *Memorials of Thomas Davidson the Wandering Scholar* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1907), 55.
 37. See Knight, *Citizen*, endnote 26, page 478, on the likelihood that John Dewey and Jane Addams met through Dewey's University of Michigan colleague Henry Adams, who was also friends with Addams's friend Henry Demarest Lloyd. On Henry Demarest Lloyd and his work with the Glenmore Summer School, see Chester Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 243. On the Farmington School of Ethics and Glenmore, see Knight, *Memorials of Thomas Davidson*.
 38. Jane Dewey, "Biography," 30.
 39. Mary Foster, "Recollections of Glenmore," in Knight, ed., *Memorials of Thomas Davidson*, 72.
 40. Paul Schneider, *The Adirondacks* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997). George Prochnik has written an informative study of Putnam Camp: see his *Putnam Camp: Sigmund Freud, James Jackson Putnam, and the Purpose of American Psychology* (New York: Other Press, 2006). On her experiences in Keene Valley, see Charlotte Perkins Gilman,

- The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* [1935] (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 229–231. See also Ryan, *John Dewey*, 123.
41. Dewey, “From Absolutism,” 157. See also Dykuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 68; and Kloppenbergh, *Uncertain Victory*, 44.
 42. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 304–305, on Dewey’s work on democratic theory during his Ann Arbor years. On Dewey’s place in the context of the development of the American curriculum, and the influence of figures such as Francis Parker, William Torrey Harris, G. Stanley Hall, and Johann Friedrich Herbart, see Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).
 43. See Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 87–88, on Dewey’s idea of workplace democracy. For an early article on democracy, see John Dewey, “The Ethics of Democracy” [1888], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed. *John Dewey: The Early Works, 1882–1898*, Vol. 1 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 227–249.
 44. As Cheryl Misak asserts, in her review of Westbrook’s *Democratic Hope*, “The pragmatist account of truth links truth with inquiry or deliberation.” See “Review,” *Transaction of the Charles Sanders Peirce Society*, 42, 2 (2006), 280. See also Ryan, *John Dewey*. On Dewey’s Ann Arbor years, see also Willinda Savage, “The Evolution of John Dewey’s Philosophy of Experimentalism as Developed at the University of Michigan,” Unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 1950.
 45. James Tufts quoted in Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 138.
 46. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, ch. 3. See also Anna Camp Edwards’s essay in Appendix I of *The Dewey School*, “The Evolution of Mr. Dewey’s Principles of Education,” 447.
 47. On the Laboratory School, in addition to Mayhew and Edwards (1936), see also Martin Bickman, *Minding American Education: Reclaiming the Tradition of Active Learning* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2003); Ida B. DePencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools: The University of Chicago, 1896–1965* (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1967); Anne Durst, “‘The Union of Intellectual Freedom and Cooperation’: Learning from the University of Chicago’s Laboratory School Community, 1896–1904,” *Teachers College Record*, 107, 5 (2005), 958–984; James Scott Johnston, *Inquiry and Education: John Dewey and the Quest for Democracy* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2006); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “Experimenting with Education: John Dewey and Ella Flagg Young at the University of Chicago,” *American Journal of Education*, 104 (May 1996), 171–185; Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000); Aaron Schutz,

- “John Dewey’s Conundrum: Can Democratic Schools Empower?” *Teachers College Record*, 103, 2 (April 2001), 267–302; Laurel Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School: Lessons for Today* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*; and Arthur G. Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator: His Design for Work in Education (1894–1904)* (Huntington, NY: Robert E. Kreiger Publishing Company, 1979).
48. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 7–8.
 49. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 1, 1894 (00218), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). See Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, and particularly his chapter on “Pullman and the Professor,” for an excellent discussion of the beginnings of the Laboratory School. A number of the quotes from Dewey’s letters that I cite here appear also in Westbrook’s chapter.
 50. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 1, 1894 (00218), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 51. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 22, 1894 (00236), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 52. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 1, 1894 (00218), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 53. See Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School*, 112. On Rice’s study of American schools, see Kliebard, *Struggle*, 20–24.
 54. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, November 22, 1894 (00236), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 55. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “The Plural Worlds of Educational Research,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 29, 2 (1989), 195. See also Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000). On the Chicago community, see also Mary Jo Deegan, Introduction to George Herbert Mead, *Play, School, and Society* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), xxiii; and Jean Block, *Eva Watson-Schutz: Chicago Photo-Secessionist* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985). On a similar “cooperative community,” see Joyce Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).
 56. See Knight, *Citizen*, 240.
 57. This will be discussed further in later chapters. On Chicago reform thought, see Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988).

58. John Dewey to Alice Dewey and children, July 12, 1894 (00158), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 318, for a discussion of this quote and Dewey’s reaction to his new home. See also Menand’s discussion of University of Chicago sociologist Albion Small’s description of Chicago as a “vast sociological laboratory.” (305)
59. Part of this time, Morris Dewey was in the care of his grandmother, Lucina Dewey. See Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 158–160, 180–181.
60. John Dewey to Alice Dewey and children, October 9, 1894 (00205), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
61. As Louis Menand argues, Jane Addams and the “sociology laboratory” she established in the settlement house were central to Dewey’s formulation of pragmatism. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 312–315. For a review of Menand’s text that focuses on his treatment of Dewey’s Chicago years, see James Kloppenberg, “Teaching *The Metaphysical Club*,” *Intellectual History Newsletter*, 24 (2002), 88–94.
62. George Herbert Mead, “The Psychology of Social Consciousness Implied in Instruction,” *Science*, 31 (May 6, 1910), 691. Mead wrote that he was using “Professor Dewey’s phrase.” For a discussion of Mead’s article, see Lipman, *Thinking in Education*, 84–85.
63. John Dewey to Alice Dewey and children, October 19 and 21, 1894 (00211), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). For a recent discussion of pragmatism that includes an analysis of “interpretation,” see John Jacob Kaag, “Pragmatism and the Lessons of Experience,” *Daedalus*, 138, 2(2009), 63–72.
64. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; and Seigfried, “Introduction” to *Democracy and Social Ethics*.
65. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 347. Menand (and others) maintain that Dewey preferred the term “instrumentalism,” (see page 350), but he (and others) continue to use the term “pragmatism” to discuss the philosophy that Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey, with participation by others, such as George Herbert Mead, James Hayden Tufts, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, fashioned in the period roughly between 1870 and 1910 (and beyond, of course, for the long-lived Dewey). Menand has a chapter titled “Pragmatisms,” and the plural is important. With this in mind, I will also use the term “pragmatism,” but with the understanding that many scholars, including Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; Ryan, *John Dewey*; and Westbrook, *Democratic Hope and John Dewey*, have illuminated its several incarnations. A full discussion of

the philosophy of pragmatism and its history is beyond the scope of this book.

66. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 351.
67. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, vii.
68. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 360.
69. John Dewey to H. Robet, May 2, 1911 (01991), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
70. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 322.
71. John Dewey, “The Bearings of Pragmatism upon Education,” in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Vol. 4* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1977), 188.
72. John Dewey, “Democracy in Education,” *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 4 (December, 1903), 194.
73. Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 4. Westbrook goes on to say that “pragmatism—by virtue of its methodological commitment to experimental inquiry . . . has a powerful elective affinity with democracy” (8). On the “Chicago School” and the importance of the Laboratory School for the “dissemination of ideas from the Philosophy Department,” see Darnell Rucker, *The Chicago Pragmatists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 12.
74. This will be discussed in Ch. 3. See Nancy Hoffman, *Woman’s “True” Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1981); David Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Victoria-Maria MacDonald, “The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman’s Profession,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 39, 4 (1999), 427–453; William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986); Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005); and David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).
75. As James Kloppenberg argues, “The discipline of thinking, as Dewey understood it, places enormous demands on teachers and students, because it requires exercising the radical intellectual freedom entailed by pragmatic philosophy.” See Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 375.
76. John Dewey to Alice Chipman Dewey, November 22, 1894 (00236), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
77. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 14, 1895 (00270), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).

78. John Dewey to Alice Chipman Dewey, September 25, 1894 (00196), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). See also Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 306.
79. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 24, 1895 (00271), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
80. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 6, 1895 (00268), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
81. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 12, 1895 (00269), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
82. Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 26.
83. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 29, 1895 (00272), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
84. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, December 22 and 24, 1895 (00275), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
85. See Lagemann, “Experimenting with Education,” 171; and Robert Westbrook, “The Authority of Pragmatism,” *Intellectual History Newsletter*, 17 (1995), 22.
86. C. Wright Mills, *Sociology and Pragmatism*, 314.
87. John Dewey to Clara Mitchell, November 29, 1895 (00272), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). He wrote that: “*individual activity*,” as “(1) based in *Nature* & (2) giving to *Society*,” constitutes the “primary principle. That is, the starting-point is the concrete activity of child which (1) analyzed, reduced, = *Nature* & (2) connected, functioning = *Society*.” This formulation appears in outline form; I have quoted the words without the form.
88. *Ibid.*
89. John Dewey to Frank Manny, May 10, 1896 (00524), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
90. John Dewey to Frank Manny, May 26, 1896 (00526), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
91. John Dewey to Frank Manny, March 16, 1896 (00519), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). The last phrase reads as follows: “sufficientl mental scope to be able to relate sthe special and technical acquirements to a general plan and uaim.” In this letter and others, when the intended word is clear, I have deleted extraneous

letters for purposes of readability. I have also left out some editing notations that are included in the *Correspondence* edition.

CHAPTER 2

1. Letter Missive, Anna Camp Edwards and Richard Edwards, 1950, box 44, in the Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In his introduction to *The Dewey School*, John Dewey wrote of the book that “the entire history of the school was marked by an unusual degree of cooperation among parents, teachers, and pupils. It is particularly gratifying to have this living evidence that the cooperative spirit still continues.” See Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), xiii.
2. Obituary of Althea Harmer Bardeen (“Wife of Dean Bardeen Dies”), *The Madison Democrat*, April 21, 1920.
3. Letter Missive, Anna Camp Edwards and Richard Edwards, 1950, box 44, in the Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. For compelling studies of the history of pragmatism, see Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001); and Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).
4. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 312.
5. See John Dewey to Frank Manny, May 26, 1896 (00526) and 1896.05.10 (00524), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
6. Laura Runyon to Katherine Camp Mayhew, July 14, 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. University of Chicago graduate Laura Runyon was a teacher of history at the Laboratory School from 1898 to 1903, where she also served as editor of the *Elementary School Record*, a series of nine monographs on the Laboratory School. After leaving Chicago, she was an associate professor of history at the Warrensburg Normal Training School in Missouri. See Ewing Cockrell, *History of Johnson County, Missouri* (Topeka, KS: Historical Publishing Company, 1918).
7. In *Pragmatism and Feminism*, Charlene Haddock Seigfried discusses “what remain virtually anonymous women co-workers” in the books of Dewey. See *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 49–50. See also endnote 38 on page 288, where she cites Robert Westbrook’s

- discussion of the Mayhew and Edwards text in his *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).
8. George Herbert Mead to Jane Addams, December 1, 1910, Jane Addams Collection, Swarthmore College (on microfilm). Mead referred in this letter to “the circle of your friends.” The four teachers were selected for study for a number of reasons. First, Katherine Camp and Althea Harmer taught at the school for most of Dewey’s years as director. Anna Camp, while not a teacher the entire time, was connected to the school for almost as long as her sister, as a substitute teacher and the tutor of Laboratory School student Josephine Crane. Mary Hill did not teach there as long as the others, but she represents the strongest link between the Laboratory School and Hull House, as she taught at the school while she was a resident at the settlement house. In addition, all four of the teachers were friends, and for periods of time, they were flatmates. Thus they made up a conscious social group while they were colleagues, and their relationships with the Laboratory School community were lasting. Finally, these teachers have left us with written records of their experiences and ideas about the Laboratory School. We have Mayhew and Edwards’s *Dewey School*, their letters, and Katherine Camp’s scholarly articles on the school; Althea Harmer’s scholarly articles, and many reports of her activities in the Camps’ letters; and Mary Hill’s letters from this period, as well as a small number of later letters that touch on her experiences at the Laboratory School. Thus my research indicates that this was a core group of teachers, involved in the school and its community in social as well as professional ways. Several other teachers were also central to the workings of the school, most importantly Laura Runyon. I have been unable to locate any archival materials on Runyon, or on any of the others on the list of teachers included in *The Dewey School* appendix.
 9. Katherine Camp and Mary Hill also took part in efforts to improve instruction in “number work,” to be discussed in Ch. 4. And Hill did some instruction in handwork related to clay and pottery. See John Dewey and Laura Runyon, introductory materials, *The Elementary School Record*, I, 1 (February 1900), 1–2, for a list of the teachers and their degrees and institutions of higher education. On a related figure at the University of Chicago, Julia Bulkley, see Kathleen Cruikshank, “In Dewey’s Shadow: Julia Bulkley and the University of Chicago Department of Pedagogy, 1895–1900,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 38, 4 (Winter 1998), 373–406.
 10. Cornell University’s Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections includes three collections that contain letters and materials from the Camp family: the Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), the Camp Family Collection (891), and the Edwards Family collection (1484). Althea Harmer married Charles Bardeen, Dean of the University of Wisconsin’s Medical School, whose papers are held

at the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Steenbock Library. This collection includes a small number of letters from Althea Harmer written after her marriage and move to Madison. One of her sons, John Bardeen, became a Nobel-prize winning physicist, and thus I have also relied on *True Genius: The Life and Science of John Bardeen* (Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2002), by Lillie Hoddeson and Vicki Daitch. In addition, I have been in correspondence and have met with William Bardeen, John Bardeen's son. The archives at both Pratt Institute and Drexel University, which Harmer attended, contain some limited information on her studies. Mary Hill married a fellow Hull House resident, Gerard Swope, who would go on to head General Electric. A recently donated collection of her letters from the Laboratory School years is held in the Special Collections at the University of Illinois-Chicago, and a smaller packet of her letters from this era is included in the Gerard Swope Collection held at the Institute Archives and Special Collections of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library. For information on Mary Hill's life, I have also relied on David Loth's *Swope of G.E.* (New York: Arno Press, 1976, reprinted from 1958), as well as the archives at Bryn Mawr College. I am in contact with several of Mary Hill Swope's relatives: her namesake Mary Hill Swope, Rachel Abbott, David Swope, and Kevin Swope.

11. On the benefits of biography in exploring the history of women in education, see Jane Martin, "The Hope of Biography: The Historical Recovery of Women Educator Activists," *History of Education*, 32, 2 (2003), 226. See also Peter Cunningham, "Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism," *History of Education*, 30, 5 (2001), 433–451; Linda Eisenmann, "Creating a Framework for Interpreting US Women's Educational History: Lessons from Historical Lexicography," *History of Education*, 30, 5 (2001), 453–470; and Joyce Goodman, "Troubling Histories and Theories: Gender and the History of Education," *History of Education*, 32, 2 (2003), 219–232.
12. One of a list of "suggested titles" for the manuscript of *The Dewey School*, box 15, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
13. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986), 185. Some scholars credit author Henry James for naming the "New Woman"; the James brothers did have a knack for capturing a moment, or an idea, in words. Think of William James's "stream of consciousness." On Henry James and the phrase, see Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2. On William James and coining phrases, see Robert Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (New York: Houghton

- Mifflin, 2006), 306. Scholar Lucy Bland claims that “feminist novelist Sarah Grand invented the term in an article in 1894” in England, and this seems to be the more commonly accepted view. See Bland, “The Married Woman, the ‘New Woman’ and the Feminist: Sexual Politics of the 1890s,” in Jane Rendall, ed., *Equal or Different: Women’s Politics, 1800–1914* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 143. On the “New Woman,” see also Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women’s Movement in America, 1875–1930* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).
14. Sally G. McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women’s Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 44–52.
 15. Lucy Stone, quoted in McMillen, *Seneca Falls*, 48.
 16. Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer*, 30; and Margaret A. Nash, *Women’s Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 101. See also Bordin, *Women at Michigan: The ‘Dangerous Experiment,’ 1870s to the Present* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999); Karen LeRoux, “Veterans of the Schools: Women’s Work in the United States Public Education, 1865–1902,” unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 2005; Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*; Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *A Dangerous Experiment: 100 Years of Women at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1970); and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982). For an excellent discussion of the career of Alice Hamilton, see Barbara Sicherman, “Working It Out: Gender, Profession, and Reform in the Career of Alice Hamilton,” in Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds., *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 127–147.
 17. Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer*, 34–35. On the teaching profession in the late nineteenth century, see also Leroux, “Veterans of the Schools,” and Kate Rousmaniere, *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997). As the historian Carl Kaestle has shown, the common school reform movement of the mid-1800s, with its many costly improvements, paved the way for a growing acceptance of cheaper-to-employ women as teachers. See Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).
 18. Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer*, 34, 36. See also Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

19. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 2. See also Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 26.
20. On Clarke, see Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*. On the fears engendered by the increase of women in higher education, see Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*. For a discussion of similar developments for women in science, see also Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
21. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Selections from the Author's Autobiography, The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman," in *The Yellow Wallpaper and Selected Writings* (London: Virago, 2009), 280–281.
22. See Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*, especially ch. 2.
23. See Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 177, on different generations of "New Women."
24. Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer*, 2–5. As Bordin argues, the concept of the "New Woman" was a fluid one, and in the 1890s, it was characterized by the career-minded, independent woman.
25. Anna Camp Edwards, *Out of Old Virginia and New England: The Family Story of Jacob Andrus Camp 1823–1900, Elizabeth Francis Osborn Camp 1835–1920*, written and copyrighted 1953, 1, box 11, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In her essay in Appendix I of *The Dewey School*, "The Evolution of Mr. Dewey's Principles of Education," Anna Camp Edwards made a veiled reference to this influence. She wrote, "The parents of one of his students, many years before, had established conditions for an experiment in education, by moving from a city to a country home where their four children could at one and the same time carry on and learn about the fundamental activities of life. The father of this family treasured in his old age Mr. Dewey's acknowledgement of the value of this experiment in the formulating of his educational theories" (447).
26. Anna Camp Edwards, *Out of Old Virginia and New England: The Family Story of Jacob Andrus Camp 1823–1900, Elizabeth Francis Osborn Camp 1835–1920*, written and copyrighted 1953, 1, 16–17, box 11, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. While the parents' support of public roles for their daughters was not linked (in their letters) to a desire for political equality, some evidence suggests that the Camp family was sympathetic with female suffrage. For instance, Elizabeth Francis Camp's sister Anna Williams wrote in 1906: "I see the National Woman Suffrage Convention is to meet in Chicago next winter, and mean to go so as to see you all at the same time." Anna O. Williams to Elizabeth Francis Camp, August 1,

- 1906, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
27. Anna Camp to William Camp, November 30, 1886, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Louisa May Alcott's sequel to *Little Men* was *Jo's Boys*, published in 1886.
 28. Anna Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, April 13, 1889, box 7, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Henry Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* was published in 1883. Frank Camp was reading an issue of *Littell's Living Age*, a popular magazine of the time.
 29. Author Biographies, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Frank Camp died as a young man, before he was able to complete his studies.
 30. See Bordin, *Women at Michigan*; and McGuigan, *A Dangerous Experiment*.
 31. Elizabeth Camp (Bess) to Elizabeth Francis Camp, February 17, 1891, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. For accounts of the Dewey family in Ann Arbor, see Willinda Savage, "The Evolution of John Dewey's Philosophy of Experimentalism as Developed at the University of Michigan," unpublished doctoral dissertation, publ. No. 1999, University of Michigan, 1950.
 32. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 26, 1889, box 7, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 33. Records of the association, box 1, Collegiate Sorosis Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
 34. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), October 4, 1889, and Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, November 1889, box 7, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 35. Elizabeth Camp (Bess) to Jacob Andrus Camp, November 19, 1890, box 7, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 36. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, March 1, 1891, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 37. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 13, 1889, box 7, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 38. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, n.d., from Middletown, CT, so likely written in spring of 1894, box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

39. Jacob Andrus Camp to Katherine Camp, March 28, 1894, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. While Katherine Camp graduated from the University of Michigan in 1894, the evidence suggests that she was attending Wesleyan University for a semester, as there was a receipt for one-half year's tuition attached to that letter.
40. Author's Publicity Material, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
41. Correspondence from Paul Schlotthauer, Librarian and Archivist, Pratt Institute Libraries.
42. Katherine Camp to Frank Camp, September 25, 1894, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
43. Katherine Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, November 4 [1894], box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
44. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, February 1, 1895, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
45. Katherine Camp to Anna Camp, April 8, 1894, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
46. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, February 1, 1895, box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
47. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, n.d. likely 1894 or 1895, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
48. On Woods Hole, see Frank R. Lillie, *The Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); David Hapgood, *Charles R. Crane: The Man Who Bet on People* (USA: Institute of World Affairs, 2000), 26; and Philip J. Pauly, *Controlling Life: Jacques Loeb and the Engineering Ideal in Biology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 75. See also archival records at the Marine Biological Laboratory, and correspondence from Diane Rielinger, Records Manager/Archivist.
49. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, April 28 [1895], box 8, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
50. John Dewey to Frank Manny, May 10, 1896 (00524), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
51. Katherine Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, May 12, 1896, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

52. Katherine Camp's official appointment letter from the University of Chicago, dated June 30, 1896, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
53. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, July 21, 1896 and Katherine Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, July 25, 1896, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
54. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess) and Anna Camp, June 1, 1902, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. She went on to write that "I would like to have some one take down her self conceit. She lives in so narrow a place and I fear she won't get out of it this summer."
55. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, July 12 [1896], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
56. Katherine Camp to Camp family (possibly her sister Bess), beginning of letter missing, but written in last week of September, 1896, box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Frederick Smedley also conducted a series of physical and psychological tests at the Laboratory School, and went on to become Director of the Child Study Department of the Chicago Public Schools until his death in 1902. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 295, 389.
57. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), October 9, 1896, box 18, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
58. Jacob Andrus Camp to Anna and Katherine Camp, November 24, 1897, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
59. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), October 9, 1896, box 18, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
60. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, November 22, 1896, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
61. Anna Camp Edwards, "Out of Old Virginia and New England: The Family Story of Jacob Andrus Camp 1823-1900, Elizabeth Francis Osborn Camp 1835-1920," written and copyrighted 1953, box 11, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
62. See e-mail correspondence from Jill Tatem, University Archivist, Case Western Reserve University; and Richard Baznik, excerpt from

- “prose outline” for history of Case Western Reserve University, personal correspondence from the author.
63. In 1897, John Dewey wrote of Anna Camp: “I suppose she wants to come next year.” John Dewey to Alice Dewey, July 18, 1897 (00318), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1999–2004).
 64. By January of 1898, after just a few months of teaching history, Anna Camp had begun to tutor Josephine Crane. See Anna Camp to Jacob Camp, January 23, 1898 and February 2, 1898, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 65. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, May 12, 1901, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 66. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, n.d. [Jan. 1900 penciled in], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 67. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), January 15, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 68. Anna Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, January 23, 1898, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 69. Anna Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, January 23, 1898, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Her father’s response is circumspect; he advised his daughter that “the ‘Socialistic tea’ might do for a novelty and an occasional ‘break’ but would hardly do for general habit.” See Jacob Andrus Camp to Anna Camp, January 31, 1898, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 70. Hoddeson and Daitch, *True Genius*, 13.
 71. I am indebted to William Bardeen, Althea Harmer Bardeen’s grandson, for generously sharing the genealogical history of the Harmer family.
 72. Edward D. McDonald and Edward M. Hinton, *Drexel Institute of Technology, 1891–1941* (Philadelphia, PA: Drexel Institute of Technology, 1942), 15.
 73. Personal e-mail correspondence from Paul Schlotthauer, librarian and archivist at Pratt Institute Libraries, and Althea Harmer’s student record from Pratt Institute for 1895–1896.
 74. Caroline B. Weeks to Katherine Camp, April 20, 1897, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

75. See Hoddesson and Daitch, *True Genius*, and the letters of Althea Harmer Bardeen and her husband, Charles Russell Bardeen, in the Charles Russell Collection at the Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Harmer married Bardeen in 1905, after she spent a year in Chicago as an independent businesswoman, in interior decorating. See also the letters of Helen Castle Mead, held in the George Herbert Mead Collection, and the letters of Eva Watson-Schutze, held in the Martin Schutze Collection, both at the Special Collections, Regenstein Library, the University of Chicago. On Eva Watson-Schutze, see Jean Block, *Eva Watson-Schutze: Chicago Photo-Secessionist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); and Tom Wolf, *Eva Watson-Schutze: Photographer* (New Paltz, NY: Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art, State University of New York at New Paltz, 2009).
76. Anna Camp to Jacob Camp, February 13, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
77. On M. Carey Thomas, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).
78. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 17, 1900, box 2, folder 13, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
79. Mary Hill Swope's granddaughter, also named Mary Hill Swope, who was very close to her grandmother, told me that the four sisters got along very well, and so this account of Jane Addams's visit to the sisters did not indicate any break in their relations. The sisters' father, John T. Hill, was involved in a financial scandal that broke after his death in 1891, and this may have made it difficult for some of the sisters to attend college.
80. P. G. (Pauline Goldmark in pencil), "In Memoriam," Bryn Mawr College, *Alumnae Bulletin*, 26, 2 (winter 1956), 32, held at the Bryn Mawr College Archives.
81. *Bryn Mawr College Program*, 1902, 154, held at the Bryn Mawr College Archives.
82. On Alice Hamilton, see Madeline P. Grant, *Alice Hamilton: Pioneer Doctor in Industrial Medicine* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1967); and Barbara Sicherman, *Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
83. Alice Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, October 11, 1898, Hamilton Family Papers, on microfilm, held at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study.
84. P. G. (Pauline Goldmark in pencil), "In Memoriam," Bryn Mawr College, *Alumnae Bulletin*, 26, 2 (Winter 1956), 32, held at the Bryn Mawr College Archives.

85. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, October 31, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
86. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 17, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
87. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, October 1 [1900 or 1901], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 11, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
88. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 4, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 14, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
89. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, August 12, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
90. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, October 30, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
91. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, December 11, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
92. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 22, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. On the Noon-Day Rest, see Perry Duis, *Challenging Chicago: Coping with Everyday Life, 1837–1920* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 159.
93. Mabel Wing Castle to unknown recipient, June 13, 1899, box 18, Elinor Castle Nef Collection, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
94. Anna Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, January 16, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
95. On William James, see Robert D. Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2006). On Prince Peter Kropotkin, see Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 263, 264.
96. Professor Patrick Geddes of Edinburgh, Scotland, was a philosopher and urban planner. See Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
97. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), April 30, 1899, box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
98. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), January 8, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

99. Madeline Grant, *Alice Hamilton: Pioneer Doctor in Industrial Medicine* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1967), 36.
100. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 1, 1898, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
101. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, January 19 [?1897], box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
102. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), n.d., addressed from 5709 Kimbark, so likely 1901–1902, box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
103. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 22, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
104. See Jane Dewey, “Biography of John Dewey,” in P.A. Schilpp, ed., *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1939).
105. Anna Camp to family, January 28, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
106. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 373.

CHAPTER 3

1. Many Dewey scholars have addressed this matter. Jay Martin, for instance, maintains that while seen as the father of progressive education, Dewey’s ideas and his school differed substantially from schools of that label. See Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 495–496. See also Philip Jackson, “Introduction” to John Dewey, *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 42; Eric Margolis, “Teaching John Dewey: An Essay Review of Three Books on John Dewey,” *Education Review*, 10, 14 (November 29, 2007), 1–15; Richard S. Prawat, “Misreading Dewey: Reform, Projects, and the Language Game,” *Educational Researcher*, 24, 7 (1995), 13–22; Laurel Tanner, “The Meaning of Curriculum in Dewey’s Laboratory School (1896–2904),” *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 23, 2 (1991), 101–117.
2. For instance, see Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 57.
3. John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Collier Books, 1938).

4. John Dewey, "The Theory of the Chicago Experiment," Appendix II in Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007) 467. For the label of child-centered, one need look no further than article titles. See, for instance, Thomas Gallant, "Dewey's Child-Centered Education in Contemporary Academe," *Educational Forum*, 37, 4 (May 1973), 411–419. While in the text, Gallant qualifies his use of this label as applied to Dewey's philosophy, he nonetheless employs it in his article title. See also Ravitch, *Left Back*, 171. Ravitch writes, "The most influential model for child-centered schooling in the United States was the Laboratory School, founded by John Dewey and his wife, Alice, at the University of Chicago in 1896." While she also qualifies the use of this term as it applies to Dewey's ideas, such statements and titles serve to reinforce the association of "child-centered" with Dewey and, in Ravitch's case, with the Laboratory School as well.
5. Diane Ravitch argues that Dewey's ideas about content have been misconstrued, maintaining that "many of Dewey's disciples drew the wrong lessons from the Dewey School" (*Left Back*, 172). Yet her discussion of Dewey's ideas and of the Laboratory School serves to perpetuate such misunderstandings. For instance, Ravitch writes that "Dewey wanted schools to concentrate on problems and processes rather than academic subjects," explaining that Dewey advocated learning biology through experience (58). Her statement distinguishes between content and problem solving, whereas Dewey considered them to be integral parts of a whole—the educative experience. Later in the book she maintains that the Laboratory School teachers were "far from being hostile to subject matter," yet this appears in a chapter titled "Instead of the Academic Curriculum" (171). See Alan Ryan's review of *Left Back*: "Schools: The Price of 'Progress,'" *New York Review of Books*, 48, 3 (February 22, 2001), downloaded version. On Dewey's critics, including President Dwight Eisenhower, see Maurice R. Berube, *American School Reform: Progressive, Equity, and Excellence Movements, 1883–1993* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 39. See also Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); and "John Dewey (1859–1952)," *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, XXIII, 1/2 (1993), 277–291. For a recent discussion of the "pragmatic understanding of community," see John Jacob Kaag, "Pragmatism and the Lessons of Experience," *Daedalus*, 138, 2 (2009), 63–72.
6. Alice Dewey, typed manuscript titled "The University Elementary School," Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), box 12, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

7. On the Laboratory School and its organization, in addition to Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*; see also J. J. Chambliss, *John Dewey's Laboratory School as a Social Experiment* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Buy Books, 2000); Brian Hendley, *Dewey, Russell, Whitehead: Philosophers as Educators* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Jerald Alan Katch, "Discord at Dewey's School: On the Actual Experiment Compared to the Ideal" (Unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "Experimenting with Education: John Dewey and Ella Flagg Young at the University of Chicago," *American Journal of Education*, 104 (May 1996), 171–185; Susan Laird, "Women and Gender in John Dewey's Philosophy of Education," *Educational Theory*, 38, 1 (Winter 1988), 111–129; Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001); Ravitch, *Left Back*; Laura Runyon, "A Day with the New Education," *Chautauquan*, 30, 6 (1900), 589–592; Dee Miller Russell, "The Passion That Precedes Knowledge: The Role of Imagination in John Dewey's Theory of Experience and in the Activities of the University of Chicago Elementary School, 1896–1904," unpublished dissertation, University of Georgia, 1996; Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, especially ch. 12, "The Dewey School" (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1971); Laurel Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School: Lessons for Today* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Robert Tostbert, *Educational Ferment in Chicago, 1883–1904* (Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1960); Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Arthur G. Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966). See also archival collections at the Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, and at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
8. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464–468. For a discussion of the Laboratory School and Dewey's philosophy, see Melvin C. Baker, *Foundations of John Dewey's Educational Theory* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966, first published 1955), especially ch. 8 and 9. For a discussion of the importance of changes in both curriculum and organization at the Laboratory School, see Herbert Kliebard, "Fads, Fashions, and Rituals: The Instability of Curriculum Change," in Laurel N. Tanner, ed., *Critical Issues in Curriculum: The Eighty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 16–34.
9. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, xiii.

10. See also Anne Durst, "The Union of Intellectual Freedom and Cooperation: Learning from the University of Chicago's Laboratory School Community, 1896-1904," *Teachers College Record*, 107, 5 (May 2005), 958-984, from which sections of this chapter are drawn.
11. This discussion draws upon the following studies: Nancy Hoffman, *Woman's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1981); David Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*; Karen Leroux, "Veterans of the Schools: Women's Work in United States Public Education, 1865-1902," unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 2005; Victoria-Maria MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman's Profession," *History of Education Quarterly*, 39, 4 (1999), 427-453; William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform* (Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005); John Rury, "Who Became Teachers?: The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History," in Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 9-48; Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools," *Signs*, 5, 3 (1980), 494-503; David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). See also Ella Flagg Young, *Isolation in the School* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1901).
12. Hoffman, *Woman's "True" Profession*, 212.
13. See Hoffman, *Woman's "True" Profession*; Hogan, *Class and Reform*; and Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*.
14. See Hoffman, *Woman's "True" Profession*, on teaching as both rewarding and constraining for female teachers.
15. John Dewey, "Democracy in Education," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 4 (December, 1903), 194-196.
16. Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*, 51.
17. John Dewey, "Three Years of the University Elementary School," postscript to *The School and Society*, 166. Four of the questions dealt with: bringing the school in relation to the home; introducing subject matter in science, history, and art; instructing children in reading, writing, and mathematics in the context of the occupations; and providing adequate individual attention to children (166-169).

- On the demands made of the teachers, see Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 147; and Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 90. On teachers' responsibilities, see Alan Ryan, *Liberal Anxieties and Liberal Education* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998).
18. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, x. See John Dewey, "Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us" [1939], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925–1953*, Vol. 14 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 224–230.
 19. Dewey, "Democracy in Education," 196.
 20. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, undated, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Katharine Andrews Healy, born in Chicago in 1871, graduated from Smith College in 1894. She taught science at the Laboratory School from 1897 until her marriage to John Healy in 1900. See Smith College Alumnae Records, Smith College Library.
 21. In *The Dewey School* appendices, the authors include a list of teachers and assistants, and of those listed, 80 were women and 31 were men. (In addition, two were listed just by initials, and one just by the title of Dr.) See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, Appendix III, 479–480. The spirit of gender equality was illustrated in several ways at the school. First, Alice Dewey collaborated with her husband from the very beginnings of the Laboratory School, and she and Chicago educator Ella Flagg Young held key positions of leadership at the school from 1901 to 1904. Lagemann, in *An Elusive Science*, argues that Young's work influenced Dewey's ideas on "cultivating the intellects of all teachers." (51) On Alice Chipman Dewey, see Irene Hall, "The Unsung Partner: The Educational Work and Philosophy of Alice Chipman Dewey" (Unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 2005). On Ella Flagg Young, see also Rosemary Donatelli, "The Contributions of Ella Flagg Young to the Educational Enterprise," unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1971; Lagemann, "Experimenting with Education"; and Constance Heaton Goddard Goddard, "Ella Flagg Young's Intellectual Legacy: Theory and Practice in Chicago's Schools, 1862–1917" unpublished dissertation, University of Illinois—Chicago, 2005. Jane Addams, while less directly involved with the school, introduced Dewey to a living example of a working democracy at Hull House. On Jane Addams, see Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "The Plural Worlds of Educational Research," *History of Education Quarterly*, 29, 2 (1989), 185–214; and Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University

- of Chicago Press, 1996); and “Socializing Democracy: Jane Addams and John Dewey,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 29 (June 1999), 207–230. Some examples of gender bias, of course, existed, of course. For instance, Katherine Camp told her mother that during talks over a reorganization of the school, they were looking for a man to take care of “refractory parents.” See Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, March 23 [1900] (year not given), box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. And it was mostly the male teachers who took responsibility for building the clubhouse: Frank Ball, Mr. N. and Mr. G. Fowler, Clinton Osborn, and Harry Gillett, along with Lillian Cushman and Althea Harmer. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 232.
22. A “suggested title” for the manuscript of *The Dewey School*, box 15, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 23. This theory was outlined in John Dewey, “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology” [1896], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Early Works, 1882–1898*, Vol. 5 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 96–109. See also Dewey’s *Democracy and Education* [1916] (New York: The Free Press, 1966), ch. 11, “Experience and Thinking.” As Louis Menand argues in *The Metaphysical Club*, the theory of the “organic circuit” was central to Dewey’s thinking. Dewey “conceived of the [Laboratory School] as a philosophy laboratory . . . He was trying out a theory. It was a theory, as he said, of the ‘unity of knowledge.’” As Menand puts it, “By ‘unity of knowledge’ Dewey did not mean that all knowledge is one. He meant that knowledge is inseparably united with doing.” Menand argues, “Education at the Laboratory School was based on the idea that knowledge is a by-product of activity: people do things in the world, and the doing results in learning something that, if deemed useful, gets carried along into the next activity” (322).
 24. George Herbert Mead, “The Philosophies of Royce, James, and Dewey in their American Setting,” *International Journal of Ethics*, 40, 2 (1930), 228.
 25. John Dewey, “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 476. See also John Dewey, “The Reflex Arc.” On the importance of this essay, see Ryan, *John Dewey*, 124–130; and R. W. Sleeper, *The Necessity of Pragmatism: John Dewey’s Conception of Philosophy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 57.
 26. John Dewey, “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 477. He is quoting from his own *Democracy and Education* here. See also Dewey, “The Reflex Arc”; Campbell, ch. 2; and Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey*

- School*, Appendix I, “The Evolution of Mr. Dewey’s Principles of Education”.
27. John Dewey, “Psychology of Occupations,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (April 1900), 82.
 28. *Ibid.*, 83.
 29. Anna Camp Edwards to Mrs. Pigman, March 5, 1935, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Mrs Pigman is listed in the preface to *The Dewey School* as “Marion Le Brun Pigman” and is thanked by the authors for “her aid in the first revisions of the manuscript.”
 30. Anna Camp Edwards to Mrs. Pigman, March 5, 1935, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In this letter, “theory” appears as “teory” and “were” appears as “we re,” and the last three commas in the sentence beginning “Together” were omitted. I have added the commas for readability. Edwards argues in this letter for the retention of the chapter (to become, at least in part, Appendix I) on the “organic circuit concept” because it is “so germane to the rest of the book that its [*sic*] like lopping of [*sic*] the book’s head to leave it out.” She goes on to express her wish that “it does get over to the average teacher; get over so that they are thrilled by it and the thought that they could in their own environment, physical and social, do something similar, and thus push the cause along.”
 31. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 366. In preparing to write the book, Mayhew and Edwards solicited recollections of the school from former teachers, students, parents, and other colleagues. Teachers such as Grace Fulmer, Mary Hill Swope, Laura Runyon, and Katharine Andrews Healy responded, and their views were incorporated into the sisters’ book. The letters to the authors are collected in box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 32. John Dewey, “The Theory of the Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464.
 33. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 10–11.
 34. Melvin C. Baker argues that the school experienced “three perhaps four stages in its career.” He identifies them as the following: a six month trial and error period; a two year period of “growing experiences”; a longer, “more settled era,” from 1898–1903; and then the final year, 1903–1904, of “uncertainty and insecurity.” See Melvin C. Baker, *Foundations of John Dewey’s Educational Theory* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 136.
 35. Alice Dewey meant to write the history of the Laboratory School that Mayhew and Edwards eventually wrote. She wrote an article

- on the kindergarten (“The Place of the Kindergarten,” *The Elementary School Journal*, III, 5 [January 1903]), and a short history of the Laboratory School, drafts of which are held in the Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), boxes 12 and 22, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In the draft found in box 22, an endnote (likely written by Anna Camp Edwards or Katherine Camp Mayhew or both) states, “In all the study and planning of those early years, Mr. and Mrs. Dewey worked together, Mrs. Dewey contributing much both as mother and thinker in the field of education.”
36. For discussions of teachers and curriculum creation, see D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly, “Teacher as Curriculum Maker,” in Philip W. Jackson, ed., *Handbook of Research on Curriculum: A Project of the American Educational Research Association* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 363–401. Clandinin and Connelly write, “We believe that proper historical studies of this period [the early twentieth century] would be illuminating; not only would they help us to understand the history of the teacher as curriculum maker but also they would provide a more balanced picture of the ways in which schools, colleges of education, faculties, consortia, and laboratories might work together” (378–379). See also William F. Pinar, *What Is Curriculum Theory?* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).
 37. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 41.
 38. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372. On the importance of school organization, and Dewey’s views on this, see Herbert Kliebard, *Forging the American Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 1992), ch. 6, on educational reform; and David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), ch. 4, on what the authors call the “grammar of schooling.”
 39. See Richard S. Prawat, “Misreading Dewey: Reform, Projects, and the Language Game,” *Educational Researcher*, 24, 7 (1995), 15; and Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School*.
 40. John Dewey, January 1899 draft of “Three Years of the University Elementary School,” p. 11, in the Katherine Camp Mayhew Papers, Series I, Box 4, Volume 11, originally held at Teachers College, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 41. Alice Dewey, typed manuscript titled “The University Elementary School,” box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 42. Katherine Camp wrote to her family: “Miss Mitchell has left. Dr. D. said if she went it would be on her own responsibility—she evaded

- the point—telegraphed—“Thanks, for my release!!!”—The thing was unfortunate through out—the crisis being brot [*sic*] on unexpectedly by Miss M. asking for directions for next year.” She explained that Clara Mitchell did not want to continue in the current school year if she was not wanted for the next. It seems that Dewey had determined at that point that in the future, teachers would be specialists, and that he would not ask Mitchell back. See Katherine Camp to family, n.d., but sometime in 1897, box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
43. Katherine Camp Mayhew, notes taken at mother’s luncheon, October 15, 1928, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 44. Dewey, “The Chicago Experiment,” in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 469.
 45. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 374. See also John Dewey and Laura Runyon, introductory materials, *Elementary School Record*, I, 1 (February 1900), 1–2; and John Dewey, “Three Years of the University Elementary School,” postscript in John Dewey, *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 174–177.
 46. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 376. In this text, the middle chapters cover the curricular focus of the eleven groups, which are described as follows: Groups I and II (ages four and five); Group III (age six); Group IV (age seven); Group V (age eight); Group VI (age nine); Group VII (age ten); Group VIII (age eleven); Group IX (age twelve); Group X (age thirteen); and Group XI (age fourteen to fifteen). See John Dewey on grouping of students: “Three Years of the University Elementary School,” 174–177, postscript in John Dewey, *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990). On both of these shifts, see also Tanner, “The Meaning of Curriculum.”
 47. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, n.d., but 1930s, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 48. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 376.
 49. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372; Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School*, 98.
 50. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 8–9. Georgia Bacon, a 1897 graduate of the University of Michigan, taught history at the Laboratory School and then taught at the Horace Mann School in New York City. See University of Michigan Alumnae Records, Bentley Library, University of Michigan.

51. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, January 8 [1900 in pencil], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
52. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), March 5, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
53. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, May 8, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
54. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, October 22, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
55. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, November 2, 1899, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 12, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
56. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 386.
57. *Ibid.*, 383.
58. *Ibid.*, 382.
59. *Ibid.*, 387.
60. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Anna Camp, January 7, 1902, box 52, Edwards Family Collection (1484), held at Cornell University Library's Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.
61. George Herbert Mead to Helen Castle Mead, May 25, 1901, folder 5, box 1, George Herbert Mead Papers, held at the Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library.
62. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Anna Camp, February 10, 1902, box 52, Edwards Family Collection (1484), held at Cornell University Library's Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.
63. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), February 5, 1903, and Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), February 8, 1903, both letters in box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), held at Cornell University Library's Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.
64. It is difficult to assess the success of this organizational structure, for it did not last long in this final form. The Deweys left for New York in 1904, and Young and most of the original Laboratory School teachers who were still there left the school at that time. Furthermore, during the two years preceding that departure the school community was preoccupied with matters of a different sort—its merger with three other schools in the newly reorganized School of Education at the University of Chicago. The merger of the Laboratory School with Colonel Francis Parker's school will be discussed in the last chapter, as will the Deweys' departure from Chicago.

65. Dewey credits her with coming up with the name, but he may have been overly generous; as we have seen, he called the school a laboratory from the start.
66. On Ella Flagg Young, see Lagemann, "Experimenting with Education," and *An Elusive Science*; John T. McManis, *Ella Flagg Young and a Half Century of the Chicago Public Schools* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg, 1916); and Joan K. Smith, *Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of a Leader* (Ames, IA: Educational Studies Press, 1979).
67. Ella Flagg Young, *Isolation in the School* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1901), 33.
68. *Ibid.*, 93.
69. *Ibid.*, 106–107.
70. *Ibid.*, 107–108.
71. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 366.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Lagemann, "Experimenting with Education," 177.
74. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 370–372. See also McManis, 120; and Lagemann, "Experimenting with Education," 177.
75. [Katherine Camp Mayhew] to John Dewey, September **, 1929 (15851), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). William James referred to Ella Flagg Young as someone "whom I always feel like calling 'Colonel.'" See William James to John Dewey, March 23, 1903 (00799), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
76. Grace Fulmer to Anna Camp Edwards, undated, but written in the years before the 1936 publication of the sisters' book, box 44, Edwards Family Collection, (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. An edited version is included in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 394. Grace Fulmer taught kindergarten at the Laboratory School from 1900 to 1902, and went on to direct her own school in Los Angeles. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 394.
77. Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 71.
78. See Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 65, on current lesson plans as a "bureaucratic device."
79. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 374. See also Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator*, 188–189.
80. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 1, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
81. "Scheme for reports," in the Laboratory Schools Work Reports, box 1, folder 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of

- Chicago Library. (See also Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 73–74, on the teachers' reports.)
82. "Scheme for reports," in the Laboratory Schools Work Reports, box 1, folder 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 83. David Tyack in Sarah Mondale and Sarah B. Patton, eds., *School: The Story of Public Education* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 75. For a discussion of schools of the time in contrast to the Laboratory School, see also Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 459.
 84. Laboratory Schools Work Reports, box 1, folder 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 85. Teacher's Circular No. 1, 1899, held in the Katherine Camp Mayhew Papers, Series I, Box 4, Volume 12, originally held at Teachers College, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 86. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 69–70.
 87. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 367.
 88. *Ibid.*, 370.
 89. Teacher's Circular No. 1, 1899, held in the Katherine Camp Mayhew Papers, Series I, Box 4, Volume 12, originally held at Teachers College, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 90. Laboratory Schools, Work Reports, box 2, folder 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 91. Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 72–75, 102–103.
 92. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 381–382.
 93. *Ibid.*, 375.
 94. John Dewey, "Democracy and Educational Administration" [1937], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925–1953*, Vol. 11 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 222. See also James Campbell, *Understanding John Dewey* (Chicago, IL: Open Court, 1995), ch. 5.
 95. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 368–370. In the book, this meeting is noted as having taken place in 1899, although partial notes exist in the archival record that date the meeting to April 22, 1901. See Teachers Meeting, April 22, 1901, box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. See also John Dewey, *The Educational Situation*, Part I: "As Concerns the Elementary School" [1901], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, Vol. 1 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 260–282, especially 272, and his "Democracy in Education."

96. March 11, 1929, Suggestions for Mr. Dewey's Chapter II, box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
97. John Dewey, quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 370.
98. "Nature of the report of *third period*," Transcription of a conversation among John Dewey, Anna Camp Edwards, and Katherine Camp Mayhew, box 22, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
99. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 225; Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 55.
100. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 225–226; Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 55.
101. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 10.
102. Ibid.
103. George Herbert Mead, "The Basis for a Parents' Association," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 6 (February 1904), 375–391.
104. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 399.
105. Ibid.
106. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372.
107. As Dewey explained in 1936, "Experience has convinced me that there cannot be all-around development of either teachers or pupils without something for which the only available word is departmental teaching, though I should prefer to speak of lines of activity carried on by persons with special aptitude, interest, and skill in them." In Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372. See also Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 98.
108. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 367. See also Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, ch. 4.
109. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 371–372.
110. Althea Harmer, "Textile Industries," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (1900), 79. Dewey uses the term "constructive imagination" in *The School and Society*, 11. See Campbell, *Understanding John Dewey*, 45–53, on Dewey's "pattern of inquiry."
111. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372–373.

CHAPTER 4

1. John Dewey, Introduction to Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), xiv. Sections of this chapter are drawn from my

- article on the Laboratory School: Anne Durst, “‘Venturing in Education’: Teaching at the University of Chicago’s Laboratory School, 1896–1904,” *History of Education*, 39, 1 (2010), 55–73.
2. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 372–373.
 3. *Ibid.*, 41.
 4. John Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 464–468.
 5. John Dewey, “The Psychology of the Elementary Curriculum,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 9 (December 1900), 222.
 6. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 43. Several documents from the school’s early years discuss the school and its ideas from the teacher’s standpoint and from the child’s standpoint. (See, for instance, School Plan and Notes, No. 1, The University of Chicago School, October 16, 1896, I, 1,1, held previously in the Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection at the Teachers College Library, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.) While I consider both standpoints, my focus in this study is on the teachers’ experiences and perspectives. In addition, my examination of the school’s curriculum will focus on the social occupations of cooking and textile work, and their connections to history and science, on the one hand, and the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and mathematics. Left out of this discussion are art and music, manual training or shop-work, Latin, French, and German, and the kindergarten or subprimary class. On the occupations, see also John Dewey, *The School and Society* [1899] (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
 7. John Dewey, “Psychology of Occupations,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (April 1900), 82. On the occupations at the Laboratory School, see Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 69–74.
 8. Developmental stages of growth were not routinely considered when devising curriculum during this time. Indeed, while many twenty-first-century teachers have studied Jean Piaget’s stages of development, the Swiss psychologist was born in 1896, the year the Laboratory School opened. On Piaget in the context of American research on education, see Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 173, 213. On developmental stages in the Laboratory School, see Laurel Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School: Lessons for Today* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997), especially ch. 7, where she outlines Dewey’s two conceptions of developmental stages, the first of which was devised during the Laboratory School years and will be the focus of the discussion in this chapter. See also Arthur Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator: His*

- Design for Work in Education (1894–1904)* (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1966), especially ch. 8. On teachers and decision-making at the Laboratory School, see Alan Ryan, *Liberal Anxieties and Liberal Education* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 115–117.
9. Frank H. Ball, “Manual Training,” *The Elementary School Record*, I, 7 (October 1900), 177–185. Ball was also a resident of Hull House.
 10. Reports of Meetings, *Manual Training Magazine* (October 1899), 39.
 11. Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1880–1990* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993), 37.
 12. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught*, 26.
 13. John Dewey, “Democracy in Education,” *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 4 (December, 1903), 200–201.
 14. Harriet A. Farrand, “Dr. Dewey’s University Elementary School,” *Journal of Education*, 48, 10 (1898), 172. From the genealogical records (genealogy.com), it seems that Harriet Augusta Farrand was related to teacher Georgia Farrand Bacon, who began teaching at the Laboratory School in 1897. If I have interpreted the genealogical records correctly, Harriet’s grandfather and Georgia’s mother were siblings. If the two were related, it is possible that Farrand’s review of the Laboratory School, which was very positive, may have been influenced by this connection. For John Dewey’s observations on the atmosphere of the school, see his *The School and Society*, 15.
 15. John Dewey to William Rainey Harper, November 7, 1902 (00766), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
 16. The Laboratory School Work Reports are collected at the Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Two of the women under study here—Althea Harmer and Katherine Camp—wrote articles published in *The Elementary School Teacher* and *The Elementary School Record* during their time at the school. Both journals were published by the University of Chicago. *The Elementary School Record* (A Series of Nine Monographs), was published in connection with the Laboratory School during the year 1900. *The Elementary School Teacher* began as *The Course of Study* in 1900 and was “Devoted to the work of The Chicago Institute.” When Colonel Francis Parker came to the University of Chicago, the journal came with him. It was renamed the *Elementary School Journal* in 1910.
 17. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, September 6 [1901], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University.
 18. See University of Chicago, *The Annual Register, 1899–1900*, Department of Pedagogy, 160. Katherine Camp taught a course on

- Elementary Education: Science; Althea Harmer taught courses on Educational Value and Uses of the Domestic Arts, and Educational Uses of the Domestic Arts.
19. Anna Camp to Jacob Camp, January 16, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 20. John Dewey, "The Bearings of Pragmatism upon Education" [1909], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Vol. 4* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1977), 188.
 21. Child Study Questions, I, 2, 6, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection previously at the Teachers College Library, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 22. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 379.
 23. On parents and the Laboratory School, see Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, ch. 19; and Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, 114–119.
 24. Helen Castle Mead to Anna Camp, June 5, 1901, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 25. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, April 26 (year not stated), Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 12, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
 26. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, April 16, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
 27. Laura L. Runyon, "A Day with the New Education," *Chautauquan*, 30, 6 (March 1900), 592.
 28. Katherine Camp, "Household Occupations in Primary Grades," *Manual Training Magazine*, III (October 1901), 20, 23. Camp cites John Dewey's "The Psychology of the Elementary Curriculum." In *Dewey's Critical Pragmatism*, Alison Kadlec argues that Dewey "adopts three main psychological principles" that are very similar to those outlined by Camp. See Alison Kadlec, *Dewey's Critical Pragmatism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 22.
 29. The stages of growth corresponded to the groups at the Laboratory School. They were as follows: First stage, Groups I, II, and III (ages 4–6); Transition stage, Groups IV and V (ages 7–8); Second stage, Groups VIII, VI, VII (ages 9–10); Transition stage, Groups VIII and IX (ages 11–12); and Third stage, Groups X and XI (ages 13–15). See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 55. See also John Dewey, "Reflective Attention," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 4 (May 1900), 111–113.
 30. Dewey, *The School and Society*, 152.
 31. *Ibid.*, 56.
 32. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 8.

33. Ibid., 43. On occupations in the Laboratory School, see James Scott Johnston, *Inquiry and Education: John Dewey and the Quest for Democracy* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2006), especially ch. 4; Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, especially ch. 4; and Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator*, especially ch. 9.
34. John Dewey, "The Place of Manual Training in the Elementary Course of Study," *Manual Training Magazine*, 11, 4 (July 1901), 198. Mayhew and Edwards borrow closely from this text in *The Dewey School*, 310.
35. Althea Harmer, "Textile Work Connected with American Colonial History," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 9 (May 1904), 671–672.
36. Katherine Camp, "The Place of General Ideas as Controlling Factors," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 6 (February 1904), 381.
37. Katherine Camp, "Science in Elementary Education," *Elementary School Record*, I, 6 (1900), 166.
38. Katherine Camp, "Elementary Science Teaching in the Laboratory School," I, *The Elementary School Teacher*, III, 10 (June 1903), 661–662.
39. Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 26. Westbrook is discussing Charles Peirce here.
40. Katherine Camp Mayhew, "Purpose of Education," undated, box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University. See also Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 271.
41. As discussed in the first chapter, Felix Adler and the Ethical Culture School were in Dewey's orbit in the Adirondacks. J. F. Reigart is listed for 1897 as the Superintendent of the Ethical Culture School, which was previously named the Workingman's School. See the *Ethical Culture School Record*, published by the Alumni Association in 1916, 27.
42. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 1, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
43. John Dewey, "The Psychology of the Elementary Curriculum," 226.
44. John Dewey to William Rainey Harper, April 13, 1901 (00720) *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
45. Alice Dewey, The University Elementary School, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
46. See Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2003).

47. As Katherine Camp argued in her article on "Science in Elementary Education," instruction focused on experimentation carried the child through the first period of growth (roughly ages four to eight), "in which he is interested in the activity for its own sake, when he uses forces in imitating processes carried on about him"; through the second period (ages nine to twelve), in which the child has "an arising consciousness of the separation of process from end, and a beginning of direction, with the invention of means of control of various natural forces"; and into the third period (ages thirteen to fifteen), "when the child is able practically to control processes to bring about a desired end, though not able independently to formulate and abstract principles." The aim of their work was to develop the ability of all students to "work out consciously the control of these forces to some social end." See Camp, "Science in Elementary Education," 165–166. On these stages, see Dewey, *The School and Society*, ch. 4.
48. Camp, "Science in Elementary Education," 159, 162.
49. *Ibid.*, 165–166.
50. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, undated but 1930s, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
51. Katherine Camp, "Elementary Science Teaching in the Laboratory School," II, *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 1 (September 1903), 7–8.
52. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 219.
53. Laboratory School Work Reports, written by Katherine Camp, June 20, 1900, Group VIII, Science, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
54. On the backgrounds of Katherine Camp, Anna Camp, Mary Hill, and Althea Harmer, see the second chapter. Brief biographical sketches of other teachers who feature in this chapter will be included, when information is available, in endnotes.
55. Katharine Andrews, "Experiments in Plant Physiology," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 4 (May 1900), 107.
56. *Ibid.*, 109–110.
57. Willard Gore to Katherine Camp Mayhew, July 16, 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. This letter was quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 402. See Laboratory School Work Reports, written by Katherine Camp, October 14, 1899, Group V, sections a and b, Science, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
58. John Dewey, "Reflective Attention," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 4 (May 1900), 113.

59. John Dewey, "The Place of Manual Training," *Manual Training Magazine*, II, 4 (July 1901), 198. See also Dewey's chapter on "The Aim of History in Elementary Education" in his *The School and Society*.
60. John Dewey, "The University Elementary School, Studies and Methods," *University Record*, May 21, 1897, quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 29–30.
61. See Tanner, *Dewey's Laboratory School*, ch. 4, and especially pages 46–48, on the concept of a horizontal and vertical organizing theme for the curriculum.
62. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 313.
63. *Ibid.*, 141.
64. *Ibid.*, 317.
65. Laura Runyon, "Elementary History Teaching in the Laboratory School," II, *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 1 (September 1903), 36. Text very close to this, yet undocumented, appears in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 317.
66. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 100–105.
67. Dewey quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 470–471.
68. Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).
69. Laura Runyon, "Elementary History in the Laboratory School," I, *The Elementary School Teacher*, III, 10 (June 1903), 694, 698.
70. Georgia Bacon, "History," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 8 (November 1900), 206.
71. *Ibid.*, 206. A list of the courses Georgia Bacon took at the University of Michigan is not available, so it isn't possible to ascertain college work that would have prepared her to teach history.
72. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, May 3, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections. On Jane Addams's notion of "sympathetic knowledge," see Maurice Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), ch. 4; and Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 200.
73. Laura Runyon, "The Teaching of Elementary History in the Dewey School" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1906), 55.
74. Anna Camp to family, January 28, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. On imperialism in the cultural history of this era, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).
75. Ball, "Manual Training," 178.
76. Josephine Crane Bradley, as quoted in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 405. The clubhouse is discussed in Irene Hall, "The

- Unsung Partner: The Educational Work and Philosophy of Alice Chipman Dewey," unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 2005, 90.
77. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 232.
 78. Althea Harmer is likely the teacher Alice Dewey meant here, as she was head teacher in domestic sciences and wrote articles on teaching textiles. Mary Hill also taught textiles at the school, though she was listed as a teacher of science.
 79. Alice Chipman Dewey, "The Program of the Early Years in Relation to the Principles as Described by Mrs. Dewey," manuscript held in box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University. In the manuscript, persevering is spelled "perservering."
 80. Althea Harmer, "Textile Work Connected with American Colonial History," 661.
 81. *Ibid.*, 663.
 82. *Ibid.*, 666.
 83. *Ibid.*, 671.
 84. Laboratory School Work Reports, written by Althea Harmer, October 21, 1899, Group IV a and b, Textile Work, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. For a discussion of similar work, and its significance as an "active center of scientific insight into natural materials and processes," see Dewey, *The School and Society*, 19.
 85. Althea Harmer, "Textile Industries," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (April 1900), 79.
 86. *Ibid.*, 80.
 87. Althea Harmer, "Introduction to the Primitive Textile Work in the Laboratory School," *The Elementary School Teacher*, III, 10 (June 1903), 712.
 88. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 297.
 89. Runyon, "A Day with the New Education," 591.
 90. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 51.
 91. Althea Harmer, "Elementary Cooking in the Laboratory School," *The Elementary School Teacher*, III, 10 (June 1903), 706.
 92. Laboratory School Work Reports, November 18, 1898, Group I, Cooking, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 93. Laboratory School Work Reports, October 28, 1898, Group IV, Cooking, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 94. Laboratory School Work Reports, October 12, 1900, Group VIII, Cooking, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
 95. Harmer, "Elementary Cooking," 708.

96. Alice Chipman Dewey, The University Elementary School, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
97. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), January 15, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
98. See Dewey, *The School and Society*, 112–113; and Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 381. See also Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 77–79.
99. Runyon, “A Day with the New Education,” 590–591.
100. Alice Dewey, The University Elementary School, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
101. “Daily Administration,” Laboratory School Work Reports, box 2, folder 2, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
102. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 80–85.
103. Bacon, “History,” 207.
104. Ibid.
105. Andrews, “Experiments in Plant Physiology,” 108.
106. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 167–168.
107. Laura Runyon, 1928, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
108. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, January 26 [1900 penciled in later], box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
109. See Laboratory School Work Reports for October 28, 1898, Group VI, written by Georgia Bacon, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
110. Laboratory Schools, Work Reports, box 1, folder 16, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
111. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, April 2, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
112. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, April 30, likely 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 12, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
113. See Laboratory School Work Reports for June 1, 1900, Group VIII, written by Mary Hill, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
114. See Laboratory School Work Reports for October 5, 1900, Group IX (a), written by Katherine Camp, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

115. University Records of the University of Chicago from 1901 indicate that Clinton Osborn earned his master of arts in education and philosophy in June 1901, and then took a position as instructor at the Ethical Culture School in New York. See *University Records* for May 31, 190, VI, 9, 18, pp. 18 and 120; June 28, 1901, VI, 13, p. 72.
116. See Laboratory School Work Reports for October 5, 1900, Group IX (b), written by Clinton Osborn, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
117. See Laboratory School Work Reports for October 12, 1900, Group IX (a), written by Clinton Osborn, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
118. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, March 23 [1900] (year not given), box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
119. Anna Camp Edwards and Richard Edwards, letter to children, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
120. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, undated, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
121. "Here is a Novel School," *Sunday Chronicle*, April 15, 1900, held in Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (I, 1,1), previously at Teachers College, now at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
122. George Herbert Mead to Helen Castle Mead, May 25, 1901, George Herbert Mead Collection, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
123. March 11, 1929, Suggestions for Mr. Dewey's Chapter II, box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
124. Anna Camp to Jacob Camp, January 23, 1898, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
125. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), January 15, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
126. Althea Harmer, "Basketry," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 1 (September 1903), 119.
127. Andrews, "Experiments in Plant Physiology," 109–110.
128. John Dewey, "School Reports, A. General principle of work, educationally considered," *The Elementary School Record*, I, 1 (February 1900), 14–15.

CHAPTER 5

1. George Herbert Mead to Jane Addams, December 1, 1910, Jane Addams Collection, Swarthmore College (on microfilm).
2. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, November 8 [likely 1900], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections. Similarly, in 1896, University of Chicago sociologist Albion Small wrote, “Action, not speculation, is the supreme teacher.” See Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 305. For a recent discussion of pragmatism and experience, see John Jacob Kaag, “Pragmatism and the lessons of experience,” *Daedalus*, 138, 2 (Spring 2009), 63–72.
3. Alice Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, September 15, 1899, Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.
4. Alice Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, [June/July 1902], Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. This letter is included in Barbara Sicherman, ed., *Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 142–144. She went on to tell Agnes about her relief at having found a job that enabled her to feel certain that she could “always earn my living.” See also Sicherman’s “Working It Out: Gender, Profession, and Reform in the Career of Alice Hamilton,” in Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds., *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 127–147.
5. William James, *Pragmatism* [1907] (New York: Meridian Books, 1964), 167.
6. Laura Runyon to Nellie Griffiths, January 31, 1927 (08292), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
7. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Anna Camp, February 10, 1902, box 53, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. On these material transformations, see Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876–1915* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991).
8. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). On the Progressive Era, see also Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: the Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); and Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*

- (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998). Of the Progressive Era, Rodgers argues that Americans “did not swim in problems—not more so, at any rate, than Americans who lived through the simultaneous collapse of the economy and the post-Civil War racial settlement in the 1870s. It would be more accurate to say that they swam in a sudden abundance of solutions, a vast number of them brought over through the Atlantic connection” (6–7).
9. Bertha Johnston, “Social Settlement Life in Chicago: Some Phases of the Daily Work at Hull House, Chicago Commons, University Settlement,” *Kindergarten Magazine*, 13, 7 (March 1901), 384.
 10. Robert G. Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University, 2000), 128. This figure represents those Chicagoans who were born outside of the United States. Other histories of the city report an immigrant population of 60 percent at this time; it is likely that this refers to the foreign-born and their children. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 308.
 11. William Reese, *The Power and the Promise of School Reform* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986). See also Robin Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004). In her study of Chicago’s South Side, Bachin examines “how various groups sought to establish cultural legitimacy and authority” (6).
 12. On the “pragmatist notion of experimentation,” see Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 196.
 13. William Reese, *The Power and the Promise*, xxi.
 14. Ella Lyman Cabot, *Volunteer Help to the Schools* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 33.
 15. Helen C. Putnam, “Vacation Schools,” *The Forum*, 30 (December 1900), 492.
 16. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* [1910] (New York: Signet Classics, 1961), 83. As Dewey biographer Alan Ryan writes in a review of *Citizen*, Louise Knight’s biography of Jane Addams, “Whether by accident or design, [Addams] turned [Hull House] into the center of more social, cultural, and political experiments than it is easy to describe.” See Alan Ryan, “Founding Mother,” *New York Review of Books*, 53, 8 (May 11, 2006) (downloaded version).
 17. Hilda Satt Polacheck, *I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 74.
 18. See Jean Bethke Elshtain, “A Return to Hull-House,” introductory essay to her edited collection, *The Jane Addams Reader* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); and Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “Jane Addams: An Educational Biography,” introductory essay to her edited collection, *Jane Addams on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1985), 1.

19. Johnston, "Social Settlement Life," 385.
20. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009), 225–226. On this era, see also John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in John Higham, ed., *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970), 73–102.
21. See McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, xiv, on the "basic questions of human life" as posed by Progressives.
22. John Dewey to Alice Dewey, August 25–26, 1894 (00178), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). This letter is also quoted in Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 319.
23. Lloyd Morris, *Postscript to Yesterday; America: The Last Fifty Years* (New York: Random House, 1947), 41.
24. *Ibid.*, 40.
25. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 4. As Rodgers asserts, the period between the 1870s and World War II was a time when "other nations' social politics, in short, were *news*."
26. In her study of Chicago reform, Laura Westhoff calls the city "a laboratory for democracy." See *A Fatal Drifting Apart: Democratic Social Knowledge and Chicago Reform* (Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), x.
27. Katherine Camp to Camp family, nd., but likely end of September, 1896, addressed from 5717 Madison Avenue "not far from where we were Worlds Fair time," box 10, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
28. See Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders*, 113–120.
29. See Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago, IL: Academy Chicago, 1981) on women's contributions to the World's Columbian Exposition and on the controversy over the exclusion of black women from the Board of Lady Managers and the response of the African-American reformer Ida Wells Barnett.
30. On Chicago history, see Perry R. Duis, *Challenging Chicago: Coping with Everyday Life, 1837–1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders*. While the World's Fair did promote a sense of optimism, it occurred during the depression years of the mid-1890s, and the workers who had jobs during the fair were left stranded and unemployed in Chicago after the fair and its buildings were dismantled. On this dynamic, see Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, ch. 5.

31. Jane Addams, "A Toast to John Dewey," *Survey*, 63 (1929), 203. On the mutual influence of Addams and Dewey upon each other, see Christopher Lasch, ed., *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), 176; and Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*.
32. On Hull House, see the following works by Jane Addams: *Twenty Years at Hull-House; Democracy and Social Ethics* [1902] (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002); *My Friend, Julia Lathrop* [1935] (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004). See also Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988); John C. Farrell, *Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967); J. David Greenstone, "Dorothea Dix and Jane Addams: From Transcendentalism to Pragmatism in American Social Reform," *Social Service Review* (December 1979), 527–559; Louise Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Lagemann, ed., *Jane Addams on Education*; Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; Dorothy Ross, "Gendered Social Knowledge: Domestic Discourse, Jane Addams, and the Possibilities of Social Science," in Helene Silverberg, ed., *Gender and American Social Science: The Formative Years* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 235–264; Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*; and Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 10, 4 (1985), 658–677.
33. Alice Hamilton, "Jane Addams of Hull-House, Chicago," *Social Service: A Quarterly Survey*, 27, 1 (June–August 1953), 12–13.
34. John Dewey to Jane Addams, January 19, 1896, Jane Addams MSS, as quoted in Lasch, ed., *The Social Thought of Jane Addams*, 176. See also Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 89. On "A Modern Lear," see also Louise Knight, "Biography's Window on Social Change: Benevolence and Justice in Jane Addams's 'A Modern Lear,'" *Journal of Women's History*, 9, 1 (Spring 1997), 111–138.
35. Jane Addams, "A Modern Lear," in Elshstain, ed., *The Jane Addams Reader*, 175–176. The essay was completed in 1896, but not published until 1912.
36. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 315.
37. Addams wrote further of what called the "noble fibres" in each person. In modern society, Addams argued, "to pull these many fibres, fragile, impalpable and constantly breaking as they are, into one impulse, to develop that mere impulse through its feeble and tentative stages into action, is no easy task, but lateral progress is impossible without it." See Addams, "A Modern Lear," in Elshstain,

- The Jane Addams*, 176. See also Lagemann, *Jane Addams on Education*, 2–3. On Addams’s idea of “lateral progress,” see Maurice Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 43–47.
38. John Dewey quoted in Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), 473.
 39. Florence Kelley, “Hull House,” *New England Magazine* (July 1898), 554, 559.
 40. Anne Firor Scott, introduction to *My Friend, Julia Lathrop*, xvi–xvii.
 41. *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions*, By the Residents of Hull-House, a Social Settlement (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), first published 1895. On this groundbreaking study, see Rima Lunin Schultz, “Introduction to *Hull-House Maps and Papers*,” 2007 edition; and Kathryn Kish Sklar, “*Hull-House Maps and Papers*: Social Science as Women’s Work in the 1890s,” in Silverberg, *Gender and American Social Science*, 127–155.
 42. Addams, *My Friend, Julia Lathrop*, 84.
 43. Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, January 26 [1900 added in pencil], and [Katherine Camp] to Elizabeth Francis Camp [1899 added in pencil], box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Anna Camp to Camp family, January 28, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Miss Fenton was likely Frances Fenton, who earned a Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Chicago in 1911, with the dissertation “The Influence of Newspaper Presentations upon the Growth of Crime and other Anti-social Activities.”
 44. See Elizabeth Francis Camp to Anna Camp, February 10, 1902, box 53, Edwards Family Collection (1484); and Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, n.d., likely 1901, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 45. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, May 4, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
 46. Alice Hamilton to Agnes Hamilton, July 3, 1898 and July 2, 1898, Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. On the bicycle craze in late nineteenth-century Chicago, see Duis, *Challenging Chicago*.

47. At this time, few historians were pursuing research in the field of social history; a number of those who were doing so were women. On women pursuing studies of social history, see Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880–1980* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
48. See John Dewey, *The School and Society* [1899] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 22.
49. Althea Harmer, "Basketry," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 1 (September 1903), 119.
50. Althea Harmer, "Textile Work Connected with American Colonial History," *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 9 (May 1904), 670–671.
51. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 195.
52. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 156–157. On the Labor Museum as an "applied experiment," see Mary Jo Deegan, "Play from the Perspective of George Herbert Mead," Introduction to George Herbert Mead's *Play, School, and Society* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), lxxviii.
53. John Dewey, "The School as Social Center," *Elementary School Teacher*, III, 2 (October 1902), 78–79.
54. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 155–156.
55. Polacheck, *I Came a Stranger*, 65–66.
56. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 17, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 13, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
57. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 26, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
58. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 22, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
59. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, July 23 [1900], box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
60. "First Outline of a Labor Museum at Hull House, Chicago," page 7, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull-House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, 30. Labor Museum, in Jane Addams Papers, microfilm resource.
61. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, November 14, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
62. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 23, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.

63. "First Outline of a Labor Museum at Hull House, Chicago," p. 2, Hull House Association Records, II. Hull-House Activities and Events, C. Clubs, 30. Labor Museum, in Jane Addams Papers, Microfilm resource. See also *Hull-House Bulletin*, IV, iii (Autumn 1900), 8; and Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, October 28 [1900], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
64. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, November 8 [1900], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
65. Polacheck, *I Came a Stranger*, 63–64.
66. See Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams*, 160. Hamington points out that in *No Place of Grace*, the historian Jackson Lears is critical of the Labor Museum for its promotion of a "therapeutic approach" to industrial work. Hamington maintains that "Lears's critique would be appropriate if the Labor Museum were removed from its multifaceted theoretical context," which included "programs on 'trade unionism' and histories of collective worker activities" (160). See T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 80. On Dewey and industrial democracy, see Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 178–179.
67. Frederick Taylor's classic work is *The Scientific Principles of Management* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911). On the influence of Taylor on schools, see Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 94–97. See also Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 185–189.
68. John Dewey, "Democracy in Education." *The Elementary School Teacher*, IV, 4 (December, 1903), 193.
69. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 195.
70. Laboratory School Work Reports, May 26, 1899, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. On the connections between the Labor Museum and the Laboratory School, see Farrell, *Beloved Lady*, 94. Mary Hill brought a Laboratory School class to the textile room, and described it as a "pretty awful expedition," but does not provide an explanation. See Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 22, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 14, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
71. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 85.
72. John Dewey, "Psychology of Occupations," *Elementary School Record*, I, 3 (April 1900), 83.
73. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 312.

74. As Mayhew and Edwards wrote of this shifting of perspectives, "There is constant need for her to be agile in her change from one to the other." See *The Dewey School*, 312.
75. Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, July 28, 1899 (11777), in *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
76. Jane Addams to Vida D. Scudder, April 25, 1900 (11780), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
77. On Anita McCormick Blaine, see Gilbert A. Harrison, *A Timeless Affair: The Life of Anita McCormick Blaine* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1979).
78. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, November 2, 1899, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 12, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
79. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, December 29 [1899], and January 2, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
80. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, December 29 [1899], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
81. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 10, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
82. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 16 [1900], Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
83. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, February 2, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 14, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
84. This is conjecture, as I did not find evidence in the teachers' letters of connections between the Labor Museum and the idea of the J.D. H.H. school.
85. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 10, 1901, Gerard Swope Papers, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
86. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 18, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 11, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
87. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), March 11, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
88. "To Train Backward Children," *The New York Times*, August 27, 1899; and "To Work on Stunted Minds," *The New York Times*, September 30, 1899. Mary Hill seemed to struggle with the

- terminology used to label the children of the Physiological School. In one letter, she writes that one group is called “high-grade imbeciles,” but she didn’t know what the second group was called. See Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 15, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
89. Advertisement for the Chicago Physiological School, appearing in *Pediatrics*, 9 (1900), x.
 90. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, January 10, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
 91. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, February 19, 1900, and February 20, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 10, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections. I was not able to ascertain that Winifred Miller was a student at the Laboratory School, though from this account it seems that she was. There was a Janet Miller listed in the records I have located on student enrollment, but no evidence that the two were related. See List of students enrolled, box 2, volume 6, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection, held previously at Teachers College Library, now held at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 92. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, May 15, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections. Camp spoke on correlation; see John Dewey, “My Pedagogic Creed” [1897], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Early Works, 1882–1898*, Vol. 5 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 84–95.
 93. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 26, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
 94. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, October 31, 1900, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 15, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
 95. On George Herbert Mead’s involvement in the Physiological School, see Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School*, 111–112; and Mary Jo Deegan and John S. Burger, “George Herbert Mead and Social Reform: His Work and Writings,” in Peter Hamilton, ed., *George Herbert Mead: Critical Assessments*, Volume 1 (New York: Routledge, 1992), 171–183.
 96. Reese, *The Power and the Promise*, xxi. On vacation schools, see his ch. 6. See also F. Spencer Baldwin, “Boston Vacation Schools,” *The School Journal*, 65, 5 (August 16, 1902), 108–110; Ella Lyman Cabot, *Volunteer Help*; Kenneth Gold, “From Vacation School to Summer School,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 42, 1 (Spring 2002), 18–49; and Clarence Perry, *Wider Use of the School Plant* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910).

97. D.J. Milliken, "Chicago Vacation Schools", *American Journal of Sociology*, IV, 3 (November 1898), 305.
98. See Putnam, "Vacation Schools."
99. Reese, *The Power and the Promise*, 161.
100. See "Chautauqua: A System of Popular Education, Program of the 27th Annual Assembly," *The Chautauquan*, 31, 4 (July 1900).
101. On the Chautauqua Institution, see Andrew C. Rieser, *The Chautauqua Moment: Protestants, Progressives, and the Culture of Modern Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). On William James's reaction, see 216–217.
102. See Katherine Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, February 18, 1900, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
103. Katherine Camp to Jacob Andrus Camp, February 18, 1900, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. On the course titles, see "Chautauqua: A System of Popular Education, Program of the 27th Annual Assembly," *The Chautauquan*, 31, 4 (July 1900), 398–417.
104. "Chautauqua: A System of Popular Education, Program of the 27th Annual Assembly," *The Chautauquan*, 31, 4 (July 1900), 416.
105. Laura Runyon to George Vincent, May 2, 1900 (17457), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
106. John Dewey to George Vincent, May 12, 1900 (00629), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
107. Laura Runyon to Nellie Griffith, January 31, 1927 (08292), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004). Runyon returned the next summer, and conducted the school for a second year with an assistant.
108. Margaret Copeland to Miss Boydston, September 11, 1968, held at the Chautauqua Institution Archives, Smith Library, Chautauqua, New York.
109. Laura Runyon wrote an account of the Chautauqua vacation school experience, but I was unable to locate it. See Laura Runyon to Nellie Griffith, January 31, 1927 (08292), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
110. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Anna Camp, October 1, 1901, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
111. See Cornelia James Cannon, "The History of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union: A Civic Laboratory," 1927, held in the Women's Educational and Industrial Union Collection, Schlesinger

- Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. On the WEIU see also Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
112. Sarah Stage, “Ellen Richards and the Social Significance of the Home Economics Movement,” in Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti, eds., *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 27. On Richards, see also Caroline Hunt, *The Life of Ellen H. Richards* (Boston, MA: Whitcomb and Barrows, 1912).
 113. Elizabeth Camp (Bess) to Katherine Camp [spring 1901], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 114. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp [c.1901 in pencil], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Harry Gillett (sometimes spelled Gillette) taught science at the Laboratory School. He remained at the Laboratory School long after the Deweys left Chicago, assuming administrative positions there. He also ran Camp Highlands, a summer camp in Wisconsin. Alice Lachmund was born in 1877 in St. Louis, and while a member of the Smith College class of 1899, she didn’t graduate; she received a Ph.B. from the University of Chicago. See historical background information for the William Carbin’s Letters to Miss L. Collection, 1913–1916, Archival Collection in Five College Archives and Manuscript Collections.
 115. Cabot, *Volunteer Help*, 36–37.
 116. “Hot Weather School,” undated *Boston Herald* newspaper article included in letter from Elizabeth Camp (Bess) to her mother, Elizabeth Francis Camp, July 17, 1901, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 117. One reason for the scholarly neglect of the Junior Republics is likely that the founder, William R. George, was found guilty of misconduct with young girls in 1914.
 118. Baldwin, “Boston Vacation Schools,” 108.
 119. Detlev Bronk, “Marine Biological Laboratory: Origins and Patrons,” *Science*, 189 (August 22, 1975). 613–614. See also Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 86–88.
 120. See June Edwards, *Women in American Education, 1820–1955: The Female Force and Educational Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), ch. 4, “Ellen Swallow Richards: Science Education for School, Home and Society.”
 121. See Katherine Camp to her family, July 16, 1899, box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484); Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, July 5, 1902, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891);

- Anna Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, June 21, 1903, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), all located in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Katherine Camp was in Woods Hole for all the above summers (1899, 1902, 1903); the letters verify that Althea Harmer was there in 1899, though she may have accompanied Camp during the other summers as well. According to the MBL records, Katherine Camp enrolled officially in 1899 and 1902; Althea Harmer did not enroll in either of these years. Email correspondence with Diane Rielinger, Records Manager/Archivist, MBL. On Woods Hole, see Frank R. Lillie, *The Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); David Hapgood, *Charles R. Crane: The Man Who Bet on People* (USA: Institute of World Affairs, 2000), 26; Jane Maienschein, *100 Years Exploring Life, 1888–1988* (Boston: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 1989); and Philip J. Pauly, *Controlling Life: Jacques Loeb and the Engineering Ideal in Biology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 75.
122. Katherine Camp to the Camp family July 16 [1899 in pencil], box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 123. Katherine Camp to the Camp family July 16 [1899 in pencil], box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), and Katherine Camp to Anna Camp, July 27, 1899, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 124. Elizabeth Francis Camp to William Camp (step-son), June 5, 1902, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 125. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, July 5, 1902, box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
 126. See Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, xvi.
 127. George Dykhuizen's notes from George Herbert Mead's 1926 seminar on John Dewey, 19, box 7, George Herbert Mead Collection, Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. The text under discussion was John Dewey's *Experience and Nature* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1926), 157.
 128. Dewey, "The Theory of the Chicago Experiment," in Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 466.
 129. Katherine Camp to Elizabeth Francis Camp, [1901?], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. On Loeb, see Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 10. See also Philip J. Pauly, *Controlling Life: Jacques Loeb and the Engineering Ideal in Biology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

130. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, April 20, 1900, box 4, Gerard Swope Collection, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library.
131. Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 34.

CHAPTER 6

1. "The Modest John Dewey: The Philosopher at 80 Objects to Another 'Canonization,'" *Newsweek*, IV, 17 (October 23, 1939), 33.
2. John Dewey to Anna Camp Edwards, October 24, 1949, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
3. Mary Hill Swope to John Dewey, October 11, 1949 (11284), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
4. Lillie Hoddeson and Vicki Daitch, *True Genius: The Life and Science of John Bardeen* (Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2002), 14–15.
5. Laura Runyon to Nellie Griffiths, January 31, 1927 (08292), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
6. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, February 28, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 1, folder 9, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
7. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, March 4, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 14, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
8. Elizabeth Francis Camp to Elizabeth Camp (Bess), February 21 [1901], box 45, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
9. Max Eastman, "John Dewey: My Teacher and Friend," in his *Great Companions: Critical Memoirs of Some Famous Friends* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959), 274–275.
10. Elizabeth Camp (Bess) to Katherine Camp [spring 1901], box 9, Camp Family Collection (891), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
11. Herman Lukens to John Dewey, April 20, 1901 (00735), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
12. G. W. A. Luckey to John Dewey, April 22, 1901 (00736), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
13. Myron T. Scudder to William Rainey Harper, April 19, 1901 (00734), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).

14. On parents, see Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* [1936] (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transactions, 2007), 397–401; and Mrs. William Kent to Anna Camp Edwards, February 18, 1933, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. See also Ida B. DePencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools: The University of Chicago, 1896–1965* (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1967).
15. Mary Hill to Gerard Swope, May 9, 1901, Mary Hill Swope Papers, 1899–1933, box 2, folder 13, University of Illinois at Chicago Library, Special Collections.
16. George Herbert Mead to Helen Castle Mead, May 16, 1901, George Herbert Mead Papers, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
17. Robert McCaul, “Dewey, Harper, and the University of Chicago, April 1902–May 1903,” ch. 5, in William Brickman and Stanley Lehrer, eds., *John Dewey: Master Educator* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1966, 2nd ed.), 51. See also Director’s Report. School of Education., written by John Dewey after the 1902–1903 academic year, box 22, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. The School of Education included, along with the two merged elementary schools, the Chicago Manual Training School and the South Side Academy. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 14.
18. On the last three years of the Laboratory School, see DePencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools*; George Dykuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1973); Nellie Lucy Griffiths, “A History of the Organization of the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago,” unpublished master’s thesis, University of Chicago, 1927; McCaul, ch. 4, 5, and 6, in Brickman and Lehrer, eds., *John Dewey: Master Educator*; Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*; Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995); Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), ch. 4; Laurel Tanner, *Dewey’s Laboratory School: Lessons for Today* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); and Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).
19. In *The Dewey School* appendices, the authors include a list of teachers and assistants, and of the 114 listed, 15 were married women. Some may have been widows; Ella Flagg Young was, for instance. See Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, Appendix III, 479–480.
20. On the biographical backgrounds and source materials for the four teachers, see Ch. 2. When gravely ill with breast cancer (treated at the

- time with extensive x-rays), Bardeen spent time at the Mead home in Chicago recuperating from her treatments, where, her husband wrote, Helen Mead was “doing everything possible for her.” See Althea Harmer Bardeen to Charles W. Bardeen (her father-in-law), undated, on the naming of her daughter; and Charles R. Bardeen to Charles W. Bardeen, December 23, 1915 and February 24, 1920, on Althea Harmer Bardeen’s visit to the Meads, held in the Charles R. Bardeen Papers, Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
21. Flora Cooke, “Review of *The Dewey School*,” *Progressive Education*, XIV, 3 (March 1937), 218. Cooke worked with Francis Parker at the Cook County Normal School, and then was appointed principal of the Francis Parker Elementary School on the city’s North Side.
 22. See Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “Jane Addams: An Educational Biography,” introductory essay to her edited collection, *Jane Addams on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1985), 35, on gender, sociology, and social work; William Reese, *The Power and the Promise of School Reform* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986) on vacation schools; and Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), on women’s place in the sciences.
 23. Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 106.
 24. See Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 378, who argues, “Progressives struggled with themselves over the choice between professionalism and grassroots democracy, though in the end professionalism would win out.”
 25. See Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR’s Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 92. On the influence of John Dewey’s ideas on the New Deal’s Federal Art Project, see Victoria Grieve, *The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), especially ch. 1.
 26. T. J. McCormack, “Review of *School and Society*,” *Open Court*, 14 (1900), 564, 569.
 27. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 10.
 28. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 214. In *Dewey’s Laboratory School: Lessons for Today*, Tanner’s subtitle indicates her extensive discussion of the implications of the Laboratory School for current school improvement efforts.
 29. This in-service experience happened a few years before my discovery of Louis Menand’s *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), which pointed me in the direction of my study of the Laboratory School teachers. For a

discussion of the efforts of Teach for America to define, recruit, and prepare “great teachers,” see Amanda Ripley, “What Makes a Great Teacher?” *The Atlantic Monthly*, 305, 1 (January/February 2010), 58–66.

30. Ryan, *John Dewey*, 367.
31. John Dewey, “What Is the Matter with Teaching?” *Margaret Haley’s Bulletin*, III, 2 (September 30, 1925), 1, 23, 38.
32. John Dewey, *The Educational Situation*, Part I: “As Concerns the Elementary School” [1901], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, Vol. 1 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 268. This essay was first published as “The Situation as Regards the Course of Study.”
33. Dewey, “The Educational Situation,” 272–273. Dewey cites Ella Flagg Young’s *Isolation in the School* here. See Ella Flagg Young, *Isolation in the School* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1901).
34. John Dewey, “The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education”, in C. A. McMurry, ed., *The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers*, Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Part 1 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1904), 16.
35. Dewey, “The Educational Situation,” 273–280.
36. George Herbert Mead, address of 1907, held in Jane Addams Papers, Peace Collection, Swarthmore College Library. For a similar argument from our times, see Theodore Sizer, “A Better Way,” *Daedalus* (summer 2002), 26–29.
37. Laura Runyon to Katherine Camp Mayhew, July 14, 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
38. Currently, states vary in their teacher certification requirements, with some requiring a fifth year of college to earn a credential and others incorporating the certification into a normal four-year college degree program. For a recent report critical of teacher education programs, see Arthur Levine, “Educating School Teachers,” The Education Schools Project, September 2006.
39. The first teacher was Johanna Kirkman, a colleague of mine in California, and the second was my younger daughter’s first and second grade teacher, Becky Briles.
40. Gloria Ladson-Billings, *Crossing Over to Canaan: The Journey of New Teachers in Diverse Classrooms* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2001).
41. For a discussion of the benefits of specialist teachers at the elementary level, see Liping Ma, *Knowing and Teaching Elementary Mathematics: Teachers’ Understanding of Fundamental Mathematics in China and the United States* (Matwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999).
42. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 375.

43. Harold W. Stevenson and James W. Stigler, *The Learning Gap: Why Our Schools Are Failing and What We Can Learn from Japanese and Chinese Education* (New York: Touchstone, 1992); and James W. Stigler and James Hiebert, *The Teaching Gap: Best Ideas from the World's Teachers for Improving Education in the Classrooms* (New York: Free Press, 1999).
44. See Barbara Benham Tye and Lisa O'Brian, "Why Are Experienced Teachers Leaving the Profession?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, 84, 1 (September 2002), 24–32.
45. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, August 20 (year not given, but approximately 1930), box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
46. Katharine Andrews Healy to Katherine Camp Mayhew, June 15, year not given, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
47. Notes taken at Mothers' Luncheon, October 15, 1928, box 12, Katherine Camp Mayhew Collection (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
48. Grace Fulmer, account of her Laboratory School experience, year not given, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
49. Louise Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 275–277.
50. In an article on health care reform, the physician Atul Gawande held up the example of the Mayo Clinic, where "the doctors and nurses, and even the janitors, sat in meetings almost weekly, working on ideas to make the service and the care better, not to get more money out of patients." See Atul Gawande, "The Cost Conundrum," *The New Yorker*, June 1, 2009, 43.
51. It is perhaps enough to point out the existence of what have become known as "dropout factories": the almost 2,000 high schools in the United States, with largely minority student populations, which graduate less (sometimes much less) than 60 percent of their students. See Robert Balfanz and Nettie Legters, "Locating the Dropout Crisis," Report from the Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk and Johns Hopkins University, September 2004.
52. Katherine Camp Mayhew, "Purpose of Education," n.d., box 17, Katherine Camp Mayhew Papers (6561), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Throughout this book, I have presented arguments from the teachers' writings that indicate that the work of the school was based on connections made to the "real-world" social occupations at the heart of the curriculum.

Some scholars argue, on the contrary, that the Laboratory School was not true to its idea of a “real-world” curriculum. See Lee Benson, John Puckett, and Ira Harkavy, *Dewey’s Dream: Universities and Democracies in an Age of Education Reform* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2007).

53. Anna Camp Edwards to Mrs. Pigman, March 5, 1935, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Mrs. Pigman is listed in the preface to *The Dewey School* as “Marion Le Brun Pigman” and is thanked by the authors for “her aid in the first revisions of the manuscript.”
54. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 307–308.
55. According to a preliminary study of the program, the students seemed more enthusiastic about attending school and showed an increase in their grades in math and science. Such programs address another urgent problem plaguing twenty-first-century American children—what the Center for Ecoliteracy’s director Zenobia Barlow calls “diet-related disease in children,” including obesity and asthma. The remedy, according to both Waters and Barlow, is to “transform eating habits” and “bring [children] into a vital relationship with food.” To do this, they argue, we must also transform the school lunch program, which as parents of public school children know all too well, is dominated by processed food. See Jane Ciabattari, “The Incredible Edible Schoolyard,” *NRTA Live and Learn*, Spring 2005. See also Larry Hickman, “The Edible Schoolyard: Agrarian Ideals and Our Industrial Milieu,” in Paul B. Thompson and Thomas C. Hilde, eds., *The Agrarian Roots of Pragmatism* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 195–205. For an article critical of the Edible Schoolyard program, see Caitlin Flanagan, “Cultivating Failure,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, January/February 2010, 101–111.
56. Corby Kummer, “Fixing Lunch,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, July/August 2009, 32.
57. John Dewey, *School and Society* [1899] (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 91.
58. Recent reports indicate that math scores have remained stagnant since NCLB, even as the focus on reading and math has crowded out subjects like history, science, and the arts. On math scores, see Sam Dillon, “Sluggish Results Seen in Math Scores,” October 15, 2009, *The New York Times*, A18–20.
59. Javier C. Hernandez, “A Moo-Moo Here, and Better Test Scores Later,” *The New York Times*, October 20, 2009, A1.
60. E. D. Hirsch makes the case for a “common core curriculum in the early grades.” See, among other works, E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *The Making of Americans: Democracy and our Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 186.

61. Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public*, 1.
62. Edwin Bjorkman, "Pragmatism—What Is It? By Professor William James," November 3, 1907, *The New York Times*, SM8.
63. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*. Similarly, in *Democratic Hope*, Robert Westbrook discusses "Revitalizing Democratic Publics." See his *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 234–240.
64. See Paul Tough, *Whatever It Takes: Geoffrey Canada's Quest to Change Harlem and America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2008).
65. John Dewey, "The School as Social Center," *The Elementary School Teacher*, III, 2 (October 1902), 86.
66. John Dewey "Cut-and-Try School Methods" [1913], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, Vol. 7 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 106. To an extent, some charter schools represent this kind of experimental approach to education.
67. John Dewey, "Experiment in Education" [1917], in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, Vol. 10 (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 123.
68. John Dewey to William Rainey Harper, April 13, 1901 (00720), *The Correspondence of John Dewey* (electronic resource) (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999–2004).
69. Michael Sandel, *Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality in Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 186.
70. Sandel, *Public Philosophy*, 187.
71. Deborah Meier argues similarly that teachers who make important decisions in schools are models, for students, of informed citizens in a democracy. See Meier, *Will Standards Save Public Education?* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000).
72. Dewey, *School and Society*, 93–94.
73. DePencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools*, 42.
74. To promote excellent teaching in these ways and to apply the findings of these laboratory schools, all schools would require adequate resources for rich curriculum creation. Conditions such as those described in Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities* diminish the self-worth and learning capacities of the children unlucky enough to attend underfunded schools. These conditions also signal disrespect for the teachers who call such schools their places of work. The profession must be more visible in its unwillingness to tolerate inferior conditions in the workplaces that are also centers of learning for our children. See Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991).
75. DePencier, *History of the Laboratory Schools*, 34–36, 22–23.
76. Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, 373.

77. Herbert Kliebard, "Success and Failure in Educational Reform: Are There Historical 'Lessons'?" in his *Forging the American Curriculum: Essays in Curriculum History and Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 101. He quotes John Dewey's *The Sources of a Science of Education* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1929), 28, 30.
78. Kliebard, "Success and Failure," 110.
79. Grace Fulmer, account of her Laboratory School experience, year not given, but approximately 1930, box 44, Edwards Family Collection (1484), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

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INDEX

A

- Addams, Jane
Chautauqua Institution and, 115
“democracy as a way of life”, 103
Dewey and, 9, 15–17, 122
“a Dewey school for us” and, 109–12
Hill, Mary and, 39–41
Hull House and, 26, 101–4, 109–12
Laboratory School and, 2–3, 6
Labor Museum and, 104–7
Progressive Era experimentation and, 99–101
teachers and, 43
University of Chicago community and, 17–19
- Adler, Felix, 16
- Alcott, Louisa May, 30
- Andrews, Katharine. *see* Healy, Katharine Andrews
- Andrews School, 116–18
- Angell, James B., 14
- Angell, James R., 13, 63
- Atlantic Monthly*, 37, 41
- Ausable Club, 16

B

- Bacon, Georgia, 53, 82–3, 90
- Ball, Frank, 5, 70, 83–4
- Bardeen, Althea Harmer, 3–5, 7, 26–7, 67, 122, 125–7, 130, 144, 146

- Camp, Katherine and, 54–5
- Chautauqua Institution and, 115
- cooking and, 86–8
- developing course of study, 72, 75, 85–8, 94
- Drexel University, 38
- early years, 4, 37–9
- Hill, Mary and, 40
- Hull House and, 104, 112
- Labor Museum and, 107
- “New Women” and, 27–9
- Pratt Institute, 38
- social life, 41
- textiles and, 85–6
- Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory, 119–20
- Bardeen, Charles, 130
- Bardeen, John, 126
- “*The Bearings of Pragmatism upon Education*” (Dewey), 20
- bicycles, as Progressive era pastime, 3, 54, 104
- Blaine, Anna McCormick, 110, 112, 127–9
- Bradley, Josephine Crane, 36–7, 84, 94, 130
- Bryn Mawr College, 39

C

- Cabot, Ella Lyman, 117
- Camp, Anna. *see* Edwards, Anna Camp
- Camp, Elizabeth (Bess), 31, 36–7, 41–3, 53, 88, 100, 112, 116–17, 127–8

- Camp, Elizabeth Francis, 30, 98, 112, 127–8
- Camp, Jacob, 30, 35–6
- Camp, Katherine. *see* Mayhew, Katherine Camp
- Canada, Geoffrey, 141
- Castle, Mabel Wing, 41
- Chautauqua Institution, 34, 98, 115–17, 142
- Chautauquan*, 73, 89
- Chicago
- Progressive era reform, 98–114
 - public schools, 47, 55
- Chicago Institute, 110, 112, 127, 129, 143
- Chicago Physiological School, 112–14
- Civic League Vacation School (Boston, Massachusetts), 116–18
- Clarke, Edward, 29, 131
- coeducation, 14, 27–8, 32, 122
- College for Women at Western Reserve University, 36
- Columbian Exposition (Chicago World’s Fair), 100
- Cooke, Flora, 131–2, 144
- cooking. *See* Laboratory School
- Crane, Josephine. *see* Bradley, Josephine Crane
- “*Cut-and-Try School Methods*” (Dewey), 141–2
- D**
- Davidson, Thomas, 9, 15–16, 34
- democracy
- Addams on, 101–3
 - Dewey on, 2–3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 20, 47–8, 61
 - industrial, 2
 - at Laboratory School, 47–8, 50
 - Sandel on, 142
 - Young on, 56
- “*Democracy in Education*” (Dewey), 3, 8, 20, 47–8, 61, 70–1, 108
- DePencier, Ida, 144
- Dewey, Alice
- beginnings of Laboratory School and, 12, 14, 17–18, 21
 - departmental organization of Laboratory School and, 50–2
 - departure from Laboratory School, 126, 129–30
 - developing course of study, 77, 85, 88–9
 - Laboratory School community and, 3, 5–6
 - teachers and, 25, 28, 31, 34, 45
- Dewey, Evelyn, 10, 18, 25
- Dewey, Gordon, 43
- Dewey, Jane, 11–12, 15, 20
- Dewey, John
- Chautauqua Institution and, 115–16
 - Chicago Physiological School and, 112–14
 - community-centered, 45
 - democracy and, 2–3, 5, 8, 10, 18, 20, 47–8, 61
 - “democracy as a way of life”, 48, 103
 - departmental organization of Laboratory School and, 50–2
 - departure from Laboratory School, 7, 126, 129–30
 - “discovery is transformative”, 121–3
 - early years, 10–12
 - Hull House and, 2–3, 6, 9, 15, 18–19, 101–12
 - Laboratory School, establishment of, 2–8, 9–24
 - misinterpretations of, 45
 - organic circuit, 2, 46, 48–9, 69, 102, 139
 - organization of school, 45–65
 - pragmatism and, 2–3, 7, 9, 17, 19–21, 46, 49, 70, 74

- Progressive Era experimentation, 99–100
 public schools as
 undemocratic, 47
 teachers as researchers and, 69–95
 University of Chicago, 17–24
 University of Michigan, 12–17
 Dewey, Morris, 19, 43
The Dewey School (Mayhew and Edwards), 8, 14, 25, 32, 44, 50, 57, 62, 94, 122, 126, 131
 Drexel Institute, 38
- E**
 Eastman, Max, 11, 13, 128
 “*The Educational Situation*” (Dewey), 133–4
 Edwards, Anna Camp, 25, 105, 125, 130–1, 137, 139
 College for Women at Western Reserve University, 36
 developing course of study, 69–70, 72, 75, 79, 81, 86–7, 89, 91, 93–4
 early years, 30–2, 36–7
 Laboratory School community and, 4–6, 8
 “New Women” and, 27–9
 organization of school
 community, 49–50, 52–4, 57–63
 social life, 41–4
 “*Elementary Cooking in the Laboratory School*” (Harmer), 87
Elementary School Record, 58, 60, 72, 142
Elementary School Teacher, 72, 142
Experience and Education (Dewey), 45
Experience and Nature (Dewey), 6, 121
 “experimental living guided by intelligent thinking”, 4, 26, 71–2
 experimentation in public schools, 141–4
 “*Experiment in Education*” (Dewey), 142
- F**
 Farrand, Harriet, 71
 Fulmer, Grace, 57, 138, 145
- G**
 Gaddis, John Lewis, 133
 Geddes, Patrick, 41
 Gillett, Harry, 117–18
 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 16, 29
 Glenmore Summer School for the Culture Sciences, 9, 16
 Goldmark, Pauline, 39–40
 Goodrich, Henrietta, 120
 Greeley, Helen, 1
- H**
 Haley, Margaret, 47
 Hall, Granville Stanley, 12
 Hamilton, Alice, 3, 39–40, 42, 97–8, 101, 104
 Harmer, Althea, *see* Bardeen, Althea Harmer
 Harper, William Rainey, 6, 13, 15, 17–18, 21, 71, 77, 126–9, 142
 Healy, Katharine Andrews, 5, 48, 52, 78–9, 89–90, 93–4, 137
 Hill, Mary. *see* Swope, Mary Hill
 history. *see* Laboratory School
 home economics, 116, 119, 131
 hot weather schools. *see* vacation schools
 Hull House, 2, 3, 6, 9, 15, 18–19, 26, 39–43, 64, 83, 97–104, 109–14
Hull House Maps and Papers, 103
- I**
 interests of children, 22–3, 52, 72, 74, 117
Isolation in the School (Young), 56

J

- Jackman, Wilbur, 129
 James, William, 2, 12, 13, 16,
 19–21, 41, 74, 98–9, 115,
 141
 “J.D.H.H. (John Dewey Hull
 House) school”, plans for,
 109–12
 Johns Hopkins University, 11–12
 Johnston, Bertha, 98

K

- Keene Valley (Adirondacks), 16, 34
 Kehew, Mary Morton, 116–17
 Kelley, Florence, 39, 102–3
 Kern, May Root, 130
 kindergarten, 52, 57, 100, 138
 Kliebard, Herbert, 109, 145

L

- Laboratory School
 challenges and rewards of
 teaching at, 93–5
 clubhouse, 84–5, 88, 91
 cooking, 86–8
 course of study, 69–73
 democratic organization of, 47–8
 departmental organization and
 school leadership, 50–5
 developmental needs of children
 at, 54, 74, 77–8, 81
 domestic sciences, 32–4, 38, 52,
 86, 92
 experimentation, 3, 9, 17, 22, 29,
 51–2, 71, 77–82, 88, 97–123
 grouping of children, 52–3
 guidance for teachers, 7–8, 56–7,
 64–5, 74, 137, 140
 history, 80–4
 implications of, 132–46
 intellectual freedom at, 55–7
 interests of children, 22–3, 52,
 56, 72, 117, 121
 organic circuit, 2, 46, 48–9, 69,
 102, 139

- organized for testing of ideas,
 48–50
 programs, 50–5
 reading, writing, and arithmetic,
 88–93
 science, 75–8
 social occupations and academic
 content, 73–5
 teachers’ meetings, 60–2
 teachers’ reports, 57–60
 teachers as researchers, 69–73
 textiles, 84–6
 university connections, 62–4
 Labor Museum, 6, 40, 97, 104–9,
 111–12, 114, 146
 Lachmund, Alice, 117
 Lackersteen, Wynne, 89
 Lagemann, Ellen Condliffe, 18, 57
 Lathrop, Julia, 39, 102–3, 131
 Lears, Jackson, 2, 100
 Lloyd, Henry Demarest, 15
 Loeb, Jacques, 63, 120, 122

M

- Manny, Frank, 21, 23–4, 33, 35
Manual Training Magazine, 72, 74
 Martin, Jay, 10, 14
 Martin, Prestonia Mann, 16, 34
 Massachusetts Institute of
 Technology (MIT), 119
 Mattson, Kevin, 132, 140–1
 Mayhew, Katherine Camp, 25, 105,
 125, 130–1, 137–9
 Chautauqua Institution and,
 115–17
 Chicago Physiological School
 and, 112–14
 Civic League Vacation School
 and, 117
 developing course of study,
 69–70, 72, 75–6, 79, 81,
 86–7, 89–91, 94
 early years, 30–7
 Laboratory School community
 and, 4–6, 8

- “New Women” and, 27–9
 organization of school and, 50–4,
 57, 59–60, 62–3
 Pratt Institute and, 32–5
 programs and, 53–5
 science and, 72, 75–6, 79–80
 University of Michigan, 14, 31–2
 Woods Hole Marine Biological
 Laboratory and, 33, 119–21
- McCaul, Robert, 129
 McCormack, Thomas, 132
 Mead, George Herbert, 26, 31, 34,
 41, 43–4, 126, 129–30, 135,
 145–6
 beginnings of Laboratory School
 and, 13, 18, 19
 Chicago Physiological School
 and, 112–14
 course of study and, 94
 Laboratory School community
 and, 3
 Laboratory School and
 pragmatism, 48–9
 Parents’ Association, 63, 128
 Progressive Era experimentation
 and, 110–114, 121–3
 teachers and, 31, 35, 42–4, 54–5
- Mead, Helen, 35, 39, 42, 44, 73
 Mead, Henry, 44, 63, 73
 Menand, Louis, 2, 20, 102
 Michigan Schoolmasters Club, 15
 Mills, C. Wright, 22
 Mitchell, Clara, 21–4, 35, 51
 “Modern Lear, A” (Addams),
 101–2
 Morris, George Sylvester, 12, 13
 Morris, Lloyd, 100
 Myers, George, 49
- N**
- Nash, Margaret, 28
 New Deal, 132
 “New Women”, 27–44
 higher education and, 4, 27–9
 professions and, 27–9
- tennis as pastime, 4, 32, 42
 “wheeling fever” (bicycles), 3, 29,
 104
- No Child Left Behind, 7, 140
- O**
- Ohanian, Susan, 7
 Open Court reading program, 7
 organic circuit, 2, 46, 48–9, 69,
 102, 139
 Osborn, Clinton, 92–3
- P**
- Parents’ Association of the
 Laboratory School, 63, 128
 Parker, Francis, 110, 112, 127–9,
 144
 Peirce, Charles Sanders, 12, 20
 Peiss, Kathy, 27
 Polacheck, Hilda Satt, 99, 105, 107
 pragmatism
 course of study of Laboratory
 School and, 69–70, 74, 76
 Dewey and, 2–3, 7, 9, 17, 19–21,
 46, 49, 70, 74
 educational experimentation and,
 131, 141–2
 James, William on, 98, 99
 knowledge and, 103
 Laboratory School and, 9, 17,
 19–22, 46, 48–50, 109, 114
 Mead, George Herbert and,
 13, 57
 teaching and, 25, 44, 131
Principles of Psychology (James),
 12, 16
 Progressive era
 experimentation, 2, 98–101
 public education, 46–7
 “*Psychology of Occupations*”
 (Dewey), 5
 public schools, 3, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15,
 18, 20–1, 33, 46, 70, 114,
 140–1
 centralization of, 4, 46–9, 99

public sphere, Progressive era
 women and, 27–8, 38, 131
 Putnam Camp, 16
 Putnam, Helen, 99
 Putnam, Robert, 141

R

reading, writing, and arithmetic. *see*
 Laboratory School
 Reese, William, 99, 114–15
 “*Reflective Attention*” (Dewey), 80
 Reigart, J.F., 76
 Rice, Joseph Mayer, 18, 70
 Richards, Ellen Swallow, 116–17,
 119, 121
 Rockefeller, John D., 17–18
 Rossiter, Margaret, 121
 Royce, Josiah, 13
 Runyon, Laura, 26, 58–9, 73, 81–2,
 84, 87, 89, 91, 115–16, 126,
 135
 Ryan, Alan, 10, 14, 133

S

Sandel, Michael, 142
 School of Ethical Culture, 76
The School and Society (Dewey), 63,
 132, 140, 142
 schools as social centers, 131–2,
 140–1
 “Science in Elementary Education”
 (Camp, Katherine), 75
 science. *see* Laboratory School
 Scott, Anne Firor, 103
 scripted curriculum, 7
 Seneca Falls Convention and
 women’s rights, 27
 Smedley, Frederick, 35
 Smith, Mary Rozet, 39
 social history, 6, 104–6
 social occupations and academic
 content, 73–5
 Sorosis, 12, 31
 Starr, Ellen Gates, 15, 101–2
 Summerbrook, 16, 34

Swope, Gerard, 39–41, 83, 92, 97,
 104–6, 110–114, 122, 127,
 130
 Swope, Mary Hill, 26–8, 39–41,
 125–8, 130, 144, 146, 422
 Bryn Mawr College, 39
 developing course of study, 67,
 73, 76, 83–4, 92–3
 early years, 39–41
 Hamilton, Alice and, 39, 42,
 97–8
 history and, 83–4
 Hull House and, 6, 26, 39–43,
 64, 83, 97–104, 109–14
 Laboratory School community
 and, 3–6, 83–4, 92–3
 Labor Museum and, 6, 40, 97,
 104–7
 “New Women” and, 27–9
 organization of school and,
 53, 58
 Progressive-Era experimentation
 and, 12, 97–8, 104–15

T

Taylor, Frederick, 108
 teachers
 as content specialists, 24, 50–3,
 59, 92, 113, 137–8
 intellectual freedom of, 7–8, 44,
 45–65, 94, 137–8
 leadership of, 50–5
 as researchers, 69–95
 “*Textile Industries*” (Harmer), 64
 textiles. *see* Laboratory School
 “*Textile Work Connected with
 American Colonial History*”
 (Harmer), 85
 “*The Theory of the Chicago
 Experiment*” (Dewey), 46, 82
 “*Three Years of the University
 Elementary School*” (Dewey),
 48, 51
 “*Toast to John Dewey*” (Addams),
 101

- Torrey, Henry, 11
 Toynbee Hall (London), 102
 Tufts, James, 13, 17, 31, 63
Twenty Years at Hull-House
 (Addams), 105
- U**
 University of Chicago
 Department of Pedagogy, 55
 Dewey and, 6, 71–2, 77, 126–7
 Laboratory School and, 2, 9,
 17–24, 50, 59, 63–4, 71–2,
 112
 Laboratory School teachers and,
 34, 42–3, 55, 82, 92, 114,
 115, 120, 142–3
 Runyon, Laura and, 82
 vacation schools and, 118
 women and, 28–9
 Young, Ella Flagg and, 57
 University of Michigan, 12–17,
 31–2, 83
- V**
 vacation schools, 98–9, 114–19,
 126, 131, 142
Volunteer Help to the Schools (Cabot),
 117
- W**
 Waters, Alice, 140
 Weeks, Caroline, 35, 38
 Westbrook, Robert, 4, 10, 20, 76
 women, higher education of, 28–9
 Women’s Educational and Industrial
 Union (WEIU), 116
 Woods Hole Marine Biological
 Laboratory (MBL), 33, 98,
 119–21
- Y**
 Young, Ella Flagg, 3, 50, 53, 55–7,
 63, 129