

## The Influence of Beatrice Hinkle and Jungian Psychology on the Early Progressive School Movement in the United States

### Author's Details:

Jeroen Staring<sup>1</sup>, Jerry Aldridge<sup>2</sup>, and Lois McFadyen Christensen<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. mult. Jeroen Staring taught mathematics at secondary schools in The Netherlands. His 2005 Medical Sciences dissertation describes the life, work and technique of F. Matthias Alexander. In 2013 he successfully defended a second dissertation, on the early history of the NYC Bureau of Educational Experiments.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jerry Aldridge is professor emeritus at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He has published extensively on progressive education and women's issues. Before returning to Birmingham, Alabama recently, he lived in Jakarta, Indonesia and New York City.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lois McFadyen Christensen is a professor of early childhood education at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. She has published numerous articles and books related to early childhood, social studies, and critical pedagogy.

**Abstract:** *Until the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the so-called progressive education movement in the United States was most often attributed to dead white men, especially John Dewey and others, including Colonel Francis Parker, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Harold Rugg (Cremin, 1961). More recently, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Caroline Pratt, and other women have also been given credit as founders of progressive education (Aldridge & Christensen, 2013; Sadovnik & Semel (Eds.), 2002; Staring, 2013, 2014, 2016). Less attention has been given to the psychological underpinnings that informed progressive schools. This case study briefly reviews some of the psychological foundations of progressive education and documents the contributions of Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, M.D. the first woman pioneer of analytical psychology in the United States, to the early progressive school movement.*

**Key Words:** *Florence Cane, Evelyn Dewey, Beatrice Moses Hinkle, Margaret Pollitzer Hoben, Flora Dodge "Fola" La Follette, Margaret Naumburg, Claire (Raphael) Reis, Frederick Matthias Alexander, Waldo David Frank, Arthur M. Reis, John Broadus Watson. Bank Street College of Education, Bureau of Educational Experiments (B.E.E.), Children's School, City and Country School, Dalton School, Heterodoxy Club, Walden School.*

### Introduction

While John Dewey (1859-1952), Charles Hanford Henderson (1861-1941), and other "dead White men" are most often given credit for progressive education in the United States, a plethora of women were immensely immersed in progressive education, especially during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when progressive schools began to flourish, many of them founded and run by women (Semel, Sadovnik & Coughlan (Eds.), 2016). Less discussion and attention have been given to the psychological influences on progressive education. The purpose of this article is to briefly review some of the psychological theories that informed practices in progressive schools, emphasizing the influence of Beatrice Hinkle, M.D. and Jungian psychology on the Walden School and the City and Country School (Sherry, 2013, 2018).

### Psychological Influences on Progressive Education

Were the early progressive schools influenced by psychological theories or theories of developmental psychology? The answer depends on each progressive school since some of their founders reported foundations based on a specific theorist, a particular theory, or a collection of theories and others stated their school was not based upon theories of development. The following are examples of disparate theorists and theories that informed the early progressive school movement.

Patty Smith Hill, often considered the mother of kindergarten, began her career as a progressive teacher as the lead teacher of a training school for kindergarten teachers in Louisville, Kentucky (Rudnitski, 1995). Over time, Hill studied with some of the leading psychologists of her generation, including G. Stanley Hall, William James, John Dewey, Edward Thorndike and Luther Gulick (Snyder, 1972; Rudnitski, 1995). Later, as a faculty member at Columbia University, she worked with John Dewey and William Heard

Kilpatrick (Wolfe, 2002). Thus, Hill studied a variety of eclectic theories from many of the developmental psychologists of her day but relied on her day to day experience with children to develop her own ideas about how children grow and develop (Aldridge & Christensen, 2013; Staring, 2018).

Marietta Johnson, originally a traditional teacher in Minnesota, influenced by G. Stanley Hall, abandoned her strict notions of children's development when she was given *The Development of the Child* (1898), written by Nathan Oppenheim (Newman, 2002). In 1902 Johnson and her husband moved to Fairhope, Alabama where she eventually started the School of Organic Education based on the theories of Henderson, G. T. W. Patrick, Oppenheim, Rousseau, Froebel, and Dewey (Aldridge & Christensen, 2013; Cowles, 1996; Staring, 2013, 2014, 2016).

Lucy Sprague Mitchell, a co-founder of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (B.E.E.), renamed Cooperative School for Student Teachers in the early 1930s and later known as Bank Street College of Education, began the research center and school with a coherent philosophy but occasionally referred to disparate theories of development to describe that philosophy. One example of disparate theoretical underpinnings occurred during the inception period of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. Initially, J. B. Watson was asked to part-time join B.E.E.; Watson, however, wished to become an integral part of the research division (B.E.E., 1917). There is no doubt that if Watson had had his way, the direction of the B.E.E. would have been altered or he eventually would have parted ways. The Bureau of Educational Experiments was designed to study approaches to improve childhood education. Daily observations with children were carefully documented through first-hand observations of ways that children holistically learn (Lascarides & Hinitz, 2000). As Bank Street College of Education developed (Grinberg, 2005), Barbara Biber became the historian that described the evolving theory of Bank Street over many years (Biber, 1973, 1981, 1984; Biber, Gilkeson, & Winsor, 1959). The Bank Street approach became known as the “developmental-interaction” approach to learning. Meeting the needs of the whole child was the primary goal of the developmental-interaction approach (Nager & Shapiro, 2007). Lucy Sprague Mitchell's philosophical approach to education was initially influenced by interaction, mentorship, and the ideas from Jane Addams, John Dewey, Elisabeth Irwin, Harriet M. Johnson and Harriet Forbes, William A. Wirt, and Caroline Pratt; the strength of the curriculum was active, authentic, experiential learning about contemporary, democratic life connected to the community and beyond. Psychological dimensions were soon added (Christensen, 2008).

Later, Harriet K. Cuffaro, Nancy Nager, and Edna Shapiro continued to describe the psychological influences on Bank Street's developmental-interaction approach to education (Cuffaro, 1995; Cuffaro, Nager, & Shapiro, 2005). While Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical approach was sometimes referenced during the mid-twentieth century, Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky were more often discussed in the Bank Street literature by the end of the millennium. While Carl Jung was rarely mentioned as a psychological influence on the developmental-interaction approach, his disciple, Beatrice Hinkle (described in the next section) was often a guest at Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Wesley Mitchell's home, as were Randolph Bourne, Ernst Brill, Van Wyck Brooks, Pablo Casals, John and Alice Chipman Dewey, Smith Ely Jelliffe, Max Eastman, Waldo Frank, Florence Kelly, and Lillian Wald (Sherry, 2018; Dalton, 2002). Still, most of the psychological principles that have informed the Bank Street School for Children—one century old in 2019—were developed by their own teachers and administrators (Mitchell, 1934, 1935, 1950; Nager & Shapiro, 2006).

### **Dr. Beatrice Moses Hinkle, M.D.**

Who was Beatrice Hinkle and how did she influence the early progressive school movement in the United States? Dr. Beatrice Moses Hinkle, M.D. (1874-1953) was the first woman to become San Francisco's city physician and the first woman in the United States to hold a public health position. Hinkle, a graduate of Cooper Medical College later moved to New York City where she became a member of the Cornell Medical College.

In 1909, just 10 years after her graduation from medical college, Hinkle traveled to Vienna to study psychoanalysis with Sigmund Freud, and in 1911 she attended the Third International Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar, Germany accompanying Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung by train to the conference. While many of the other women attending the congress were considered subordinates because of their educational levels and the status of women in the early 1900s, Hinkle traveled as Freud and Jung's equal due

to her medical background and experience. After Jung's break with Freud, Hinkle became aligned with Jung and returned to the United States, becoming the country's first Jungian psychoanalyst (Sherry, 2013, 2018; Wittenstein & Harris, 1999). She was also one of the first to translate Carl Jung's writings into English (Jung, 1916). Over time she became known as "the foremost American interpreter of the Jungian school of psychoanalysis" (Glueck, 1923, p. 350). As the mother of Jungian or analytical psychology in the United States Beatrice Hinkle—especially during the 1920s—contributed to early childhood education and the progressive school movement by presenting at conferences and through her publications in educational journals. Specifically, Hinkle's speeches and theories were summarized in newspapers (e.g., Clark, 1925; Eastman, 1916a-d; Marshall, 1919; McCommon, 1925; *New York Sun*, 1936; Norton, 1925, 1927; Saunders, 1925; *Sun*, 1925; Thierry, 1925), magazines (e.g., Purdy, 1926; *Survey*, 1925), educational journals (e.g., Blanchard, 1919), and books (e.g., Boeckel, 1928). Hinkle (1923) wrote a book and published in psychology journals like *The British Journal of Medical Psychology* (Hinkle, 1922b) and *The Psychoanalytical Review* (Hinkle, 1920, 1922a). She translated German and Dutch texts (e.g., Jung, 1916; Coster, 1930), published a speech both in *The Nation* (Hinkle, 1924a) and in a book about changing morality (Hinkle, 1924b), and she contributed the 'Introduction' to a book (Hinkle, 1916) to *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*—a textbook on psychoanalysis (Hinkle, 1925a)—as well as chapters to other textbooks (Hinkle, 1926b, 1927b; consult also Eliot & Eliot, 1927). But she also published in *Progressive Education*—the "Quarterly Review of the Newer Tendencies in Education" of the Progressive Education Association (Hinkle, 1925b). In addition, Hinkle (1926c) wrote for the education journal, *The New Era* an article targeting teachers and parents, as she also did for *Child Study* (*New York Evening Post*, 1932). Her presentation at the 1925 Conference on Modern Parenthood in New York City was published in *Concerning Parents* (Hinkle, 1926b). Furthermore, she wrote articles for popular periodicals such as *Harper's (Monthly) Magazine* (Hinkle, 1925c, 1932), *Maclean's* (Hinkle, 1926d), *The Nation* (Hinkle 1924a, 1927c; consult Showalter (Ed.), 1978), *The Survey* (Hinkle, 1926a) and *World Tomorrow* (see *Note 1*) in order to reach a broad public audience. It seems that she has also written for newspapers (e.g., Hinkle, 1927a). Lastly, Hinkle (1931) published an article in *Physical Culture*—the fitness magazine edited by health guru Bernarr Macfadden to reach an even broader public audience!

### **The Influence of Beatrice Hinkle and Jungian Psychology**

Beatrice Hinkle and Jungian psychology made an impact on a number of the early progressive schools, primarily through Hinkle's analysands who were leaders in those early progressive schools, and indirectly through the Heterodoxy Club.

Three of Hinkle's analysands directly involved in early progressive schools were Margaret Naumburg, her sister Florence Cane, and Flora Dodge "Fola" La Follette.

In 1914, Margaret Naumburg together with Claire Raphael (see *Note 2* and *Note 4*) started a Montessori Class at Leete School in New York City, later renamed the Children's School, which soon became the Walden School (Reis, 1955; Rodman, 1915; Staring, Bouchard, & Aldridge, 2014). According to Blythe Hinitz (2013),

Naumburg's unique contribution to the education field lay in her ability to fuse the idea of the 'New Education' movement with the concepts of psychoanalysis. Naumburg herself underwent three years of analysis with psychiatrist Beatrice Hinkle, and later she did further analysis with Freudian A. A. Brill (a Walden school parent). (p. 181; compare Cremin, 1961).

Naumburg's sister Florence Cane, who from 1922 to 1934 taught art at Walden School, also underwent analysis with Beatrice Hinkle—as did Evelyn Dewey (Dalton, 2002) who would publish an article in *The Nation* about Naumburg's Children's School (Dewey, 1921b; consult Staring & Aldridge, 2014).

However, Naumburg's personal interactions with Hinkle were mostly responsible for the inclusion of Jungian ideas into classroom practices. "Naumburg...incorporated psychoanalytic themes into the school curriculum" (Staring, Bouchard, & Aldridge, 2014, p. 1). Further, Naumburg strongly encouraged all teachers and staff at Walden School to participate in psychoanalysis (Hinitz, 2002). She also introduced Hinkle to diverse other educators, including Evelyn Dewey (Dalton, 2002) and F. Matthias Alexander (Hinitz, 2013).



Hinkle's influence, through the Children's School and Walden School philosophy and their curriculum, spilled over into other progressive schools. Three examples:

*i.* Margaret Naumburg's (1917) article, '*A Direct Method of Education*' that explained F. Matthias Alexander and Carl Gustav Jung's influences on the Children's School curriculum, was not solely published in a 1917 Bureau of Educational Experiments *Bulletin* about Gregory School, Teachers College Playground, and Naumburg's Children's School. Two years later Naumburg's text was also issued in *The Modern School*, the illustrated "monthly magazine devoted to libertarian ideas in education" of the Ferrer Modern School near Stelton, New Jersey—edited by Carl Zigrosser (Naumburg, 1919). It seems, on a typescript of the article, Naumburg later wrote, "This published in 1917 was, as far as I know, *the first application of the principles of psychoanalysis to Education*" (Hutchins, 2018, p. 6).

*ii.* Further, Margaret Naumburg's sister Florence Cane not only taught art at Walden School between 1922 and 1934 (Cremin, 1961), but she also lectured classes for teachers of art at New York University between 1930 and 1932. As well, she was a teacher of painting at Dalton School from 1931 to 1933. From 1934 to 1937, Cane was Director of the Florence Cane School of Art in the Rockefeller Center. In 1937, she became a consultant of art, New York University, and taught private art classes (Cane, n.d.). During those years, she published several articles (Cane, 1926a-b, 1930, 1931a-b, 1936).

*iii.* Last example, from Blythe Hinitz's works on Margaret Naumburg: "Walden served as one of the original sites for Bureau of Educational Experiments (BEE) student teachers...Among the prominent early childhood educators who student taught at Walden were Harriet Cuffaro (Professor Emeritus of Bank Street College of Education and historian of blocks and block play) and Polly Greenberg (daughter of Margaret Pollitzer Hoben and former NAEYC staff member)" (Hinitz, 2013, p. 205; see *Note 3*).

Naumburg reiterated that it was Hinkle who inspired her lifelong interest in Jungian psychology and art education, expressly noting the power of images. As most images that students conceive originate in the unconscious and are brought to the consciousness. This strong tenet was evident in her progressive school work. It was the self-inventiveness and influence of art education that Naumburg sought to "build socially and emotionally mature children" in the progressive era and schools (Beck, 1959, p. 201). It was Hinkle who encouraged the application of "Jung's ideas and child development and creative self-expression in their curricula" (Sherry, 2014, p. 35; see also *Note 4*).

While Beatrice Hinkle and Jungian psychology had an impact on the Children's School curriculum (e.g., Bickman, 2003; Dewey, 1921a-b; Naumburg, 1917, 1920, 1921; *New York Evening Post*, 1921; Slavson, 1921) and later on the Walden School curriculum (e.g., Cane, 1924, 1926a; Goldsmith, 1929; Johnson, 1923; Naumburg, 1922; 1926a-b; 1928; Pollitzer, 1925), on the Dalton School curriculum, the Florence Cane School of Art curriculum, and on New York University art education curriculum, some of Jung's ideas about child development were not accepted in progressive education. For example, Jung believed that fairy tales and fantasy were important catalysts for children's play. However, Lucy Sprague Mitchell at the Bank Street School for Children promoted the "Here and Now" curriculum, encouraging children to experience real-world activities and focus on non-fiction texts when learning to read (Aldridge & Kilgo, 2018; Mitchell, 1921/1948).

Another early progressive school Hinkle and Jungian psychology influenced was Caroline Pratt's City and Country School. This connection was not acknowledged by Pratt as she did not attribute the philosophy or curriculum of City and Country School to a specific psychological or educational theory (Pratt, 1948). As Hauser (2006) reported, "She refused to be associated with any paternalistic doctrine of progressive education that was espoused by John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and others" (p. 79). Hinkle, however, did influence City and Country School through one of its teachers—Fola La Follette (see also *Note 3*).

Fola La Follette was born into a progressive family in Madison, Wisconsin. Her mother was Belle Case La Follette, a suffrage leader (Freeman, La Follette, & Zabriskie, 1986), and her father was Robert M. La Follette, a famous lawyer, and politician (La Follette, 1913; La Follette & La Follette, 1953a-b). Hinkle became La Follette's psychoanalyst, and La Follette became part of the "outer circle of the Analytical Psychology Club of New York" (Sherry, 2013, p. 495). La Follette was a teacher at City and Country School from 1926 to 1930. During her tenure at the school, she taught French, English, and Theatre and was in charge of the school library. Yet, the extent of her influence on the school's curriculum is not thoroughly

investigated. Note that Fola La Follette was also a contributor to a number of progressive school magazines and other periodicals (Hauser, 2006; Weisberger, 1994).

Finally, Beatrice Hinkle influenced the early progressive schools and education indirectly through her active membership and leadership in the Heterodoxy Club, “America’s first feminist organization” (Sherry, 2013, p. 493). A number of the early leaders and teachers of progressive schools were actively involved in the Heterodoxy Club (e.g., Leta Anna Stetter Hollingworth, Elisabeth Antoinette Irwin, Fola La Follette, Henrietta Rodman; see Schwarz, 1986). Hinkle worked with them to improve the rights of women and minorities (see *Note 5*).

There is little doubt that Beatrice Hinkle had an effect on the early progressive schools in the United States, directly through her association with her analysands Florence Cane, Fola La Follette and Margaret Naumburg, as well as indirectly, in lesser degree, through her association with her co-members of the Heterodoxy Club and her analysand Evelyn Dewey. More research as initiated by Dalton, Hinitz, Sherry, Schwarz, Wittenstein, and a few others is needed to learn about the specifics of Hinkle’s contributions and to determine the lasting impact she had on teachers and educational leaders during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

### Notes

1. *World Tomorrow* (1926) advertised that their special February 1926 number about ‘Homes’ contains ‘What Children Need,’ an article written by Beatrice Hinkle.
2. Early in 1916, Margaret Naumburg and her co-founder of the Montessori Class, (then) Claire Raphael Reis were among the one hundred women—including Alice Chipman Dewey, Alice Barrows Fernandez, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell—who founded the Gary School League that would support the Wirt Plan of reorganizing congested New York City public schools. Claire Raphael Reis was the League’s Vice Chair for a short while (Staring, 2013; Staring, Bouchard, & Aldridge, 2014). Earlier, Naumburg (1915) had already published an article (plus photos) about supporters of the Wirt Plan.
3. First, after Margaret Naumburg resigned as Director of Walden School in 1924, Margaret Pollitzer and Elizabeth Goldsmith co-directed the school for about a decade. Second, note that Dewey inspired Harriet K. Cuffaro taught at City and Country School between 1954 and 1969.
4. There are various shady sides to Hinkle. Margaret Naumburg seems to have gotten the solid impression that Hinkle preferred male analysands to her (consult Nucho, 2003, p. 68). Moreover, Groves (1933, p. 25) listed Hinkle as one of the prominent leaders in the Mental Hygiene movement, amongst Abraham A. Brill, Trigant Burrow, Adolph Meyer, William A. White, Frankwood Williams, and others. Furthermore, on yet another level: literary critic Gorham B. Munson once drew a “somewhat lugubrious picture of the organizational ‘behind-the-throne-power’ of Dr. Beatrice Hinkle” (Janssens, 1968, p. 41). It seems that Hinkle with more or less gentle coercion ensured that *The Seven Arts* magazine was financed in 1916 (Sherry, 2013). Claire Raphael Reis declared in 1977, “There was a woman who was interested in psychoanalysis as we were, and she wanted to give a good deal of money to create something new, and I think Dr. Beatrice Hinkle provided the opportunity for her to meet people and start *The Seven Arts*” (Reis, 1977). Waldo Frank’s (1973) autobiography reveals that the woman in Reis’s story was Mrs. Annette Kittredge Rankine, one of Hinkle’s wealthy analysands. Hinkle introduced Rankine to James Oppenheim—also an analysand of her’s. Next, Rankine became President of The Seven Arts Publishing Company, publisher of *The Seven Arts* magazine. Oppenheim became the company’s Vice President as well as Editor of *The Seven Arts*. (Question: Does Hinkle’s way of coupling her analysands to each other violate ethical standards of psychoanalysis?). There is more; Arthur M. Reis—Claire Raphael’s husband since December 1915—became the company’s Secretary, while Waldo Frank—Naumburg’s husband between 1916 and 1924 (Karier, 1986)—became Associate Editor of *The Seven Arts*. In 1916, Naumburg and her (then) associate Irene Tasker placed ads in *The Seven Arts* for their Montessori Class and Primary. In 1917, Naumburg placed ads for her Children’s School. *The Seven Arts* had also ads for Oppenheim and Frank’s latest books. Note that Frank later (1973) sketched merely *some* of the Hinkle related backgrounds of the birth of *The Seven Arts* (compare Rideout, 2006). However, after a year, Rankine withdrew her subsidy. Jay Sherry (2018) writes, “The editors had an emergency meeting at Hinkle’s apartment to salvage the situation, but there was no hope of rescue...” (p. 48; italics added). *The Seven Arts* died a sudden death.
5. When Jung visited the USA in 1913, he even dined with several members of the Heterodoxy Club, at Patchin Place in New York City (Sherry, 2010)—taken there by Beatrice Hinkle (Sherry, 2013).

### References

- Aldridge, J., & Christensen, L. M. (2013). *Stealing from the mother: The marginalization of women in education and psychology from 1900-2010*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Aldridge, J., & Kilgo, J. (2018). Teaching the “Here and Now”: Rethinking circle time, calendar, and letter of the week. Unpublished manuscript.
- Beck, R. H. (1959). Progressive education and American progressivism: Margaret Naumburg. *Teacher College Record*, 60(4), pp. 198-208.
- B.E.E. (1917). Minutes Meeting Working Council, May 18, 1917; Minutes Meeting Working Council, June 4, 1917. Archives B.E.E. at Bank Street College of Education, New York City.
- Biber, B. (1973). “*What is Bank Street?*” New York, NY: Bank Street College of Education.
- Biber, B. (1981). Evolution of the developmental-interaction view. In E. K. Shapiro & E. Weber (Eds.), *Cognitive and affective growth: Developmental-interaction* (pp. 6-30). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Biber, B. (1984). *Early education and psychological development*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Biber, B., Gilkeson, E., & Winsor, C. (1959). Basic approaches to mental health: Teacher education at Bank Street College. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 37(8), pp. 558-568.
- Bickman, M. (2003). *Minding American education: reclaiming the tradition of active learning*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.
- Blanchard, P. (1919). Impressions of the psychological sessions of the International Conference of Women Physicians. *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 26(4), pp. 391-398.
- Boeckel, F. B. (1928). *Between war and peace: A handbook for peace workers*. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- Cane, F. (1924, August). Teaching children to paint. *The Arts*, pp. 95-101.
- Cane, F. (1926a). Art in the life of the child. *Progressive Education*, 3(2), pp. 155-162.
- Cane, F. (1926b, June). Painting as a channel for the subjective life in the art classes at the Walden School. *The Survey*, p. 318.
- Cane, F. (1930). Observations on the creative impulse in very young children. *Childhood Education*, 6(6), pp. 248-252.
- Cane, F. (1931a). Art—The child’s birthright. *Childhood Education*, 7(9), pp. 482-484.
- Cane, F. (1931b). Earliest school approaches. *The American Magazine of Art*, 23(4), pp. 300-302.
- Cane, F. (1936). The gifted child in art. *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 10(12), pp. 67-73.
- Cane, F. (n.d.). *The artist in each of us: teaching activities*. One-page leaflet; no publisher mentioned.
- Christensen, L. M. (2008). Lucy Sprague Mitchell’s perspectives on social education meet social justice. *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 3(3), pp. 108-112.
- Clark, E. (1925, November 1). Rearing of children becoming a science. *The New York Times*, p. 10.
- Coster, D. (1930). *The living and the lifeless: Marginalia*. London: George G. Harrap & Co., LTD.
- Cowles, M. (Ed.). (1996). *Organic education: Teaching without failure*. Fairhope, AL: Marietta Johnson Museum.
- Cremin, L. (1961). *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Cuffaro, H. (1995). *Experimenting with the world: John Dewey and the early childhood classroom*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Cuffaro, H., Nager, N., & Shapiro, E. K. (2005). Bank Street’s developmental-interaction approach. In J. L. Roopnarine & J. E. Johnson (Eds.), *Approaches to early childhood education* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) (pp. 280-295). Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Dalton, T. C. (2002). *Becoming John Dewey: Dilemmas of a philosopher and naturalist*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Dewey, E. (1921a, May 4). The New Education I: Its Trend and Purpose. *The Nation*, pp. 654-655.
- Dewey, E. (1921b, May 11). The New Education II: The Modern School. *The Nation*, pp. 684-685.
- Eastman, M. (1916a, August 11). Terrible inner fear that possesses girl is diagnosed by dream doctor as unadmitted love affair. *The Fort Wayne Sentinel*, p. 9.
- Eastman, M. (1916b, August 12). Terrible inner fear that possesses girl is diagnosed by dream doctor as unadmitted love affair. *The Pittsburgh Press*, p. 4.
- Eastman, M. (1916c, August 13). Terrible inner fear that possesses girl is diagnosed by dream doctor as unadmitted love affair. *The Pensacola Journal*, p. 4.
- Eastman, M. (1916d, August 17). Mystery of dreams! It has been solved! Disguise can be thrown from visions’ meaning by skilled interpreter, says science! *Muskogee County Democrat*, p. 8.
- Eliot, T. D., & Eliot, S. W. (1927). Some views on marriage. *Journal of Social Hygiene*, 13(5), pp. 289-305.
- Frank, W. (1973). *Memoirs of Waldo Frank*. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Freeman, L., La Follette, S., & Zabriskie, G. A. (1986). *Belle: The biography of Belle Case La Follette*. New York: Beaufort Books.



- Glueck, B. (1923, December 15). The management of human behavior. *The Survey*, pp. 35-351.
- Goldsmith, C. E. (1929). Sex consciousness in the child. In V. F. Calverton & S. D. Schmalhausen (Eds.), *Sex in Civilization* (pp. 615-634). Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, INC.
- Grinberg, J. G. A. (2005). *Teaching like that: The beginnings of teacher education at Bank Street*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Groves, E. R. (1933). *Marriage*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Hauser, M. E. (2006). *Learning from children: The life and legacy of Caroline Pratt*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Hinitz, B. (2002). Margaret Naumburg and the Walden School. In A. Sadovnik & S. Semel (Eds.), *Founding mothers and others: Women educational leaders during the progressive era* (pp. 37-60). New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Hinitz, B. (2013). The impact of Margaret Naumburg and Walden School on early childhood education in the United States. In B. F. Hinitz (Ed.), *The hidden history of early childhood education* (pp. 181-212). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1916). An introduction to psychoanalysis and analytical psychology. In C. Jung, *Psychology of the unconscious: A study of the transformations and symbolisms of the libido* (pp. vii-xlvi). New York: Moffat, Yard and Company.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1920). On the arbitrary use of the terms “masculine” and “feminine.” *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 7(1), pp. 15-30.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1922a). A study of psychological types. *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 9(2), pp. 107-197.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1922b). The spiritual significance of psychoanalysis. *The British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 2(3), pp. 209-229.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1923). *The re-creating of the individual: A study of psychological types and their relation to psychoanalysis*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1924a, November 19). New morals for old: Women and the new morality. *The Nation*, pp. 541-543.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1924b). Women and the new morality. In F. Kirchwey (Ed.), *Our changing morality: A symposium* (pp. 235-249). New York: Albert & Charles Boni.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1925a). An introduction to analytical psychology. In J. S. Van Teslaar (Ed.), *An outline of psychoanalysis* (pp. 218-254). New York: The Modern Library.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1925b). Psychological tendencies of the pre-school child and its relation to the new world order. *Progressive Education*, 2(2), pp. 63-67.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1925c, December). The chaos of modern marriage. *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, pp. 1-13.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1926a, December 1). Changing marriage: A by-product of industrialism. *The Survey*, pp. 286-289.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1926b). New relations of men and women as family members. In Child Study Association of America, Inc., *Concerning parents: A symposium of present day parenthood* (pp. 5-23). New York: New Republic, INC.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1926c). New values for teacher and parent. *The New Era*, 7(25), pp. 8-12.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1926d, January 15). Orthodox marriage views fade: Younger generation losing the sense of responsibility—Is putting personal feelings before moral and social values. *Maclean's*, p. 32.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1927a, November 22). Marriage and the modern girl. *Geneva Daily Times*, p. 4.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1927b). Marriage in the new world. In Count H. Keyserling (Ed.), *The book of marriage: A new interpretation by twenty-four leaders of contemporary thought* (pp. 216-243). London: Jonathan Cape.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1927c, July 6). Why feminism? *The Nation*, pp. 8-9.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1931, June). As a woman thinks—about modern marriage. *Physical Culture*, pp. 27, 117-120.
- Hinkle, B. M. (1932, January). Women's subjective dependence upon man. *Harper's Magazine*, pp. 193-204.
- Hutchins, A. A. (2018, January 31). *Margaret Naumburg papers; Ms. Coll. 294 (Update January 31, 2018)*. Philadelphia, MA: University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts.
- Janssens, G. A. M. (1968). *The American Literary Review: A critical history 1920-1950*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Johnson, A. (1923, March 28). The Walden School. *The New Republic*, pp. 133-134.
- Jung, C. (1916). *Psychology of the unconscious: A study of the transformations and symbolisms of the libido*. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company.
- Lascarides, C. V., & Hinitz, B. F. (2002). *History of Early Childhood Education*. New York: Routledge.
- La Follette, B. C., & La Follette, F. (1953a). *Robert M. La Follette: June 14, 1855 – June 18, 1925. Vol 1*. New York: The MacMillan Co.
- La Follette, B. C., & La Follette, F. (1953b). *Robert M. La Follette: June 14, 1855 – June 18, 1925. Vol 2*. New York: The MacMillan Co.

- La Follette, R. M. (1913). *La Follette's autobiography: A personal narrative of political experiences*. Madison, WI: The Robert M. La Follette Co.
- Karier, C. J. (1986). *Scientists of the mind: Intellectual founders of modern psychology*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Marshall, M. M. (1919, October 7). Is man brave by nature? And woman timid? *The Evening World*, p. 1.
- McCommon, K. (1925, December 6). Men terribly afraid of women, says Dr. Hinkle, glimpsing coming feminine domination of race. *Sunday Eagle Magazine, Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, p. 13.
- Mitchell, L. (1921/1948). *Here and now story book*. New York, NY: E. P. Dutton & Company.
- Mitchell, L. (1934). *Young geographers*. New York, NY: John Day.
- Mitchell, L. (1935). Social studies for future teachers. *The Social Studies*, 26(5), pp. 289-298.
- Mitchell, L. (1950). *Our children and our schools*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Nager, N., & Shapiro, E. K. (2006). *A progressive approach to the education of teachers: Some principles from Bank Street College of Education*. New York, NY: Bank Street College of Education.
- Naumburg, M. (1915, June 23). A pageant with a purpose. *The Outlook*, pp. 420-422, 429.
- Naumburg, M. (1917). A direct method of education. In M. Naumburg & L. C. Deming (Eds.), *Experimental schools (Bulletin number four)* (pp. 7-11). New York: Bureau of Educational Experiments.
- Naumburg, M. (1919, September). A direct method of education. *The Modern School*, pp. 242-247.
- Naumburg, M. (1920, December 18). "School must study child." *The New York Call*, p. 8.
- Naumburg, M. (1921). *The Children's School*. New York: The Children's School.
- Naumburg, M. (1922, September). Life in a new school. *The World Tomorrow*, pp. 265-266.
- Naumburg, M. (1926a). How children decorate their own school. *Progressive Education*, 3(2), pp. 162-167.
- Naumburg, M. (1926b). The Walden School. In G. M. Whipple (Ed.), *The twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Part I: Curriculum-making: Past and present* (pp. 333-340). Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company.
- Naumburg, M. (1928). *The child and the world: Dialogues in modern education*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Newman, J. (2002). Marietta Johnson and the Organic School. In A. Sadovnik & S. Semel (Eds.), *Founding mothers and others: Women educational leaders during the progressive era* (pp. 19-36). New York, NY: Palgrave.
- (*The New York Evening Post*. (1921, April 23). Reading the individual at the "Children's School," p. 18.
- (*The New York Evening Post*. (1932, March 31). In defense of parents, p. 8.
- (*The New York Sun*. (1936, October 21). Modern husbands more faithful than wives, p. 30.
- Norton, E. (1925, October 24). Modern woman is vindicated—makes best mother says analyst. *The Sun*, p. 8.
- Norton, E. (1927, December 3). Women discuss but few approve companionate marriage theories. *The New York Sun*, p. 21.
- Nucho, A. O. (2003). *The psychocybernetic model of art therapy* (second edition). Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publishers, LTD.
- Oppenheim, N. (1898). *The development of the child*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Pollitzer, M. (1925). Foundations of the Walden School. *Progressive Education*, 2(1), pp. 15-18.
- Purdy, N. (1926, August). Why we get on each other's nerves. *Everybody's Magazine*, pp. 68-69.
- Pratt, C. (1948). *I learn from children*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Reis, C. R. (1955). *Composers, conductors and critics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reis, C. R. (1977). *Reminiscences of Claire Raphael Reis: 1977*. Call number NXCP87-A1222, Oral History, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York City.
- Rideout, W. B. (2006). *Sherwood Anderson: A writer in America. Volume I*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rodman, H. (1915, May 5). East Side pupils think in rhythm. *The New York Tribune*, p. 5.
- Rudnitski, R. A. (1995). Patty Smith Hill, gifted early childhood educator of the progressive era. *Roeper Review*, 18(1), pp. 1-12.
- Sadovnik, A. R., & Semel, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Founding mothers and others: Women educational leaders during the progressive era*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Saunders, H. (1925, November 3). Says man's dependence causes his fear of woman. *Syracuse Journal*, p. 15.
- Schwarz, J. (1986). *Radical feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village 1912-1940* (revised edition). Norwich, Vermont: New Victoria Publishers, INC.
- Semel, S., Sadovnik, A. R., & Coughlan, R. W. (Eds.). (2016). *"Schools of Tomorrow," schools of today: Progressive education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (second edition). New York, NY: Peter Lang.



- Sherry, J. (2010). *Carl Gustav Jung: Avant-garde conservative*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sherry, J. (2013). Beatrice Hinkle and the early history of Jungian psychology in New York. *Behavioral Sciences*, 3(3), pp. 492-500.
- Sherry, J. (2014). Analytic philosophy of education: Development and critiques. In D. C. Phillips (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of educational theory and philosophy* (pp. 35-37). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sherry, J. (2018). *The Jungian strand in transatlantic modernism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Showalter, E. (Ed.). (1978). *These modern women: Autobiographical essays from the twenties*. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press.
- Slavson, S. R. (1921, May 15). The Children's School:—Getting at the individual child. *The New York Call, The Call Magazine*, Section Two, p. 9.
- Snyder, A. (1972). *Dauntless women in early childhood, 1856-1931*. Washington, DC: Association for Childhood Education International.
- Staring, J. (2013). *Midwives of progressive education: The Bureau of Educational Experiments, 1916-1919*. Nijmegen, The Netherlands: Integraal.
- Staring, J. (2014). New light on Marietta Johnson (1864-1938). *Journal of Education and Human Development*, 3(3), pp. 205-225.
- Staring, J. (2016). Marietta L. Johnson's early 'Organic Education' work. *International Journal of Case Studies*, 5(6), pp. 15-32.
- Staring, J. (2018). Caroline Pratt's Do-With Toys™ and Unit Blocks. *International Journal of Case Studies*, 7(9), pp. 1-27.
- Staring, J., & Aldridge, J. (2014). Out of the shadows: Redeeming the contributions of Evelyn Dewey to education and social justice (1909-1919). *International Journal of Case Studies*, 3(11), pp. 21-33.
- Staring, J., Bouchard, E., & Aldridge, J. (2014). New light on the early history of Walden School. *International Journal of Case Studies*, 3(9), pp. 1-21.
- Stephen, I. (1925, December 21). Is man afraid of "The New Woman"? *The Niagara Falls Gazette*, p. 23.
- (*The Sun*). (1925, October 28). Sees Social Structure in chaos, p. 33.
- (*The Survey*). (1925, November 15). The Common Welfare, pp. 196-200.
- Thierry, J. F. (1925, January 17). This freedom is celebrated while morals get dizzy. *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, p. 5.
- Weisberger, B. A. (1994). *The La Follettes of Wisconsin: Love and politics in progressive America*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Wittenstein, K., & Harris, B. (1999). Hinkle, Beatrice Moses. In J. A. Garraty & M. C. Carnes (Eds.), *American National Biography, Volume 10* (pp. 845-847). New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolfe, J. (2002). *Learning from the past: Historical voices in early childhood education* (revised second edition). Mayerthorpe, Alberta, Canada: Piney Branch Press.
- (*The World Tomorrow*). (1926, February 1). Advertisement. *The Survey*, p. 588.