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John Dewey in Hawai‘i

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Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Contributors

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Introduction to This Issue

Hunter McEwan

In 1988, I was hired as an assistant professor in the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. My new duties included membership of the college's Holmes Group committee which was developing a new teacher education degree at the master's level—the Master of Education in Teaching (MEdT) program. The committee wanted to get away from the old formula of teacher preparation as a series of college courses plus a student teaching experience. The new approach would get the students into the schools from the word go. Student teachers would be grouped with their faculty advisors and mentor teachers in partner schools that had a shared commitment to preparing new teachers. The program also placed a high value on student inquiry. The first project that student undertook was a group inquiry aimed at understanding the culture of the school—in effect, they were to compose a portrait of the school. Over the two year program, the students gradually gathered more classroom experience, until, in the final semester, they took charge of their own classroom under the guidance of a mentor teacher and faculty supervisor (McEwan, 1996). The approach, indeed the pedagogy, of the program was Deweyan in both spirit and character. Students would learn how to teach in the context of working as a teacher, but guided in their efforts by experienced mentors who challenged them to reflect on their practice. Professional inquiry had another important place in the MEdT program from the group portrait of the school begun in the first semester to the action research project completed in the final semester.

For several of the senior members of the planning committee, the influence of Dewey derived from an earlier COE program, the Innovative Program, that shared some of the pedagogic approaches of the MEdT. Occasionally, Dewey's name came up in planning discussions, but not so much in reference to particular works or even to specific aspects of his ideas so much as a commitment to the idea of learning by engaging student teachers, teachers, and faculty in shared activities. When Dewey's name did come up it was often in reference to his visits to Hawai'i and of

his influence in shaping Hawai'i's schools and programs. Mostly, these stories seemed to me to be of doubtful authenticity—suggesting stories that had spread by word of mouth as opposed to anything based on acquaintance or evidence; and the speakers usually admitted, when pressed, that they had the story from someone else who had it from another person, who had it from...and so on. For example, the story, which I heard from several sources, that he had something to do with starting the University of Hawai'i lab school. But in spite of the unsubstantiated origins of these claims, I felt they might contain a grain of truth that would yield something interesting if I took a closer look.

Dewey was connected with the start of the Henry and Dorothy Memorial Free Kindergarten (HDMFK), not the building adjacent to the College of Education, though he undoubtedly visited the new Castle Memorial building in 1951 a few years after it was built. He was, however, intimately connected with the establishment of the school and the earlier HDMFK building that had been constructed on the site of the old Castle homestead on King Street—a connection that is described in detail in Al Castle's work, *A Century of Philanthropy: A History of the Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation* (2004). The first HDMFK school was a building that Dewey would have been very familiar with, though he would not have seen it in operation with students because it opened a few months after his first visit to Hawai'i in 1899. However, Dewey was instrumental in finding the first director of the school, Mrs. Florence La Victoire—a person whom Dewey knew well and could vouch for as she had been a teacher in his lab school at the University of Chicago.

These early intimations of a Hawai'i connection with Dewey got me thinking that it would be interesting to explore the story of his visits to Hawai'i more fully and to seek some answers to the questions that immediately arose in my mind—what was his purpose, and what did he achieve? Could it be claimed as some did claim that Hawai'i was specially well-disposed to the implementation of his educational theory?

The chronology published by the Center for Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University records that Dewey visited Hawai'i on three separate occasions: first, in August 1899; again, in August 1919; and finally, in January 1951, sixteen months before his death on June 1, 1952.

My first step in seeking answers to my questions about Dewey's visits took me to Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, home to the Center for Dewey Studies, to consult the collection of Dewey correspondence. The search brought to light a number of letters from Dewey and his wife, Alice Chipman Dewey, that they wrote, mainly to their children, describing their 1899 stay. I also found other letters referencing their later trip in 1919 and a few letters from Dewey and his second wife, Roberta Lowitz Grant Dewey that were written during the final trip in 1951. The Dewey Center data base is searchable, so it was a straightforward matter to identify all references to Hawai'i and come up with a complete set of letters regarding the visits. During my stay in Carbondale, I was graciously received by the center's director, Larry Hickman, and ably assisted in my search by his assistant, James Downhour, and other members of the center staff. I have James to thank for bringing to light the wonderful photograph that we have used on the cover of this issue of John and Alice Dewey and other crew members posing beside an outrigger canoe on Waikiki Beach.

On my return to Hawai'i, I used the dates of his visits to search through the University of Hawai'i microfilms to gather further details from the newspapers of his stays in Hawai'i. The search, I am relieved to say, was greatly facilitated when I discovered the *Chronicling America* website and its searchable data base of U.S. newspapers—a wonderful resource that helped me to target references to Dewey's first visit and freed me from the tedious and eye-glazing task of scrolling through reels of microfilm. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA) was a particularly rich resource and provided a number of detailed reports of Dewey's lectures to supplement what I had already gleaned from the correspondence. *Chronicling America* is a work in progress and although it helped immensely in locating material relating to the first visit, unfortunately, for the later visits, it was back to the discomforts and endless knob turning of the microfilm reader.

So what did I find out? Clearly, from the point of view of Dewey's impact as an educator, the first visit is of

greatest importance. The second visit, a short stopover on the Dewey's way to Asia, was a fleeting one that provided a brief opportunity to meet up with friends. The third visit in January 1951, when Dewey was 91, was a longer trip of about six weeks duration. He was accompanied on this third visit by his second wife, Roberta, and their two adopted children, Adrienne and John Jr. The letters suggest that this trip was health related and that Dewey was seeking some relief from the cold and damp, and the respiratory problems that were plaguing him at that time. A fuller description of the visits is provided in the article, "John Dewey's Visits to Hawai'i" on pp. 14–24 of this volume.

The first visit to Honolulu had several purposes, both personal and public, but the official one was to deliver two series of lectures in support of the establishment of university extension courses in Hawai'i. The newspapers at this time refer to Dewey as "one of the foremost university extension-ists...and a man of great executive ability...just the man to set up a structure already started and push it forward."²

University extension had been "already started" because Dewey was preceded by a lecturer, from the University of Michigan, Professor Henry W. Rolfe, who had arrived with his wife in April of 1899 to give a series of lectures on English and American literature.

At this time, Hawai'i had no university. The University of Hawai'i, which began life as the College of Hawai'i, did not get its start until 1908. But the demand in the islands for higher education was strong and university extension courses were viewed as a way of meeting that need. The driving force behind the visits by Rolfe and Dewey were three prominent Hawai'i women. As reported in the PCA, those foremost in the work were "Mrs. Meade (sic), wife of Professor Meade of Chicago; Mrs. F.M. Day; and Mrs. Ethel Wing Castle."³

It added that they had "devoted much time to correspondence to and fro and at the present time Mrs. Day... is actually engaged in consulting with many of the foremost educators upon the subject."⁴ Rolfe and Dewey were experienced and committed university extension lecturers. Dewey had been giving extension lectures in Chicago for some years and Jane Addams recalls in her book, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, an audience who "listened to a series of lectures given by Dr. John Dewey on 'Social Psychology' as genuine intellectual groups consisting of people from the immediate neighborhood" (p. 436). An interesting footnote, then, to Dewey's contribution to education during his first visit to

Hawai'i is that he played an important and foundational role in efforts to establish university level education in Hawai'i, nine years before the founding of the University of Hawai'i.

The university extension movement began in England around the same time as the settlement house movement. In fact, they were closely connected, as was the free kindergarten movement, and each of the three can be considered as integral outgrowths of the same egalitarian and social activist spirit. This was also the case with the assertion of women rights, given the prominence of women engaged in educational reform like Jane Addams, Helen Castle, Alice Dewey, and others. Jane Addams saw the settlement movement itself as "a protest against a restricted view of education [and] in line with this declaration, Hull House in the very beginning opened what we called University Extension Classes with a faculty finally numbering thirty-five men and women" (Addams, p. 429).

As Mary Vorsino reports in her article in this issue, a settlement house had been established in Honolulu in 1896—the Palama Settlement. One year earlier, in 1895 the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association was created with a gift of \$10,000 from Mary Tenney Castle and under the direction of Harriet Castle, Charles M. Hyde, and Henry Castle's wife, Mabel Castle. University extension would add a third leg to these philanthropic endeavors—one that was also substantially supported by the Castle family. However, the extension movement that got under way in Hawai'i, unlike Chicago, was not annexed to the Palama Settlement, but for reasons of local circumstance and location was connected to the work of the teachers' summer school organized each year from 1895 to 1899 by Henry S. Townsend, the Inspector General of Hawai'i's public schools. Dewey's extension lectures were held in the evenings and the teachers' summer school in the daytime at the same location, Honolulu High School. The Deweys had traveled to Honolulu with two of the teacher educators from Chicago who were to provide instruction at the summer school, Miss Florence Cooke and Miss Zonia Baber. Both were from Colonel Parker's Cook County Normal School, and it is highly probable that the arrangements to obtain their services along with that of John Dewey were coordinated and partly financed by the Castle family among other influential people. As a reporter for the Hawaiian Star observed of an earlier visitor to the summer school, Colonel Parker: "the fees would not be sufficient to cover

the expense of bringing the lecturers down. But this can be readily overcome in a community such as this."

Because the summer school classes were held during the day and Dewey's lectures in the evening at Honolulu High School, summer school teachers were able, indeed encouraged, to attend the extension lectures. This arrangement also allowed Dewey, on occasion, to visit the summer school.

The Lectures

Dewey agreed to deliver ten lectures in Honolulu between Tuesday, August 15 and Friday, September 15, 1899. They would be given in two sets of five lectures—the first set on the Life of the Child and the second, on Movements in Nineteenth Century Thought. However, in the end, for some reason, Dewey cut the second set back to four lectures; most likely due to a decline in the numbers attending once the new school year got started at the beginning of September.

In preparation for his talks, Dewey distributed a brief synopsis of each lecture which was published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA) on the same day as his talk. In addition, on the day following a lecture, the paper published a summary based on notes taken by an audience member. Unfortunately, the PCA has no record, either of synopsis or summary, for first lecture on August 15. This may have been due to some oversight. Or perhaps the editor had been made aware, too late, after the first lecture, of the popular demand for accounts of Dewey's talks. Or perhaps attendees, unfamiliar with the challenges of the content, and who needed extra time to digest his ideas, appreciated being able to follow Dewey in print and made this request after the first lecture has been delivered. Fortunately, the notes for the remaining eight talks were published and are available online at the Chronicling America website.¹ Copies of these synopses and summaries of the first set of lectures can be found on pp. 66–75.

The idea of the life of the child is a central idea of Dewey's pedagogy and one that he was in the process of developing for his most popular work, *The School and Society*, the first edition of which was published shortly after his return from Honolulu, in November 1899. A good many of the topics covered in his Honolulu talks are covered in *The School and Society*, but the lectures also appear to contain fresh material that prefigure ideas published in a later essay on mental development (Dewey, 1900).

The Life of the Child

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15

A Study of the Child (Announced in PCA Aug 14, p. 11)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18

Early Childhood: Play, and Imagination. (See Synopsis in PCA Aug 18 and summary on August 19) IMAGINATION AND ASSOCIATION The Natural Inheritances of the Child
Finally Dominating His Later Actions

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22

Later Childhood: Interest and Attention (See PCA synopsis on Aug 22
and summary on August 24)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25

Adolescence and Emotions. (See PCA synopsis on Aug 25 and summary on August 26)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29

General principles of growth. (See PCA synopsis on Aug 29 and summary on Aug 30)

Movements in Nineteenth Century Thought

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1899

Influence of Rousseau on French Political History and Literature

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

Goethe and Schiller and the Ethics of Culture and Art

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

The Influence of Scientific Thought

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

The Ethics of Social Welfare

Dewey is frequently regarded as a child-centered as opposed to a subject-centered educator, which the phrase “the life of the child” would appear to support. But this is to misunderstand what Dewey means. What is central to Dewey’s pedagogy is a conception of social life centered on an ideal of family life, and this was the principal topic and theme of Dewey’s first set of talks in Hawai‘i. The idea of the life of the child represents a reorientation in education—a sort of shift in the center of gravity away from that which placed the teacher and subject disciplines as the main focus in pedagogic practice to an idea of the child as an active, engaged participant in school activities. School life would

take on the quality of active involvement in family affairs as a basis upon which to build school life in ways that were to be guided and directed by the teacher. Thus, in Dewey words, schooling “is a matter of doing systematically and in a large, intelligent, and competent way what for various reasons can be done in most households only in a comparatively meagre and haphazard manner” (Dewey, 1899, pp. 23–24).

The second set of lectures on Nineteenth Century thought are of more general philosophical interest— topics that would be typical of Dewey’s work as a university teacher of philosophy, such as the influence of Rousseau on

French thought, Goethe and Schiller on ethics and art, and the impact of science on traditional moral beliefs. Thus, the second set of lectures may have been more specialized and less likely to attract the large numbers of educators who had been drawn to his first five lectures. The PCA provided summaries of the first talk in the series, two summaries of the second talk, and one of the third.

Dewey's Influence on Education in Hawai'i

If Dewey's impact is to be judged merely in regard to his work in "pushing forward the work of university extension on the Islands" as the PCA opined then very little would appear to have come of it. In fact there is no evidence in the newspapers that the life of university extension extended beyond Dewey's visit in 1899. Indeed, university extension appears to have ended with him. It is likely, of course, that this may have been due to the expense; but it may also be that the lectures had succeed in demonstrating the appeal of higher education in Hawai'i and that the powers represented by the University Club, that select group of professional men who had enjoyed the privileges of a mainland university education and who had been placed in charge of university extension, had decided that resources might be better employed in pushing forward with the grander plan of establishing a university—a reading of events that gives Dewey and Rolfe a modest and indirect role in the opening of the College of Hawai'i (now the University of Hawai'i) in 1908.

Dewey's philosophy of education was an important influence on Harriet Castle who was the driving force behind the establishment of the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association. Dewey also played an important, though indirect, role in starting the Memorial Kindergarten around the time of his visit in 1899—first, in recommending the school's first director, Florence La Victoire, a teacher at his lab school in Chicago; and, secondly, though the application of his ideas to the work of the school.

As Aulii Silva argues in her article in this issue, Hawai'i provided fertile ground for Dewey's ideas on education. She recognizes Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), King of Hawai'i from 1825 to 1854, as the first progressive educator in his efforts to establish free schools for all the people of Hawai'i. By the end of the Nineteenth Century, progressive education ideas were widely held and not just by reform-minded people like the Castles, but among those involved in public education, too; especially as a direct result of the work of Henry

S. Townsend, the Inspector General of Hawai'i's public schools from 1894 to 1900.

Townsend has also been referred to as Hawai'i's first progressive educator (Wist, 136), but whether it is he or Kauikeaouli who deserves the title, it is certainly the case that Townsend did a great deal to promote progressive educational methods among Hawai'i's educators; thus preparing the ground for Dewey's 1899 visit. First, in 1890, Townsend started a professional educational journal, *The Progressive Educator*, which, as its masthead declared, was "devoted to the theory and art of teaching with special reference to the educational problems confronting teachers of the Hawaiian Islands." According to Benjamin Wist the journal became "the incentive for teacher reading circles and discussion clubs. It was thus that the public school teachers of Hawai'i were introduced to the educational philosophy of John Dewey."²

Secondly, in 1896, after he had been appointed inspector general, taking over the role from Alatau Atkinson, "an extreme formalist" in Townsend's opinion, (Townsend, 1936, p. 20), Townsend helped to organize a series of summer schools for teachers. Although they ran for only four years, from 1896 to 1899, the summer schools attracted some major educators from the mainland including, in 1898, Colonel Francis Parker and his wife from the Cook County Normal School. In the following year, at the same time as Dewey's visit, Frances Cooke and Zonia Baber, also from Cook County Normal school, arrived as visiting lecturers. In Colonel Parker's opinion "Miss Baber was the best teacher of geography that he ever saw in his life...and Miss Cooke was his ideal primary teacher."³ The Castle family, especially Helen Castle Meade and Harriet Castle Coleman, were undoubtedly instrumental in facilitating these visits through their connections with the University of Chicago, and especially in attracting Dewey to give his extension lectures around the same time that the summer school was in session.

It is striking, therefore, that so shortly after Dewey gave his extension lectures that the forward march of progressive ideas on public education in Hawai'i came to an abrupt halt. In 1899, Townsend's reign as head of the school system came to an end, and with his departure a period of progressive education gave way to a return to one of extreme formalism. The catalyst for this change was the Hawaiian Organic Act of July 14, 1900 and the incorporation of

Hawai‘i as a territory of the United States. Townsend was almost immediately replaced by Alatau Atkinson, who became the new superintendent of public instruction. Townsend, however, stayed on as inspector general, effectively a demotion to deputy superintendent, for one more year. Instead of the summer school which had done so much to introduce Hawaiian educators to progressive educational thought and ideas, at the Board of Education’s recommendation, he was directed to conduct a ten-week experimental normal school program, in the summer of 1900, at Honolulu High School with the aim of increasing the number of certificated teachers.

The visits to the summer school of Colonel Francis Parker, Zonia Baber, Florence Cooke, and John Dewey provided a progressive impetus to the start of the Honolulu Normal and Training School that Townsend continued by appointing Edgar Wood as head of the school. Lawrence Fuchs refers to Wood as continuing Townsend’s tradition of filling the heads of young teachers with progressive ideas (p. 269)—a tradition that Benjamin Wist was to continue after he was appointed to lead the normal school in 1921. Townsend’s initial efforts bore fruit and Dewey, who was invited to evaluate the work of the Territorial Normal and Training School, as it was called by 1912, found it to be “well to the front in educational ideals” though he added prophetically and with considerable insight into the local situation that “it would probably meet opposition in its development.”⁴

Townsend was finally assigned to the principalship of Kaahumanu School, a position he held for a year before he left Hawai‘i on August 3, 1901 with his wife and three children to become superintendent of schools in Manila.⁵ Lawrence Fuchs (1961) writes that Townsend had made many enemies among the ruling elite: “His constant prating about democracy in the classroom, the development of student initiative, and the need for more higher education marked him as a radical” (p. 265).

The first two decades of the twentieth century brought about a big change in educational policy and practices in Hawai‘i. Wist records that

Hawaiian educational history records an abrupt change under the Territorial form of government. For a period of two decades—a period during which the philosophy of John Dewey was making ever deeper inroads into educational practices elsewhere—the

history of public education in Hawai‘i reflects little response to the philosophy of experimentalism. Townsend ...was forced to give way to conservative leadership. Public education in Hawai‘i, during the first two decades under Territorial government, was carried on in a pattern of extreme formalism.⁶

Although public education was given over to formalism, no such constraints inhibited private education. In many respects, private schools, at least some private schools, have been far more open to trying out Dewey’s ideas; undoubtedly because they have the resources to try them out. For example, Mid-Pacific Institute, formed in 1908 from the merger of Kawaiahao Seminary for Girls and Mills Institute for Boys, and subsidized by the Damon, Wilcox and Atherton families, was, in its early years, “led by a principal [Dr. John Hopwood] imbued with progressive ideas” (Fuchs, p. 267–268). In 1918, Hanahau‘oli School was founded by Sophie Judd Cooke and dedicated to the implementation of Dewey’s pedagogic principles—the Hawaiian word chosen for the name of the school, hanahau‘oli, translated as “joyous work,” has a nice correspondence with Dewey’s views on play and work, not as opposing terms but as interconnected attitudes, and as he puts it: “work which remains permeated with the play attitude is art—in quality if not in conventional designation” (1916, p. 214). Not only did the school appeal to those principles in the beginning, it has sustained them in its practices for close to a century. Two articles in this issue describe the work of Hanahau‘oli. First, Robert G. Peters, who was head of school from 1982 to 2013, describes how Hanahau‘oli puts Dewey’s educational ideas into practice and how teachers and students learn together “by doing.” In a second article on the school, Amber Strong Makaiau and Linda Summers Strong paint a dynamic portrait of the school and its impact on learning from the perspective of four generations of their family, who are descendants of the founder.

By the 1920s circumstances became more favorable to change and a new, more progressive era of education was ushered in, largely as a result of a survey conducted by the Federal Commissioner for Education that criticized the public school system for providing limited options to its students and demanding, among other things, that education “should be encouraged to develop an interest in teaching, law, medicine, research and languages” (Fuchs.

p. 271). Other factors, such as an influx of teachers from the Mainland who were influenced in their preparation programs by progressive ideas, weighed in favor of more democratic approaches to education. In addition, the normal school under Benjamin Wist, was dedicated to preparing local teachers in progressive ideas. As a result, "Because Hawaii's Department of Public Instruction and some of its most influential teachers were imbued with the educational philosophy of John Dewey, Hawaii's schools emphasized freedom and democracy as much as, or more than, schools on the Mainland during the 1920s" (Fuchs, p. 284). But not all of these influential teachers were attending exclusively to Dewey and his works. Educators were also influenced by the works of William Heard Kilpatrick and George Counts. Hubert Everly confessed to me once that Dewey was too much of a hard read to be useful and that George Counts and his 1932 call, *Dare to Build a New Social Order*, was a bigger influence on him and many other progressive educators (Potter and Williams, p. 15).

Dewey's ideas are frequently viewed as too abstract and his writings too difficult to understand to have any direct impact on what teachers do. A frequent complaint of my students, when studying Dewey's classical work on education, *Democracy and Education*, is that Dewey provides few clues on how to translate his ideas into action. Such is the fate of the philosopher. In gauging Dewey's influence on education in Hawai'i, therefore, it is important to focus attention on a select group of interpreters—those who have shown an understanding of his work and who have followed through robustly in implementing his ideas into action in the schools. Three people who have had such an impact on education in Hawai'i stand out in meeting these two criteria—George E. Axtelle, Miles E. Cary, and Robert W. Clopton.

George E. Axtelle (1893—1974) was a philosopher of education who is best known as the first editor of the *Collected Works of John Dewey* and president of the executive committee of the John Dewey Society. What is less known is that Axtelle served from 1927 as the principal of Kawanakoa Experimental School in Hawai'i, tasked with the job of implementing and promoting progressive teaching methods and curriculum (Fuchs, 285). Dotts and Sikkema (1994) suggest that at best, the experiment had mixed results and largely because Axtelle, though immersed

in Dewey's philosophy, had little grasp of how to translate these ideas into action. Yet, in spite of the challenges in encouraging teachers to embrace the demands placed on them by Dewey's pedagogy the Kawanakoa experiment did achieve results in moving teachers away from methods based on routine instruction and memorization drills. As Dotts and Sikkema report, "A number of the teachers involved had, themselves, become learners in an educational experience that had turned them around and had permanently changed their perception of education" (1994, 116). Axtelle earned his master's degree from the University of Hawai'i in 1928 and went on to gain his EdD from the University of California in 1935. In 1959 he was appointed as professor of education in the Department of Administration and Supervision at Southern Illinois University (SIU) where he helped to start work on *The Collected Works of John Dewey* which led in 1971 to the establishment of the Center for Dewey Studies at SIU.

Miles E. Cary (1894—1959) served as the principal of McKinley High School from 1924 to 1947. During these years, Cary was noted for enacting reforms in the curriculum at McKinley that derived from Dewey's philosophical ideas on democratic education (Fuchs, 286–291). Cary earned a doctoral degree from Ohio State University in 1937. His dissertation, *Integration and the High School Curriculum*, drew inspiration from Dewey's philosophy to clarify the meaning of the concept of integration. He concludes that integration is best understood as "an effort to maintain dynamic equilibrium in a changing environment," and that "it is essential that the environment of the learner be rich in materials, tools, experts, etc., and made available, in order that the individual may use and reconstruct it in the process of solving his problems" (p. 91). Fuchs pays tribute to Cary's contribution to the development of democratic aspirations among his students in these words: "In no other institution in the Islands was this philosophy carried to greater length than at McKinley High School in Honolulu. There Miles Cary, with his deep faith in children and contagious enthusiasm for democracy, influenced thousands of graduates during his tenure as principal" (p. 286).

Cary left Hawai'i and McKinley in 1947 and "with the loss of his creative leadership and with no attempt to relieve it, the program gradually reverted to that of other public high schools in Hawai'i" (Dotts and Sikkema, p 122).

Robert W. Clopton (1906–1981) was a professor of the philosophy and history of education at the University of Hawai‘i from 1943 until his retirement in 1973. He served as Chair of the Department of Education (now the Department of Educational Foundations) from 1947 to 1965. In 1965–66 he was appointed as a senior specialist at the East-West Center during which time he helped edit a book on John Dewey’s lectures in China.

As a scholar Clopton was deeply appreciative of Dewey’s work and is noted for co-editing, with Tsuin-Chen Ou, *John Dewey: Lectures in China*, 1919–1921. Clopton had discovered that no record remained of the lectures that Dewey had delivered in China, other than the Chinese translations that were published in newspapers shortly after they had been delivered. With the help of Tsuin-Chen Ou and a graduate student, Chung-Ming Lu, the Chinese newspaper versions were translated back into English. Clopton and Ou describe their procedure as follows: “Chung-Min Lu made exact, literal translations from the Chinese, which Dr. Clopton rendered into idiomatic English. Dr. Ou then compared this version for fidelity to the Chinese text, after which Dr. Clopton incorporated Dr. Ou’s suggestions for modification” (Clopton, p. 33).

As a teacher, Clopton was regarded by his students as somewhat plodding—“he hummed and hawed a lot”—but he did inspire his students to be reflective and “to shape a vision of education as a force for social, political, and economic change” (Potter and Williams, 13–14).

In 1966, Clopton became the Administrative Director of the University of Hawai‘i Peace Corp Training Center in Kona on the Big Island. Clopton set about the task in true Deweyan fashion and sought to implement a program which immersed peace corp trainees in realistic training situations. For instance, he and his assistant, Aiko Oda, had experienced some difficulties in finding suitable accommodation for the trainees. Clopton thought that housing the trainees with local families would be an ideal experiential approach that would simulate some aspects of actual overseas living situations. Others thought the plan would meet with resistance. But he was adamant that it would work if they took a personal approach; so, he and Oda set about “walking the coffee fields and small villages of Kona...and by the end of the week, enough housing was promised for all the trainees” (Potter and Williams, p. 14). Clopton’s work shows a deep understanding and love of

Dewey’s philosophy as well as a commitment to democratic education in his university teaching. He also had the good fortune to meet and befriend Dewey during the latter’s visit in 1951. His presidential address to the Hawai‘i chapter of Phi Kappa Phi on May 8, 1962 is published for the first time in this issue of *Educational Perspectives*.

Conclusion

I have now come almost full circle in my narrative. Aiko Oda, Robert Clopton’s assistant at the Peace Corp Training Center in Kona, was the first director of the Master of Education in Teaching (MEdT) program, the Dewey-inspired teacher preparation program that I refer to in the first paragraph. Dr. Oda, a professor of counselor education, brought an entirely different and refreshingly new perspective to teacher preparation—one shaped by her experience in clinical field work, which placed an emphasis on professional learning in the context of working in actual professional settings. Dr Oda and the program faculty were also strongly committed to collaborative decision making and working in partnership with the schools—consequences of our membership in John Goodlad’s partnership for educational renewal. An executive council composed of university faculty, partner-school teachers, principals, and student representatives met monthly to discuss program issues. Students engaged in collaborative inquiry projects, often with the involvement of their mentor teachers. These, and other program features lent the program a powerful progressive feel. Dewey’s influence came from several quarters—from Goodlad, certainly; but also from members of the planning committee and the group of faculty who worked with Aiko Oda in the early years to launch the program—Barry Bull, Phil Whitesell, Frank Brown, Anne Phelan, Gay Reed, Hunter McEwan, Sara Hodell, Alan Awaya, Neil Pateman, and Ralph Steuber (Oda and Whitesell, 1996).

I learned a great deal from my years in working in the MEdT, and more recently in collaboration with my colleagues in Educational Foundations on our innovative summer masters programs—the EdLeads and the Private School Leadership programs. These experiences provided lessons and formed professional connections that were put to use when, with faculty and representatives from public and independent schools, we planned for and launched the new EdD in professional education practice at Mānoa.

The first lesson was about community and partnership. Dewey talks about the constitution of a democratic community as one in which there is a variety of shared perspectives and a free back and forth play of ideas among members of the group. Diversity in viewpoints brings novelty; novelty stimulates thought (Dewey, 1916, p. 90–91). In developing the EdD we aimed to bring together a diverse group of students and teachers in a climate that encouraged sharing of different points of view. The first cohort, for example, included teachers from elementary and secondary schools, public and independent school administrators, and higher education faculty. Our teaching staff were drawn from faculty in several college departments and from administrators with years of experience—some in private and some in public schools. Our meetings were constructed with full group attendance so that we had ample opportunities for group sharing and discussion.

The second lesson was about the importance of practitioner inquiry and of research conducted as a form of artistry. I think that this is one of Dewey's most important insights about the nature of research—that the researcher, whether as scientist, engineer, physician, or teacher is at root the practitioner of an art. My colleague, Gay Reed, and I have been exploring this theme in a paper (unpublished) that draws inspiration from Dewey's ideas, especially on aesthetics (Reed and McEwan, 2014). As Dewey argues, artistry requires a "full and free interest" in one's work. Fullness of interest refers to the intimacy of the insider viewpoint—the kind of detailed understanding that comes with familiarity with a particular situation or activity—the situational awareness of what is often referred to, disparagingly, as the "subjective point of view." Free interest introduces the notions of exploration and experimentation—conditions that enable artistry to flourish. "There is a tendency among lay critics," in Dewey's view, "to confine experimentation to scientists in the laboratory. Yet one of the essential traits of the artist is that he (sic) is a born experimenter" (1934, p. 148).

It has been one hundred and sixteen years since Dewey first visited the islands to give his lectures on the Life of the Child and almost one hundred years since the publication of *Democracy and Education*, but his ideas on the art of education are still as fresh and relevant today as they were to his audience in Honolulu in 1899. Dewey's philosophy provides a devastating critique of traditional methods of

teaching in which instructional aims are established in isolation from the learner, where teachers furnish ready-made material, and learning is measured by memorization of content imparted. In contrast, he offers a pedagogy of shared activity and participation, where schooling is a form of community life in which there is "a give and take in the building up of a common experience" (1916, p. 368).

Dewey's visits, his personal connection to the Castle family, and the dedication and influential work of disciples like Henry Townsend, Harriet Castle, Miles Cary, George Axtelle, Benjamin Wist, and others have contributed to Dewey's special status in Hawai'i as a familiar presence—a kind of guiding spirit for educators who want to offer students an alternative to dominant educational practices based on teaching as telling and learning as memorization.

In this volume, the articles provide some background to Dewey's special connection to Hawai'i and give an idea about his pedagogic theory and why it is of continuing educational importance. In addition, they tell us something of his special relevance to educators in Hawai'i and why his philosophy will continue to be useful to teachers who make the effort to try out his ideas.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Letter from B. O. Wist to John Dewey on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, The Influence of John Dewey upon Education in Hawai'i, October 20, 1949, Center for Dewey Studies, Carbondal, IL. Ltr 11752.
- ² The Hawaiian Star, Aug. 5, 1899, p. 1.
- ³ The reference to "Mrs Meade" is to Helen Castle Mead, wife of George Herbert Mead. Mead was a colleague of Dewey's at the University of Chicago and a prominent philosopher and psychologist.
- ⁴ Maui News, Sept. 14, 1912)
- ⁵ PCA, December 14, 1898 p.1.
- ⁶ The Hawaiian Star, Dec. 14, 1898, p. 1
- ⁷ <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>
- ⁸ Ltr 11752.
- ⁹ (Hawaiian Star, May 20, 1899, p. 1).
- ¹⁰ PCA, December 14, 1898 p.1.
- ¹¹ Letter from B. O. Wist to John Dewey on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, The Influence of John Dewey upon Education in Hawai'i, October 20, 1949, Center for Dewey Studies, Carbondal, IL. Ltr 11752.
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John Dewey's Visits to Hawai'i

Hunter McEwan

John Dewey visited Hawai'i on three separate occasions. Of all three trips, by far the most important, as far as Dewey's influence on education in Hawai'i is concerned, was in 1899 when he came with his wife, Alice Chipman Dewey, to help launch the University Extension program in Honolulu. Dewey gave two sets of extension lectures. The first set, entitled "The Life of the Child," was composed of five lectures; the second was a set of four lectures on the topic of nineteenth century thought. The Deweys' second trip was a very brief one—twenty years later, in 1919, during a brief stopover on their way to Japan and thence to China. It is possible that they made a similar stop on their return, in 1921, but there is no evidence of this in the Dewey correspondence.¹

The final visit took place in 1951 when Dewey was ninety-one years old and in poor health. Indeed, Dewey's health appears to have been one of the main reasons for his visit, in which he was accompanied by his second wife, Roberta Lowitz Grant, and their two adopted children, Adrienne and John Jr.

The First Visit

On August 1, 1899, Dewey and his wife Alice Chipman Dewey, arrived from San Francisco on the SS *America Maru*² after a record crossing of five days, nine hours, and fifty-nine minutes.³ By this time in his career, Dewey was beginning to achieve prominence as an educator and there was considerable interest being taken at the national level in his laboratory school. His arrival in Hawai'i was announced with great fanfare and considerable anticipation of what his presence could bring in establishing university-level education in the islands. Dewey's principal purpose was to help launch the university extension movement, but he was also in Hawai'i to visit with his friends, the Castles, who had done so much to support his laboratory school at the University of Chicago, and who were keen to promote his ideas among local educators. The *Hawaiian Star* announced him as a man possessed of an "aggressive spirit" who was

one of the foremost "university extensionists...a man of great executive ability...just the man to set up a structure already started and push it forward."⁴ Dewey's celebrity as an educator and lecturer, it was opined, would attract a wide audience, and the teachers who were attending summer school in the same building would especially benefit from his ideas on the life of the child. In order to accommodate the teachers, therefore, the Honolulu High School extension classes were held on Tuesday and Friday evenings and designed to be continuous with the teachers' summer school.

Dewey was preceded as an extension lecturer by Henry W. Rolfe who had arrived in Honolulu in April, 1899, to teach the first set of university extension courses. Rolfe's visit overlapped with the Deweys' stay by about one week and the two men seemed to know and like each other well.⁵ Rolfe was a professor of English literature at the University of Chicago and a "bright and brilliant lecturer."⁶ Rolfe's first extension talks were very popular and well attended, notably the first one which attracted a large and diverse group composed of eager students and prominent persons. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that "among the listeners were those to whom the discourse brought fond recollections of happy days; and there were many to whom a university education had been denied and who were anxious to take advantage of what is proving an admirable substitute."⁷ Rolfe's first university extension course certainly attracted some illustrious persons. One group represented the University Club—an all-male club whose members included President Dole, Minister Mott-Smith, Chief Justice Judd, Judge Frear, and Professor Hosmer of Oahu College, who were there to lend their *imprimatur* to Rolfe's course.

The University Club, established in 1896 on the model of prestigious mens' clubs of the period, was a select assembly of Hawai'i-based university graduates.⁸ Generally its function appears to have been devoted to bi-annual banquets, to which were added the diversion of after-dinner speeches; but shortly after Dewey's arrived the club



Mary Tenney Castle, 1907 (Wikimedia Commons)

agreed to oversee the work of university extension in the islands. Another group in attendance at Rolfe's talk were representatives of the Castle family such as Mary Tenney Castle, William Castle and his wife, and Harriet (Castle) Coleman, who was making such important contributions to philanthropic work in Hawai'i and who had been instrumental in obtaining Rolfe and Dewey through her family connections with Helen and George Herbert Mead of the University of Chicago.

The University Extension movement was first developed in England in the 1860s by James Stuart, Professor of Engineering at Cambridge University. Walter Bittner writes in his history of the extension movement that, "As a result of the pioneer work of Professor Stuart of Cambridge...several universities took up his lecture method with growing success."⁹ A similar approach was adopted in the United States "and in the years of 1888 to 1892 showed a rapid development. From then on the movement declined until about 1906, when new methods were adopted and a slow systematic growth set in."¹⁰

Dewey was familiar with the extension movement through his association with Jane Addams at Hull House. Jane Addams believed strongly that university extension was integral to the work that she was doing at

Hull House: "Settlement is a protest against a restricted view of education (and) in line with this declaration, Hull House in the very beginning opened what we called College Extension Classes with a faculty finally numbering thirty-five college men and women."¹¹ Thus, "Hull House became one of the early university extension centers, first in connection with an independent society and later with the University of Chicago."¹² Dewey was an eager participant in the extension movement and among its first supporters. In 1894, he gave a series of extension lectures there on social psychology and other topics and followed through with regularity in future years.¹³

As the second extension lecturer in Hawai'i, Dewey agreed to give two sets of five lectures over a period of five weeks from August 15 to September 15. The lectures were to be given at eight o'clock on Tuesday and Friday evenings. The first series would be on the Life of the Child; the second, on Movements in Nineteenth Century Thought. In an effort to circulate Dewey's ideas more widely, the lectures were summarized in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, one of the major Honolulu newspapers.¹⁴ In addition, Dewey, in order to prepare his audience for his lectures, provided a synopsis of each talk along with a set of questions and exercises. These synopses provided a preview of the talk and were usually published on the same day that the talk was delivered. The summaries, taken from notes written up by an attendee, were published on the day following the talk.



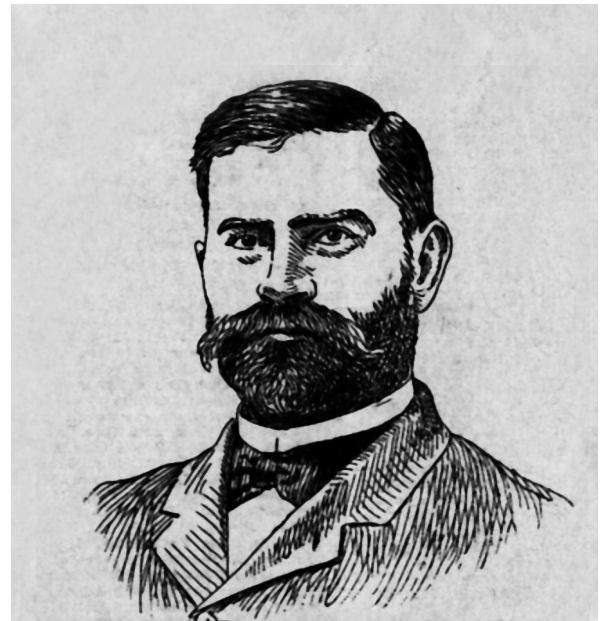
Honolulu High School, formerly Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani's residence, Hale Keoua (Wikimedia Commons upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a2/Keoua_Hale6.jpg)

Dewey delivered all of his lectures at Honolulu High School—a venerable Victorian pile that had been built on Emma Street as the principal O‘ahu residence of Princess Ruth Ke‘elikolani. Hale Keoua, as it was known, was completed in 1883, and designed, it was said, to outdo Iolani Palace in size and grandeur. Unfortunately, the Princess was unable to enjoy its accommodations for long as she died shortly after its opening. In any case, she preferred to reside at her home, Hulihe‘e Palace, on the Big Island rather than O‘ahu. In 1895 the Legislature appropriated funds to purchase the building and convert it to a high school.¹⁵

The high school was also home to the summer school for teachers organized by the Inspector General of Schools, Henry S. Townsend.¹⁶ The summer school classes were held during the day; Dewey delivered his lectures in the evening, and this arrangement allowed him to participate occasionally in the work of the summer school, as well as allowing the teachers who were attending the summer school to benefit from his lectures.

These summer schools were an important innovation initiated by Townsend to advance progressive educational ideas in Hawai‘i. Benjamin Wist describes Townsend as “a visionary”—a man who “did much to lay the foundations for progressive education in Hawaii.”¹⁷ Townsend was clearly impressed by Dewey’s presence and delighted to have him visit the summer school—“He was our Great High Priest and what he said had a tendency to be accepted without further consideration.”¹⁸

Townsend advanced progressive education in Hawai‘i in two important ways. First, he published a journal, *The Progressive Educator*, that he distributed to Hawai‘i teachers free of charge.¹⁹ The journal had an instructional purpose and provided its readers with lots of useful teaching ideas and lessons plans. Secondly, he organized a series of summer schools between 1896 and 1899 that brought well known educators from the mainland to share their ideas with local teachers. F. B. Dressler of the Los Angeles State Normal School attended in 1896; Elmer Brown of the University of California, Berkeley, in 1897; Colonel Francis Parker and his wife from Cook County Normal School, in 1898. And in 1899, following on the successful visit of the Parkers during the previous year, Miss Flora J. Cooke and Miss Zonia Baber of the Cook County Normal School arrived on the *America Maru*, along with the Deweys. Although Dewey did not participate directly in the work of the summer



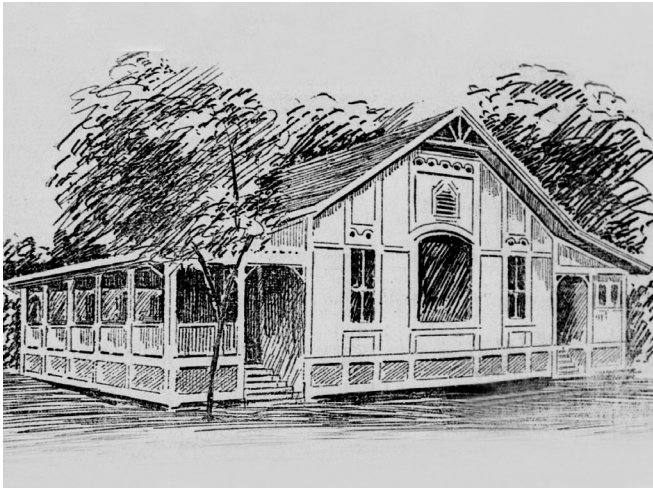
Henry S. Townsend (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 5, 1896, p. 1)

school, he did take an interest in what was happening and visited on several occasions.²⁰

The summer schools were extremely successful in introducing teachers to the new progressive philosophy and as one newspaper editorial declared “although attendance at the Summer School was entirely voluntary, the average enrollment exceeded the number of teachers employed in the public schools; and the influence of this contact with great minds cannot soon pass away. Through such influences the point of view of many teachers was changed.”²¹

Dewey’s extension lectures were viewed as another way of promoting new ideas in education. By 1899, Dewey’s reputation as a philosopher, psychologist, and educator was considerable and his ideas and the application of these ideas at the University of Chicago Laboratory School were gathering increasing interest among educators nationally. Prior to his visit to Hawai‘i, Dewey had been invited to give lectures in California at Berkeley and at Stanford. And during his stay, he was putting the final touches to his most popular work, *The School and Society*,²² from which much of the substance of his lectures on the life of the child were drawn. Shortly after his Hawai‘i sojourn he was elected president of the American Psychological Society.

But it is undoubtedly the Castle family connection that was the chief influence in attracting the Deweys to the



Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Free Kindergarten (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 2, 1899, p. 3)

islands. John and Alice Dewey knew the Castles through their friendship with George Herbert Mead who was married to Helen Castle, and this connection had brought Alice Dewey to the islands in 1892.²³ They would also have known Henry Northrup Castle, who died so tragically with his young daughter, Dorothy, in 1895 when the boat they were traveling in sank in the North Sea. Also of note is the fact that Mary Tenney Castle had been a generous contributor to Dewey's lab school.

This connection certainly came into play in arranging for Dewey to give the extension lectures. The *Hawaiian Star* attributes the work of university extension in Hawai'i to the work of "Mrs. Meade (nee Helen Castle), wife of Professor Meade of Chicago; Mrs F. M. Day, and Mrs Ethel Wing Castle...and, at the present time Mrs. Day, who is visiting in the states, is actually engaged in consultation with many of the foremost of educators upon the subject."²⁴

But the Castles had another reason to arrange for Dewey to visit—the proposed kindergarten intended as a memorial to Henry and Dorothy Castle who had tragically drowned in the North Sea when their ship, the *Elbe*, sank in a storm. In August 1898, Dewey had written a young teacher at Colonel Parker's Cook County Normal School, Flora Cooke, to ask her if she would be willing to take charge of the school and start it up. It appears, however, that Cooke was not interested in an extended stay in Hawai'i, though she would be free to come over with Miss Zonia Baber to help out with Townsend's summer school.²⁵ In Flora Cooke's stead, Dewey secured the services of Florence

La Victoire as the Memorial Kindergarten director.²⁶

The Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Free Kindergarten was formally opened on November 13, 1899 in a building on the old Castle Homestead on King Street. The Castle family had moved from there in March 1899 to a new property in Mānoa Valley that they christened Puuhonua or "place of refuge."

In making this move the Castle family gave thought to what they wanted to do with the old property. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that

Mrs Castle and her children felt they wanted the homestead to go on with its missionary work as in years past. As the different needs of the community were being considered, appeals came in from time to time which showed the growing necessities for a home for the homeless children of the foreign population. After consideration of these appeals it was finally decided that when the time came to give up the family residence it should be devoted for a home for those children made eligible for it.²⁷

Adjacent to the main house on King Street, Mary Castle had built a "commodious kindergarten building upon the eastern part of the premises," which was constructed around the time of Dewey's visit.

The Dewey's were accommodated during their stay in a cottage at the Castle's new homestead in Mānoa;²⁸ at first in one cottage and then, when the Rolfe's returned to the mainland, in the one that they had been staying in. Dewey describes the property, called Puuhonua, thus: "Just where the new Castle house stands was an old temple and fort—the 'Sentinel on the Hillside' they called it, and the Castles are thinking of calling their place that—in Hawaiian, of course...Part of the old temple wall is still standing between the house we are now living in and the one we were living in before—this (the temple) is right in sight of Waikiki and the old fishing places, and they say they used to come up here and sacrifice and then when the priest said he could see the fishes, they would start for the shore."²⁹ The property is just below Tantalus and Dewey refers to the harvest tradition of rolling sweet potatoes down the hill.

Mānoa had just begun to be developed at this point. In a letter to his children, Dewey explained that "it is a

new thing for people to live in the hills and away from the ocean, although it is much cooler and cooler in every way.”³⁰ However, the distance occasioned a long commute to the high school on Emma Street. “If we don’t get a ride with the Castles downtown, we walk down a mile and there is a street car which runs every once in a while—they have only horses here, one line of track, with side switches to pass, and it is slow work getting about.”³¹ On September 12, on the day that coincided with his final lecture, the Deweys moved from the Mānoa cottage closer to downtown to a home on Vineyard Street belonging to a Mrs. Dodge.³² No reason is given for the move, but the new location would have involved less traveling to and fro and offered the convenience of being closer to town.

Earlier, in giving consideration to their trip to Hawai‘i, the Deweys had decided to leave their four children (Fred aged 12; Evelyn, 10; Gordon, 3; and Lucy, 19 months) with a friend, Lucy Moore in Santa Barbara.³³ They would be apart from the children roughly from July 26 when they left San Francisco to September 24 when they were scheduled to return—a total of eight weeks and four days. As it turned out, their return was delayed a further two weeks. Their ship, *SS America Maru*, bound for San Francisco, did not arrive as scheduled due to a coal fire in the ship’s hold, and it had to return to Yokohama.³⁴ Flora Cooke was also affected by this delay and the three of them did not get to leave Honolulu until they had booked passage on another ship, *The Peking*, which didn’t leave for San Francisco until October 2. The Deweys correspondence indicates that they felt that they had stayed too long in Hawai‘i, that they missed their children terribly, and they undoubtedly felt uneasy at being so far away from them and for such a long time. Alice Dewey was particularly distressed by the separation and wrote in a letter to the children: “It is just a month this morning since we left S.F., and I should really like to be back there today. No letters have come from you at all since the first one. We are not having a good time here as we did in Cal. and that with not hearing from you has made life rather blue.”³⁵

Considering their obvious distress at the separation, what were the Deweys’ reasons for making the trip? It is likely that they had intended initially to bring the children with them, but had decided against the idea nearer the time of the trip and after having accepted the invitation to lecture. Alice Dewey certainly implied in a letter to Flora

Cooke in September 1898 that the children would be with them: “Mrs Mead writes from Honolulu...If you can get Miss Cook (sic) you will have the eternal blessings of Mrs. Coleman and the rest of us. Evelyn says, ‘Oh I hope Miss Cook will come,’ and Fred makes like exclamation.”³⁶

In spite of their misgivings about leaving the children, Dewey was keen to get university extension going in Hawai‘i as there was strong support for it in the community. In addition, the Castles were in the process of setting up the Memorial Kindergarden, and they had approached Dewey to find an experienced teacher to start up the school. Dewey obviously had an interest in getting the school properly established at the outset.

But another reason for the trip would simply be the same as many people who choose to come to Hawai‘i—to enjoy the beach and the many attractions of the islands. The Deweys appear to have maintained an active schedule. They visited schools; they took a trip to Kilauea volcano on the island of Hawai‘i; they were taken out on an outrigger canoe off Waikiki; they went on a picnic by horseback up the Ko’olaus, visited the Bishop Museum—on two occasions, at least—and were taken to the Chinese Theatre in Honolulu.

Dewey’s first official duty in Honolulu was on Monday, August 7, as one of the speakers at an event (the newspapers referred to it as a “rally”) at Honolulu High School that was intended as the official launch of the university extension movement in Hawai‘i. The evening was rainy but the *Gazette* reported that it in “no way dampened the enthusiasm nor lessened the interest of those who are anxious to see the extension system placed on a firm footing on these Islands.”³⁷ Professor Rolfe gave a brief history of the extension movement from its “inauspicious beginnings in Britain” to its promise in expanding educational opportunities to those whom “educational opportunities had passed by.” The report added that Dewey “who will take charge of the (extension) work here and who is one of the greatest extensionists, spoke on the manifold advantages of the system.”³⁸ Others who spoke at the meeting included, Henry Townsend (Inspector General of Schools),³⁹ Professor Scott, and the Education Minister, Mott-Smith. “The manner of carrying on local university extension work was discussed, and it was finally decided to entrust the matter to the University Club, under whose auspices the work is to be conducted in the future.”⁴⁰ It was hoped that Dewey’s talk would “quicken the interest in University

Extension.” The same article announced that Dewey would go to Hawai‘i the following week—from August 8 to August 13—to visit the volcano.

On Tuesday, August 8, John and Alice Dewey embarked on the SS *Kinau* to Hilo. These were popular trips arranged by the Wilder’s Steamship Company.⁴¹ The ship left Hononolulu on Tuesday around noon, calling in at ports on the way—Lahaina, Mākena, Māhukona, Kawaihae, and Laupāhoehoe—before arriving at Hilo on the following evening. This arrangement “allow(ed) tourists to secure a good night’s rest in Hilo before starting on their journey to Kilauea.”

The journey is described in some detail in *The Tourists’ Guide through the Hawaiian Islands*⁴²:

The volcano being the objective point in the tourist’s program all plans are made with this in view. Generally Wilson’s livery stables are prepared with the necessary vehicles and animals to start at short notice and without limit as to the number of passengers either in buggy hack, omnibus, or on horseback as the parties prefer. Name the hour when you will be ready and the conveyance will be at your door. It is much pleasanter to start early, say eight o’clock in the morning, the air being then cooler than later on. In the afternoon it is more apt to be showery in passing through the woods. But as regards rain the tourist must be prepared to encounter it without notice at any hour of the day or night while he is in the Hilo district.

An hour or two is allowed at the Half Way House for lunch rest and sightseeing in the neighboring settlement, and the coach starts on to finish the remaining fifteen miles of the journey. The road which we are now traveling over has all been constructed during the past few years by the Hawaiian Government at a cost of about one hundred thousand dollars. Formerly there was only a bridle path which led through swamp and bogs over rough lava boulders and clinkers making the journey one of great discomfort and for ladies almost impracticable. The rise between Hilo and the volcano is 4,100 feet, but so well is the new road graded that it is difficult for the traveler to perceive any rise or fall in it. It is macadamized throughout and well-made with a steam roller so that it sheds the rain which daily falls... The coach arrives at the Volcano Hotel between 3 and 4 o’clock p.m. after what usually proves a pleasant and not tiresome journey. (Whitney, 1895)

In a letter to his children, Dewey gave an interesting account of the visit to the Halema‘uma‘u crater:

The crater that is active, Kilawea (sic), isn’t really a mountain at all. It is all a table land up there (4,000 feet high, while the three big mountains are from ten to fourteen thousand feet), and then there is this big hole which you come on suddenly, nine miles around and so pretty nearly 3 across (I guess, for it seems almost circular) with walls from 100 to four or five hundred feet high. You go down into these—quite an easy trail from the hotel—go about two thirds of the way across, over lava, and then you come to another hole in the big hole—maybe a quarter of a mile across. I don’t know how deep. It is all covered with clouds of smoke (smells like a sulphur match when it happens to blow towards you) down down down. Sometimes it blows away so you can see fine, but not often enough and it didn’t for us. The lava we walked over was the flow which came out (of another hole, now filled up) only four years ago, and which filled up all the big crater to the depth of sixty feet. If it should do it again, there are one or two places where I should think it would come pretty near to running over and spilling out. There was a little break in the crust a few hundred feet away from the small active crater with a ladder it. We climbed down 10 or 12 feet and found ourselves in a little room with a temperature of about 150 degrees I should think. It was dry heat and not uncomfortable. Not far from there we walked over lava so hot it hisses when you spit on it and I stuck a stick down a crack about six inches and it was soon blazing. But that’s the only volcano fire I saw.⁴³

The Deweys made the return trip on the *Kinau*, which left Hilo at 6:00 pm. on Friday, August 11, arriving in Honolulu on the evening of Saturday, August 12.

Monday, August 14, was the first day of summer school. Dewey did not attend. A short opening ceremony was held with speeches from President Dole and Inspector General Townsend. One hundred and fifty teachers from all over the islands attended. Flora Cooke gave a short talk on the subject of “concentration in primary work;” Zonia Baber “took up the subject of clay modeling and geography.”⁴⁴

Dewey gave his first lecture in the series, *The Life of the Child*, on the following day, Tuesday, August 15.⁴⁵ Each lecture was held at 8:00 pm to accommodate the audience—7:30 being considered too early for the teachers after their full day of work at the summer school. His topic

for this first lecture was child study—a topic he had written on and that provided a psychological grounding for his ideas on child development.⁴⁶ Initial plans were for him to give ten lectures—five on the life of the child and five on movements of thought in the Nineteenth Century. However, it appears that he rearranged his schedule towards the end and gave only four lectures on Nineteenth Century thought. It is not clear why Dewey “changed the order of the remaining lectures.”⁴⁷ In a letter to his children written on September 2, Dewey refers to a conversation with William Castle in which the latter suggested condensing the final lectures so that he and Dewey could view the recent eruption of Mauna Loa.⁴⁸ However, there is no evidence in the papers or in the letters that he took the trip. The shorter schedule may have been due simply to the fact that the summer school had ended on Thursday, August 31—the day before he began his second lecture series—and the audience would likely have been much smaller. The topic may also have been too specialized for general interest and, as a result, the size of the audience would have dwindled towards the end.

Prior to delivering a lecture, as was his habit, Dewey would distribute a synopsis outlining the main points, and these were published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, usually on the same day as the talk. On the day following a lecture, a summary was published, probably from notes taken by an audience member.

The following is a schedule of the talks:

The Life of the Child

Tuesday, August 15	A Study of the Child
Friday, August 18	Early Childhood: Play, and Imagination
Tuesday, August 22	Later Childhood: Interest and Attention
Friday, August 25	Adolescence and Emotions
Tuesday, August 29	General principles of growth

Movements in Nineteenth Century Thought

Friday, September 1	Influence of Rousseau on French Political History and Literature.
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Tuesday, September 5 Goethe and Schiller and the Ethics of Culture and Art

Friday, September 8. The Influence of Scientific Thought

Tuesday, September 12 The Ethics of Social Welfare

This schedule allowed plenty of time for other kinds of activities and afforded the opportunity for the Deweys to play tourist. On August 16, the Deweys visited Flora Cooke and Zonia Baber who were staying at the beach: “We went in bathing at the same time; there has been a great deal of wind so the surf was fine. We are going out canoeing in the surf with a native to manage the boat someday soon. You have to go in your bathing suits.”⁴⁹ On another occasion they climbed Punchbowl; and on another, on horseback, they picnicked on Tantalus with Miss Carrie Castle: “We could see through one of the valleys to the other side of the island in one place and just about ten parallel ridges of mountains off in the other.”⁵⁰

On August 19, they went to the high school on Emma Street to hear Miss Cooke and Miss Baber and in the afternoon all four were given a tour of Kamehameha Schools.⁵¹ Alice Dewey, in a letter to her children, provides a detailed and approving account of the work of the students, both boys and girls:

This is a very large property which was left by one of the queens to educate Hawaiian boys and girls. Mr Perry who lives here at Mrs Castles has been the teacher of manual training there for five years. He took us about and so did Mr. Thompson the principal and Mr. Sigdwick who teaches agriculture. The Hawaiian young people care much more for what they can learn to do than for what they can learn out of books and here the boys have many things to do. The girls are separate from the boys and do all their work by themselves and they have not so many things to do. But the house they live in has beautiful rooms and is beautifully situated on high ground where they can overlook both the sea and the mountains and also the town. The boys do all the work even the cooking or at least most of it, and the girls do all theirs including the washing and ironing. And the houses are perfectly kept. I saw some fine sewing which the girls had done, and many sheets and men's clothes and other garments which the boys had made in the tailor shop.



Dr. and Mrs. Dewey at Waikiki Beach, August, 1899. The two young women standing together are probably Zonia Baber and Flora Cooke. (John Dewey Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale)

Her letter goes into further detail about the plants being grown there, the fertility of the soil, and the fact that some of the land produced three crops a year. They planned a second visit once the school year started up on September 4: "Their buildings are many of them beautiful and they have so much land that Mr Thompson said that if it increased much more in value that in 25 years they would have more money than they could use. The children pay 42 dollars a year apiece and that covers all their expenses."⁵²

On September 12, the public school year started and the Deweys were able to visit several schools. In a newspaper report Dewey declared himself favorably impressed by what he had seen and interested to learn about the work of the teachers "in giving instruction to classes in which the nationalities are so mixed." He thought the existing conditions made the schools of Honolulu an interesting study.⁵³

The letters suggest that they were quite active during their stay in the islands and that they were keen to visit schools, meet people, and familiarize themselves with Hawai'i and its diverse cultures. One event of interest, which was reported in the papers, is that they went "slumming" in Chinatown.⁵⁴ Slum tourism was a practice that developed in the nineteenth century where people would visit the less fortunate poor in order to see the conditions in

which they lived. Visitors on slumming trips were perhaps driven by a philanthropic desire to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants; although it was criticized in some quarters as voyeuristic. The *Hawaiian Star* article reported that slumming is "frequently done by members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and students of sociology." In the case of Dewey, who was accompanied by his wife and the summer school teachers, Zonia Baber and Flora Cooke, as well as some "local friends," the aim seems to have been sociological—driven by a desire to understand the conditions of people living in Chinatown, which at this time was horribly overcrowded. The party was safely conducted on their way by Deputy Marshal Chillingworth, first along the length of Pauahi Street, then to visit "the confirmed opium fiends at the Tong Hing Society," and finally to look into the cells at the police station. It is clear from Dewey's remarks, quoted in the paper, that he had done this sort of thing previously, in San Francisco and Chicago, perhaps, or New York City as he compared the police work in Honolulu favorably to that conducted in other cities.⁵⁵

On September 19, the Deweys and Flora Cooke were scheduled to depart Honolulu for San Francisco on the steamer *America Maru*; but, as mentioned earlier, the ship

had been forced to return to Yokohama to put out a coal fire that had started in its cargo bay. The delay caused them considerable distress. They eventually shipped out on the SS *Peking* on October 2nd. Nothing survives in the correspondence about this period and little was reported in the papers until a brief report in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on October 3, 1899 to the effect that “Dr. and Mrs. John Dewey finally got away on the *City of Peking* yesterday afternoon.”⁵⁶ It is likely, however, that during this period, Dewey was keen to get back to his scholarly work and the preparation for publication of *School and Society*, which was first published in November, 1899, shortly after their return.

John Dewey's Second Visit

John Dewey's second visit to Hawai'i was in 1919. He was accompanied by his wife, Alice, and their adopted son, Sabino.⁵⁷ It was very brief—a stopover for less than a day on the Deweys' voyage to Japan and China. Their purpose was to drop off Sabino, who was twenty-one and who had declared, at the last minute, that he wanted to join them on their trip as far as Honolulu. Dewey was bemused by this sudden decision, but his opinion quickly changed from disapproval to approval when he realized that “the adventurous desire was so strong in his breast that it didn't seem right to head him off.”⁵⁸ Dewey arranged for Ermine Cross, who was the director of the Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Free Kindergarten to watch over him during his visit. Sabino found work at the College of Hawai'i, as the university was called at that time. There is little else to report of the visit except that the Deweys were entertained by friends and made a short trip to the Pali Lookout before returning to their ship in time for its departure in the evening.⁵⁹

John Dewey's Third Visit

Dewey made a final visit to Hawai'i in 1951 with his second wife, Roberta Lowitz Grant Dewey, and their two adopted children, Adrienne and John Junior. Dewey was ninety-one years old and in poor health. Indeed, a hoped-for improvement in his health and sought-after abatement of his respiratory symptoms appears to have been the main reason for their trip. The Deweys arrived on the liner *President Wilson* for “an extended stay” on Thursday, January 18. They were greeted by a “large and distinguished

committee” that included Samuel N. Castle of the Honolulu Rapid Transit Co., and a number of officials from the University of Hawai'i.⁶⁰

The Deweys stayed at the Halekulani Hotel. It was not, at that time, the acclaimed five-star hotel of today. Dewey describes it in a letter to Arthur Bentley as a group of cottages. They were accommodated in one with a sitting room, two bedrooms, and bath “in a sort of park of palms and hibiscus, there being a common dining room—all on the Pacific Ocean beach.”⁶¹ However, the location was ideal as the cottage that they were in was so close to the ocean “the children get plenty of swimming,” and Dewey was hopeful that the sunshine would provide the looked-for “recuperative results.”⁶²

In spite of his health problems, Dewey did not appear to devote too much of his time to soaking up the sun on Waikiki Beach. He worked on a new edition of *Experience and Education* to be published by Beacon Press.⁶³ He devoted time to the composition of an article for the first East-West Philosopher's Conference that was to be held in Honolulu in April 1951. In this paper, “On Philosophical Synthesis,” Dewey sought to break down the dualism between an East and a West and advocated that the two have to be synthesized.⁶⁴



John Dewey and Roberta Lowitz Dewey with their children, Adrienne and John Junior. Halekulani Hotel, January 1951 (John Dewey Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale)

It appears that the Deweys were also interested in buying property in Hawai'i, especially if the sunshine and sea air could achieve the "miracle" of recovery in his health.⁶⁵ They took a look at some properties in the region of Diamond Head; however, they found that the homes were all on a single level and too close to the damp ground—conditions that exacerbated rather than improved Dewey's respiratory problems, which also appeared to be affected by the dampness of the rainy season.

The Deweys found no shortage of people willing to show them the sights, host them at their homes, or take them to local restaurants. One week after the Deweys' arrival, Robert Clopton, professor of the history and philosophy of education in the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i, wrote to Dewey in the hope that he could drop by the hotel for a meeting.⁶⁶ Clopton was delighted when the Deweys responded in the affirmative, and the families were soon on friendly terms. They invited the Deweys to the Willows, a restaurant close to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, on one occasion and to their home on another.⁶⁷

Although there is no evidence in the letters and newspapers that Dewey visited schools during his stay, it is certain that he did have time and energy to visit a few. For example, Dewey's visit to Hanahauoli School, recorded by Sophie Judd Cooke, must have taken place during his 1951 visit. We also know that Adrienne and John Jr. continued their schooling at Punahou during their visit, so it is highly likely that John and Alice Dewey made a visit, if only to arrange for their children's attendance. In gratitude, Roberta Dewey sent the Punahou Scholarship Fund \$50.00 "as a token of appreciation for (their) six-weeks' experience at Punahou."⁶⁸ This is also the time, as word-of-mouth testimony has it, when Dewey would have paid a visit to the new Castle Memorial Kindergarten, an institution that he had played an important role in helping to found. The school had been relocated in 1941 from King Street to a new building specially designed for young children to be educated along progressive lines in the vicinity of the College of Education at University and Dole Avenues.⁶⁹

In spite of his hope that the sunshine and sea air would bring about an improvement in Dewey's health, it appears that the humidity, especially at night, brought on coughing fits, and his health grew steadily worse rather than better.⁷⁰ On February 25, the Deweys returned by ship to

Los Angeles and thence to Arizona where they hoped the arid climate would be easier on Dewey's lungs. Gradually, Dewey's health declined. In May 1952, he developed pneumonia, and his condition slowly deteriorated. He died at his home in New York City at 7:00 p.m. on June 1, 1952.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ The *Advertiser* reported or misreported thirty years later that his second visit was "on route home from China." The *Advertiser*, Friday, January 19, 1951, p. 5. If so, it was one without fanfare and was not reported in the press at the time.
- ² The SS *America Maru* was a 6,070 ton passenger-cargo ship built at the Swan and Hunter yard in Newcastle, England. It was launched in March 1898. It was suspected of carrying rats that carried bubonic plague to Honolulu, resulting in the October, 1899 outbreak in Chinatown that killed forty people. In January 1900, in an effort to control the outbreak authorities set fire to infected building, but winds swept the flames to other buildings and the fire ran out of control. Later, the *America Maru* was converted to a hospital ship and then (1943) to a Japanese troop transport ship. It was eventually sunk in 1944 by the USS *Nautilus* with 43 survivors out of 642 on board.
- ³ *Hawaiian Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1899, p. 1.

- ⁴ *The Hawaiian Star*, Aug. 5, 1899, p. 1.
- ⁵ "Tuesday we went down to the Doric and saw the Rolfe's off...they are very nice people indeed." Dewey to Dewey Children, 8/18/1899. Letter 00376.
- ⁶ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA), April 11, 1899, p. 1.
- ⁷ PCA, April 4, 1899, p.1.
- ⁸ The University Club is no longer in existence. It merged with the Pacific Club in 1918.
- ⁹ Bittner, W. (1920, p. 14).
- ¹⁰ Ibid. p. 14.
- ¹¹ Addams, J. (1911, p. 428).
- ¹² Ibid. p. 429.
- ¹³ Ibid. p. 435.
- ¹⁴ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* was at that time owned by Lorrin A. Thurston.
- ¹⁵ *The Evening Bulletin*, August 20, 1895, p. 3, reported that the cost to the State was \$17,000.
- ¹⁶ Townsend served as Inspector General of Schools from 1896 to 1899 (Wist, 1940, pp. 138–139).
- ¹⁷ Wist, (1940, p. 136)
- ¹⁸ "In the midst of this term, we also had the very great privilege of the presence of Dr. Dewey himself, not only on the lecture platform but in our daily discussions. He was our Great High Priest, and what he said had a tendency to be accepted without further consideration." Townsend, H.S. (1936, p. 81).
- ¹⁹ Wist, (1940, p. 136).
- ²⁰ "This morning we went down town again to hear Miss Cooke and Miss Baber at the summer school..." Alice Dewey to Dewey Children. 8/19/1899. (Letter 00401).
- ²¹ PCA, August 3, 1901, p. 1
- ²² In April 1899, Dewey gave three lectures on the University Laboratory School to parents and other interested persons. These lectures and a report, "Three Years of the University Laboratory School," formed the first issue of *The School and Society* which was first published in November, 1899. Dewey's talks in Honolulu drew on these lectures, but also on other material. For example, content of lectures 2-5 is similar to that published in John Dewey, *The Middle Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 175–221.
- ²³ "Mrs Dewey has departed on a sudden visit to Honolulu Hawaiian Islands & won't be back till July sometime" Letter from John Dewey to Thomas Davidson, 4/23/1892 (00467).
- ²⁴ *The Hawaiian Star*, December 14, 1898, p. 1
- ²⁵ The Castle family in Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, are going to establish a memorial Kindergarten for members of their family lost at sea. They have asked us to get a teacher, & to have her in our school, one year, getting the lines of work started before going out there. Letter from Dewey to Flora Cooke 9/1/1898 (00612)
- ²⁶ Florence La Victoire's tenure at the Castle Memorial Kindergarten was not a happy one and she left after she had concluded her first year under contract as director. Writing to Alice Dewey in December, 1899, she confessed that she found the experience "one big disappointment." The children were in a "horrible physical condition," their heads "covered in sores" because of lice, and the school closed temporarily because of plague in Honolulu. However, she found that by far the greatest hardship was "the keen interest" taken in her personal affairs by the Castle family:
- "Mrs Coleman also felt called upon to take me to task in regard to one of the men of my acquaintance and to ask what his intentions might be." (00406). La Victoire was replaced after one year by Cora Panebaker who in turn had to retire due to illness. Ermine Cross then served as Director of the Memorial School from 1902 to 1926. A. L. Castle, (2002) *A Century of Philanthropy*, p. 49.
- ²⁷ PCA, Nov. 17, 1899, p. 1.
- ²⁸ The estate was 8.16 acres purchased at auction on May 12, 1898 for \$6,250.
- ²⁹ Dewey letter to his children 8/17/1899 (00376)
- ³⁰ The Castle house was in the words of Rob and Vicars "a stimulus to three waves of urbanization in Mānoa Valley—in 1900, 1924, and 1941." By its pioneer presence other larger homes were attracted. P. Robb and L. Vicars, *Mānoa's "Puuhonua": The Castle Home, 1900–1941*.
- ³¹ Dewey letter to his children 8/17/1899 (00376)
- ³² *Hawaiian Gazette*, Sept. 5. 1899, p. 5.
- ³³ "late in July, Lucy Moore and another friend, Annie Stevens, took all four Dewey youngsters into their care in Santa Barbara, allowing their parents to go to Honolulu on August 1." (Martin. 2002, p. 202).
- ³⁴ A coal fire was discovered on No. 2 hold three days out from Yokohama (reported in the *Gazette* on Oct 10, p. 5).
- ³⁵ Alice Dewey to her children. August 26, 1899. (00401)
- ³⁶ (00634)
- ³⁷ The *Gazette*, August 8, 1899, p. 5.
- ³⁸ Ibid. p. 5.
- ³⁹ Townsend had recently returned from Los Angeles where he had been attending the convention of the National Educational Association. Although Hawai'i's delegation was not officially recognized because of the status of Hawai'i as a Territory and not a State, there was considerable interest in the Hawai'i delegation and their headquarters were "deluged... with people seeking information." (*Gazette*, August 4, 1899).
- ⁴⁰ *Hawaiian Gazette*, August 8, 1899, p. 5.
- ⁴¹ A contemporary flyer for the Wilders Steam Co. advertises round trip tickets to Hilo for fifty dollars.
- ⁴² Henry M. Whitney, (1895).
- ⁴³ Dewey to his Children. August 7, 1899. (00375).
- ⁴⁴ *The Hawaiian Star*, August 14 1899, p. 1.
- ⁴⁵ Dr. Dewey had quite a large audience at the high school building last evening to hear his first University Extension lecture. Nearly all the teachers of the summer school were noticed in the house. *The Hawaiian Star*, Wednesday, August 16 1899, p. 8 On Dewey's own estimate there were about 100 to 125 people in attendance (Letter 00376).
- ⁴⁶ See John Dewey, *The Early Works*, 1882–1898. Vol 5. Ed. Boydston. pp. 204–222.
- ⁴⁷ PCA, Sept. 9, 1899, p. 5.
- ⁴⁸ A flank eruption of Mauna Loa began on July 1, 1899. It ended on July 23rd. William Tufts Brigham. *The Volcanoes of Kiluaua and Mauna Loa on the Island of Hawai'i*, 1909, pp. 196–199.
- ⁴⁹ Ltr. 00376.
- ⁵⁰ Dewey to his children 9/1/1899. (Ltr. 006584).
- ⁵¹ The boys' school was opened in 18eighty-seven and the girls' school in 1894.
- ⁵² Ltr. 00401.

- ⁵³ *The Hawaiian Star*, Sept. 19, 1899, p. 1.
- ⁵⁴ *The Hawaiian Star*, Sept. 18, 1899, p. 1.
- ⁵⁵ Chinese Tong societies were established to provide mutual aid and social support to Chinese workers throughout Hawai'i and California
- ⁵⁶ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 3, 1899, p. 11.
- ⁵⁷ The Dewey's adopted Sabino in Italy 1905. They were in mourning for their son, Gordon, who had died in September, 1904 from Typhoid fever. Sabino was around the same age. Martin (2002, p. 235)
- ⁵⁸ Dewey to Evelyn, Jane, and Lucy Dewey. 1/20/1919. (03859).
- ⁵⁹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 30, 1919, p. 1.
- ⁶⁰ *The Star Bulletin*, Thursday, January 18, year?, p. 1.
- ⁶¹ Letter 15893.
- ⁶² Ltr to Arthur F Bentley 1/18.51.
- ⁶³ Ltr 15892 to Bentley on Jan 18. 1951
- ⁶⁴ Writing to Dewey's widow, Roberta, in 1965, Charles Moore, Chair of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Hawai'i refers to "the valuable paper which your husband wrote while he was in Hawai'i back in 1951." Ltr19138. Moore to Roberta Dewey. 2/10/65
- ⁶⁵ Ltr. 19138. Charles Moore to Roberta Dewey. 02/10/65. "I am sure you know how sad I have been over the years that we were not able to find accommodations which would be suitable for you and Professor Dewey, so that you could stay in Hawaii. I had a feeling that you would both have been very happy here and much more comfortable than in many places in America. I have always felt that, somehow or other, we in Hawaii did not meet the opportunity adequately by enabling you to find just what you wanted as a home. A tragedy of Professor Dewey's death shortly after that time made this feeling of failure very serious in our minds—and it still is."
- ⁶⁶ Robert W. Clopton and Tsuin-Chen Ou edited John Dewey's lectures in China. Clopton discovered that Dewey's had not kept his notes for the lectures and that the only version of his lectures in China were those that had been translated into Chinese and published in Chinese newspapers. Clopton and Ou worked on retranslating the lectures into English. Clopton and Ou (1973).
- ⁶⁷ See Clopton's article in this issue.
- ⁶⁸ *Punahou Lokalian*, March 1951, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ The building was completed in 1941, just before Pearl Harbor, with a gift of \$300,000 from the Samuel M. and Mary Castle Foundation for the building of a Kindergarten teacher training center. "\$100,000 was allocated for the construction of the facility and \$20,000 was designated annually over a 10-year period to support the program under the University's Teachers College" (Kobayashi, 1983).
- ⁷⁰ "After we arrived in Los Angeles, the pain which John experienced in Honolulu increased to such extent that I took him to the Good Samaritan Hospital in Los Angeles where they found that his hernia had twisted and was causing the constant pain he had. They operated and we have just come here where he is convalescing and mending rapidly." Roberta Dewey to Northrup Castle, April 16, 1951. (Ltr. 12550).
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John Dewey and the Beginnings of Progressive Early Education in Hawai'i

Alfred L. Castle

Hawai'i has often been the beneficiary of the insights of extraordinary men and women who visited the islands and made important observations. Among these was perhaps America's most famous philosopher, John Dewey (1859-1952). First visiting Honolulu in 1899 as the guest of Mary Tenney Castle and her family, Dewey would help establish Hawai'i's first progressive kindergartens while also assisting in the establishment of the new progressive Castle Kindergarten on King Street. Dewey was a close friend of his University of Chicago colleague and symbolic interactionist George Herbert Mead and his wife Helen Castle. He had met the late Henry Castle, a young philosopher whose life had been cut short in a shipping accident on the North Sea, in 1895. Dewey's visit coincided with the incipient efforts of educators to formulate a radical re-engineering of early education, which would forever change the way the public looked at young children and eventually lead to a comprehensive K-12 public education for the territory, and then the state, of Hawai'i.

Dewey's intellectual journey from traditional epistemological Hegelian-style idealism to the instrumentalism now associated with his famous name was well developed by the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps his best description of his intellectual position was described in his 1929 book *The Quest for Certainty*. The positions he articulates in this book framed his basic educational philosophy, which he would apply to Hawai'i's early progressive kindergartens and especially to the Henry and Dorothy Memorial Kindergarten and its teachers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The historical quest for certainty about which Dewey writes, and which he deplores, has a long lineage. It originated in man's search for security from the perils of the natural world, a search that resulted in a comfort in manufactured realms of eternal truth and transcendent reality. Over the ages, Dewey concludes, mankind, at least in most cultures, created a set of empirical practices that allowed them to deal with the inferior realm of material

reality called "practice" while reserving the higher order "theory" for the transcendent, changeless divine realm. Mystery and glamour attached to the eternal, sempiternal realm, while the material or "practical" realm was deemed inferior. The separation of the two conceptual orders was mirrored in the distinction between practice and theory. This isolation of theory and practice has, in Dewey's estimation, held mankind back for centuries.

The devaluing of the natural realm of the changing and flawed mundane world was regnant, according to Dewey, until the early modern period when Galileo, Newton, and Bacon began the slow process of taking the natural world as worthy of precise quantitative interpretation. Over time, science rid itself of the last vestiges of the illusory search for ultimate, invariable reality and became more secure with experimentalism and operationalism. As a result of this development, which, Dewey believed, is fundamental to modernity, mankind came to see values as not permanently fixed and hierarchical, but relational, instrumental, and corrigible. Mankind thus possesses the method and means, through observation, experiment, and interpretation, to wrestle meaning and provisional truth from the realm of nature.

For Dewey the pragmatist, mankind was still in the process of removing the manufactured barriers between knowledge and practice, science and values, and the noxious false problems, such as the relationship between mind and body, spirit and matter, theory and practice—between an ultimate Truth and flexible, instrumental, provisional truths. For him, nature is the origin of all ideals and goods vouchsafed to mankind. Men's minds were now free to jettison the search for illusionary certainty and to pursue discoverable, multiple paths to enjoyable goods defined not by gods but by humans. From the hazards of mutable nature, man could find no redoubt. But in nature he could use ideas as instruments for action that could achieve partial, corrigible truths and multiple goods.

The basic framework above, often called metaphysical naturalism, had shaped Dewey's educational philosophy by the late nineteenth century. His theory, which would help to shape education for the twentieth century, resulted from his rejection of the rigid and formal approach to education that dominated schools in the late nineteenth century. Such an approach was incorrect, he argued, because it was based upon an erroneous psychology in which the child was thought of as a passive creature upon whom information and ideas had to be imposed.

Equally distressing to Dewey was an education based on sentiment and idealization of the child. This approach urged the child to choose what he wanted to study. For Dewey, this approach ignored the lack of sophistication of the child's experience. For the child, education ought to be a continuous reconstruction of experience in which practical problems were solved through trial and error. Once solutions were found, future solutions to identical problems would become part of a child's habits and intelligence. Dewey's slogan, "Learn by Doing," was meant to call attention to the child as a naturally active, curious, and exploring creature. Any properly planned education, therefore, should be sensitive to this active dimension of life and must guide the child in such a way as to maximize his or her participation in different types of experience. The end of education must be development of the child's creativity and autonomy.

As Dewey saw it, the child's nature is neither completely malleable nor forever fixed. Like Aristotle, Dewey believed that the function of education is to encourage those habits and tendencies that constitute intelligence. Dewey stressed creating the proper type of environmental conditions for eliciting and nurturing these habits. In the correct and controlled environment, adaptive lifetime habits could be formed. Moreover, education, as the continuous reconstruction and growth of experience, also develops the child's moral character. Virtue is taught by cultivating self-mindedness, objectivity, imagination, openness to new experiences, and the courage to change one's mind in the light of new facts.

Dewey thought the school was best understood as a miniature society; as such, it should be representative of the essential institutions of this society. As an ideal society, the school is the chief means of social reform. In the controlled social environment of the school, trained teachers could

develop creative individuals who could work effectively to eliminate existing social evils and build a better society. For Dewey, the school was the medium for developing habits for systematic inquiry and for tolerance of the new and untried.

In a rapidly industrializing America, Dewey feared the threat to the future of democratic practice posed by unplanned technological, economic, and political development. These rapid and unplanned changes, he also feared, would increase human aberration and decrease the amount of shared experience that is vital for the democratic community. For him and for his followers, the school in a democratic society was the best hope for creation of a freer and more humane experience in which all could share and participate.

Dewey, introduced to the Castle family by G. H. Mead, was soon in contact with Mary Castle about funds for the University of Chicago Lab School and about coming to Honolulu to help start the progressive Castle Kindergarten on King Street.

Like Dewey, Mary Castle understood that if education was to be relevant and meaningful, it would need to be transformed. Moreover, they wanted education to constantly expand the range of social situations in which individuals perceived issues and made and acted upon choices. They wanted schools to inculcate habits that would enable individuals to control their surroundings rather than merely adapt to them. Traditional formal education, which emphasized memorization and conformity to lessons taught by an authoritarian teacher, was incapable of providing an education that would improve society by making it more "worthy and harmonious" (Cremin, 1964, p. 118). No longer isolated from the reality of a quickly changing society, the progressive school would become "an embryonic community life," active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society. As Dewey said,

When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious. (Dewey, 1899, p. 51)

Dewey's educational theory included a condemnation of "the old school" for the passivity of its methods and

the rigid uniformity of its curriculum. For too long the educational center of gravity had been “in the teacher, the textbook, anywhere and everywhere you please except in the immediate instincts and activities of the child himself” (Dewey, 1899, p. 51). The essence of the new pedagogy was to shift this center of gravity back to the child. The business of the new school would be

to not only facilitate and enrich the growth of the individual child, but also to supply the same results, and for some, technical information and discipline that have been the ideas of education in the past. (Dewey, 1899, p. 70)

For Mary and her daughter Harriet, education at the kindergarten level must “develop in these citizens of today as well as tomorrow the habits, attitudes, appreciations, and skills necessary for the life in democracy.” Furthermore, this primary instruction would provide miniature democracies where “situations arise which give opportunity for the development of . . . habits, attitudes, appreciations, and skills necessary for life.” Perhaps most importantly, young pupils would be taught to think for themselves, to reason, to judge and to evaluate the facts of experience. Since environments change, set and static standards of conduct would not be enough. Morality, correctly understood, “is an active attitude, not a passive one. Habit must be formed through action. We must learn to be good.” Kindergarten education, through teaching perseverance, flexibility, cooperation, initiative, self-control, and life-long reasoning skills, would provide citizens capable of sustaining both democracy and progress in social institutions (Babbitt, 1948, pp. 79–88).

Dewey viewed the teacher’s role as that of a skilled guide. The kindergarten teacher should create ideal situations for both sense training and discipline of thought. All instruction should recall that thinking does not occur for its own sake. Rather, “it arises from the need of meeting some difficulty, in reflecting upon the best way of overcoming it, and thus leads to planning . . . mentally the results to be reached and deciding upon the steps necessary and their serial order.”¹ Dewey claimed that this was the best preparation for pure speculation or abstract investigation. Thought, Dewey argued, begins with a difficulty, moves through a resolution, and may appropriately end with an abstract speculation or

abstraction. In this last stage, solutions to difficulties or problems may be generalized to similar difficulties or problems.

In 1899, in an effort to memorialize her son and granddaughter Henry and Dorothy Castle, Mary Castle invited Dewey to journey to Honolulu and, as her houseguest in Mānoa, to lecture on his theories as part of university extension work. In addition, she invited him to assist in the formation of the Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Kindergarten. The invitation, delivered by his close friend George Herbert Mead and his wife Helen Castle, intrigued Dewey from the start. Dewey was grateful for Castle Foundation support for his new University of Chicago Lab School and, moreover, Hawai’i’s pluralist and diverse racial and cultural population would test his progressive theories. He was especially interested in the forms early education would take in a society with great tolerance for racial differences. In essence, Hawai’i seemed a good place to test his theories in a different cultural environment, one that had avoided the kind of racial segregation Chicago suffered from, while giving him the opportunity to impact teacher training in the islands.

Dewey’s five lectures on *The Life of the Child*, delivered at the city’s high school, provided him the chance to reassert his basic approach to education. His constant theme was the wide possibilities for learning for the active child learner in guided child-centered kindergarten education.² During his visits to the Castle Kindergarten and its educators, he also noted the multi-racial characteristics of that center. He certainly had to note the ardor with which the children of plantation parents sought out the Standard English language taught there and the emphasis on liberal democratic political culture. Though the many assimilationist features of the school would later be criticized by some, Dewey saw the necessity of preparing children to be life-long learners who would be voting citizens in a republic. In 1899, Hawai’i was, with its oligarchic political and economic features, along with its high rates of immigration, a place where democracy and faith in secular liberal democratic ideals had yet to fully develop. Dewey clearly agreed with Mary Castle that the time to transform early education had come and that in that transformation lay one of the best opportunities for Hawai’i’s political and economic culture to be transformed in important egalitarian ways.³

Less apparent, perhaps, was the fact that so many Hawaiian parents had chosen to send children to progressive venues like the FKCAA and the Castle Kindergarten. One might note that the Hawaiian language and culture stressed at home was intended to work with Standard English. Hawaiians enrolled children at only a slightly lesser rate than Caucasians and Asians in part because of the cultural respect, but also because Dewey's ideas about progressive education seemed to mirror traditional Hawaiian ways of learning and teaching. Although not formally studied until the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the primary aspects of this learning are generally agreed upon by scholars of Hawaiian history and culture. Scholars such as Kekuni Blaisdell and Manulani Aluli Meyer have noted the following key aspects of Hawaiian learning, which were broadly consistent with the constructivist pedagogical theory of Dewey and may explain why Hawaiian enrollment in many progressive kindergartens was relatively high:

- A. In traditional Hawaiian ways of knowing and learning, the child develops meaning and knowledge from actual interaction with its environment and practice in accomplishing tasks guided by the teacher. Meaning and knowledge, far from being derived from access to an eternal realm of unchanging truths or Platonic forms, is wrestled from the material world of objects that the child encounters in achieving solutions to practical problems.
- B. In traditional Hawaiian ways of learning, the child took place in a social context where the child would learn proper balance between individual pursuits and special necessity. Developing harmony with other children and with the land, learning reciprocity and generosity, and learning the correct relationship that makes society possible were all keys to early childhood education. Dewey's views of how education makes democratic society possible combined with his (and Mead's) sense of how ideas, beliefs, meaning, and knowledge are constructed within a social context makes for some important similarities in instructional similarities.
- C. For Hawaiians, as for Dewey, there could be no separation of mind and body as there has been for Descartes and generations of Western scholars. For both, knowledge was embodied, physical, unmediated,

and experiential. Hawaiians speak of "na'au" for the sense that knowledge is incorporated in physical bodies and "felt" in immediate ways.

- D. For Dewey, as for Hawaiians, learning is viewed as an activity and is characterized by physical engagement with the environment. Guided by teachers, the child-centered approach to learning involved the five senses and "learning by doing" in a manner that allowed the child to overcome challenges and problems while receiving feedback. For both Dewey and Hawaiians, the child's reward in learning was to solve problems that were real, embedded in society, and practical. Learning was not abstract, but rather specific and accumulative.
- E. For both, learning took place in a community and was embedded in natural and human relationships. Nor need learning be only an individualistic, competitive enterprise. For Dewey and Hawaiians, learning can be and often should be communal, cooperative, and responsive to social relationships. For both, learning took place in a world where there was no separation of nature, life, and society. In a profound way, learning takes place where there is no separation between mind, nature, society, and the child.

Scholars have noted how mainstream public schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lost the chance to capture the affection of many Hawaiian families with their traditional ways of teaching imported from New England in the first half of the nineteenth century. Individual competition, rote memorization, stationary, indoor desks, teacher-centered learning, and "one size fits all" approaches to teaching tended to be less popular than the progressive, flexible child-centered approaches formulated by Dewey's educational theory. Although there is no indication that any of his ideas were formulated through study of Hawaiian ways of learning, he could not fail to note the high participation rates of many Hawaiian families in the incipient private progressive kindergartens in Honolulu. The fact that some of the teachers were Hawaiian and the fact that Hawaiian culture was, to an extent, honored may also have contributed to the positive reception the progressive kindergartens had in the late 1890's and for years beyond that.

John Dewey's international fame has led to him being studied by scholars around the world. Though not all of his ideas and ideals have stood the test of time, his work in Hawai'i in helping to shape progressive education is a relatively unknown part of a long, creative, and valuable life.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Harriet Castle, Notes on Dewey's ideas in FKCAA Archives.
- ² For a summary of Dewey's lectures in Honolulu, see *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 8, 1899.
- ³ For a lengthy examination of Dewey's influence on the pedagogy of the Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Kindergarten, see Alfred L. Castle, *A Century of Philanthropy: A History of the Samuel N. & Mary Castle Foundation* (Hawaiian Historical Society, 2004) 48-65.
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Dewey in Hawai‘i—1899

Aulii Silva

Dear Bob,

All I know about the lectures Dewey delivered in Honolulu is what I have from you. It is all new, and I will really appreciate your following through and digging up anything we can add to the information you sent. In any event, I’d like to have copies of what you have already found—the newspaper accounts, everything. It’s a new and apparently untouched field for exploration. And you’re the only one who can really pursue it. Please do.

March 30, 1971, Dr. Jo Ann Boydston, Project Director,
Co-operative Research on Dewey Publications, Southern Illinois University

Dear Jo Ann,

I’ve tossed in the sponge. I cannot locate anything else on the Honolulu lectures. I’ve exhausted our own microfilms, the State Archives, the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, and what have you. One of the newspaper stories mentions Henry Townsend, who was then Superintendent of Schools, and a great admirer (he said “disciple”) of Dewey. I even called Townsend’s surviving daughter, now in a retirement home, to see if by any chance he’d saved a copy of the syllabus referred to in the news stories—but no luck. I wrote Adrienne, but she didn’t reply.

July 13, 1971, Dr. Robert Clopton, Chairman,
Department of History and Philosophy of Education, University of Hawai‘i

Forty-three years after the preceding exchange between Jo Ann Boydston and Robert Clopton on the subject of Dr. John Dewey’s trip to Hawai‘i, the quest to find evidence about the effect that Dewey’s 1899 trip had still continues.

Last semester, I labored through a class reading Dewey’s *Democracy and Education* and *Art As Experience*—often without disguising my irritation and impatience with his writings during class discussions. Whether my professor or classmates wanted to hear it, I imparted a healthy amount of critique about the value of John Dewey’s contributions to the chronicles of American education. Aptly focused on philosophy, I felt that Dewey spent more time thinking about teaching and learning than he did working with any students in the classroom. Similarly, I felt, within the realm

of art and aesthetics, that Dewey seemed to be arguing more about their value to society than trying to do anything to bring them about.

As a Native Hawaiian educator whose kuleana (responsibility, obligation, privilege) is to facilitate increased college enrollment, persistence, graduation, and transfer/career entry for Native Hawaiian students at Leeward Community College, I have honored my personal and professional vocations by investigating how Hawaiian students’ cultural well-being intersects with our college’s teaching and learning structures. To find “best practices” that provide authentic cultural contexts for teaching and learning, researching origins of Hawaiian knowledge production and dissemination is an essential cornerstone of

my practice. However, because most of the documentation about Hawai'i's public education system was written by haole (foreign) and often missionary descendant or affiliated educators, I have eagerly sought out sources of "our story"—accounts of the development of teaching and learning in Hawai'i that have been told via the voice, worldview, and most importantly, the lived experience, of Hawai'i's aboriginal people.

It was this same kuleana that influenced me to focus this paper on what led to John Dewey's six-week visit to Hawai'i in 1899, and what effect, if any, it had on Hawai'i's school system. Unfortunately, as was previously conveyed within the correspondence between Drs. Boydston and Clopton, very few sources of evidence from the 1899 visit credit John Dewey for directly affecting Hawai'i's school system. However, through letters, newspaper accounts, and secondary sources, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that through the relationships he had with the American missionary descendant Castle family, and their affinity for and application of his philosophies, Dewey could be credited with indirectly affecting Hawai'i's schools. This essay will outline the personal and historic contexts that motivated the Castle family to invite Dr. and Mrs. Dewey to Hawai'i, while appropriately recognizing the Native Hawaiian ali'i who established government sponsored public education within the kingdom.

Dewey's Acquaintance with Hawai'i

At initial glance, one might wonder how a Vermont born, John Hopkins educated, and Chicago established professor such as Dr. John Dewey found himself with a personal invitation to come to Hawai'i at the end of the nineteenth century. It came about due to a connection with the Castle family via a close, personal friendship with George H. Mead. The connection between Dewey and Mead facilitated an introduction to Mead's young Hawai'i-born missionary descendant roommate from Oberlin College, Henry N. Castle.

George Mead and Henry Castle were college classmates at Oberlin College in 1877 (Heubner, 2012 p. 51). So close were George and Henry that their friendship fueled a love interest between George and Henry's elder sister, Helen K. Castle and the two married in 1891 (Heubner, 2012, 52).

In 1891, Mead secured a teaching position at the University of Michigan. It was at the University of

Michigan where Mead met John Dewey. After establishing their working relationship as professors of philosophy at the University of Michigan, Dewey and Mead continued to be intimate friends and colleagues, as seen in their work and writings. In fact, when the University of Chicago offered Dewey the position of department chair of philosophy in 1894, he requested that the University also offer a teaching position to Mead. This deal paid off well for the University of Chicago as Mead spent the rest of his academic career there—a total of thirty-six years (Huebner, 2012, p. 88.)

In 1892, Helen Castle Mead traveled home to Hawai'i, accompanied by Mrs. John Dewey for an extended period.¹ In 1893, Henry Castle decided to leave Hawai'i for Michigan, motivated to take classes at the University of Michigan and to participate in the lectures offered by Dewey and Mead (Heubner, 2012, p. 53). Henry wrote to Helen and George Mead on April 24, 1893: "I want to go to Ann Arbor before the term closes, in order to see the work, go into classes, and get acquainted with Mr. Dewey, etc. Want to spend the summer with you somewhere. Want to brush the cobwebs of our brains by contact with your superior minds." (Castle, H. N., 2012, p. 32).

The close relationship between George Mead and his friends Henry Castle and John Dewey was nurtured by a shared set of common beliefs about the social sciences, philosophy, religion, education, and psychology. So intimate were these bonds between the Castles, Meads, and Deweys that their wives also participated and lent their energies to the progressive academic and community work. Correspondence between the philosophers' wives—Helen Castle, Frida Steckner Castle (Henry Castle's first wife), Ethel Wing Castle (Henry Castle's second wife,) and Alice Chipman Dewey—point to their involvement in the Chicago Lab School where Dewey's pedagogical ideas were in development, in the settlement houses, in Free Kindergartens, and in his university extension lectures. These bonds, solidified by loyal friendship, intellectual ideals, and a shared nurturing of progressive visions for education and society, reveal the motivations behind the Castle family's invitation to John and Alice Chipman Dewey to visit Hawai'i in 1899.

Who were the Castles?

The Castle family descended from Rev. Samuel Northrup Castle and Mary Tenney, one of the many New England

based Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionary families who were sent to Hawai‘i by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Reverend S. N. Castle came to Hawai‘i with his first wife, Angeline, to serve as the mission’s financial agent in 1837 (Heubner, 2012, p. 51). When Angeline died in 1841, Reverend Castle asked his late wife’s sister, Mary, to become his “companion” on the mission (Castle, A. L., 2004). Samuel N. Castle and Mary Tenney married in 1842.

While S. N. Castle may have come to Hawai‘i to advance the Christian mission, his Ivy League educated male children reached maturity at a time when Hawai‘i’s economic value as a sugar exporter and her military value as a central port bridging America and Asian and Pacific nations were emerging as highly coveted commodities. Together, the Castle family’s sons and their contemporaries, consisting of fellow Ivy League educated missionary children and grandchildren, quickly realized that whoever controlled Hawai‘i’s arable lands and protective harbors would catapult Hawai‘i into global prominence. Their only obstacles were Hawai‘i’s status as an internationally recognized nation-state and her lineal and constitutional monarchs who maintained her sovereign rule. To claim the prize they sought, William B. Castle, Henry Waterhouse, and Lorrin A. Thurston—each of whom were Hawaiian kingdom subjects—and ten other similarly focused Anglo-Saxon, protestant men formed the “Committee of Safety” and committed treason against the reigning queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Lili‘uokalani.

To advance their ambitions, the annexationists sent emissaries to Washington D.C. to petition the U.S. Congress and President Grover Cleveland directly to support their petition to illegally annex Hawai‘i to America. One of the messengers carrying this plea appears to have been Henry Castle. An account by his descendant, Alfred L. Castle states

In 1893, he [Henry] returned to the United States to attend the Hawaiian Commission in Washington, which was investigating American intervention in the Hawaiian revolution that overthrew Queen Lili‘uokalani....When word reached him in December 1894 of a counterrevolt by Hawaiian royalists, Castle and his daughter left immediately for Hawai‘i on the steamship *Elbe*. Both Castle and his daughter were killed...on January 30, 1895, in the North Sea. (2004, p. 24)

The most poignant and compelling history detailing the illegal overthrow was authored by Queen Lili‘uokalani in her autobiography, *Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen*. Our Queen explained exactly what she saw in her nation’s subjects travels to Washington D.C., the capitol city not of their nationality, but rather, of their parents,

When I speak at this time of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil—the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants. Two delegations claiming to represent Hawai‘i have visited Washington at intervals during the past four years in the cause of annexation, besides which other individuals have been sent on to assist in this attempt to defraud an aboriginal people of their birthrights—rights dear to the patriotic hearts of even the weakest nation. Lately these aliens have called themselves Hawaiians. They are not and never were Hawaiians. Although some have had positions under the monarchy which they solemnly swore by oath of office to uphold and sustain, they retained their American birthrights. (Queen Lili‘uokalani, 1991, p. 325)

Progressive Education in Hawai‘i

One of the major shared visions between George Mead, Henry Castle, John Dewey, and their wives was that education could bridge divides across diverse ethnic, economic, social, religious, and intellectual groups. The Meads and the Deweys were applying these ideals in late nineteenth century Chicago, while the Castle women were experimenting with their vision of social change in Honolulu via the Free Kindergarten movement.

The Meads, Deweys, and Castles’ social initiatives shared common objectives such as wanting to address new immigrant populations, post-agrarian economies, and industrial technology education. At the end of the nineteenth century, both Chicago and Honolulu offered comparable microcosms within which to launch trials of new teaching and learning strategies.

In communities where schools could serve as a force for social change, progressive education methods could be employed as a tactic. The John Dewey Progressive Education Project (JDPEP) defines “progressive education” as that which, “...describe(s) ideas and practices that aim to make schools more effective agencies of a democratic society.”

Further, if a truly progressive education is to be realized, JDPEP has identified the need for

...two essential elements: (1) Respect for diversity, meaning that each individual should be recognized for his or her own abilities, interests, ideas, needs, and cultural identity, and (2) the development of critical, socially engaged intelligence, which enables individuals to understand and participate effectively in the affairs of their community in a collaborative effort to achieve a common good.

Using JDPEP's definition, King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) should be recognized as Hawai'i's first progressive educator. Dr. Malcolm Chun's *No Na Mamo* credited Samuel Kamakau for documenting Kauikeaouli's far-reaching vision and high priority for education in his kingdom. In *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Kamakau recalled in 1824, the eleven year old king, Kauikeaouli proclaimed, "He aupuni palapala ko'u" (My kingdom shall be a kingdom of learning) (Chun, 2011, pg. 103). Inspired by the king's vision, Hawaiian chiefs accomplished "widespread literacy" by proactively identifying accomplished scholars to become teachers, first in their households, then throughout the villages within their lands. (Ibid, pg. 106)

By 1840, Kauikeaouli advanced his vision further by establishing free schools for all his subjects, regardless of age, and by establishing a constitution that required literacy in order to marry or own land. As N. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua has written, "King Kamehameha III established the kingdom as a constitutional monarchy in which literacy and an emergent national public school system became key features in forming and formalizing the modern Hawaiian state (2013.) In addition, in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, historian Samuel M. Kamakau (1992) described the prominent role education played during Kauikeaouli's reign.

The chiefs saw the value of education...and teachers were sent all about the country districts. ...There were as many as forty such schools in Honolulu and an equal number at Waikiki and education spread widely in those few years. (p. 270)

Though the King appointed a prominent Native Hawaiian educator, David Malo, as his first superintendent of public schools, Malo's deep loyalty to the Protestant mission made learning and literacy more of an occupational

extension of faith than a facilitator of national democracy. Hawai'i's second progressive educator was Mataio Kekūanā'ō'a, a Hawaiian of noble birth and governor of O'ahu. In 1860, Kekūanā'ō'a was appointed the Kingdom's fourth Board of Education superintendent. In *The Seeds We Planted*, Dr. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's (2013) critical analysis of emerging culture-based charter schools, the author recalls two of Mataio Kekūanā'ō'a's major initiatives while he served as the Hawai'i's foremost public education leader: 1) removing schools from churches and 2) defending 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language) as the primary mode of instruction as a means to preserving nationhood. First, Dr. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua points to Kekūanā'ō'a's 1886 annual report:

In many places the schools, for want of special buildings, are kept in the meeting houses or chapels of [the] Protestant or Catholic population...The result is that in almost all of these places, the public schools are merely tenants at the will of this or that religious denomination...It is necessary to provide as far as possible for all the people the advantage of a common school education...The common schools should come to be regarded as strictly neutral ground in religious matters. (pp. 18, 19)

Next, in an almost eerie foretelling of what would happen to Hawaiian language if it were not defended in the public education system, Dr. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua recalls Kekūanā'ō'a's impassioned statement:

The theory of substituting the English language for the Hawaiian, in order to educate our people is as dangerous to Hawaiian nationality, as it is useless in promoting the general education of the people. If we wish to preserve the Kingdom of Hawaii for Hawaiians, and to educate our people, we must insist that the Hawaiian language shall be the language of all our National schools, and that English shall be taught whenever practical, but only as an important branch of education. (p. 19)

Punahou School serves as a well-suited contrast to Hawai'i's ali'i-initiated school system. While Punahou is seen today as a very progressive school, its foundation and history could be seen as exclusive and formalist. Punahou was established by American missionary parents who did

not want to be separated from their young children for lack of a suitable, protestant primary school education in Hawai'i. Though King Kamehameha III established free, public schools to educate all citizens of his nation, the missionaries sought to establish a separate school because they felt the need to 1) shield mission children from the 'corrupting' influence of the Hawaiian tongue, 2) prepare for the ever-increasing possibility that missionaries and their offspring would become permanent residents of the islands...., and 3) safeguard mission children from the sexual attitudes and practices of the Hawaiians (*To Teach the Children*, 1982).

After completing their education at Punahou School, the Castle sons and daughters used their education to achieve remarkably different ends. The sons—William, Henry, George, and James—completed their university education at Ivy League universities. They used their knowledge of economics, government, and law to not only increase wealth for their numerous family estates and foundations, but also to overthrow Hawai'i's Queen. The daughters—Helen and Harriet—led by their social justice-oriented and abolitionist matriarch, Mary Tenney Castle, led very different social change efforts in Hawai'i in their work to establish free kindergartens and university extension lectures.

In his book, *A Century of Philanthropy*, descendant Alfred Castle places his grandmother and aunts' works within a historical context of the Progressive Era. In his chapter, "Women and Philanthropy," Castle refers to historian Robert Crunden's research on one hundred so-called "progressives" who were born between 1854 and 1874—the generation that included Helen and Harriet Castle. Castle uses Crunden's findings to describe the character of Protestant reformers like his relatives.

Caught between these two worlds, their lives were both creative and problematic...includes birth in a home of devout Protestantism, restlessness, religious doubt and indecision, psychosomatic illness, a solid education at a small denominational college, and a vocation invested with religious and moral significance. In broad outline, these are the key characteristics for a large number of reformers who, like Henry Castle, wrestled with their past to find a new identity and cause through social reform. (2004, p. 23).

Castle goes on to describe missionary children of this era as being concerned with professionalism, regulation, and a search for political order,...art, music, literature, and architecture, as well as the general climate of opinion (2004, pp. 22–23).

Dewey's Invitation to Hawai'i

Tracing Dewey's invitation to Hawai'i can most easily be done in chronological sequence. After meeting George Mead at the University of Michigan in 1891, John Dewey starts to learn about Hawai'i from Henry and Helen Castle. By 1892, the wives of this progressive pair of thinkers have become close friends, as evidenced by Alice C. Dewey's travels to Hawai'i with Helen Castle Mead. In 1894, both Dewey and Mead took positions at the University of Chicago where they become acquainted with the newly established (1889) settlement house Hull House. The settlement house movement that took hold in urban America sought to ...help immigrant families adapt to the language and culture of their new country...and housed middle-class college women in order to facilitate their service to the poor (Castle, A. L., 2004, pp. 10–11). As progressive social philosophers, Dewey and Mead (and their wives) were intrigued by the prospects of how settlement houses could serve as venues to apply their ideals for democratic social change.

Meanwhile in Hawai'i, another Castle sister, Harriet was working with the matriarch of the Castle family—"Mother Castle" as she was known—on establishing the German kindergarten movement in Hawai'i. Alfred Castle chronicles his aunt's work in *A Century of Philanthropy*. He notes that by 1897, having done extensive research throughout America on the kindergarten movement, Harriet went to visit her sister in Chicago and had the opportunity to visit the Hull House and become acquainted with Dewey's philosophical and pedagogic ideas. Harriet brought her conviction for free kindergartens home to Hawai'i and waged a grassroots fundraising campaign. Part of her argument for support described early education as, a saver of future tax expenses for jails, prisons, and almshouses (Castle, A. L., 2004, pp. 36–37).

Finally, the lack of a university in Hawai'i at the time motivated some of the highly educated elite to establish public lectures by which a larger number of Hawaii's population could access academic lectures and perhaps earn university credit. University extension lectures were introduced in

Great Britain in the mid-nineteenth century and spread to the United States. *The Hawaiian Star* newspaper described the university extension process as follows: “a lecturer of great note is sent to the city requiring him and gives a series of lectures in which he is a specialist. At the end of the course, he is succeeded by another and so on.” The article goes on to say that people could benefit from the lectures either for personal development or to complete a course for credit (*The Hawaiian Star*, December 14, 1898, p. 1).

The most intriguing part of this article is the title and introduction, “University Extension: Three Ladies Interested in a Great Work.” At the time, even though they had not yet received the right to vote in America, nor own property, this article credited three Hawai'i women with the vision to hold world-class intellectual enrichment activities on the most isolated islands in the Pacific! The author noted that “[f]oremost in the work is Mrs. Mead [sic] (nee Helen Castle), wife of Professor Mead [sic] of Chicago, Mrs. F.M. Day, and Mrs. Ethel Wing Castle.” (*The Hawaiian Star*, December 14, 1898, p. 1). Mrs. Ethel Wing Castle was Henry Castle's second wife and widow.

Though Dewey wrote voluminously of his educational ideals in his published work, his personal correspondence between friends, colleagues, and acquaintances are the only sources that reveal his personal observations about Hawai'i.

In 1894, Harriet Castle wrote to both Dr. and Mrs. Dewey about her enthusiasm to start free kindergartens in Hawai'i. In 1898, Dr. Dewey wrote to Ms. Flora Cooke about the Castle family's desire to memorialize both Henry and his daughter Dorothy by launching a kindergarten. It seems a completely natural consequence of events, given the Castles' vision and personal aims to further develop the reach of progressive and early childhood education in Hawai'i, that the Castles (especially Helen Castle Mead) invited Dr. and Mrs. Dewey to the newly introduced university extension lecture series. The choice of Dewey's five lecture topics that focused on child development and the ethical implications therein, leave one little doubt that his invitation to lecture for the university extension program in 1899 was to further the work that the Castles and their colleagues were preparing to devote to the creation of free kindergartens in Hawai'i.

I ka wā ma mua: Look to the past to see the future

This study explored documents that illustrated the friendships that led to John and Alice Chipman Dewey's collaborations with the Meads and Castles. Together, they can be credited for leading a collaborative effort that resulted in the establishment of Hawai'i's free kindergartens, Pālama Settlement, university extension lectures, and one of the oldest family philanthropic organizations in America.

While these were all meritorious outcomes, this study's aim has also been to show how these events were circumstantial beneficiaries to Native Hawaiians' zeal for learning and our ali'i's inspired vision for their citizens to be educated. It was these Hawaiian leaders' visions and priorities that led to a government-funded infrastructure that launched free public education to all citizens throughout Hawai'i.

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ENDNOTE

- ¹ In a letter dated April 23, 1892, John Dewey wrote to Thomas Davidson that “...Mrs. Dewey has departed on a sudden visit to Honolulu Hawaiian Islands & won't be back till July sometime—She may not care for a farther vacation of long time...” (1892.04.23 (00467).

Hanahau'oli School: Theory Meets Practice

Robert Peters

Science (Nature Study) as well as Mathematics was taught in practical ways. We measured daily the growth of a banana leaf from a plant growing by the front steps and, as I remember, the growth was six inches or more. We also had a hive of bees with glass on one side so we could watch them. (Dora Derby, Mrs. Cooke's daughter, from her memories of the first year, 1918, as cited in Palmer, 1968, p. 5).

A Brief Introduction to Hanahau'oli School

Hanahau'oli School was launched in 1918 when Sophie Judd Cooke and her husband George brought together their six children with friends on a vacant lot at the corner of Makiki and Nohea (Nowewhi, then) Streets. The land, almost two acres, was surrounded by a lava rock wall built in 1902 and had belonged to C. M. Cooke, Ltd. Two small buildings that the Cookes moved to the site from their Makiki Heights home became the school's classroom building and shop. Much of the lot was left open for a campus playground and eventually included Hawai'i's first jungle gym.

Sixteen children, ranging in age from six to eleven years old, were the first students of this small school, which functioned as a large or extended family. Academic subjects were taught by Miss Cecil Palmer, assisted by Miss Ruth Farrington, that first year. They were joined by Japanese and French teachers, along with Mrs. A. A. Wilson, who traveled to Makiki from Wahiawā two days a week to teach shop. The importance of the shop cannot be overstated as it was a center of much of the learning at Hanahau'oli, not unlike at John Dewey's Chicago Laboratory School, where children could work out their ideas in the process of "doing," characteristic of the progressive education tradition. The school was built upon the belief expressed by Dewey in *My Pedagogic Creed* that the experience of schooling should be a part of life and not separate from it: it (school) is a "process of living and not simply a preparation for future living. . . ." Dewey, 1897 in Dworkin, 1959, p.22).

While a fairly radical departure from traditional schooling at that time, the progressive movement was gaining currency nationwide. Mrs. Cooke, along with

family friends, had been reading progressive educators like Francis Parker, William Heard Kilpatrick, and John Dewey. A fortuitous meeting with Mrs. Goodrun Thorne-Thomsen offered the motivation to start a "small school." Mrs. Cooke attended a lecture for mothers at Washington Place entitled "Literature for Children" delivered by Mrs. Thorne-Thomsen of the Francis Parker School in Chicago, who offered practical advice, according to Palmer, for starting a school. "Our school was 'progressive' in every sense of the word. We tried new methods and broke with the stilted formal type of instruction which was common at that time." (Cooke, 1964, p. 78). She named her school "Hanahau'oli" meaning "Joyful Work" at the suggestion of her brother Henry.

Defying the criticism of many in the community by starting a progressive school, Sophie Judd Cooke followed her beliefs derived from the Progressive Education movement that methods like "correlating (integrating) the work and 'learning by doing'" were cornerstones of good education and that developing individual and group initiative through projects would be the result of the Hanahau'oli experience. (Cooke, 1964, p.79). The connection to Dewey in the school's aims and beliefs was evident from the start. The 1919 school bulletin clearly expressed its aims in Dewey terms:

Our aim is to give the child opportunities for self expression and to provide, through the interests and activities of the school, occupations necessary for the development and unfolding at each stage of his individual powers and capabilities; to show him how he can exercise these powers, both mechanically and socially, in the little world he finds about him.

As Louisa Palmer notes in *Memories*, Hanahau'oli's progressive beliefs included the following principles:

- ❖ Education is a process of living.
- ❖ School life grows out of home life.
- ❖ Moral training results from entering into "proper relations with others in a unity of work and thought."
- ❖ Each child's "endowments" differ from that of others.

Even clearer evidence of the close tie to Dewey was the 1923 bulletin which quotes directly from John and Evelyn Dewey's *Schools of Tomorrow*: "To find out how to make (find) knowledge when it is needed is the true end of acquisition of information in school, not the information itself" (Palmer, 1968, p. 16). Of equal interest to those who wonder about the progressive legacy at Hanahau'oli over its almost one hundred year history may be that this statement still guides much of today's curriculum development at the school. The standards cited in the 1923 bulletin for a "modern school" are the ability to think, to execute, to lead, to co-operate, to judge and to organize (the student's own methods of work—the very standards that we continue to hold to today and the ones that are described by contemporary educators as "Twenty-first Century skills."

From the outset, Hanahau'oli has been a school that subscribes to the notion that first-hand experiences, especially through excursions, give real meaning to learning that information gained from reading a book can, at best, only approximate. As far back as 1919, as captured in a letter from Mrs. Cooke to Mrs. Thorne-Thomsen, there is a record of weekly excursions on Mondays after lunch with visits to places like the Bishop Museum, the Aquarium, the Sugar Planter's Experiment Station, the printing office, the wharves, the pineapple cannery, Makiki Valley stream, and the blacksmith shop. Mrs. Cooke notes, "These excursions to actually 'see and experience' continue to be a vital part of Hanahau'oli's work." (Palmer, 1968, p. 3).

For Mrs. Cooke, the success of her efforts was validated by John Dewey himself during a visit to Honolulu in 1951. "Our crowning event was when Dr. John Dewey, who advocated this theory of teaching, and Mrs. Dewey, came to visit our school and gave us 'the green light'. This gratified us." (Cooke, 1964, p. 79).

Given this brief introduction to Hanahau'oli and its connection with progressive educational thought, the

main task of this article is to examine the place of these ideas in the more recent history of the school and to explore their meaning for today's world of rapid global and digital change. My aims are to examine how current the educational philosophy of the Progressives is for the world of our children's future lives, when they will come to occupy positions of leadership, and to assess just how "progressive" these traditions and beliefs are.

Progressive Educational Practice at Hanahau'oli

While the mission of Hanahau'oli has undergone revision over the years, it retains the essential features of the aims and principles cited above: respect for the uniqueness of each individual child; development of individuals who are independent and collaborative; education that challenges and promotes the joy of learning; deepening the child's understanding of the world through critical and creative thinking; recognizing the natural way of learning by emphasizing "learning by doing;" building a strong connection between home and school; and placing an emphasis upon the arts (*Hanahau'oli Mission Statement*, revised 2010). The mission's underlying beliefs are clearly recognizable in the original standards of Hanahau'oli:

- ❖ recognizing that parents are a child's first teachers and work with the school to promote learning;
- ❖ educating the whole child: cognitively, socially, physically and emotionally;
- ❖ valuing the natural way children learn and the need for time to be a child;
- ❖ providing a developmentally appropriate, child-centered program;
- ❖ respecting that children demonstrate different strengths and develop at different rates;
- ❖ recognizing that real-life problems and situations offer the best means for constructing meaning;
- ❖ supporting collaborative learning, inquiry and self reflection; and,
- ❖ focusing on continuous progress for each child as it provides feedback on learning and promotes growth.

Just as the Progressives of John Dewey's day spoke to the founders of the school, their ideas are still prominent in

the school's life today and hold promise for guidance of the school in future.

A few years ago, Alfie Kohn wrote an article for *Independent School* (2008), the journal of the National Association of Independent Schools, in which he lamented the lack of progressive schools while extolling their value in today's world. He cites three basic characteristics of the progressive school, which I will use as the framework for demonstrating Hanahau'oli's alignment with the progressive tradition: active learning, community collaboration, and teaching the whole child.

Active Learning and Deep Understanding

Children actively inform the curriculum with their questions, solutions, and explanations; they help to form and evaluate what is learned and are engaged in constructing meaning rather than passively absorbing information. Facts and skills have little meaning themselves but only in a context and for a purpose. Learning becomes centered around themes, projects, and the questions that children pose. Such learning encourages connection-making, concept development, and understanding about how their world functions. Teaching becomes interdisciplinary.

Hanahau'oli's curriculum is designed around thematic units in social studies and science because of its commitment to the notion that three questions motivate all learning: Who am I? How does the world work? Where do I fit in that world? Units created by the teachers, with student input, address these questions and support children's natural inquisitiveness. The units are designed to promote the understanding of concepts to help children organize their world and eventually form generalizations about how the world works. These concepts are abstract and broad; they include change, interdependence, adaptation, technology, diversity, survival, and others that unite the curriculum both horizontally and vertically.

Individual units in the JK to Grade 6 program, support a wide variety of topics of study that include human needs, community needs, our island environment, family issues, environmental sustainability, and the origins of democracy. Children at all levels are invited to share what they already know about a topic and what they would like to learn. In this way, they help to shape the direction of their studies, indicate their levels of understanding, and provide input into different areas of interest and focus. Building upon student

interests supports active engagement and, when work is shared with the whole group, enhances collective learning. As Dewey would agree, children are giving direction to the curriculum but not determining it. The latter is the responsibility of the adult, the teacher, whose experience is broader and more mature and whose job it is to determine what is important to be learned.

What has become known as "learning by doing" or "hands-on" learning is emphasized as children venture into the community to research the subject-matter being studied while developing their understandings through problem formulation, problem solving, simulated learning, and the experience of interacting directly with the environment.

Very much in the Deweyan tradition, the school's thematic units help children understand that there need be no separation between school and life. School is life and life is learning. Rather than preparing for the future, Dewey believed that education should address what the child needs to know now. The best way to do that is to allow the curriculum to grow out of real home, work, and life situations—like the construction of a new school building.

Construction on campus over the years has provided an ideal area of study for children to investigate. Observing concrete footings being poured for one of our new buildings, children raised questions associated with physics, chemistry, and mathematics as well as with how cement is made. These observations were developed through visits to a cement factory to learn what is involved in the manufacturing process. The children also raised questions for investigation about occupations, tool usage, and gender roles. One of our groups during a project questioned why so few women were on the work crews and interviewed the contractors and workers to seek answers to their question. Another group assumed the role of photojournalists to capture the campus development with digital cameras. They followed up by interviewing those directly affected (students, teachers, and administrators) about how demolition, construction, and new "homes" in which to carry out their work would affect them. Researching, collecting data, and recording results led to the publication of their findings, which they subsequently shared with the school community.

Another group, as part of a project on change and constancy in social studies, made an historical study of our school campus. They interviewed alumni, school administrators, and parents and examined the school archives

for further information. These children constructed three models of the campus covering its founding in 1918, the War Years in the 1940s, and the envisioned new building. The conclusions they drew from the study helped them to understand their world and how it works. They recognized that while the school and campus have experienced change over time, there are some things that can be counted on to stay the same: the importance of experiential learning, the traditions valued by the school community, the value of school's small size, and the symbolic significance of the school's bell.

Models of the buildings as they emerged during planning became projects for the study of scale and proportion as well as material usage by some of the older children. The skills and understandings needed to proceed with these activities were integrated into the units, giving them meaning and utility as well as emphasizing that learning is "for now" and not merely a preparation for the future. These examples support Dewey's notion of what can be called "educative" activities—they are based on children's interests, grow out of experience, support development, give meaning to skill application, require joint problem solving, and contribute to deep understanding.

A challenge that the Hanahau'oli mixed age, *Kulaiwi* group (second and third graders) completed this past spring is one that exemplifies our emphasis upon project-based learning. As part of their year-long study of community and interdependence, the group studied how communities make changes over time to meet the needs of their members. Already having studied Hanahau'oli as an interdependent school community, the *Kulaiwi* children were asked to investigate a real campus problem—its aging playground and play structure. Identifying the need—the current playground is getting old and may become unsafe—the children took on the challenge of designing a new playground that would be more appealing and useful to all community members. They also required that it be safe, and (at the request of the Head of School), that it be more natural in design. The expertise necessary to complete this design project was identified as children applied to take on a variety of roles such as historians, field researchers, designers, and builders. Children were asked to consider their areas of interest and strengths and to indicate how they wished to participate and contribute. This would be a cross-disciplinary project, which the specific roles required;

and it would be one that demanded collaboration and an understanding of interdependence both within and among groups.

Guided by an architect parent who met with the full group, the historians were advised to understand their past to get to the future, and not to let their story go. The historians, much like their counterparts during the campus construction, utilized the archival resources as a basis for their research. They also interviewed faculty members of long-standing and some alumni who shared their playground memories, giving this group an historical sense of the growth of the playground and how decisions for change were made in the past. They even consulted notes from the last *ad hoc* Playground Committee, who were responsible for the current playground design that the students were seeking to change.

The field researchers divided up their work. While some interviewed teachers and children throughout the school to determine needs and wants, others honed their observation and data-collection skills by examining current usage by different age levels during actual recess times. All of their information was shared with the designers who wrestled with the various needs and demands of the school community as they developed drawings for the builders. Notably, the children revealed a sensitivity to the needs of young children with physical challenges and looked for solutions to how the designs could meet safety and access needs. These designs were presented to the physical education teacher, the Head of School, and the board's Physical Plant Committee for feedback. Following a sharing with the group in which the drawings were explained and a rationale was presented, a final selection was made based upon the group's assessment of which design best met the needs of the project. The builders were assigned the task of translating the design into a three-dimensional model. This task required extensive measuring, both outside and inside, and the application of the concept of scale along with creative use of materials. The project culminated in a final presentation before an audience of the Playground Planning Committee.

All of these groups integrated a great deal of mathematics into their work. They employed communication skills—both literacy and design skills—to engage in collaborative problem solving and evaluation of their efforts through daily goal assessment accompanied by a final reflection about the design challenge itself. This was a unit

of high engagement because it was meaningful, demanded authentic intellectual activity, and demonstrated positive participation in community life—requirements that Dewey's educational philosophy supports as elements of progressive learning. The design of a campus playground, elements of which the Playground Planning Committee intend to incorporate, reinforces the notion that school and life are not separate. This unit also models the correlation of the logical (facts) and the psychological (experience) within a social context, and thus represents the application of Dewey's belief that subject matter gains meaning not as a collection of objective facts but as a human experience playing a part in the process of living.

Community, Collaboration, and Social Justice

In progressive learning environments, children learn with and from each other. They are places where competition yields to collaboration and, what may to some seem like diametric opposites, where independence and interdependence exist side-by-side. A sense of community is fostered as responsibility for self and others is encouraged. Students are assisted to realize that they are part of "widening circles of care" that extend beyond immediate social groups to include a more global world.

"When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community (the school), saturating him with the spirit of service. . . we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious." (Dewey, 1899 in Dworkin, 1959, p. 49).

John Dewey's emphasis upon the individual reflects an understanding that society's needs are best met when educators capitalize upon the collective strengths, interests, and talents of the community's individual members. And in order for that to happen, the individual needs of group members should be met. For Dewey, service and spirit are to permeate the entire curriculum and, in effect, the fabric of the school. Working together on a project or an activity implies contributing to something larger than one's self, to a common and shared purpose. And, the "doing" of an activity is insufficient in his view to meet this purpose. Practical engagement also required the act of "thinking" or "reflecting" to better understand human needs. (Tanner, 1997, p. 3–5).

At Hanahau'oli, the principle of the individual as a community member is a natural outgrowth of both the social studies thematic unit as well as the school environment which promotes a sense of communal living and shared responsibilities. The most obvious demonstrations of this principle are evident in the daily life of the school ranging across such activities as classroom "jobs," reading/writing buddies, and sixth-grade classroom helpers. The latter role is an "applied-for" position with a periodic performance assessment to ensure the helper is meeting obligations and fulfilling community responsibilities—a very Deweyan notion of school as lived experience. Mentoring in our multiage classrooms by continuing (second year) students is a natural outgrowth of learning about leadership and inclusion. This type of "community service" is defined within the school context. It is a first step toward understanding that a community is a group of people working together to seek a common result. It also reflects a natural extension of the place of family and home as the child's first teachers and it emphasizes a growing sense of belonging with its attendant responsibilities. Such tasks are applications of John Dewey's belief that school life grows out of home life and should "deepen and extend the child's sense of values bound up in his home life" (Dewey, 1897 in Dworkin, 1959, p.23).

Beyond the classroom and campus walls, community involvement is most often a natural result of inquiries that arise from areas of study that emphasize discovering how the world works. An example from a few years ago came about in a Habitat for Humanity project that involved providing lunches for workers. This project arose from one group's study of the need for shelters in which they learned about Habitat for Humanity's effort to support affordable housing. Unable to participate in the actual house-building, the students nevertheless wanted to contribute, so they devised a lunch program for workers and, with their parent's help, carried it out.

Another example grew out of a study of our local community. Children on a learning trip to downtown Honolulu encountered numbers of homeless people and were surprised to discover that even children can be homeless. Wanting to learn more, they contacted a social service agency to find out how they could become involved with this community issue. Discovering that toiletries were in great need, the children conducted a school-wide

drive to help meet this need for homeless children and their families. In both instances, children reflected about the socio-economic problems of our local community as an outgrowth of their unit studies and used that information to help address the problem.

These are examples of developing that “spirit of service” cited above and of introducing children to the concept of social justice. Both support the progressive idea that education is intended to improve the quality of life, for the individual and the community. Perhaps the most explicit expression of these principles can be found in the sixth-grade classroom. The goal for the sixth grade students is “balancing responsibilities of the greater whole with those of ourselves.” This goal is played out as children study the following central pairs of concepts: self and society; conflict and harmony; diversity and unity; constancy and change. As they complete their final year at Hanahau’oli, children are given opportunities to reflect about themselves as individuals and learners and to practice what it means to be a member of a democratic community. They create a Greek Polis or city-state and set it up as a working community with defined responsibilities, expectations for individual and group functioning, and projects that require sharing individual strengths and talents while supporting the group’s overall goals. The on-going reflection and assessment of how the group is functioning opens opportunities for improvement, problem-solving, and discovery of the importance of respecting and considering diverse viewpoints. Their project is to build a model of community living and democratic decision-making, and to learn this by learning from the experience. It is worth noting that collaboration in all the preceding examples is a key element in community living as defined by Hanahau’oli and its emphasis upon shared projects.

The Whole Child and Intrinsic Motivation

The ideas of teaching the whole child and encouraging them through intrinsic motivation are implicit in the preceding sections but are important to explicate as Dewey values that inform practice at Hanahau’oli.

Teaching the Whole Child

The phrase, “whole child,” may be considered a much over-used one, but questions can be raised about how well-practiced it is once children move beyond the

preschool years. It denotes the importance Dewey placed on learning being more than the traditionally academic; it extends to learning how to be a good person as well as moving beyond just verbal and mathematical proficiency. It includes attending to all parts of the child and offering opportunities for growth in the social and physical realm as well as opening opportunities to discover passions and make connections. The second construct, intrinsic motivation, is one worthy of conversation at all levels of education as it addresses a critical issue for progressives, the perception by many that the primary purpose of learning is a utilitarian one. Not only did Dewey support the value of learning derived from the satisfaction of knowing but he also believed, as stated above, that education is a process of living, one that addresses what a person needs to know at the time and not a preparation for future living.

While social development is at the heart of all Hanahau’oli classrooms, in which children and teachers define and create learning communities, opportunities to develop, explore, and refine interests along with talents and passions are also key to each child’s Hanahau’oli experience. The arts play a central role as vehicles for both accessing knowledge and expressing what has been learned. They offer an opportunity to experience life and learn about one’s self and others. Hanahau’oli believes that by virtue of the fact that the arts are an expression of self and culture, they are a worthy areas of study. Even more than that, they also offer children alternative ways of expressing their learning and validate individual strengths.

A project involving the visual arts teacher and a parent who works with mosaics offered the *Kulaiwi* children an opportunity to express their learning by creating an accurate, wall-sized mural depicting the ocean zones and creatures that inhabit them. Serving as docents for visitors, children explained the nature of the mural and the interdependence of the creatures and their environments. Not only did they become knowledgeable about the ocean itself, but they also learned the mosaic processes required for the mural creation. Teachers often encourage children to demonstrate their learning through visual representations, recognizing the unique skills of some and the limitations that verbal responses may have as reliable measures for determining what a child has learned.

By placing emphasis on the whole child other areas of development and potential interest are opened up, such as

foreign language, music (instrumental and vocal), physical skills, and shop. It is important to note that, in alignment with Dewey's thinking, the shop (called Physical World Lab) supports children's learning in the use of manual skills and tools—not simply for utilitarian purposes but more as “mental training” to use the eye and hand to express ideas of the mind (Tanner, 1997, p. 153–57). Besides being exposed to potential areas of interest and capitalizing on children's strengths, studying these various subject areas also helps them to recognize and integrate the connections between disciplines.

A unique feature of Hanahau'oli is the RPM (Rhythms, Patterns, and Movement) program in which the music, French Language, and physical education teachers team up to help children see the intersections of all three subjects. Most often their work emphasizes answers to the question—“What will you do with the things you know and know how to do?” Children are given opportunities to apply what has been learned in each subject area as they plan for performances, demonstrate content learning from unit studies, and utilize creative thinking by employing their collaboration skills. Projects can range from choreographing routines for the Holiday Program to designing a Medieval Fete and sharing what has been learned while studying about shelters. No matter what the project is, the work includes the following: collaborative planning, dealing with increasing levels of complexity, and using thinking skills (application, analysis, and synthesis) as children “repurpose” what has been learned by putting it together in new and creative ways. The “whole child” element that is involved in these efforts comes as a result of offering new opportunities for the children to discover ways of learning and expressing ideas. In addition, it encourages those whose natural skills reside in one of these disciplines with opportunities to excel, to lead, and to feel their worth, which provides a further example of respect for the individual within a social context.

The emphasis upon creative activity can be interpreted to support, as Laurel Tanner notes in *Dewey's Laboratory School*, Dewey's assertion in *Moral Principles in Education* (1909): “. . . every method that appeals' to the child's ‘capacities in construction, production, and creation, marks an opportunity to shift the center of ethical gravity from an absorption which is selfish to a service which is social.” (Dewey, 1909, p. 26 in Tanner, 1997, p.36).

Intrinsic Motivation

The child's own instinct and powers furnish the material and give the starting point for all education. (Dewey, 1897 in Dworkin, 1959, p.20).

According to Dewey, student interest is a key factor in planning for instruction and the curriculum. It offers the motivation for learning and the satisfaction of having one's questions answered following inquiry. This does not imply, like the more child-driven approach of A. S. Neil at Summerhill, that children should be allowed to decide what and when to study something. Rather, it recognizes that as a teacher plans, she needs to consider the context in which she is teaching and the children in her classroom. At Hanahau'oli, this approach ensures that even when the same thematic units are taught over time, they will always be different and adapted to the group of children engaged in a lesson—the differences shaped by both the developmental stage and experiences and interests of the current group.

Dewey valued the authority of the teacher as a knowledgeable individual whose experience equips her to determine what is important to learn from a conceptual and thematic vantage. At the same time, he argued that children need to be drawn into the planning. One means to achieve this is for the teacher to “interpret the child's interests” and because of her experience open opportunities for the potential of that interest to be maximized or expanded. At Hanahau'oli, children are invited into this process as teachers explore what the children already know about a topic, the questions they have, and what they might like to learn. Utilizing that information to guide planning ensures that children have a voice in the direction of the curriculum, which is vertically organized around conceptual themes to enhance and extend understanding as the children mature.

Identifying what children already understand informs instructional planning as teachers seek to build children's understanding without judging the validity or accuracy of their efforts. Teachers then question the children to help clarify their thinking and utilize what they hear to frame activities and instruction. For example, a topical unit about food for younger children at Hanahau'oli included a subunit about plants and their needs. Children seemed to “have the words” to identify those needs—water, sunlight and air—so the teachers took the opportunity to ask two questions to promote further inquiry: “How do you know? and How can you find out if that is true?” The children proceeded to

identify explorable questions (Do plants need air to survive? Do plants need light from the sun?). They were then divided into six investigation groups to make “thoughtful guesses” and set up their investigation plans. Teachers respected children’s plans and offered guidance when a group found it needed support. The most interesting results were derived from plans that initially did not work and from the further inquiry and questions the revisions produced. Children guided this work by determining the interest groups and the questions to pursue, and they did this within the larger context of a unit designed around food as a basic need and the intended learning outcomes that were related to plants as a primary source of food and an integral part of food chains. This unit took advantage of children as natural scientists and yielded “control” of the unit to the children by building upon their interests and understandings. (Inouye & Ross, 2009, p. 21–25).

Projects like this amount to what Alfie Khon describes as “taking the child seriously.” He notes that, “progressive educators take their cue from the children—and are particularly attentive to differences among them” (2008, p. 21). Thus, the curriculum at Hanahau’oli is designed with the cooperation of the children, and teachers are alert to the idea that children’s questions, knowledge, and experiences may take them in unexpected but valuable directions.

Afterthoughts: The Progressive School in the Twenty-first Century

John Dewey’s understanding of the nature of learning and instruction continues to have relevance today and inform both best practices and curricular focus. Despite the bias reflected in this manuscript in favoring progressive education, it seems evident that educators who support the emphasis on Twenty-first Century Skills will find the progressive tradition informative and instructive as the focus of educational reform shifts from teaching to learning. Current opinion that twenty-first century learners need to be effective and interactive communicators, creative problem solvers, collaborative team members, and critical thinkers harkens back to the outcomes that Dewey sought at his University Lab School—goals shared with other progressive educators of his era. Seeking to provide learning opportunities that develop democratic citizens capable of working together to solve problems and improve the quality of life is the goal of progressive education whether at the local, national, or

global level. And, it remains so today, albeit under the guise of sustaining international competitiveness—a value that is not reflective of Dewey’s thinking.

The twenty-first century curriculum is emerging as one that requires interdisciplinary thinking, thematic organization, and project-based learning that is informed by research. It is a curriculum that is connected to the community, both local and global, and extends beyond the classroom walls. It incorporates higher order thinking skills and multiple literacies, including familiarity with the use of technology. Skills and content are integrated and both are taught for application rather than simply as ends in themselves. The concept of knowledge is expanded beyond the memorization of facts to include the use of facts to demonstrate understanding. Teachers are urged to replace traditional means of assessment with more authentic methods that requires students to use what they have learned in real contexts and often with a target audience in mind. This emphasis views learning rather than teaching as the primary goal of education. The teacher becomes a facilitator of that learning by creating the opportunity for it to occur, knowing her students well enough to match their needs, and stretching them to meet challenges. Learners are active participants in their learning and not passive recipients; the goal being to create independent, self-directed individuals who are resourceful and find learning a natural part of daily life both in and out of school. Schools that subscribe to the progressive tradition can serve as models of the type of learning and instruction being called for by those espousing twenty-first century skill development. As Kohn notes, they are the characteristics that define a progressive school.

...it is the office of the school environment to balance the various elements in the social environment, and to see to it that each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment.” (Dewey, 1916, p. 20).

Among the literacies being sought are those made possible and important because of the digital age in which we live. They range from basic literacies such as critical reading and persuasive writing to visual, informational, and cultural literacy—all made more urgent by the expanding connectedness resulting from a rapidly changing technological world. Both progressive schools and more traditional

schools need to consider the impact upon learning that digital advances make possible. The question becomes, “How do we think about these changes within the context of schooling and educating?”

For many, this has become a question about how to integrate technology into the curriculum and the learning process. While this is a valid question to consider, it may not be the central question that John Dewey, if he were around today, would urge schools to think about. Rather, he might ask schools to consider what the impact of technology is upon society, both its positive and negative effects and its potential to improve the quality of life. Dewey understood that technology is in a continuous state of evolution and children must experience an education that recognizes that evolution. This conclusion can be extrapolated from his observations about the Industrial Revolution in *The School and Society*, “The change that comes first to mind. . . is the industrial one—the application of science resulting in the great inventions that have utilized the forces of nature on a vast and inexpensive scale: the growth of a world-wide market as the object of production, of vast manufacturing centers to supply this market, of cheap and rapid means of communication and distribution between all its parts. . . . One can hardly believe that there has been a revolution in all history so rapid, so extensive, so complete” (Dewey, 1899, in Dworkin, 1959, p. 35).

Understanding the influence of industrial change was an important part of Dewey’s Laboratory School curriculum for children, and the technological inventions that comprise the dominant features of our digital age will continue to be so for the curriculum of the future. Within today’s context, I would venture to assume that Dewey would urge schools to find the balance between direct encounters with the world, both human and physical, and expanding students’ understanding by using technological tools in their projects. Technology supports the progressive tradition when it enhances a “hands-on” approach involving human interactions. A frog dissection app, a virtual tour of the Ko’olau Mountains, a “face-time” interview with an Arctic explorer or a Hōkūle’a sailor are all examples of experiences that enhance understanding and bring resources to the child that might not otherwise be available to them.

Equally important is an emphasis upon the social impact of technology. Digital citizenship and responsible use of digital tools that encourages informed and discriminating

use of technology and which supports positive interactions among students are essential when educating children about social effects. It is also important to educate families about how to responsibly model and teach their children about the value and public nature of digital communication. Future issues to keep in mind in this ever-changing world are the impact of technology on brain development, the value of family life and activities, and the balance for children that comes from needing “green time” outdoors and the moderate use of tech tools during free time.

At Hanahau’oli, we know that our children will face a high-tech future. It is a change that connotes the progressive nature of life. Dewey recognized that education is a process of living, and he believed you cannot forecast what the world will be like for the next generation. We at Hanahau’oli similarly believe that schools cannot prepare children for a predictable set of circumstances for their future. Our goal is to give the child, to use Dewey’s words, “command of himself” which is achieved through an active social and physical education that empowers them to discover how the world works—through creative activity and learning the worth of individual contributions in collective efforts. (Dewey, 1897, in Dworkin, 1959, p. 21–22).

This approach prepares our graduates to be prepared for life through learning in the moment. In *Democracy and Education* (1916), Dewey writes that “Where schools are equipped with laboratories, shops and gardens, where dramatizations, plays and games are freely used, opportunities exist for reproducing situations of life and for acquiring and applying information and ideas in carrying forward of progressive experiences” (Dewey, 1916, p.161–61). Thus, education becomes a balance between the “real” world and the “virtual” world, where children utilize technology to enhance their learning by offering experiences they might otherwise not have and explore questions derived from their inquiries. It is an education that allows children to visit places and for teachers to bring places to children that they cannot experience directly. Digital tools provide these opportunities; and as children explore and use them, they must also come to understand their impact upon the individual as a member of society. At the same time, it is important to recognize that, at times, “unplugging” will be necessary as research indicates that opportunities to “play” without direction is essential for developing creative thinking.

Progressive schools, by their very nature, need to respond to changing societal conditions. Within that context, learning guided by the teachings of John Dewey will not only make the progressive tradition sustainable but also make it increasingly relevant in a future that will increasingly make demands on students to possess the knowledge to respond to change effectively and productively.

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From School-Culture-to-Family-Culture: Reflections on Four Generations of a Deweyan Education in Hawai‘i

*Amber Strong Makaiau
with
Linda Summers Strong*

In 1918, my great great aunt, Sophie Judd Cooke founded a small progressive school in Honolulu. Her brother Henry named it Hanahau‘oli School, which means joyful work school. In her memoir she gives an account of its beginnings,

I attended a series of lectures for mothers on ‘Literature for Children,’ given at Washington Place by Mrs. Goodrun Thorne-Thomsen of the Francis Parker School in Chicago. These talks were fascinating to me, and I was happy to meet Mrs. Thorne-Thomsen and got to know her quite well. I discussed my particular situation as to my children’s education with her and she suggested that I start a little school *of my own* and invite other children to join. This idea appealed to me, so we moved the home next door to us on Makiki Heights, which we had recently bought, down to an empty lot on Makiki and Nehoa Streets...Our school was ‘progressive’ in every sense of the word. We tried new methods and broke with the stilted formal type of instruction which was common at that time...we persisted, and I note that many of the methods—of correlating the work and ‘learning by doing’—have been widely adopted in the public schools. Our crowning event was when Dr. John Dewey, who had advocated this theory of teaching, and Mrs. Dewey, came to visit our school and gave us the ‘green light.’ This gratified us! (Cooke, 1964, pp. 78–79)



Sophie Judd Cooke, Hanahau‘oli School founder (Courtesy of Hanahauoli School)

Since Dewey’s “green light,” four generations of my immediate family have attended Hanahau‘oli School, which, to this day, continues to carry on the vision of Dewey (1916;1938) and other progressive educators who dedicated their lives to making “a child’s school life more meaningful” (Palmer, 1968, p. 1).

In this essay my mother, Linda Summers Strong and I reflect on the impact of Hanahau‘oli School’s Deweyan approach to education on the development of our family’s culture. We start with memories of my grandmother, Catherine “Cappy” Cooke Summers, who

attended Hanahau‘oli School in the 1920s. Then we recount our own experiences at the school, which were remembered over a series of dialogues and inquiries that we engaged in with one another over the past couple of months. Finally, we share observations of my daughter, Catherine “Cappy” Kala‘iopua Makaiau, who is currently attending Hanahau‘oli School as a junior kindergartner. At the end of the essay, my mom and I comment on the special role that women played in progressive era education reforms, including the ways in which the women in our family have integrated a Deweyan approach to teaching and learning into our family culture.

Cappy Cooke Summers

When we started to think back on my grandmother's experiences at Hanahau'oli School my mom remembered her mother telling her "they didn't know what to do with me." When she asked her mother what she meant by this, my grandmother explained that over the course of her time at the school, some years she was promoted to the next grade and other years she was "placed back" a grade. I asked my mom what my grandmother thought about this, and she said that she got the feeling that my grandmother didn't take it personally because she knew that the school was doing its best to accommodate her specific learning needs. Overall, we remembered my grandmother having really fond memories of her time at Hanahau'oli School.

Among these memories were her warm recollections of her teachers. My mom recalled that one of my grandmother's teachers was Caroline Curtis. Miss Curtis was a deeply respected storyteller and writer who brought her knowledge of ancient Hawaiian legends into the classroom. My mom shared with me that she once asked her mother why Miss Curtis often mistakenly called my mom by my grandmother's name, and my grandmother told her that Miss Curtis had also been her teacher.

As my mom and I did more research about the origins of Hanahau'oli School we realized the significance of this memory. Mrs. Gudrun Thorne Thomsen, the lecturer who originally persuaded Sophie Judd Cooke to start Hanahau'oli School, was also a renowned storyteller.

Thorne Thomsen, who had a strong influence on the development of storytelling in [American public] libraries, believed that imaging exercises and listening to oral literature prepared children for reading... This insight into the relationship of oral literature, imaging, and reading, shared by Gurdun Thorne Thomsen, Francis Parker, and John Dewey, was lost for many years while schools emphasized the technical aspects of reading (Greene, 1996, pp. 18–19).

Storytelling, and its role in the development of children's literacy, was not lost at Hanahau'oli School during my grandmother's era. In fact, listening to Miss Curtis re-tell Hawaiian myths right before naptime was one of my mom's warmest memories of her time at Hanahau'oli School.

Linda Summers Strong

Before my mom entered the third grade, her family moved from Kailua on the windward side of the island. At that



Cappy Cooke Summers, studied at Hanahauoli, and her daughter, Linda followed in her footsteps. (This picture, taken by a press photographer, appeared in a local newspaper sometime during late 1950's)

time, my grandmother had to make decisions about where to send her three daughters to school, and my mother remembers my grandmother telling her that she was a "Hanahau'oli child" and that "she would be happy there." Later in her life, my mother recalls my grandmother sharing with her the belief that Hanahau'oli School isn't for every child, but in the case of my mother it was an ideal learning environment.

When I asked my mother to think back on her experiences at the school she remembers clearly how each grade level had a unique and distinguished focus of study. In third grade the students studied ancient Hawai'i. They made kapa, learned chants for Makahiki, and, through storytelling, learned ancient Hawaiian myths. In fourth grade the students studied pioneers and Native Americans, and missionaries and whalers in Hawai'i. The fourth graders also ran the school store, which "sold" classroom materials to the students and teachers in the other classrooms. On a designated day, student representatives from each class would come with a list of supplies that they needed to purchase. The fourth grade students would take inventory of the students'

list, add up the bills, distribute merchandise, and make the business transactions. In fifth grade students studied the Greeks and other ancient civilizations. The students represented various Greek city-states and competed in their own Olympic Games. My mother remembers how the olive branches, which were used in the Olympic awards ceremony were harvested from her grandmothers' house.

In sixth grade the students studied medieval history, explorers, and inventors. They made books and learned about calligraphy. As a part of the curriculum, the sixth graders also gave a gift to the school. In my mother's case, her class wanted to buy a movie projector costing one hundred dollars. They spent the entire year planning and carrying out various activities to raise the money. They sold labels and stationary, painted stilts for a Junior Achievement Club, collected silver and gold to redeem for cash, and had every student in the class enter an essay-writing contest with the hopes of winning a cash prize. When they finally purchased the movie projector they invited each class at Hanahau'oli School to come and view movies in their classroom.

Another lasting impression on my mother was shop class. What she liked the most about shop was making things. She recalls how she used wood to build a stool, a dollhouse, and a "crazy critter" that was made up of the scraps of past projects. The shop students also worked in clay, sewed on a treadle machine, wove on a table loom, created block prints, and learned how to hand bind books. They engaged in seasonal projects such as painting Ukrainian Easter eggs, constructing crèches for Christmas, and making kapa for Makahiki. And in all of her recollections of shop class, my mother's most vivid memories were of Miss Ramey, her shop teacher, a woman of many talents who also tended to the school's beehive. At the end of each shop class my mother remembers how clean-up was always part of the lesson, and to this day she thinks about this ritual as she cleans up her own art studio.

Rituals, traditions, and events are an integral part of life at Hanahau'oli School. My mother remembers morning flag, reciting St. Francis' canticle to the sun, Friday assemblies, Christmas carols, the school fair, annual visits to the Honolulu Museum of Art, stepping stones, and shaking the hand of the principal when the school bell was rung at the end of each day. These same rituals, traditions, and events are a lasting part of my memory of the school as well.

Amber Strong Makaiau

When I think back to my days at Hanahau'oli School, I instantly remember singing and "learning by doing." I can remember word-for-word all of the songs that we learned during music class. Not only were the songs fun to sing, for the most part they all had lessons embedded in them. For example, I learned about the history of slavery in America and the 1960's civil rights movement through African-American spirituals and songs like "Abraham, Martin & John." I vividly remember singing these songs during Friday assemblies, where the students who were chosen to lead the assembly each week would stand in front of the entire student body, faculty, and parents with the lyrics so that everyone in the Hanahau'oli School community could participate.

Like my mother, I also remember acting out a Greek Olympics, Greek oratory, Hawaiian Makahiki, medieval feast, and a number of other dramatic plays like the story of Helen Keller's life. On each of these occasions we would research the history of the event, read about the people and cultures through literature and informational text, plan out how we would enact the event, designate roles and responsibilities for everyone in the class, create traditional costumes, design artistic backdrops and props, and then carry out the event in front of our school community. In addition, we would document the event through reflective writing and art.

I have particularly strong recollections of using this process to study endangered species in the sixth grade. We started by researching endangered species in the library, and then we used our findings to construct models of endangered species habitats in a blended art and science class. Then we built wooden masks of the different endangered species that we were studying in shop class. We wore the masks in a musical production about endangered species that we put on for the entire school. We also created our own chapter of the World Wildlife Fund, which we had weekly bake sales for so that we could send our raised donations to the headquarters of this international organization. To this day, I often think about the impact that this interdisciplinary approach to teaching and learning had on my current abilities to think creatively, make connections, and see the big picture.

I also think about Hanahau'oli School's emphasis on learning how to learn. One of my most enduring memories is connected to the school library and learning how to conduct "independent" research. In every grade level we would select inquiry topics that we were interested in and that related

to the theme of our classroom studies. Then we would ask questions, and learn how to pursue our questions by finding resources in the school library. Within the library we were given a quite workspace of our very own where we could immerse ourselves in all of the information that we gathered. We were taught to challenge our thinking, open up the topic, and pursue further questions as a part of the inquiry process. We learned how to analyze and organize all of the information we gathered, outline our findings, and develop a piece of writing that we could share with the class.

The heart of my experiences at Hanahau'oli School was learning how to balance my individual interests with the goals of our community of learners. I also learned how important music, art, and drama are to learning about math, science, English, and social studies. I developed a voice, and was frequently told that what I had to say was important as long as I was mindful of my peers and teachers. Hanahau'oli School gave me the tools to be self-reflective and connected to others. Most importantly, through my experiences at Hanahau'oli School, I learned to love learning.

Cappy Kala'iopua Makaiau

This year, my daughter began her journey at Hanahau'oli School, and although it has only been a couple of months since the school year started, I can already identify the ways in which Hanahau'oli School is inspiring her own love of learning. Since starting at the school, my daughter has become fanatical about illustrating, narrating (she has someone else write her words onto the pages), and assembling "books" of her very own. Not only have I enjoyed seeing the ways in which her teachers at the school have nurtured her interest in book making, but I've also seen how they have introduced her to new language to help her articulate her thinking about the bookmaking process. She talks continually about "new ideas" for her next books, and this language comes from the "idea box" that she has in her classroom, in which students are encouraged to use their ideas to create things out of recycled objects. This is just one example of how Hanahau'oli School has stayed true to its student-centered origins.

I have also observed other ways in which the school has maintained its progressive roots. Each day that my daughter comes to school she is expected to mark her own attendance by writing her name and moving a small yellow version of herself to a board at the front of the classroom. These two

actions, although they may seem simple demonstrate how she is learning how to write and count by doing authentic and meaningful activities in her pre-kindergarten classroom.

She has also been encouraged to learn through play and creative work. This past summer the class read books about bears, and in one of the stories the bear traveled to the moon. The class was then encouraged to use their own imaginations to go on their own adventure to the moon. They constructed a large spaceship out of cardboard, as well as space gear. They practiced shape recognition and fine motor skills as they cut out shapes, squares and circles to decorate the rocket ship. Then, during dramatic play they acted out their trip to the moon, and played with "moon sand" on the playground. Through classroom initiatives and experiences like these, my daughter is experiencing "joyous work," which is teaching her, in turn, that learning is fun.

Progressive Education and Feminist Pedagogy

In her book about Hanahau'oli School, Louisa F. Palmer, a former principal of the school, explains how innovations in education, and how a school based on Dewey's educational philosophy, are not always easy to put into practice.

To break with tradition has always been a difficult thing to explain. Words have many different meanings to people. To label work at this new school in 1918 as 'joyous work' immediately meant only play to many, as well as the lowering of academic standards. And when phrases like self-expression, creative work, and freedom were added, this immediately was translated by the school's critics as 'children doing as they please, no discipline, etc.' The idea was not yet accepted that school work utilizing a child's real interests and abilities gave him the motive power to do his best. Few could conceive that a child's school should be, not a thing apart, but a vital element of youth and growth-'a process of living and not simply a preparation for future living'-as Dr. Dewey expressed it in *My Pedagogic Creed*. (Palmer, 1968, p. 15)

As I reflected with my mother on our family's history at Hanahau'oli School, I couldn't help but think about the bold ways in which Sophie Judd Cooke had helped to break the tradition of male dominated educational leadership that was pervasive in the United States at the turn of the century.

With further research, I learned that she was not alone. There were a number of other women in the early 1900's who were female founders of innovative progressive schools

and leaders of “educational organizations and movements, including public school districts, teacher unions and museums” (Sadovnik & Semel, 2002, p. 1). Although they didn’t get as much press as other progressive era reformers like Dewey, these women had a profound impact on the development of child-centered approaches to education in the United States.

For example, contemporary scholars in feminist pedagogy point out the ways in which these women helped to introduce into the field of education new styles of school administration. They explain how the research, including case studies of women educational leaders during the Progressive Era suggests “female pedagogy and leadership are more humane, less authoritarian, more democratic, and more concerned with caring and relationships than abstract goals” (Sadovnik & Semel, 2002, pp. 2–3). In light of this research, I often wonder if part of Hanahau’oli School’s success in effectively translating a Deweyan approach to education from theory to practice was due to the fact that my great great aunt was a woman of her time.

From School-Culture-to-Family-Culture

In her memoir, Sophie Judd Cooke wrote,

I believe a valuable thing in life is to develop a child’s initiative. At Hanahau’oli there are opportunities to develop individual and group initiatives in various projects. A well known math teacher at Punahou called me aside once and told me that on the first day of school at Punahou, she could always note a Hanahau’oli School child by his or her initiative in going to find out where his classes were to be held, instead of wandering around bewildered (Cooke, 1964, pp. 78–79).

This quote resonated with my mother and I as we began to think about the lasting impact of Hanahau’oli School’s Deweyan approach to education on the development of our family’s culture. In addition to cultivating a multicultural home life which is full of song, art, inquiry, community service, and projects in which we are constantly engaged in the business of “learning by doing,” we believe that it is Hanahau’oli School’s culture of student-driven initiatives that has become the defining characteristic of our home culture.

This is reflected in both the small and large actions of our daily lives. For example, just last month I was in

charge of Halloween decorations for my son’s classroom, and instead of buying them from Walmart I felt compelled to hand-craft an intricately designed Halloween bat for each student in the class. When I was a teenager, and I wanted a “cool” vest like all of the other girls at school, my mom got out the sewing machine and taught me how to sew the garment myself. And I will never forget how my grandmother, as she was trying to figure out how ancient Hawaiians made cordage, sat with me on our front lanai, and taught me how to make a bracelet by braiding coconut and horsehair. Common phrases in our family are “we could make that,” or “we can do that” which often leads to a new endeavor that everyone is invited to engage in.

This is especially true on a larger scale. In the past three generations, the women in my family have carried out this sense of initiative in the larger community. My grandmother was an archeologist who was originally led to the field by her curiosity of Ulupo heiau, a Hawaiian temple located near her home in Kailua. In my memory of her, she always had a question that was driving her archeological inquiries, and during our time on Moloka’i together, she would take the entire family along to find the special pōhaku or fishpond that she was currently studying. Fueled by her own sense of wonder and inquisitiveness, my grandmother went on to write a number of influential books about Hawaiian sites, fishponds, cordage, and the hale pili at Bishop Museum.

My mother, an art educator at an all-girls school dedicated her career to focusing on women artists because she recognized that they were sorely absent in high school art history programs at the time. When asked to reflect on her life in the classroom, my mother believes that her Hanahau’oli education has been a major influence on how she teaches art, including her desire to design projects where everyone is able to participate and experience success. In recent years my mother has dedicated her time to reviving the Honolulu Museum of Art’s Lending Collection—a project that has inspired me to work alongside her to find new ways that we can support teachers in integrating the arts of diverse cultures into their teaching across all subject areas.

When I reflect on this collaboration with my mother, I realize that much of my career in education has been dedicated to giving students in Hawai’i access to the type of education that I was given the privilege of experiencing

at Hanahau'oli School. This includes my work with philosophy for children Hawai'i (p4cHI), which practices an approach to teaching and learning that transforms traditional classrooms into intellectually safe communities of inquiry. When my daughter was only a year-and-a-half old I would take her with me to practice p4cHI with students and teachers at Waikiki Elementary School. I realize that she probably won't remember sitting in a circle, asking questions, and thinking with the students during those p4cHI sessions, but I'm assured that she will have similar types of experiences as she engages in discussion around the dinner table at home and in her classrooms with her peers and teachers at Hanahau'oli School.

At the very end of her chapter about the origins of Hanahau'oli School in her memoir, Sophie Judd Cooke writes, "I hope Hanahau'oli will be my 'monument' when I pass out of the picture" (Cooke, 1964, pp. 80). From my perspective, not only has Hanahau'oli School memorialized the incredible legacy of my great great aunt's vision for progressive education in the community at large, but it has also helped to shape the culture of her family in future generations. In our case, Hanahau'oli School and its Deweyan approach to education has empowered the women in our family to use the *initiative* that was fostered in each of us at Hanahau'oli School to create a home life that is characterized by genuine inquiry, a love of the arts, creativity, a sense of responsibility to the community, the honoring of tradition, and a drive towards innovation. It has also helped to ensure that the lives that we live at home are mirrored in the lives that we lead as educators in the community. As time marches forward and the lives of future generations, like my daughter, unfold, I am encouraged that the role of education in our family will continue to be "a process of living and not a preparation for future living" (Dewey, 1897, p. eighty-seven).

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Re-reading Dewey Through a Feminist Lens

Mary Vorsino

I wanted to begin this feminist inspection of Deweyan thought with something real, tangible, and in my backyard. Something that I could see and touch. Something that lived and breathed both theory and praxis. And so it was that I found myself at Palama Settlement on a muggy, summer day, looking for John Dewey in its hallways. For many in Honolulu, Palama Settlement is a landmark. Its distinctive, early twentieth century white clapboard buildings stand in contrast to its younger neighbors, mostly squatty, concrete walk-ups and public housing complexes. Over its 118-year history, Palama Settlement has grown, struggled, and transformed. It has intersected with and changed for the better the life stories of generations of urban Honolulu residents (among them, two Hawaii governors), all in fitting with its greater social service mission to offer a hand up to those in need. The settlement was and is a place for recreation, for health care, and for education; it was and is a community gathering place.

Palama Settlement grew out of Palama Chapel, founded in 1896, and was part of America's Settlement House Movement, arguably one of the greatest social services reform efforts in modern America (Nishimoto, 2000). The movement traces its roots to 1889, when Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr founded Chicago's Hull House out of a philanthropic drive to give low-income immigrants from neighboring communities philanthropic assistance rather than charity (Daynes & Longo, 2004). Hull House, which now operates as a museum, created Chicago's first public playground and first kindergarten and offered everything from English classes and day care services to an employment bureau. It was revolutionary and a working, thriving, organic example of the power of pragmatic philosophy put into practice.

John Dewey made his first visit to Hull House three years after it opened its doors, as he prepared to take a position at the University of Chicago (Daynes & Longo, 2004). He later told Addams of that visit, "I cannot tell you how much good I got from the stay at Hull House. My indebtedness to you for giving me insight into matters

there is great. ... Every day I stayed there only added to my conviction that you had taken the right way" (qtd. in Daynes & Longo, 2004, p. 9). Eventually, Dewey became a pillar at Hull House, lecturing at its club, teaching at its university extension, and serving on its board of trustees. At the same time, settlement houses began to pop up across the nation—by 1900, there were one hundred scattered across the United States, by 1910, there were more than four hundred (Nishimoto, 2000).

Addams' influence on Dewey—and Dewey's influence on Addams—has been the subject of scholarly work, and their shared interests and philosophical approaches are worth noting given Addams' role as a founding mother of American pragmatist thought and as a thought leader in the more recent emergence of feminist pragmatism. Dewey saw Hull House (along with subsequent settlement houses) as a model of the many educational and societal ideals he wrote prolifically about—the power of enriching community education programs, of service learning, and of the notion of a school as "social center" or community settlement. It is instructive, therefore, to (re-) consider Dewey's work in light of Addams' considerable imprint on pragmatism. Indeed, there has been much work in recent decades to *recover* the role of women like Addams in the pragmatic tradition and to look anew at the considerable contributions of the Settlement House Movement.

However, I do not discuss Addams' collegial relationship with Dewey—or the Settlement House Movement more broadly—to elicit a conclusion. Rather, I believe Palama Settlement, Hull House, Addams—they all provide portals through which to begin to explore the growing thought gardens of feminist pragmatism. After all, it is Dewey's proximity to the practical—the applied—with such social projects as Hull House and his own lab school that make him a particularly appealing figure to feminist theorists, including pragmatists. Dewey did not lock himself up in the ivory tower, but sought out venues with which to bring (his) philosophy to practice. Likewise, feminist

researchers are concerned with disseminating theory into the public sphere and *making it real*—with consciousness raising and by seeking social justice.

It is also worth noting that in this brief review I am not explicitly seeking to assist in the work of unearthing the voices of women pragmatists of Dewey's day—or consider their impacts *per se* on Dewey and his writings (though their whispers no doubt will be heard in these pages). Rather, I am interested in keeping those potential influences front-of-mind while presenting modern feminist re-readings of Dewey, constructing a narrowly-focused and succinct literature review of thinkers who have donned a feminist lens to analyze Dewey's approaches to education, learning, and democracy or to employ Dewey's works in theorizing on gender and education and on gender in society. In this piece, I first explore Dewey as both an ally and a problematic figure in feminist literature and then investigate the broader sphere of feminist pragmatism and two central themes within it: valuing diversity and diverse experiences and problematizing fixed truths.

Given all that, you might still be puzzled about my decision to begin this paper on the doorsteps of Palama Settlement. I can't offer an academic answer. Rather, I visited Palama Settlement for more egotistical reasons: I was there for inspiration; for a taste of Dewey. I wanted to see a settlement house up close and *here*. When I visited Palama Settlement, a group of teens was gathered in the parking lot during a break, laughing and snapping selfies with their smartphones. Paula Rath, great-granddaughter of the settlement's first head worker and a volunteer at the settlement, tells me the teens attend high school equivalency diploma classes at the nonprofit. "They're given a second chance here," she says. She then leads me to the settlement's archives, a small room crammed with annual reports, photos, newspaper clippings, and annuals. More in-depth articles could be written on Palama based on that treasure trove of material, and perhaps they will be. But in my short visit, I only had time to pick through the top layers of Palama's history. After reading through annual reports, I came across a passage that helped inspire me in my scholarly pursuit—a passage that I believe underscores the best of Palama Settlement. I found it in the settlement's 1921 annual report, in which first head worker James A. Rath, Sr., writes about the settlement's progress over the preceding twenty-five years:

To attempt to detail all the activities started or in progress would take up more spaces than is wise in a report. ... *Every new phase of work was introduced in response to a need or a demand by the people of Palama*¹. Our neighbors at first did not always appreciate what was being done. They were not used to American social ideals and were somewhat suspicious of their neighbors and what to them seemed "their fads." Nor were the Palama neighbors the only ones to view the new features introduced as fads; a large number of those living Waikiki of Nuuanu stream were inclined to the same opinion and were far from enthusiastic in their support. It was in the midst of this sort that the first nurse entered upon her work (Palama Settlement, 1921, p. 7).

And therein lies the beauty of the settlement houses then and now—their attentiveness to community needs. Their overarching goal always: To seek social justice one person and one community at a time.

Dewey as Feminist Ally

Was Dewey a feminist? It is a playful and a deliberately provocative question, but perhaps worth asking nonetheless as part of an effort to contextualize feminist re-readings of Dewey. Weiler (2006) argues that Dewey's (public and private) actions and writings on women and gender were *complicated*. *He supported women's* suffrage and coeducational experiences, appeared to believe women and men should be treated as equals, and respected the opinions of many female colleagues—all progressive positions for his time. Further, as Seigfried (2002) notes, Dewey's philosophy was a philosophy of emancipation from prejudice, aligned *then with other emancipatory philosophies that work to undo, question, or overturn oppressions*.

And yet, in his canonical writings on dualism, Dewey never criticized society's hierarchal juxtaposition of male and female (as superior-inferior), at least not explicitly, even though he wrote at length about other aspects of social identity (Weiler, 2006). For feminist theorists, the relative absence of gender in Dewey's discussions on diversity is problematic. Weiler (2006) goes as far as to consider it a "fatal weakness" in his work. She argues, Dewey accepted gender divisions as *always already* constants and failed to see, for example, the patriarchal structures of the very university systems where he spent his time and made his name. In fact, Seigfried (2002) argues, Dewey appeared wholly

uninterested in unpacking the role of power in human affairs. She points to a passage in *Democracy and Education*, in which Dewey criticizes Aristotle's philosophical separation of that which is intellectual and that which is practical. Dewey attributes this flawed dualism to Aristotle's time and place, writing when most men and all women performed what was menial labor and were used as a means to intellectual ends. To end the separation of intellectual and practical, Dewey urges the development of curriculum that uses intelligence and theory as "a guide of free practice for all." To this, Seigfried counters: "Both his genetic account of the origin of the separation of theory and practice in the inequalities of class and gender and his liberatory intent to transform education to be inclusive are feminist positions worth developing. They are insufficient, however, insofar as they fail to name the patriarchal appropriation of slave and women's labor as one of exploitation or oppression or to follow up by exploring how the working classes and women are affected by such oppression" (2002, pp. 56–57). Indeed, Dewey stops short of examining the underpinnings of exploitation, oppression, and prejudice. In the absence of such an inspection, how can we truly understand how to overcome the separation of theory and practice?

At the same time, it cannot be ignored that Dewey *was* clear on the importance of women's experiences and on the necessity of a diversity of voices to a vibrant democracy and to fulfilling educational experiences. It was Dewey who said, "But when women who are not mere students of other persons' philosophy set out to write it, we cannot conceive that it will be the same in viewpoint or tenor as that composed from the standpoint of the different masculine experience of things" (qtd. in James, 2009). James, who analyzes Dewey through a black feminist lens, argues that Deweyan philosophy values the "revision of old ideas" with new experiences, as part of a process of resisting stagnation "so commonly found in philosophical and scientific problems" (2009, p. 98). Applying this to black feminist social theory (or other critical approaches) offers the potential for—and the necessity of—a scholarship that is rich with the experiences of minorities, and of other un-heard/under-heard communities.

Thus, despite a lack of explicit discussions in Dewey's work around women, gender roles or patriarchy, there's little doubt that Dewey's work provides ample material for feminists, who seek to not only disrupt and dismantle sex-

ism but to place value on the experiences and contributions of women. Central to both pragmatism and pragmatist feminism is the practical use of philosophical ideals or approaches (Whipps, 2013). As James (2009) notes, feminists need not employ Dewey to justify the importance of their work, but can consider him "a powerful ally in the construction of theory" (p. 94).

Critique of *a priori* theory and knowledge

Feminist critiques of *a priori* knowledge are grounded in a larger project to end traumatic silencing of de-privileged/oppressed voices and to deconstruct the false barrier between theory and practice (praxis). As Duran (2001) writes, in "A Holistically Deweyan Feminism," feminists and Dewey are aligned in railing against "rationalists" and in valuing experience when considering how we know what we know, together providing "arable soil for the development of theories that can be tied to actual modes of human living and endeavor" (p. 280). Indeed, Dewey dedicated considerable real estate in his prolific works to the primacy of experience and to appreciating diverse ways of knowing the world. He considered the mathematical, the scientific, the everyday, the utilitarian, and the instrumental as "points along a continuum," Duran (2001) writes, and appreciated a discourse of relevance in his philosophy that sought not only to come out of people's lives, but to apply to them. Duran continues: "Dewey provides us with a platform for a modest feminist epistemology, because such an epistemology cannot function with the logically airtight and no-holds-barred kind of theorizing that has been so characteristic of twentieth century theories of knowledge. The gynocentric emphasis on connectedness and the world of having-and-doing, as opposed to the world of divorced speculation, is completely consistent with much of what Dewey does" (p. 282).

Thayer-Bacon (2003) further pursues Deweyan epistemology, writing that modern pragmatists are "qualified relativists" who maintain that all inquiry is rooted in culturally-bound philosophical assumptions. No one is free of those bonds; no one is objective; no one can philosophize from nowhere. However, Thayer-Bacon (2003) writes, "We can compensate for our cultural embeddedness by opening our horizons and including others in our conversations" (p. 419). We can acknowledge and embrace our own experience in order not to be blinded by it. Thayer-Bacon (2003) turns to Dewey's *Democracy and Education*

to underscore her point, noting that Dewey described experience as something that can be active or passive, something that we do or something that is *done to us*. In Chapter Eleven, Dewey writes, "The connection of these two phases of experience measures the fruitfulness or value of the experience. ... Experience as trying involves change, but change is meaningless transition unless it is consciously connected with the return wave of consequences which flow from it" (p. 351). Experience for Dewey, then, is about learning and growing; it is about making and re-making connections in the world. Knowledge and experience do not occur in vacuums, but are *relational*.

Feminist theory embraces a similar notion of experience in seeking to counteract/deconstruct hegemonic institutions. Qualified relativism, Thayer-Bacon argues, offers us a panoramic view of "communities-always-in-the-making" where we are embedded, limited, and embodied, but where we are also "striving to communicate with a plurality of others" (2003, p. 429). Qualified relativism also provides a locus from which to question assumptions of man-made constructs and frameworks as *natural* or always already in existence. Thayer-Bacon eloquently enunciates this notion: "Feminists as qualified relativists begin and end with experience. This is because in an androcentric world much of what women experience remains unnamed and cannot be reduced to its articulated meanings. ... For feminists, the indeterminacy of experience is what makes 'experience' so important to their world" (p. 428).

Such an epistemology is non-dualistic (something Dewey would approve of) in that it considers the borderlands of conflicting difference as important sites for negotiation and growth, rather than as entry points for dominance and assimilation. Perhaps more fundamentally, pragmatism and feminist pragmatism *are of the body*. *That is, experience is embodied, lived, and relational*. Sullivan (2001) compares the pragmatist tradition of "transactional knowing" through lived experience to what she calls a "pragmatist-feminist standpoint theory," an epistemology which considers diverse transactions/relationships that involve both the physical self and the social environment. In this way, pragmatist-feminist standpoint theory, Sullivan writes, incorporates "multiple marginalized perspectives" and learns the greatest lesson of earlier feminist theory that, in activating one group of women, silenced another.

Problematizing 'Truths'

In "Where are the Pragmatist Feminists?" Seigfried (1991) writes about Dewey's allegiance to disruption—to problematizing "truths" and questioning positivist notions of constants or *the way things are*. She argues, "Whereas contemporary philosophers often privilege physics as the most rational model of science, one which should be imitated by philosophers, pragmatists consistently use biological models and examples from ordinary experience and the human sciences. Pragmatism's pervasive metaphors are often as characteristic of women's experiences as of men's. Dewey's are organic and developmental; many were drawn from his involvement with early childhood education" (1991, p. 13). Later, in the introduction to *Feminist Interpretations of John Dewey*, Seigfried (2002) points to Dewey's criticism of the (still-popular) notion of philosophy as unbiased or objective. Indeed, Dewey unabashedly accused some of the world's most revered thinkers—Aristotle and Plato among them—of "insecurity, on the grounds that they have 'professed complete intellectual independence and rationality' while generating systems 'in behalf of preconceived beliefs'" (Seigfried, 2002, p. 6).

Problematizing alleged constants is vital to feminist and/or pragmatist theory in two central ways: It allows for questioning the notion of seemingly natural hierarchal and hegemonic frameworks, which oftentimes are used to solidify patriarchy; and it gives voice to theories that chip away at positivist conceptions of our societies, our systems, and our social relationships, dominant representations of which so often fail to take into account the experiences of the oppressed or non-dominant classes. Importantly, as Thayer-Bacon (2003) notes, Dewey rejected any theory of truth, and argued that more important than agreeing on any universal constant was devoting critical inquiry to the process by which we examine epistemic claims. Such inquiry allows us to recognize our own central role in constructing the experiments, the labs, and the scientists by which we test and consider truth. Likewise, pragmatist feminists place quotation marks around knowledge to signify its fallibility, its fluidity, and its subjectivity and concern themselves instead with the forces of power at play in knowledge creation and construction (Thayer-Bacon, 2003). "They turn to pluralism to help us compensate for our individual and social limitations," Thayer-Bacon writes. "They turn to others to help us become more aware

of the power structures within dominant discourses and to help us find ways to subvert and change these structures” (2003, p. 434). And they make way/make space for a diversity of women’s voices in philosophy, in education, in politics as a way of not only offering nuance and context through lived experience, but of challenging phallogocentric theories of knowledge.

Finding Dewey

As a student of feminist critical theory (with much yet to learn), I must admit to being somewhat taken aback to find such a rich and resourceful friend in John Dewey (a white man of privilege writing at the turn of the twentieth century). I concur with Duran (2001), who in closing her presentation of what a “holistically Deweyan feminism” might look like, she quipped that the greatest task for the feminist seeking to appropriate Dewey is not the work of theorizing or of picking and choosing themes to explore, but the breadth and richness of Dewey’s writings. Indeed, pragmatist feminists have much to mine as they seek to further Deweyan thought, make it their own or weave it into broader feminist projects.

They also have real-life examples of his theories in practice. They have places like Palama Settlement, forever woven into the fabric of cities and of people’s lives. I went to Palama Settlement because I wanted to make Dewey real. I did not hear his name there; I did not walk through a John Dewey Hall or a wing bearing his name, but I found him in its programs, in its mission, in its strong links to social justice *everyday and in every which way*. Dewey’s notions of experience and of knowledge-making and knowledge-makers make him particularly appealing not only to pragmatist feminist theorists but to those seeking to address oppression, poverty, and other social injustices. His philosophy allows for diverse ways of knowing the world and interacting with it, and for an appreciation of a multiplicity of experiences—for a pluralism that appreciates, acknowledges, and gives space to women; to racial minorities; to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and questioning peoples; to those who are oppressed, silenced or othered; to underserved neighborhoods and their all-too-often forgotten peoples. Deweyan philosophy, pragmatism, and pragmatist feminism place experiences in the here and the now and in the real, offering a blueprint for forming a relational

community always already in formation and, one can hope, helping to offer support to important community projects, like Palama Settlement.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Italics are my own.

John Dewey, An Appreciation

Robert W. Clopton,

Chair of the Department of History and Philosophy of Education
Presidential Address, Phi Kappa Phi, May 8, 1962

Robert Walter Clopton¹ (1906–1981) was professor of education in the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa from 1943 to 1967 and co-editor with Tsuin Chen Ou of Dewey's Lectures in China.² A thermofax copy of his previously unpublished address was sent to Roberta Dewey in a letter on May 24, 1962 (Potter & Williams, 2000).³

It is not surprising that in the year that you chose a professor of education as your president you should find that the subject of the annual Presidential address is John Dewey. Dewey is identified in the public mind chiefly as an educational philosopher—and, I might add at the very beginning, I have seen him shocked, distressed, and even (sweet-tempered as he normally was) angry at some of the sorts of educational philosophy popularly attributed to him.

But it is not so much about Dewey as a philosopher of education that I speak tonight, as about an indefatigable student of life whose interests ranged, like those of Aristotle, over the spectrum of human experience and whose curiosity and incisive intelligence led him into analyses of an almost incredible variety of human problems.

His fellow philosophers have recorded their appreciation of an indebtedness to John Dewey's penetrating insights and original observations in fields as widely separated (in the popular mind) as psychology, ethics, aesthetics, logic, epistemology, sociology, theory of science, politics, and jurisprudence (Dewey is quoted less frequently perhaps, but more accurately by Justices of the Supreme Court than by certain schools of educationists).

Dewey was born in 1859—the year in which Darwin's *Origin of the Species* was published, and two years before the outbreak of the War Between the States. When he reached the age of seventy in 1929, his admirers planned a great birthday celebration, at which leading philosophers of the day expressed their appreciation of his contributions. In the following decade Dewey continued his explorations into and assessment of human experience, and produced some of his most significant works—at an age normally thought of as a time for “retirement.” Again on his eightieth birthday there was a celebration, with tributes in the form of learned papers

by his colleagues and admirers. But even at eighty Dewey could not “retire” from the market place of ideas, and continued to write and publish, so that when he reached ninety, there was no need for the celebrants to go back and plow the same ground they had plowed in 1929 and 1939. Few men indeed have so enriched their culture in the ninth decade of life as Dewey did. He was still pounding out material of importance on his trusty old Remington a few days before his death in 1952, four months short of his ninety-third birthday.

When Dewey first came to Hawai'i in 1899 to teach in one of the earliest summer schools held for public school teachers, I was not, unfortunately, around to meet him, enjoy his dry humor, and profit from his wisdom. At this time he was still a young man, not quite forty years old, but already an established and nationally respected figure, both in philosophy and in education, although obviously he had not achieved the preeminence that was to become his in the Fifty-three years of life which then remained ahead of him.

Dewey's lectures to Hawai'i's teachers in the summer of 1899, set in motion a “grass-roots” surge of educational reform; and if there had been even a modicum of forward-looking leadership, Hawai'i might well have become a demonstration center for the nation in elementary school theory and practice. But that's another story.

The next time Dewey came to Hawai'i (for any more than a day's stopover while his ship was in port) was some Fifty-two years later, in 1951, when he and his family spent several months at the Halekulani—and came within an ace of buying a home on the slopes of Diamond Head. Some four years or so earlier, at a youthful eighty-seven, Dewey, for many years a widower, had taken unto himself a bride; and the couple had adopted two Belgian war-orphans, who were still of elementary school age during their Hawaiian visit.

(Shortly after he arrived, as we walked across the Halekulani grounds, he remarked to me, “They tell me that the Halekulani is for two classes of people: the newly-wed and the nearly-dead. Seems to me they should give me a discount, since I belong in both categories.”)

Having been greatly influenced by Dewey’s writings, especially those in education, and knowing that he was one of the truly great figures of this century, I was naturally excited at the news that he was to be in Hawai‘i for an extended stay. I thought of meeting the ship on which the Deweys were arriving, but concluded that there would be so many other and much more important people on hand that I’d be in the way, so I didn’t go. I did, hoping that it wouldn’t be regarded as presumption on the part of an unknown faculty member in a small university, write Mrs. Dewey a note, expressing the hope that I might be privileged to meet Professor Dewey at a time when it would be least inconvenient for him. The very next day my phone rang, a pleasant voice announced, “This is Robbie Dewey. I have your nice note here. Could you drop by this afternoon for a drink?” It was as simple as that.

All the misgivings I’d had about being presumptuous, about forcing my way in on the attentions of a man who had long since been a figure of world importance, were dissipated within the first few minutes; and by the time we had talked about topics of common interest for two hours (which seemed no more than ten minutes), I felt as though I had known John Dewey for half a lifetime. After that I saw him frequently—at his hotel, in my home, or when we went out together for meals at one or another restaurant in town. Very soon a feeling of warm friendship developed. I cannot truthfully say that it replaced my feelings of awe and admiration; but it grew up alongside that awe and admiration. Very few experiences in my life have meant quite so much to me as the knowledge that this great philosopher had accepted me as his friend.

An anecdote will throw some light on the simple sincerity of this great man. My daughter, who at the time was a student in University High School, bought a book as a birthday gift for Adrienne, the older of the two Dewey children, and after an early supper at home, she and I drove down to the Halekulani to deliver it. Mrs. Dewey had just put the children to bed, and she and Mr. Dewey were on their way to dinner. Looking for a change in menu, they asked us to recommend a restaurant. When we found that

they hadn’t yet been to the Willows, we asked them to get in the Hillman and go along with us (not mentioning that we’d already had our meal). Over the dinner table conversation was vigorous—as it always was with Dewey—and before we realized how much time had passed the waitress was jittering around in the background, giving me the signal that she wished we’d get out so that they could close.

After we dropped the Deweys at the hotel, near midnight, and as Bets and I drove toward Diamond Head, she came up with the remark, “Gee, Pap, I used to think that you were sort of smart.”

“Well, thank you,” I came back; “just what was it that disillusioned you?”

“Aw, Pap, that wasn’t what I meant. I don’t really think you’re dumb; it’s just that I never heard anybody talk who could make things—important things—sound so clear as Mr. Dewey made them sound. Once I got used to the way his dental plates clicked together, and when I’d listened long enough so that I wasn’t bothered by the way he mumbled his words, so that I could concentrate on what he was saying, it was beautiful! Mr. Dewey may be sort of old, but his mind clicks, and you can understand what he’s talking about—things that have always, up to now, been so vague and hard to get hold of. You could just see the ideas coming to life and growing as he talked! I’ll never forget this evening as long as I live!”

My daughter’s response to John Dewey’s unique charm made me think of a comment by Irwin Edman, eminent American philosopher, who was first a student and then a colleague of Dewey at Columbia University. I have been unable to locate the article in which I ran across Edman’s account, but I recall it vividly enough to be able to paraphrase it accurately enough for our purposes. Edman was writing of Dewey’s “classroom manner,” and of the fact that many students who had enrolled in his classes attracted by the magic of his fame were bitterly disappointed at his rambling and apparently incoherent delivery, and discouraged at the difficulty they encountered in following his train of thought. Certainly Dewey was no showman; he frequently didn’t enunciate distinctly; and it was often true that the materials of his lectures struck the uninitiated as being sadly disconnected. (Dewey would undoubtedly have received an “unsatisfactory” rating on the forms used at the University of Hawai‘i on which students record their judgements of their instructors!)

But Edman went on to say that in every class there were always two or three men, at the least—and he numbered himself among these—who were thrilled at the opportunity of being present as Dewey, ambling and weaving back and forth in the front of the lecture hall, tackled an idea, took it apart, worked with it, rearranged the parts of it, and came up with a concept that was excitingly novel. As nearly as I can recall, Edman described this experience as “the opportunity of being present as intelligence became visible and audible,”—an appraisal not so different from my daughter’s delighted exclamation that “You could just see the ideas coming to life and growing as he talked.”

When he wrote, Dewey’s passion for exact expression, his insistence upon introducing qualifying clauses which were intended to prevent misconstruction of the idea he was presenting—and then of qualifying these clauses with further qualifiers, and often these with still further qualifiers, gave much of his writing a heavy, turgid, Germanic quality. Once when confronted with the complaint that his philosophy was couched in a jargon unintelligible to many literate people Dewey replied, “Let some of these young men explain me: it will make a career for them.” It did. (Edman, 1955, p. 24).

I found some delightful comments by Dewey himself on the question of his style in an autobiographical chapter which he contributed to *Contemporary American Philosophy*, edited by George P. Adams and William Pepperell Montague. At this time Dewey was seventy years old; this chapter was later reprinted in *The Saturday Review* in the issue devoted to Dewey’s ninetieth birthday, in October, 1949. After discussing Hegel’s influence on both the style and content of his early writing, Dewey went on to recall that when, in his very early writing, his interests were more theoretical and his presentation schematic, “writing was comparatively easy; there were even compliments upon the clearness of my style.” But as he became more and more concerned with “the pressure of concrete experiences” he was forced to seek for “an intellectual technique that would be consistent and yet capable of flexible adaptation to the concrete diversity of experienced things.” He admits that he continued to experience difficulty in trying “to satisfy these two opposed requirements, the formal and the material.

“For that very reason I have been acutely aware, too much so, doubtless, of a tendency of other thinkers and

writers to achieve a spacious lucidity and simplicity by the mere process of ignoring considerations which a greater respect for concrete materials of experience would have forced upon them” (Dewey, 1949).

In point of actual fact, I (and, I suspect, quite a number of other students of Dewey) have become so accustomed to the “lumbering and bumbling” of his style that I don’t mind it at all; and, being as deeply committed in my faltering way as Dewey was to the proposition that philosophy must deal with—or at least show applicability to—man’s concrete experiences in and of his world, I find real enjoyment in the precision he reached by his insistence upon qualifying his statements to the point that an honest, thoughtful and careful reader can hardly misread his intent. I am the first to admit that Dewey isn’t easy to read; it is quite possible to fail to grasp the point he’s making; it is frequently necessary to re-read a paragraph or a passage several times, or to back up and re-read a previous paragraph in order to follow his train of thought; but I am convinced that only the careless reader, or the one who is captive to his own misconceptions, can misread Dewey—that is to say, read into his statements those things which he never intended to say. I must confess, however, that there seem to be a good many people around who are careless readers, or who are so bound within the web of their preconceptions that they do manage to misinterpret passages which to me seem exceedingly precise and unmistakable—either that, or (as I sometimes suspect), they “quote” or refer to what Dewey is alleged to have said, without having consulted the sources to which they claim to refer.

In this connection I am reminded of a situation which has recurred at least a dozen times. Usually when some educational controversy was raging, one or another of my friends on the university faculty would tackle me at the lunch table or a cocktail party with some such remark as “Clopton, in certain respects you give the appearance of being a reasonably intelligent man. I don’t see how a fellow like you can go along with this guy Dewey when he says that...” and then some prime idiocy that Dewey never said, usually that none of the many educators who are students of his writing ever said, but that some critic has said that Dewey said.

I learned a long time ago that refutation is a weak weapon, especially in such informal situations. Try to prove to a man that he’s wrong, and he ends up convinced that he was right all the time—and further, that you are a nitwit who can’t stand to have his foolishness shown up. So when

I'm challenged this way, I don't even try to argue that Dewey didn't make, and couldn't have made, the statement attributed to him. Instead, I reach for my pen and a piece of paper, and tell my friend, "I don't recall coming across anything like that in my reading of Dewey, but he wrote so prodigiously that I still haven't managed to read everything he wrote. I'd like to check back on the context of your quotation, and find the connection in which Dewey said that. If you'll give me the source, I'll go right on over to the library and check it out, and then report back to you."

You can imagine how many times even the title of a book has been forthcoming in response to this gambit! Not once.

There seems to be a widespread impression that John Dewey was a revolutionary philosopher—that he set out to (and many believe, succeeded) turn the world of philosophy upside down. It is true that revolutionary consequences resulted from his formulations, his insights, his unrelenting insistence upon his conviction that the worth of an idea is measured in its consequences.

Most familiar is the effect he had on education—not in America alone, but in China, in Japan, in Russia, in Turkey directly; and throughout most of the rest of the world by extension. Edman notes that everything that is associated with the transformation of education from mere passive learning of the three R's to education as shared living, everything that is associated with the modern trend in education, the emphasis on education as social and as an experience of shared life . . . is directly or obliquely the consequence of Dewey's ideas. (Edman, 1955, pp. 23–24).

But Dewey did not invent—and never laid claim to having invented—the ideas which bid fair to revolutionize educational practice. Educators who had died before Dewey was born had worked their way laboriously toward partial insights which paralleled those which Dewey expounded. Pestalozzi, among others, had emphasized the social and experiential nature of education, and founded schools which demonstrated his beliefs—and which served as patterns for educational experimentation both in America and in Europe. Fröbel had valid insights which approach Dewey's ideas—but the heavy mysticism of his formulations militated against their having the widespread influence which Dewey's ideas were to have a century later.

Dewey's thinking had revolutionary consequences in other areas of life than education. While it is impossible to

make a mathematical assessment of the extent of Dewey's direct influence on the social and political (and economic) changes associated with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, it is a matter of common agreement that many of the revolutionary changes of this period reflect ideas which Dewey had long been expounding, especially during the twenties. In dozens of articles in some of the most influential journals of the period Dewey had developed his thesis that the traditional American "rugged individualism" was not only outmoded, but actually inapplicable in a modern technological society and had advanced an alternative definition. In 1930 a number of these articles were collected and published in a volume, *Individualism, Old and New*. The events of the following decade proved that Dewey was not only a penetrating analyst of the current scene, but a prophet of things to come. His effect on socio-political-economic thinking was at least as profound and as far-reaching as his effect on educational practice.

Edman asserts that "to Dewey's inspiration may be credited the whole tendency of modern legal thinking to turn from abstract principles to the estimation of law in terms of the consequences of law on human lives." (1955, p. 23) Judges, including justices of the Supreme Court ranging from Benjamin Cardozo to Oliver Wendell Holmes have testified to Dewey's influence on legal and judicial thinking, and have credited him with a significant role in the unprecedented change in the judicial climate which has occurred in the last three or four decades.

Dewey had a dedicated interest in the American labor movement (he was not only a powerful polemicist and astute theoretician in the cause of labor, but an active participant, being a member, and at times an officer in the American Federation of Teachers). Eminent labor leaders, Walter Reuther among others, have attested to Dewey's rich contribution in the development of organized labor.

In the realm of philosophy itself—"technical philosophy"—the impact of Dewey's contribution has been revolutionary. Generally acclaimed as "the philosopher's philosopher," Dewey is credited with the formulation and validation of a new method of philosophical inquiry. His little volume, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, a slight revision of a course of lectures delivered at the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1919, is recognized not only as a milestone, but as a turning point, a signal for a new direction, in the history of philosophical thought.

But revolutionary as have been the consequences of Dewey's thought, he did not originate—and I repeat—did not claim to have originated—anything wholly novel. In a peculiar sense, Dewey was the instrument of the coming of age, the reaching of fruition, of a tradition that might be said to be indigenous in American life. Through his skill at exposition and his sheer intellectual power, he brought to the level of philosophical respectability and the professional acceptance of his fellow philosophers the practice of applying a strictly empirical method to the problems of life and of judging the worth of ideas by their consequences in human experience. This practice is as old as the ancient Greeks—and undoubtedly even centuries older. Every generation has contained non-conformist thinkers who, refusing to be bound by the intellectual fashions of their times, have insisted on applying a rule-of-thumb logic to the problems they encountered, and on making their judgments with reference to observed or anticipated consequences in human experience. Early in the history of America there was evidence that Americans were destined ultimately to build a theoretical structure, to raise the empirical approach to life to the level of respectable philosophical method.

One such evidence is the tremendous influence of the Englishman John Locke on American political and social thought in the 18th century. Jefferson's letters and speeches are peppered with evidences of this American preference for the practical and the pragmatic. Samuel Johnson, an early American philosopher and first president of King's College (which was to become Columbia University) wrote that philosophy should be considered "not as a system of curious and idle speculations, but as a practical principle of discipline firmly possessing the heart and incessantly exerting itself in the life." (Samuel Johnson qtd. in Schneider, 1930).

This American drive toward the empirical and the practical motivated philosophers who preceded Dewey on the scene—Josiah Royce, Charles Peirce, and William James. Some of their contemporaries—professional philosophers steeped in the classical tradition—sneered that Royce, Peirce, and James weren't "real philosophers"—but it has been many years indeed since such an allegation has been made.

Dewey followed upon, expanded, clarified, and amplified the contributions of these men, and of their predecessors and lesser contemporaries. He was distinctly in and of the American tradition. His contribution was not

nearly so much innovation as it was the skillful formulation and powerful demonstration of a method, a rationale for the empirical investigation and appraisal of ideas. If his *Reconstruction in Philosophy* is, as I have indicated, a milestone and signpost on the road philosophers travel, his *Logic, the Theory of Inquiry*, published twenty years later, is a manual of navigation without which few contemporary philosophers would venture into still unexplored philosophical seas. I believe that it is not an overstatement to summarize by saying that Dewey's major contribution was to make explicit and philosophically workable that which had always been inherent and implicit in the liberal American tradition.

The undeniable power of Dewey's formulations has won for him and for his position the respectful attention even of those who disagree with him most wholeheartedly. In fact, it is doubtful that there is any philosopher of this century who enjoys such universal respect and admiration from his fellow philosophers of all shades of persuasion as does Dewey. (And, it might be added here, Dewey himself, while entirely capable of making a vicious left-jab at an idea which he found dishonest, a position which he found specious, a conclusion which he believed inconsequential, never, so far as I can ascertain, stooped to argumentum ad hominem, and never failed in good nature, courtesy, and consideration of his opponents as persons. To the end of his life he entertained both personal affection and professional regard for men who, in the arena of ideas, were his outspoken and indefatigable opponents; and they, in their turn, indicated their admiration and affection for Dewey.)

Indeed this affection and admiration sometimes gets out of bounds. There have, unhappily, been those who have sought to apotheosize Dewey and who constitute themselves his "disciples."

When I run across a "Dewey disciple," I know without the need to make any further investigation that I've found a person who has failed to understand the thesis that stands at the center of all Dewey's writing. In a method which insists that any idea must be subject to re-examination when circumstances warrant, and that all ideas must be appraised and reappraised with reference to their consequences in human experience, there can be no place for a "master" whose teachings are to be "believed in." In such an approach to life, there is no place for discipleship.

The existence of "disciples" and the adulation they insisted upon heaping upon their idol was perhaps the heavi-

est cross Dewey had to bear in his later years. It grieved him that people could so completely misunderstand what he had labored so arduously and over so long a period to make unmistakably clear. I recall an occasion on which Mrs. Dewey was commenting heatedly on the crass misrepresentations of one of Dewey's philosophical positions which were contained in a series of articles that were appearing at the time. John raised his hand and motioned for Mrs. Dewey to calm down. "You know by this time, Robbie," he mumbled, "that I don't worry about what my enemies say about me." Then he added, almost in an undertone, "But God protect me from my friends!"

It is only these self-appointed "disciples" who assume that Dewey provided a system of final answers for our problems—or even that he gave final and definitive form to the method by which we investigate them. Dewey himself would be the first to insist that human experience has not been—and probably cannot be—codified to the extent that final, or even continuously workable, answers are possible. About a year ago there was an article in the *Saturday Review* by Professor Jerome Bruner of Harvard, entitled "After John Dewey, What?" And while parts of the article suggested that Professor Bruner had failed to grasp the full import of Dewey's position on certain educational issues, no one who knows Dewey—and Dewey himself least of all—could quibble with the argument that the emerging educational scene involves conditions with which Dewey did not deal in his writings, and that there is need for some rather drastic revision in educational theory, and for a vigorous and original attack on problems which are baffling in the extreme. It is certainly no dishonor to Dewey to admit that we need to confront problems with which he did not concern himself. It is not even dishonor to him to entertain the hypothesis that the very method of inquiry which he elucidated may need to be reconstructed, or even superseded. But I submit that a better method is not likely to be evolved except by those conversant with and practiced in the method which he advanced, so that their innovations, like his own, can be evolutionary, built upon what is sound in our tradition as he built upon what was sound in his tradition.

I wish there were time for me to talk about Dewey's trips to, and influence upon education, thought, culture, and social institutions in, Russia, Japan, Turkey, China, Mexico, and other countries. Perhaps some of you heard Dr. Hu Shih's Tuesday evening address three years ago this summer, in which he credited Dewey with being the instigator of the intellectual renaissance which has swept China. I hope that many of you will have the opportunity in the future to read the doctoral

dissertation which one of my former students will be writing next year, in Japan, in which he plans to assess Dewey's influence of Japanese education.⁴

I wish there were time for me to take up Dewey's magnificent role in the investigation of the charges against Leon Trotsky; his fierce and fearless polemics at the time of the Stalinist purges in Moscow; his constant and tireless involvement in local and national politics; his thoughtful and influential practical and theoretical contributions to international relations. I wish I could go more deeply into the revolution that he brought about in aesthetic theory and art criticism. I wish I could share with you the charm that shines through the long and thoughtful letters which he so generously showered upon correspondents in all walks of life. I could speak on Dewey for five hours—and we have not even minutes remaining. I hope I have helped some of you (understand) the many-sided greatness, the courage, the incalculable influence (of Dewey) upon our world and mind of our age, our time.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ John Dewey, *Lectures in China, 1919–1920*. (1973). Edited and translated by Robert W. Clopton and Tsuin-Chen Ou. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 - ² Letter 18462. Robert Clopton to Roberta Lowitz Grant Dewey, May 24, 1962. "If I thought that the attached after dinner speech would ever see the light of print, I'd wait and send you a reprint for your collection of articles about and tributes to John. Since publication is such an extremely remote possibility, however, I'm sending you a thermofax copy, in the hope that it may prove a pleasant reminder your stay in Hawai'i more than a decade ago."
 - ³ Victor N. Kobayashi, (1964). *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Comparative education dissertation series (University of Michigan. School of Education) ; no. 2.
 - ⁴ The text is added here by the editor of this journal, as some text from the original copy is missing.
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Pacific Commercial Advertiser

Synopses and Summaries of Dewey's 1899 Lectures on the Life of the Child

In the summer of 1899, Dewey gave two series of talks at Honolulu High School on Tuesday and Friday evenings from 8:00 to 10:00. The first set of five lectures was entitled "The Life of the Child;" the second set, "Movements in Nineteenth Century Thought."

The first talk of the lecture series was delivered on the evening of Tuesday, August 15, 1899, in front of a large audience. Dewey's topic for the first lecture was "A Study of the Child." The *Honolulu Star* (August 16, p. 8) noted that "nearly all the teachers of the summer school were in attendance." Unfortunately, neither a synopsis nor a summary of the first talk was published, though all the later talks, in both series, were reported in full by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. Due to insufficient space in this issue of the journal, we are unable to include summaries and synopses of the second set of lectures. However, we are including all the available material for the first series, as these represent Dewey's ideas on education. The more academic, general interest topics of the second set of lectures are available via the Library of Congress website, Chronicling America.

LECTURE I. Tuesday, August 15, 1899 A Study of the Child

No synopsis or summary was provided in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. However, some idea of the content of this lecture may be gained by a reading of his essays on the topic of child study published in Dewey's Collected Works, notably in "The Interpretation Side of Child Study" which was first published in *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study II* (July 1897), 17–27 and republished in *John Dewey, The Early Works, 1882–1898*, 211–221. Child study is most closely associated with the work of the psychologist G. Stanley Hall. Dewey was critical of Hall's approach, finding it overly concerned with the collection of bits of data and inclined to view the child as an object of study. Dewey was scornful that tallying observations about children could lead to anything pedagogically useful. For Dewey, child study, if it was to be meaningful, was concerned with the activities of the child—that is, with the social practices that engaged them and in which they participated as agents. In *School and Society*, which he published shortly after his visit to Hawaii, Dewey showed how the child's engagements in such practices could be guided or directed in ways that developed their skills and enlarged their understanding.

LECTURE II. Friday, August 18, 1899 Imagination and Association

SYNOPSIS OF LECTURE
Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 18, 1899, p. 9

DR. JOHN DEWEY
Synopsis of his Second Lecture

There is no charge for admission to the university extension course of lectures at the High School by Dr. John Dewey, the second of which takes place this evening at 8 o'clock. In dealing with "The Life of the Child," the lecturer this evening will confine himself to early childhood, play and imagination. The following synopsis, together with questions and exercises suggested thereby, being furnished for the guidance of those who attend:

1. When the range of associations and suggestions is extended, imagination becomes more active, and, for a while (generally from about the twenty-fourth month on) is practically dominant. The child gets a new stimulus.
 2. The essence of imagination is not unreality, but simply an extension of ideas: also a greater freedom: curiosity; sees the whole in a part.
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3. Images show themselves in play. The difference between healthy and unhealthy imagination. Suggestibility in children. Children's "lies." Through action the child realizes his imagery. Through it also he puts greater meaning into all his activity. Play and work.
4. The intellectual, practical and social education in play. It builds up and organizes a world of things and people. Growth in range and complexity.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES:

1. Give instances of dramatic plays. Of cases where the child dramatically assumes and tries to live out some other personality.
2. Show value of suggested imagery in controlling a child's emotions, like anger, fear (diverting attention); in suggesting an occupation.
3. What is the danger if a child's imagination is rendered inert? If it becomes to phantastic (sic) and lively? What sort and amount of stories are best to secure the right measure?
4. Do you think the imagination most needs arousing or directing?
5. Spontaneous drawings of children as exhibitions of mental traits.

SUMMARY OF LECTURE II

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 19, 1899, pp. 1 & 3

Imagination and Association: The Natural Inheritances of the Child Finally Dominating His Later Actions

Professor Dewey of the University of Chicago gave the second lecture of the University Extension course at the High School last evening. The subject dealt with play and imagination as developed in early childhood and its influence on the life of the future man. He dwelt most interestingly on the phases of imagination and association which are the natural inheritances of the child, finally becoming the dominating features controlling his later actions. Professor Dewey is strong in the belief that far from being unreal, the child's imagination is as strong reality as the reality which exists in the adult mind. Following out this line of thought he said: "The child forms an association with the objects themselves, so that everything which the

child reacts to is to it a bundle of suggestions to act or respond to in a certain way. To give a familiar illustration: the ball is something to throw, the door is something to be opened and shut, the paper is something to hold before the eyes and go through the motion of reading, and thus the child forms an association with the object itself which must be reacted out. A slight digression from the main subject is not altogether out of the way, which is to notice what is now recognized as one of the fundamental principles of action everywhere; the tendency of every idea entertained by the mind is to find some outlet for it; we see a door, but it does not occur to us adults to open or shut it, simply by seeing it, and yet it is safe to say there is a slight reaction upon seeing something which we are not accustomed to, and, being a new idea, there is a tendency in our mind to react [to] it. There are persons who cannot see certain things or go to certain places without making certain motions. In criminals this power, this motive power comes out very strongly. For instance, persons who shock the community by murdering their own children; the only explanation is that they have heard voices telling them to do it; in some cases it is the Lord's voice, and in others, the devil's voice, but it was some voice telling them to commit the deed; to them they heard the thing said; they have the idea in their minds, and it has to get itself out; it reacts. In hypnotizing people, or, as it is sometimes called, animal magnetism, the same thing comes out. The ordinary restrictions which are acting within us all the time in our normal condition are removed, when this power of animal magnetism or what is popularly called the power of one person's will over another is simply a relapse of this condition of ordinary restriction. It is suggested to such a person under hypnotic power that he is drowning, and he will throw himself on the floor and go through all the movements of swimming.

"There is no such a thing as passive ideas—an inert passiveness. This becomes very relevant to the subject of child-imagination and play. There is nothing more helpful in giving an insight to a child's mind than that of a system of habitual customs and restraints; passive mobility is, in a large measure, due to the fact that his play and imagination are controlled so largely by his physical surroundings and conditions, encroaching upon his perceptions and observations. That point, of course, makes a natural introduction of imagery in the child's mind. The child simply does things with objects that he is

accustomed to seeing done, and he does this with literal objects themselves. The child sees the door opened and shut, and he begins to open and shut the door; he has then passed the period of imagination. I saw a child once pick up a watch-chain which happened to fall to the ground in such a shape as to form in the child's imagination the hammock, and the reaction caused the child to swing the chain as he had seen the hammock swung: That was the first idea, which presented itself to the child's mind; and the reaction came at once. He was just beginning to come into the period of imagination when he could see other objects which reverted him back to some other object, and in the form of some literal reaction. There comes a period in the life of every child about two or two and a half years old when they perceive this analogy in practically all objects and a practical reaction to them in that way. A child saw a finger crooked into just such a shape, that the child said it was a typewriter, and this position; there was merely in the way the finger was held which the child had seen in the act of manipulating a typewriter, and this position of the finger had only the one idea to the child—the idea of a typewriter. On the one hand there is no principle in this development; it is merely activity; what characterizes it is simply that the idea is freer in imagery, more flexible and more plastic than other suggestions would be. It is the thing or the something which suggests itself to the child's mind, rather than the literal presence presented by it. If a child sees an act of pouring something into a cup, it is for him simply to react by doing the same thing; he sees a leaf which suggests to him the cup, and his imagination runs to play in this matter and proceeds to fill the leaf. The act in itself is very commonplace, were it not for the fact that, it is the aptitude of the child to make something big out of the matter, although oftentimes fantastic, unreal.

“What characterizes the imagination is that it affects the unreal and not the real. In the child, it is not a thing which is fantastic, but to the contrary, it extends tremendously the mental side of the child's development and brings out the many ways in which the child reacts upon suggestions to its mind, and if it was not for this play and imagination, it is safe to say the child would come to a very abrupt end. Every child presents a case of arrested development if the play and imagination are removed. It is the bridge by which he passes over from this almost psychological development; if this development is arrested,

the use of things which he sees about him would not extend beyond his range of powers of seeing things. The adult has a world of activity, occupations, professions, vocations and the like; the world of activity in the child lies in his powers of imagination to do things which he sees in the adult to perform, and if it were not for the occupations and vocations of the adult, these little baby forms of activity it can readily be seen what a bad outlet for play and imagination there would be for the child. The imagination comes in the child in a vicarious way and does for it what the occupations of the adult do for him—extend his mental development. The child, in his play of imagination, is a father, or a mother, or a soldier; he entertains the idea in a vicarious way from what he has seen, and re-acts all these things, and in this way gets a tremendous pre-denial that the purely fantastical and absolutely make-believe imagination does not form an important part of the child's development. Some children have a good deal of it, but, after all, that is not the main thing for us to bear in mind and that through these mediums the child gets acquainted with the realities of things, and so builds up for himself a mimic world, and to him it stands for the whole world.

“One of the chief representatives of children and child-study in the United States has made a collection of the acts and development of children in this regard, wherein the clouds, rain, thunder, lightning form an important part in suggestibility; these objects have been, of considerable force in the child's knowledge of making up myths through the natural forms and forces which present themselves. He personates the clouds and thunder and makes up stories about them; most children do so who have a stimulus of activity, but the average, or normal, child is not altogether taken up with these spontaneous myths and their making. It is through these more average, commonplace things that the great development of the child comes. Froebel was the first one to absolutely recognize the play form in child as an important element of the child's development, for it is at this period of the child's life that the natural and normal means of development, not only of knowledge but of character begin to make themselves felt.

“After all, the main thing from the first two or three years of the child's life is that he should not be surfeited by mere physical conduct; he wants to see some meaning to all things and he gets this through his imagination.

Of course, the child reacts or acts what his imagination suggests because he likes to do it. Put a child to washing dishes; he will do it for the reason that it suggests play to him; could we see what is passing in the child's mind during this operation, we would have revealed to us a little world of fantasy; it is the inner side of the child's mind reacting the imagination it has received in the washing of the dishes, which is most important, and not the literal act. When action becomes play with the child, it is equally true that his feelings and his imaginations, to be free and thoroughly healthy from any consideration of the morbid ought to find outlet in activity, or in other words, in play.

"In the continual telling of stories to a child, the imagery side of its mind becomes its safety valve for the reaction. Naturally, all a child's thoughts lie so much nearer to his feet and hands to express things; the child wishes to act out the stories which it hears, and hence its power to assimilate them and reproduce them in some form of activity. When the child becomes surfeited with stories, and cannot reproduce them, he is getting mental dyspepsia. If too many suggestions are brought into the child's mind, his later period is anticipated and he is called a blasé child. In some a craze for excitement of some kind or other is found, and they become dependent upon this excitement, just as an adult, becomes dependent for a stimulant of an intoxicating sort.

"It is through the suggestion of imagery that the skillful teacher can always control the child during all these earlier years of his life. That is the rule by which the child's activities are directed. A little boy fell down on the pavement while running, striking himself badly; another small boy saw the episode and said: 'Did you break your glasses?' The injured boy stopped crying at once and put up his hands to his head. This action was a change from reality to imagery and was followed at once by a change of action, and it was a manifestation of the child's powers of self-control. If any one had called the attention of the child to his powers of control, he would not have put them to any use; it was the mental change which brought his will power into play. Suggest to a crying child that a big man, or a soldier does not cry, and the image appeals to the child's mind, and the change causes him to forget to cry.

"The faculty of telling 'lies' is oftentimes brought about in children by an excitable imagination, and not from any real desire to distort the truth. Too much vivacity plays an important part, in telling 'lies.' Some of the eases of this class of children are transitory and the best way is to leave the child alone and let him discern between fact and fancy."

LECTURE III. Tuesday, August 22, 1899 Later Childhood: Interest and Attention

SYNOPSIS

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 21, 1899, p. 9

Dr. John Dewey Will Talk on Later Childhood

In the third lecture of the University Extension Course Dr. John Dewey will speak on later childhood, with especial reference to the development of interest and attention. The following syllabi of the third lecture should cause increased interest to be taken in "The Life of the Child" as portrayed by Dr. Dewey:

- 1 The seventh year marks a transition, physically and mentally. Child becomes conscious of more remote ends or purposes, and of adjusting means to them. Plays change to games: rules, etc. Child is controlled by thought, not simply by image.
 - 2 Intellectual effects: is more interested in achievement, in making, not simply doing. Great motor outburst. Danger of ignoring this. Importance of connecting imagination with it. Two types of children. Child thus develops interests; more or less permanent lines of imagery which he is interested in realizing. Childhood in literature: Stevenson and Kenneth Graham.
 3. Interest in symbols and in their interpretation also develops generally between eighth and ninth years. Beginnings of consecutive attention. Relation of imagery to attention and reasoning. Active inquiry.
 4. Change in moral attitude. Self-will more conscious and assertive when child is aware of purposes. Formation of executive habits.
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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES:

1. Is interest destructive of effort and serious work? Is making use of interest the same as indulging a child?
2. Different forms of selfishness in children and their psychological explanation? Ways of dealing with it?
3. What ways can be suggested of utilizing games and various forms of motor activity for educational purposes?
4. Collect instances of children's games, and try to show the psychological principle of each.

SUMMARY OF LECTURE III

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Aug 24, 1899, p. 2

ON CHILD HABITS

Dr. Dewey Speaks on Transition Period

Takes Place Between Seventh and Eighth Year—Intellectual Development

Professor Dewey's lecture at the High School on Tuesday evening was largely attended, considerable interest being taken in his talks upon the intellectual and moral development of children. He lays particular stress upon the fact that from his observation of children and their habits and receptive abilities, the element of arithmetical and symbolic studies should not be attempted until the ninth year of their lives, as it is not until that age is reached that they are really capable of interpreting the meaning of such studies, and, therefore, realizing any particular benefit from such instruction. He also states his belief that this age of the child makes the period of its moral change, as the child then becomes fully aware of a purpose and its probable results, and that these moral forces, if acted upon in a positive manner, create habits of orderly discipline. Continuing on this line of thought, the Doctor said: It is between the seventh and eighth years of a child's life that a transition takes place, mentally and physically. About the seventh year is the age selected by physicians, anatomists and psychologists as marking the period of the change or development. It is worthy to note that this is the time selected for the beginning of the school period of the child's development in most of the civilized countries, a recognition that the child is at that age ready for something in the nature of regular, conscious instruction and discipline, morally, intellectually and physically. Intellectually this period begins to show the results of

much that has been given traditionally to the child in the sixth year, results which show that this premature training, traditionally, has been a waste of energy, that much of the technical work which has been thrust upon the child, ought to be postponed until the seventh year.

What is the character of this change, and the nature of the change? Some of its outward symptoms are plain enough; at this period of transition children are not quite so agreeable to grown people as they were when three or four years younger, and are not so convenient as playthings for grown people, in that they do not lend themselves to our amusement as they did in former years. What was formerly referred to as cute and cunning comes to us as unpleasant, rather disagreeable and importuning at this later age. The naive, spontaneous eagerness becomes at this time to be a lack of regard for other people, and we look upon it as deliberate selfishness. The doings of the child which before were thought cunning and cute are now regarded as tendencies toward being disrespectful to his elders. The child has, of course, been naughty before this—rebellious—but they have been merely outward signs which would quickly pass over; but at six and seven it often seems to us as if they were making themselves antagonistic to our wishes for the mere desire of antagonizing. In a great many ways, their unconscious ways and naiveté give way to a more deliberate and more conscious attitude. However, in fact, we do not find that the child is really any worse than before, but is simply more conscious of himself, of his aims and purposes, and he has become less governed by the suggestion of his imagination. Having aims and purposes of his own which he wishes to carry out, it is inevitable that he should run at cross purposes to the aims of grown people. The child has begun to live less in the immediate present; and has commenced to form vague plans, and wishes to regulate his so that he may carry out these plans for himself. I once saw about a dozen children one day, most of them between the ages of six and seven, and some older, playing for the first time the game of 'hide and seek'; it was quite interesting to see these children assorting themselves out into two groups: when the one who was blinded gave the signal to 'hunt,' some of them just went ahead and did what they had started to do, in that they had started in one direction to hide, whether it was wise or not, as far as absolutely getting out of sight was concerned and getting caught; this was among the younger ones; the more

mature children managed their conduct so as to carry out the purposes of the game—not to get caught. Now that game which I happened to see was to me really a scientific measurement of the abilities of children of different ages; it proved that mere physical exuberance of simply running to hide was not enough for these older children, for they saw the point of the game to be arrived at, saw some result ahead of them, and directed their conduct on the basis of a certain degree of skill. This illustrates the transition between the intellectual and moral life of the child at this age, or period. Speaking generally, the plays of the child give way to games which partake of the nature of instruction; the game always has some end to be reached, or goal, or some destination is to be gained, and for this there have to be certain rules; when the child feels the need or demand for having some fairly definite point ahead of him, he consequently feels the need of having some kind of rules or regulations to successfully reach this desired end.

“But before this period, if you introduce rules into their play it proves a great annoyance; it is a bore to them and they lose all interest; they simply want to follow the suggestion of the imagination; they want it variable; if they do follow rules, they simply follow the habit they have formed of playing a certain thing in a certain way and which their imagination suggests no new way of playing. After the transition period, skill in playing games begins to appeal to them: skill as a thing by itself or power to achieve, has no meaning; you cannot present a motive to the child by saying ‘If you do it this way you will be able to do better next time.’ but there are certain ranges of skill which appeal to them and they can feel the force of it. The child sets considerable store by his power to mimic; if he plays he is building a house, he wants to build a big house, for in that he gets a sense of largeness; if he plays at Indians, he has his mimic weapons and everything in that line which gives him a sense of power, things which give him the sense of having ability to achieve, and prevailing upon those with whom he comes in contact that he is a somebody and capable of doing great things.

“In the seventh year we find that children’s ideas of results are, of course, out of all proportion to what they can actually do. In many cases they often conceal their true abilities, because they fear the possibility of ridicule. However, we find they plan the most impossible things. A boy of seven we find planning to make a steamboat, and

how he is going to run it; also another planning how to make a balloon, how he will steer it and make it go up or down; another planning to build a theater, stage and all, and even planning to be an actor; the more imaginative ones plan things which are of course ludicrously all out of proportion for their ability to achieve the desired end. Now it is that very disproportion between the things which are imagined and the capacity for achievement which make it such a critical period. The main and most important question is to bring these two elements nearer together; how to cultivate the child’s imagination without destroying the imagination, until it comes within the range of reality and possibility. On the other hand, quite often we find that in passing from five to eight years that the youthful ingenuity of imagination has entirely been wiped out and the child seems to have fallen into a rut: the reason for this is that the child’s power of imagination is not taken hold of and he is not given any outlet whatever for it, and as he grows older he realizes that he cannot do the things which were thought of in his earlier years; no avenue or channel of performance is open, and his originality dies out, from lack of cultivation; in fact, he degrades his thinking to his actual achievements.

Other children who retain this originality, in spite of lack of advantages or outlets, conceal their powers, become highly absorbed in themselves and they eventually lead a double life, and there is a point reached when its mind becomes morbid and unreal, the result of the child living in a world of vast achievements, doing wondrous things, creating its own world, a morbid world existing in its mind.

“There is another thing which of course accompanies this period of development, and that is (the) training and discipline. The child of five and six is extremely active and is generally more affected by discipline than at the age of seven and eight. There is a certain physical lawlessness at this latter age; the child cannot always do the thing he wishes to do, and if curbed in his desires is likely to commit some mischief, and often to this to direct attention to themselves and cause one to feel that they are somebody, even if they have to resort to mischief. When a child can do things in which he sees certain results accruing and they find that the same results are usually produced, from certain regulations or methods, an equation between the thing which the child has in mind and his ability to execute; if he takes certain materials in hand and he finds that there are

certain laws outside of his own powers to execute, in order to bring out certain results and he finds that he has to do things in a certain way, the failure of results as followed out by himself becomes a discipline to him and forces upon him the necessity of using a different order or method to produce the required results. I am extremely hopeful that good results in discipline may be reached when people at large have thoughtfully and seriously begun to find occupations and purposes for children at this period which will bring them out of chaotic habits and meaningless desires to orderly and disciplined habits."

LECTURE IV. Friday, August 25, 1899 Adolescence and Emotions

SYLLABUS

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 25, 1899, p. 10

FOURTH LECTURE

Dr. Dewey on *The Life of the Child*

The fourth lecture of the University Extension course by Dr. John Dewey on "The Life of the Child" will be devoted to the period of the child's life in which the emotions, self-consciousness and adolescence show themselves. His lecture tonight will embrace the following topics:

The dependence of emotions upon expression of impulses. James theory of the emotions. Illustrated in the case of anger, fear, worry and calm, etc.

Value of emotions, as reservoirs of energy to be directed toward ends; abused when merely indulged. Danger in simply pressing them. Emotions to be considered psychologically first, morally afterwards.

Large emotional outburst accompanies adolescence; new aesthetic and moral interests. General consciousness of obligation and beauty. Moral reawakening.

New personal and social consciousness. Self-consciousness increases because youth looks at himself from standpoint of his relation to others. Accompanying change in intellectual attitude; interest in generalizations and laws.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES:

1. Is there any danger of premature moral and religious instruction?
2. What are the different causes of anger in little children? What possible element of good is there in each, and how can it be brought out?
3. Make a list of the different sources of fear and fright in children. See if any cause can be found for them in ancestral experience. Methods of dealing with fears.
4. Write out reminiscences or any special, moral or aesthetic experiences of youth.

SUMMARY OF LECTURE IV

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Aug. 26, 1899, p. 2

FOURTH LECTURE

Most Interesting of the Series in Subject and Detail

THE PERIOD OF ADOLESCENCE

Particularly Favorable to Religious Awakening and for Confirmation in the Churches

The fourth of Professor Dewey's lectures on "Child Life" was presented last evening at the High School. By far it was the most interesting of the series thus far, in subject and detail. The lecture dwelt with the impulses and emotions which come into the youth's mind during the period of adolescence, and the feeling of consciousness as given expression in his feelings toward others. The emotions bring about a moral awakening and mark a change in his intellectual attitude. Continuing generally along these subjects, the Professor said:

"This particular period is generally known as the period of adolescence, and comes at about the age of 13. Before touching upon this feature, I wish to speak of the emotions in general. Adolescence is perhaps more irregular in its manifestations, and it is not quite possible to fix upon any one phase which is the most important, but there is a large mental change connected with this period, a decided change in disposition, especially in the social feelings. The simplest statement we find of all our activities is that they are responses or adjustments to stimuli. Each one of us is a force into which is continually streaming an indefinite number of stimuli, and the conduct consists in responding to this stimuli in such a way as to successfully maintain any act of ours. My ability to stand on this floor is dependent upon the stimuli which comes from contact with the soles of my feet and other articles which come to the eye; if one of these stimuli is diseased my ability to retain my equilibrium

would be affected. Take a wood-engraver, for instance; see how every motion he makes is a response to the stimuli as he works upon the wood. Our muscular system is to take hold of these stimuli in a regular way that we are perfectly adjusted. As to the bearing of that upon the emotions, Professor James of Harvard has advanced the suggestion that our emotions are accompaniments with the responses which we make to the stimuli; only in this case—we have to think of the responses not only of the muscles, but also all of the internal organs, the breathing, etc.

“Some one told me today that a physician told her that if she could notice herself, for instance at a lecture, she would probably find that she was holding her breath unconsciously, and that if she only knew it, there was a great loss of energy in doing that. On the other hand, if she were to keep on breathing normally she would not find herself losing any energy. Then with the emotions there are changes in the circulation of the blood. We blush under certain circumstances; we grow white with fear, showing that the reaction extends to the circulation as well as to the muscles. Children, too, have a heavy feeling in the pit of the stomach when saddened or greatly depressed. If you take the terms for joy, or elation, most all of them show a superabundance of energy. Mr. James’ theory is that our emotions are the way, really, in which we feel. He says, and violently, too, that we do not run away because we feel afraid; we feel afraid because we run away. That we do not strike because we are angry; we are angry because we strike. You can see that a person feels afraid when he doesn’t run away. In this way a gross response and movement of the whole body is suppressed, but you find the movement of the muscles shows a changed breathing, a change of feeling even in the pit of the stomach. The theory seems paradoxical in the extreme, but you will see there is a “good deal of truth in it. If you notice yourself walking along a dark street at night and you hear a noise suddenly that noise is a stimulus. Walking in the dark, where you cannot see, the stimulus has an effect which it would otherwise not have. Prof. James wrote an article in one of the magazines a short time ago pointing out that the nervous drain on the average American is due to the fact that he never quite relaxes himself, his nervous tension, at any time completely. When you feel worried, if you take great pains to unravel your brow, you will be surprised to find how much of the mental worry and depressions goes along with the unraveling. In substance, then, emotion is

due to the change in the breathing apparatus, blood activity, due to the activity which responds to the stimulus given.

“When one gets to doing something habitually and we do it without thinking and without fear, the habitual activity is automatic, but any disturbance in it, any difficulty coming in, or in other words, any break in the habit occurring, which arouses or excites us, emotion comes. Now when we have an emotional outburst accompanying adolescence great changes can be looked for in our character. At this period there are new stimuli coming into the system with great force, and there are no habitual or fixed modes of response to these. The chief stimulus which comes at this time in the physical system is that accompanying sexual maturity; it means a modification of all the other forms of emotion known to the child; the whole physical growth is changed at this period; with the coming of puberty a tremendous growth occurs; it is not only in the growth itself, the increase in height and weight, but the structure of the system changes; the large trunk muscles begin to grow, and the youth has entered on the ‘awkward age’; they seem over-grown. All this means a stirring up, then, of the physical system and the reception of a new stimuli and sense of reaction. The new impulses of sex which dawn at this period are the ones which make him become a member of the race of human kind and announce his sex. It is not surprising, then, at this time that there is a tremendous reconstruction going on in the entire mental and moral make-up of the youth, as well as in the physical. That seems to be the explanation as far as it can be given of the change which comes at this time the awakening of the intellectual impulses which make the individual an organic member of the human race and with the life of humanity as a whole. It is not strange that he feels different to himself and to others, and takes on new characteristics and a change of methods.

“I heard a teacher once say that when a boy or girl began to take great interest in themselves, in their clothes, as far as making an ‘appearance’ before others was concerned, because they were thinking what some of the other sex would think of them, it was then time for them to study technical grammar. That simple statement illustrates the character of the change which is going on, that is, the social accompaniments of this change. Vague longings come at this time; the child before this has perhaps ends and aims in the sense that he sees certain results, but the normal youth doesn’t have ideas he doesn’t have aspirations at large. Now,

whether, every youth has these vague aspirations, I cannot say, but it is certainly characteristic of the average youth to have these longings, to have these ideas of a general nature, which would include a great variety of minor details. They partake largely of the inner nature of the youth and not of the outward; he may want to be a soldier or a lawyer, but it is only a physical thing which he has in mind. On the other hand, the other side of his nature being taken possession of by these longings, it is liable to create a romantic spirit. This is the period when the youth is continually running away from home, and the sea seems to possess the greatest attraction to him; it seems to present an unbounded expanse and is generally in greatest contrast with his life at home. The youth feels that the life at home has restrictions and restraints, which do anything but satisfy these longings which have come up in him.

"Now another side of this same experience of being filled with large ideals is seen in religious affairs. Some students in the United States have taken the pains to collect a large amount of statistics of this joining the church, and it was found that this period of adolescence is particularly favorable to religious awakening—a sense of sin; an introduction into religious life seems a realization of something large and infinite and unbounded. They also find that this is the period for confirmation in the churches.

"There is an esthetic awakening which is also characteristic of this period of the child's life. A woman told me of a walk she took with about a dozen children whose ages run from 12 to 15; first she took them through the streets purposely, and then took them along the side of a river, teeming with beauty at every point; when she came back she asked them what was the thing that had most impressed them; they were divided as to whether it was a donkey cart or a bunch of bananas hanging up in a store; there was not a single child who alluded in the most remote way to anything in the nature of natural beauty. The average boy or girl doesn't care much for beauty as a thing by itself.

"Now with the age of adolescence if there is any artistic beauty dormant in the youth, it comes out, and consequently a new form of literature is accessible to him. Most boys profess a contempt for poetry, except perhaps in the form of narrative. Of course, if it is a story by Walter Scott it appeals well to him. The average child has no interest in the generalization of principles as principles, no more than in ideas as ideas. He may be interested in rules, but that is

different from a law of principle. Now, when he begins to see a larger world and he begins to see himself as a member of the larger world, then he can hardly help being interested in generalization of principles. It seems obvious to me that when a person begins to think of himself in his relations to home and society there comes a tremendous change in his life and methods of thinking.

"In three directions, then, the ethical, esthetic and intellectual, we find the awakening to larger interests and a larger meaning of things, so that the machinery of habits which has been formed may now be taken possession of, and illuminated and expanded by these larger ideal considerations which have come into view. Two things seem quite obvious to me. In them first place, the emotions are a great wakening; it is the emotions which keep our life from becoming mechanical and routine. It is the emotion which gives us force, vivacity and the power of our ideas. We may have two ideas of true worth, but yet one remains a piece of dead information; take for instance, the law of gravitation: we believe that it is true, and yet it is but a fact to us; it would have no great bearing in our lives. We have another idea, not a fiftieth part of the intellectual worth of the other one, but we have perhaps been so stirred by the emotions caused by the idea, that it becomes a controlling power in our lives. The emotions are merely the reservoirs of energy in us."

LECTURE V. Tuesday, August 29 General Principles of Growth

SYNOPSIS

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 29, 1899, p. 5

THE FIFTH LECTURE

End of the First Course on *The Life of the Child*

At the High School this evening Dr. John Dewey will deliver the last of the first series of five lectures in the University Extension Course on "The Life of the Child." His subject will be "General Principles of Growth," and the following is a syllabus of the lecture:

1. The law of periodic growth. Successive instincts and power present themselves, reach their height and wane. Each must be utilized as it appears. Great importance of child study to detect these successive eras of interest. Faults of former education in endeavoring to anticipate later stages instead of making full use of earlier ones.
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2. Experience is got through expression of impulses and instincts. It is the part of educators, whether parents or teachers, to afford the proper conditions and materials in which these powers may exhibit themselves. Tendency to substitute accumulated experience of others for conditions which will control and direct child's own experience.
3. Growth may be measured through formation of habits. Habits not formed by bare repetition, but through positive achievement or success," based on original impulse. Habits not equivalent to routine, but imply power to adapt themselves to new conditions and purposes. Most important habits are those of directing the attention. Relation of habit to character.
4. Growth as summed up in character involves (1) force, or strength of purpose and execution; (2) delicacy or susceptibility of emotion; (3) good judgment selection of values.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES:

1. How can the individuality of childhood be preserved without tending to develop self-conceit, self-will, etc.?
2. What do you think, psychologically, of the doctrine of "breaking the will?"
3. Give some account, from reminiscence or observation, of the effects of punishment.
4. Give examples, in our present system of instruction, of tendency to substitute experience of others for child's own experience, and the effects which result.
5. What part can music, or art play in the mental and moral growth of the child?

SUMMARY OF LECTURE V

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 30, 1899, p. 3

DEWEY LECTURES

End of the first Series Last Night

Next Course Will be on "The Development of Thought in the Nineteenth Century"

The series of lectures upon "The Life of the Child" was brought to a close by Professor Dewey, before an interested audience at the High School last evening. This, however,

does not end the Doctor's mission in Honolulu, as on Friday evening next he will begin a new series of lectures, the title being "The Development of Thought in the Nineteenth Century." The object of this course is to present the influences which literature and advanced thought have had in the development of the nation.

In last evening's lecture Professor Dewey laid considerable stress upon the formation of habits in a child, and the idea that habits are not formed by a constant repetition of doing the same thing over and over again, but by an original impulse which brought positive success at once.

"Now with the changing which is occurring in a child; we cease to consider the child as preparatory to something else, or, in other words, a preparatory to the adult life. One of the most popular books ever written for children was entitled 'Little Men and Little Women,' and yet they are not small, reduced copies, smaller sizes of adult life; it is not true that physically children are 'little men and little women'; they are different in structure: it would be truer to conceive them as a different species altogether. When we follow out the idea of Mrs. Minsell, when she quotes that our ancestors looked upon children as a preparation merely for adult life, and of childhood having its own worth and value, having its forms for itself, one thing that becomes of great importance to us is to discover when the various impulses and instincts and interests in point of view in the child begin to show themselves, and then to ripen and then to pass away. Professor James has said that the instincts are implanted for the sake of giving rise to habits; that is, there is a period in which the instinct shows itself and may be transformed and become a permanent habit; but if the instinct is not utilized at the proper moment, it is destined to pass away. It is not possible ever to fully make up for any loss of development in a child; there is a moment when the iron is hit, and if we do not strike at that particular moment, we do not get the desired result in the child. There are certain powers in a child, but if they are attempted to be developed simultaneously the child would be driven like four horses abreast. Now, the present idea is, as I have just been saying, that the instincts rise and ripen and pass away.

One of the main purposes of our study of childhood is to be able to detect the signs of the appearance of any particular instinct or impulse in order that we may make permanent, or continuously operative, whatever there is of good in it, and weed out whatever does not tend in the right direction.

"That periodic development of characteristic tastes is one of the chief things which we have to bear in mind. I tried to bring out in some of the preceding thoughts what some of these characteristic ideas were. The principle still holds true, and there would be more reason for us to deeply consider the development of the child in order to find out the proper time to facilitate the development of the instincts and impulses.

"It does not follow that we should always encourage them, but it remains for us to find some direction in which they can become developed, if for the good. The one great point is the general machinery of development. Some years ago I happened to sit in a railroad car with a laboring man, evidently a grist-miller, and formed a conversation with him. He told me more or less of his work, and about his repairing grist-mills. He, in turn, asked me what was my calling; I tried to tell him, but, of course, he did not understand what a psychologist was, but I told him it dealt with the mind. He replied very promptly, 'What is the good of that?' I was rather at a loss to reply to him, but it happened that he had told me of his family affairs more or less and of some trouble with his wife, and as I reflected upon the matter I told him that I was dealing in one kind of machinery my machinery was the mind, and that if we could not get it in good working order and have the friction removed that society was machinery, and if we did not understand the cogs and wheels, we could not keep it all going right; and I drew a comparison between my own machinery and the machinery which he ordinarily handled, and in the end I believe that I justified my vocation and 'calling' in his eyes.

"It suggests a certain point of view. In one way the mind is a machine, and may be considered as a grist-mill, or any loom, or self-binding reaper. It has a certain structure of its own which controls its work, and it is literally true, I think, that a smooth working thereof is dependent upon our mastery of this machinery. Of course, most of our mastery comes to us in everyday life, but at all events our theoretical life can help it out. The same as a man who operates a loom; he may be proficient in all its practical workings, and yet when it gets out of order, or some delicate fixture is misplaced, one who has a theoretical knowledge of its workings has to be called in to fix it aright. Now, fortunately, the general working of this machinery of the mind is so plain and simple that it can be easily understood—one can get an outlined idea of the structure of the machine in a very easy way. All we have

to start with is certain active impulses, instincts and tendencies; we talk about sensations, but after all, sensations of life would be of no value to us, if there were no impulses or instincts or appetites back of it. The eye is to be thought of, not as a receiving organ, but first as an active organ, the same as the hand as a grasping or a reaching-out organ. We should never succeed in seeing anything if our eyes were not continually searching out something, roaming about; we might have all the sensations we have got now, but if it were not for a reactive tendency the whole world would be an absolute blur to us—a mental cloud.

"We begin with certain instincts and impulses. Now if these express themselves as they show themselves, they come into contact with outward conditions; they run up against something. The child reaches out, and as he reaches out he grasps; he feels something; it may be rough or smooth, hot or cold, large or small; now his impulse has taught him something; the burnt child grasped fire. At first he is controlled by his active impulses; if he sees a bright light he reaches for it; he gets his finger burnt; now the next time he dreads the fire; he directs his activity in a different way. True, from contact he gets his sensations about objects, and as he gets that he derives new tendencies, so the next time he acts, he acts somewhat differently in his active impulses. Now this continual outflow of the active impulses, with the continual return of sensations or ideas, which he got through activity, constitutes in a general way, the scheme of the working of this machine. Where every act which is put forth under normal conditions it modifies future activity. That is what we mean by forming habits.

"We cannot mold the child literally from without as to its habits; we have got to find something in which the child co-operates with the tendencies to which we wish to mold it. As to habits, a child, for instance, is kept figuring sums at school, but as a matter of fact, most persons when they get into business later on in life learn their arithmetic then; in the case of the child it is literally shoved into him, because it is said that by repetition, by doing the same thing over and over again, he will become proficient; if the child has anything in mind or anything to gain by any particular figuring that has any connection with anything he wants to do himself, he makes real use of it, and he doesn't wait until he is grown up; it becomes a part of his working capital and something, then, which he cannot lose. He

doesn't store up muscle in his arm to use some twenty years later on; he has a use for it while he is gaining it.

"A word about habits and their formation. The old, old theory is that having formed a habit by repeated repetitions, you finally have the habit firmly fixed upon you. To the contrary, repetition is a consequence of the formation of a habit, and not the source. If a child repeats a thing twenty times in a blundering way he has not got the habit right; he has a bad habit; but if he has the habit formed right away, he will have more stimulus about acquiring good habits; if a

child's reading is confined to reading certain sentences, by constantly repeating the same sentences over and over again for the sake of learning to read, what habit can be got by the repetition of such nonsense? Nothing. If he is given a new sentence in reading he gets a new idea of the world, and his habits for observation are thereby quickened. We lose more time in this one respect than in any other one thing. As a rule, this just doing a thing over and over again means that we are simply trying to make good by sheer nonsense for some lack of original experience.
