The Life and Educational Works of Mary S. Marot from 1900-1920

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Abstract

While much of what has been written about the life and works of Helen Marot involved her work as Secretary of the New York City branch of the Women's Trade Union League, little has been written about Mary S. Marot, Helen's oldest sister, founding mother of the New York City Visiting Teacher program and initiator of the School Records programs. Even less is known about the influence of Mary Marot on educational renewal and progressive education. Yet, throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, Mary Marot was involved in political, social, as well as educational endeavors. The purpose of this case study is to describe the life and educational works of Mary Marot during this period, which have been underreported in the literature.

Key Words: *Alice Barrows Fernandez (1878-1954), Harriet Merrill Johnson (1867-1934), Helen Marot (1866-1940), Mary S. Marot (1861-1938), Elizabeth Roemer (c. 1870-1961), Elsa Ueland (1888-1980), Bureau of Educational Experiments, Carson College for Orphan Girls, Public Education Association of the City of New York, Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, Visiting Teachers, Women's Trade Union League.*

INTRODUCTION

Mary S. Marot (1861-1938) was the oldest daughter of Philadelphia well-to-do deeply religious Quakers Hannah (*née* Griscom) Marot and Charles Henry Marot, bookseller and publisher of *The Gardener's Monthly*. Mary Marot's siblings were Elizabeth (born 1863), Helen (born 1866) and William (born 1872). Another sibling, a sister, died at an early age. Mary Marot received her education at Philadelphia Friends schools and privately at home. Although we have scant knowledge of her early career, the educational literature and local newspapers reveal that during the 1890s she was a kindergarten teacher in Philadelphia and was treasurer of the Philadelphia branch of the International Kindergarten Union (*Kindergarten Review*, 1895, 1897; Lodor, 1895; Marot, 1895; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1894, 1895a; *Primary Education*, 1894; Wiltse, 1895, 1896). Mary Marot was probably a charter member of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU), now the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI) since the organization began in 1892 (Wolfe, 2000). Around the turn of the twentieth century Mary Marot moved to New York City and began teaching at the "Elementary and Normal Departments" of the Ethical Culture School, Central Park West and 63rd Street (Society for Ethical Culture, 1904, p. 26). Not much later she began work as Director of Children's Work at Hartley House settlement.

This article will focus on the following aspects of Mary S. Marot's life and educational works, 1900-1920. These include 1) her initiation of a visiting teachers program, 2) the development of visiting teachers as related to the Public Education Association of the City of New York, 3) her involvement in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), 4) how her work with the Public Education Association connected with public schools in Gary, Indiana and the Gary Plan in New York city, 5) Mary Marot's work with the Bureau of Educational Experiments, and 6) her connection with Carson College for Orphan Girls. After Mary Marot in 1905 conceived the idea of 'Visiting Teacher,' she formed an informal committee for home and school visiting in 1906. In 1908, she became Chairman of the Home and School Visiting Committee of the Public Education Association of the City of New York. Marot intermittently reported about her work in newspapers and specialized magazines. In 1922, four years after she began work as school recorder with the Bureau of Educational Experiments in 1918, and not long after she had left the Bureau to work as school recorder at Carson College for Orphan Girls in Philadelphia, she published *School Records — An Experiment* (Marot, 1922), a report issued by the Bureau.

Hartley House and Visiting Teachers

After Mary Marot, early in the twentieth century, taught at the New York City Ethical Culture School during several years, she accepted work as Director of Children's Work at the Hartley House settlement. Hartley House, in Hell's Kitchen, the densely populated Middle West Side of New York City, was established in January 1897 under the auspices of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, established in 1843. Hartley House was named for Robert M. Hartley, the Association's first General Secretary. The *Handbook of Settlements* lists the aims of Hartley House: "to help prepare children and young people for lives of useful citizenship…to conduct neighborhood clubs and classes for social and educational purposes…to provide places of residence for men and women desirous of engaging in social work" (Woods & Kennedy (Eds.), 1911, p. 204). Carlton (1986) stresses that at the time the Hartley House was characterized by an atmosphere of "encouragement, sympathy, and understanding" amongst its social settlement workers, offering "an unusual opportunity for [them] to create, develop, and experiment with new ideas" (p. 158). One of the first of Mary Marot's educational renewal activities as Hartley House Director of Children's Work comprised the opening of a study room for members of the settlement's clubs and classes in October 1906. A year later, in the *Charities and The Commons* magazine, she evaluated the initial achievements of the study room, recommending study rooms to be opened in public schools too.

> No compulsion is put upon regular attendance: a child comes only when he has work to do; he is the one who decides…. The children have given two reasons for coming. They have no quiet place at home, or they want help. The former is the one more frequently given…. In the beginning there were only boys, but gradually girls came also…. When children wish to consult one another about their work, they do so freely. If each child does his own thinking, there is no objection to their helping one another…. The demand for an opportunity to study is evidently a strong one…. A room for this purpose opened in a public school would appeal to a much wider circle, and would draw a large attendance. (Marot, 1907.)

In 1908, Mary Marot indicated other aspects of educational renewal in a letter to the editor of *Charities and The Commons*, criticizing "preparation for life," "equal opportunity," and "industrial education" viewpoints of public schools as discussed in an article about the alleged social side of public schools. She elucidated her view:

> Why do "numbers of children leave school with an utterly inadequate preparation for life?" Simply because they have not lived. Give children the chance to live full lives…. If children have been taught to live, when the day to earn is reached, the power to earn will be ready to seize and make use of opportunities to earn, and this with a precision of choice which will minimize the dangers of failure to the individual and to society. (Marot, 1908a, p. 286.)

However, Mary Marot became moderately known in educational spheres nationwide for introducing the concept of visiting teachers:

> In 1905…Mary Marot in New York devoted herself to searching out ways through which parents and homes might reinforce and supplement the educational aim of the school. She spent the winter studying conditions in several cities, and in the spring of 1906 undertook in Hartley House neighborhood what has come to be known as home and school visiting. In the fall a small committee of four settlement residents was organized, and such visiting was carried on from Hartley House and College Settlement. The home and school visitor is, as it were, a nurse practicing in the moralities. (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, pp. 280-281.)

Historian of education Tyack (2003) describes this early-twentieth-century social service of visiting teachers as: "In the beginning, the visiting teachers, volunteers or people paid by charitable contributions, served as bridges between immigrant homes and the schools. They visited classrooms and families to determine why children were truant or having difficulty in school" (p. 111). Tyack, however, did not explore the further development of the visiting teachers model. How did Marot come to conceive the concept of visiting teachers? What exactly was the early history of the visiting teachers?

While working as Director of Children's Work at Hartley House, Mary Marot shared inspiration and ideas with Harriet Merrill Johnson (1867-1934). Before 1895 — when she entered the nurses' training course at Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital in Boston — Johnson had taught for a number of years in a private school in Bangor, Maine. After graduation in Boston in 1898, Johnson became a private nurse for two years. Between 1900 and 1902, she was

Superintendent of the Nurses' Training at the Homeopathic Hospital in Biddeford, Maine. Next, in 1902, Johnson attended Nursing and Health courses in New York City, at Teachers College, Columbia University. In March 1903, she began working for the Hartley House settlement as a Visiting District Nurse under auspices of the Henry Street Settlement. In 1905, when she and her life-long companion Harriet Forbes (1867-?) both worked at the Hartley House as Visiting District Nurses, Johnson (1905) first reported her work in the *American Journal of Nursing*. While stressing cooperation with other social agencies, she epitomized, "[The visiting nurse] finds a child out of school because he is crippled, blind, or mentally defective, and growing up to be a burden, if not a menace, to the family and the community," and proposed that visiting nurses "can put the parents in touch with the institution or individuals who are ready to give the needed opportunity" (p. 493). Visiting nurses dealt with all kinds of social issues: unsanitary living conditions, prevention of diseases, child labor, housing in overcrowded city districts, and adjustment of the public school curriculum. Visiting nurses educated patients and their families at the same time, about, for instance, ventilation of the home, sanitation, drainage, and the treatment of infectious diseases. A year later, Johnson (1906) maintained in *The Dietetic And Hygiene Gazette*, "We claim for our work a certain educational value, and here is field enough to test its worth" (p. 249).

Since Johnson, Forbes and Marot at the time worked together at the Hartley House, it was inevitable that they theorized about implications of the work of a Visiting Nurse and of a feasible 'Visiting Teacher,' especially so because Marot "in connection with one of the social settlements, had done work of this kind, in Philadelphia" (Richman, 1910, p. 163). At some time in 1905 they must have come to the conclusion that the work of a Visiting Nurse as regards to social settlement health matters for all intents and purposes relates to the work of a Visiting Teacher as regards to socio-educational issues, for instance, truancy, child labor, success or failure in school. During the winter of 1906, May Marot "made an investigation into the conditions in several cities and in an effort to learn ways of getting parents at home to reinforce and supplement the educational aims of the schools" (Carlton, 1986, p. 158). In the spring of 1906, then, Marot began work as a visiting teacher. The new line of work was really set in motion when in 1906 the Public Education Association of the City of New York (PEA) became interested, following the organization of an informal committee for home and school visiting by Mary Marot, and the placement in the field of visiting teachers by College Settlement, Greenwich House, Hartley House, and Richmond Hill settlements. Society women had founded the PEA in 1894 to help solving particular socio-educational needs and problems in the NEW York City, originating in an extremely dense metropolitan population of mainly new, mostly European, immigrants arriving since the 1880s. The PEA was leading campaigns against child labor, for compulsory education, school lunches, and sex education (Cohen, 1964). (Note that in this article, the Public Education Association of the City of New York will be referred to as the PEA, not to be confused with the Progressive Education Association (also PEA; see: Graham, 1967; Staring, 2013) that was founded in 1919.)

Public Education Association and Visiting Teachers

"In January, 1907, [Marot's] informal committee allied itself with the Public Education Association" (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, p. 281). In March 1907, the PEA took a definitive step. *Charities and The Commons* (1907) reported, "The Public Education Association of New York met on March 8, 1907, to consider a plan for interpreting home and school to each other. A report was given by a committee of settlement workers, who under the chairmanship of Miss Marot of Hartley House had been offering their services to a large number of public schools since October [1906], as home visitors or interpreters." The *New York Daily Tribune* (1907) wrote, "It was urged that there should be a salaried visiting teacher in each district who would keep in touch with the home surroundings of the pupils." And the *New York Times* (1907) added, "In many homes it was found that material relief was absolutely necessary for the proper care of the children, and it was declared that a visiting teacher should be employed to learn of these cases."

In 1908, Mary Marot became Chairman of the Home and School Visiting Committee of the PEA. She developed a plan about which Columbia University philosopher and educationist John Dewey found it to be "the most significant and important reform yet suggested" and if "taken up in a healthy and continuous way would lead to changes not yet seen" (in Marot, 1908b; see also *Evening Post*, 1908; Martin, 1908). Mary Marot explained her plan:

> To organize the plan, and form a basis for its wider adoption, there should be from ten to fifteen [visiting teachers], a director, and a central office. If the plan were so organized, experimental work could be done, and such a force of competent women, well trained for such work, could demonstrate within the next three years that if difficult children were dealt with in the first stages of difficulty, the

> cooperation of children and parents in a majority of cases would be secured, and the later stage of opposition and delinquency would be avoided. (Marot, 1908b.)

In 1909, Harriet Johnson and Harriet Forbes — Marot's former co-workers at Hartley House — joined her Home and School Visiting Committee full-time when they began work as visiting teachers under the PEA (*Evening Post*, 1909; *American Journal of Nursing*, 1909; *Sun*, 1909).

As early as 1908, the *School Journal* began devoting column space to the work of New York's visiting teachers, depicting several cases investigated by them. The *Journal*'s conclusion: "The Home and School Visiting Committee, of which Miss Marot, of Hartley House, is chairman, represents one of the most interesting phases of the association's work" (Osgood Mason, 1908, p. 693). The *Evening Post* (1909), the *Sun* (1909), and the *New York Daily Tribune* (1910) had sizeable articles about the work of visiting teachers. In 1910, in *The Forum*, New York's first female Superintendent of Public Schools Julia Richman (1910) very confidently enlightened the short history of the PEA Visiting Teacher program, while in 1913, in *The Survey*, a PEA Visiting Teacher illuminated the first results of the actual work (Flexner, 1913b) after she had issued a PEA bulletin reporting about the 1911-1912 work of visiting teachers (Flexner, 1913a). Eleanor Johnson, another PEA worker, also published about visiting teachers work in *The Survey*. She gave details about the newly created function by telling the story of a visiting teacher investigating the home of undersized eleven-year-old "Utterly Bad" boy Nello, to find out why he was incorrigible in school. "She found ample cause. Nello's mother was dying of cancer. His father was a heavy drinker…who shared his beer with the small boy…. Nello was the only nurse his mother and the three younger children had, and his burden of responsibility gave him no other outlet except the schoolroom tantrum" (E. H. Johnson, 1913, p. 174; see also *Literary Digest*, 1913; *Our Paper*, 1913).

In 1910 and 1911, Mary Marot published four texts related to visiting teachers — two articles in educational journals, and two letters to the editors of NYC newspapers. The April 1910 *Educational Review* had "A Partial Remedy For School Congestion" (Marot, 1910a), making clear that New York City in 1910 counted 500 elementary schools, with 600,000 pupils in total. According to Marot, such grossly overcrowded schools produce a minority of insubordinate students who will abandon school at any time possible and a majority of subordinate students "who conform to most of the requirements, and therefore do not rise to the teacher's consciousness as needing any special attention" (p. 400). School congestion means that "with forty children, the average teacher cannot discern unaided the individual in each child" (p. 402) since students are merely molded to the model for their grade. On the other hand, insubordinate students unproductively absorb a relatively high proportion of their teacher's attention. As a consequence students are taught by wholesale. Visiting teachers can make a difference, asserted Marot. They will gather information that is welcomed by the teachers who on the whole do not know the students' backgrounds or their home situations. Marot stated that visiting teachers, in so doing, lend help reduce some of the disconcerting consequences of school congestion (see also Robbins, 1910).

In "Work of Visiting Teachers," a letter to the editor of the *Evening Post*, Mary Marot (1910b) warned that visiting teachers should not intervene in spectacular difficult cases, but can "expend effort upon setting in the right path children whose difficulties are in the incipient of beginning stage than upon those whose home or other environment is such that all efforts will result only in a temporary improvement." In her 1911 "Co-ordinating Social Agencies," a letter to the editor in the *New York Times*, Mary Marot (1911) discussed the "hit-or-miss system of social work" by relating the case study of a "tubercular" woman and her six children subsequent to the death of her husband.

Lastly, the January 1912 *Psychological Clinic* had "An Elusive Case in the Public Schools" (Marot, 1912), a case study of a child who was always playing a part. "She plays a different part for each teacher, adapting her pose to what each expects of her… Her poses are very spontaneous in appearance, very convincing; so that her teachers differ fundamentally in their opinions of her, and cannot act unitedly on this account" (p. 268). Marot's conclusion, in fact, is yet another plea for more visiting teachers in the public schools: "Her teachers…cannot give her the personal care, nor provide the special opportunities, that alone will guide this imagination and intelligence along a healthful path. Her dreaming, self-indulgent absorption is having no wholesome, constructive outlet" (p. 269).

Around 1910, the PEA Home and School Visiting Committee changed its name into Visiting Teachers department, and while Harriet Johnson was appointed its Head, Mary Marot more and more developed the practical side of the pioneering profession. Vigorous 1910-1912 promoting efforts of this new type of social work in the schools and pressure work by the PEA paid off. Historian of education Cohen (1964) showed that by 1915 the Association already employed ten visiting teachers. The New York City Board of

Education began using the services of visiting teachers too (e.g., *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1910b). In July 1916, the PEA organized a nationwide conference of visiting teachers, simultaneously launching *The Visiting Teacher in New York City*, which delivered the statistics of cases under investigation by visiting teachers, written by the Head of its Visiting Teachers staff Harriet Johnson (1916; see also *Psychological Clinic*, 1917). In addition, Johnson (1917) gave a presentation on visiting teachers at the Ninth Congress of the American School Hygiene Association, July 4-8, 1916, at New York City.

Women's Trade Union League

Mary Marot was not only active as PEA worker. Like her sister Helen, she was actively involved in political endeavors: she was an energetic Women's Trade Union League ally. In November 1909, the largest strike of female workers in the history of American labour movement began, the Shirtwaist Makers' Strike — also known as the Waistmakers' Revolt or the Uprising of the Twenty Thousand. The strike originated in protest against draconian sweatshop working conditions. Among other demands, the strikers claimed higher wages and shorter working hours. Note that the factory owners even employed prostitutes to replace strikers in an attempt to break a strike that would last for more than two months, involving about 30,000 garment workers. It was Helen Marot, Mary Marot's youngest sister, who as Secretary of the New York City branch of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) directed the WTUL support of the uprising. The role of Helen Marot's life-long companion Caroline Pratt who was on the WTUL Finance Committee, must have been outsized as well: they were raising large sums of money for the strike fund. The Marot-Pratt couple was working day and night! Another women couple, Harriet Johnson and Harriet Forbes — at the time household members at 218 West 4th Street together with the Marot-Pratt couple — were also WTUL allies supporting the strike.

Most women in the larger group of WTUL allies were volunteer pickets in the Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, meaning withstanding freezing temperatures and police beatings while on the picket line. This, of course, did not compare with the hardships suffered by the strikers themselves, but nevertheless shows a degree of commitment by the WTUL volunteers. The *New York Times* (1909) ran a page-long story on the pickets. "They are college graduates, most of them, suffragists some of them, all of them with independent incomes, some of them with millions." The *Times* article mentions thirty-seven volunteer pickets, including "Miss Carolin [*sic*] Pratt, Miss Harriet Forbes, Miss Harriet Johnson." Study of feminist and gay literature permits concluding that a group of WTUL women — some lesbian, but not only lesbians — who were deeply involved in union activities led the support activities of this major strike of female workers (Staring, 2013). Regretfully the literature does not mention Mary Marot's name, so we cannot be sure of her actual participation. On the other hand, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1910a) listed the 1910 New York City WTUL Officers. The names of Helen Marot (Secretary), Caroline Pratt (Finance Committee), Harriet Forbes (House Committee), and Mary Marot and Harriet Johnson (Education Committee) appear on the list. Successive annual reports of the New York City branch of the WTUL (WTUL, 1910, 1911) reveal that Harriet Johnson and Mary Marot were on the League's Education Committee between 1909 and 1911:

- Education Committee 1909-1910: Johnson and Mary Marot.
- Education Committee 1910-1911: Johnson, Helen Marot and Mary Marot.

Note that, perhaps as a consequence of the Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, Mary Marot and Harriet Johnson began organizing evening English classes for foreign-speaking girls at the WTUL headquarters (*New York Call*, 1910).

Teachers' League of New York

Interestingly, Mary Marot was among the twenty signers of a call for founding *The Teachers' League of New York*, appearing in diverse February 1913 newspapers. Caroline Pratt, her sister's companion, was another signer of the call. About two thousand teachers attended a general meeting held on February 28. John Dewey (1913) made an address. The League was to become an "organization of teachers on progressive lines…which shall have for its objects improving working conditions for teachers and better educational results for children" (*New York Call*, 1913). The Teachers' League's main aims, as listed in *New York Call*, were promoting teachers' claims to seats and the right to vote in the Board of Education, promoting teachers' claims "to have a share in the administration of the affairs of their own schools," promoting "scientific study of educational experience," promoting the decrease of unhygienic conditions in numerous schools, and promoting the decrease of the size of schools and the size of classes, meaning a decrease of school congestion. The League also aimed to fight other unfavourable conditions in schools, like "the excess of clerical labor, the salaries and ratings of teachers and the lack of opportunity for professional improvement during tenure of office."

The League's organ, *The American Teacher*, carried articles related to educational reform. However, the League had aims beyond educational renewal. While its members promoted education reform, the League undeniably intended to re-organize as a union. Indeed, early in 1916, the League re-organized as Teachers' Union of the City of New York, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

Connecting links between PEA and Gary Schools, Gary, Indiana

Mary Marot, who worked as a Public Education Association visiting teacher under Harriet Johnson, was at the centre of many PEA educational developments. However, during the years 1913-1922 her name only sporadically appears in the literature. Yet, it may be evident that as a member of the PEA Visiting Teachers staff she formed a central part of the developments described in this and the subsequent two sections in this paper. She was intimately involved in the interdepency evolving between the Public Education Association and the Gary, Indiana public schools and in the mutually dependent links existing between the Gary School League and the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

In winter 1914, two PEA workers — Head of the Visiting Teachers staff Harriet Johnson and her assistant Lucy Sprague Mitchell — investigated schools in Gary, Indiana, recognized for their efficiency. The investigation resulted in Johnson's (1914) report *The Schools of Gary*, issued as PEA bulletin. The Gary schools efficiency had been developed by William Wirt, former student of John Dewey's. Since 1914, Wirt helped address problems related to overcrowding of New York City public schools. His so-called Gary Plan, also known as Wirt Plan, suggested implementing Gary schooling schemes and rigorous class reorganizations in those congested NYC schools. Well-known school reformers like Scott Nearing, John Dewey, and his former students Alice Barrows Fernandez and Randolph Bourne backed the Gary Plan (Staring & Aldridge, 2014a-b). Organizations like the Women's Municipal League supported the Gary Plan (De Lima, 1917). The PEA resolutely backed Wirt's work too. Not only did the PEA issue Harriet Johnson's (1914) *The Schools of Gary*; during 1916 and 1917 they further supported Wirt's plan in newspapers and popular magazines, and by issuing several more bulletins discussing its merits.

Johnson's 1914 report enthused many PEA workers, among them Elsa Ueland (former worker at Richmond Hill Settlement), Elizabeth Roemer (former Head worker at Richmond Hill Settlement), and Alice Barrows Fernandez (former English teacher). In 1914, Roemer and Ueland were assistants to Barrows Fernandez (at the time Head of the PEA Vocational Education Survey; e.g., *New York Tribune*, 1914). Ueland, Roemer, and Barrows Fernandez were the interdependent connecting links between the Public Education Association and the Gary, Indiana Schools.

Elsa Ueland (1888-1980), born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, was a graduate of the University of Minnesota in 1909. After her graduation, Ueland attended courses at the New York School of Philanthropy (later renamed Columbia University School of Social Work). She may have been a volunteer picket during the 1909-1910 Shirtwaist Makers' Strike; she co-authored an article about the shirtwaist trade in the *Journal of Political Economy* (Goodman & Ueland, 1910). "Ueland apparently submitted this research to Columbia University for a Master of Arts degree in economics" (Contosta, 1996, p. 333). Before she became a PEA worker in September 1911, she worked under Elizabeth Roemer at Richmond Hill Settlement, one of the four original settlements that in October 1906 began placing visiting teachers in the field (see above). While working under Barrows Fernandez at the PEA, Ueland (1913) made a summary of discussions of the so-called Schneider Plan, another plan to combat overcrowded schools in New York City, at the Second National Conference on Vocational Guidance, organized by the PEA, held in New York City in October 1912 (see: Staring, 2013). In spite of that, she never was as inspired by Schneider's Plan as she became by Wirt's. She and Roemer even resigned from PEA work in August 1914 to begin teaching in Gary in September. She first taught English in the middle grades at Jefferson School. In the spring of 1915, she was reassigned to Emerson School. In 1916, Ueland — who by that time had published a number of very positive articles on Gary Schools (Ueland, 1915a-c) — was appointed Special Secretary to Wirt. Her new work in Gary included gathering school data, composing informing articles on Gary schools (e.g., Ueland, 1916), and guiding around visitors. Later that year, she accepted work as President of Carson College for Orphan Girls in Flourtown, Pennsylvania (Contosta, 1996).

Elizabeth Roemer (*c*. 1870-1961), born in Denmark, had attended universities in Denmark and France. In 1901, she moved to New York City, becoming head worker at the Richmond Hill Settlement House in 1906. The *New York Times* (1909) listed her as a "college girl" volunteer picket during the 1909-1910 Shirtwaist Makers' Strike. In September 1911, she and Ueland resigned from work at Richmond Hill Settlement House and began research work for the PEA Vocational Guidance Survey under the direction of Alice P. Barrows, later Alice Barrows Fernandez.

When living in Gary, as of September 1914, she taught in the middle grades in one of the Gary schools, but in 1916 became director of registering children, keeping track of truancy and organizing a scheme of visiting teachers. In July 1916, at the conference of visiting teachers in New York City, organized by the PEA, Roemer delivered an address on 'Register Teachers,' that is, visiting teachers in Gary (Schoff & Lombard, 1916). By the end of 1917 she made another career switch, succeeding Barrows Fernandez as director of the Gary School League.

Alice Barrows Fernandez (1878-1954), during the 1909-1910 Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, investigated sanitary conditions in New York City shirtwaist sweatshops (W. Hutchinson, 1910). She also wrote about the city's millinery trade, first in an April 1910 issue of *The Survey* (Van Cleeck & Barrows, 1910), and later that year in the very first number of *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* under guest-editor Helen Marot (Barrows 1910). Between 1911 and 1914, she was Head of the PEA Vocational Education Survey. In a report dated June 20, 1914, Barrows Fernandez (1914) announced plans for an experiment with the Gary system in a public school in Manhattan. In the fall of that year, she visited her former PEA co-workers Roemer and Ueland who were teaching in Gary and became as enthused as they were about Gary schools. In winter 1915, Barrows Fernandez was appointed Special Secretary to Wirt in New York City. She began writing flaming articles for the *New York Tribune*, and later a twice-weekly column "What Is The Gary Plan?" Early in 1917, she became the first director of the Gary School League (see below).

In the meantime, at the PEA offices in New York City, Lucy Sprague Mitchell (who in winter 1914 together with Harriet Johnson investigated schools in Gary, Indiana) had accepted the post of Chair of the PEA Committee on Hygiene of School Children. Next, in the fall of 1915, she began working as Head of the PEA Psychological Survey. Among her staff were PEA workers Evelyn Dewey, Harriet Forbes, Elisabeth Irwin, Eleanor Johnson, and Frederick Ellis (an administrator of IQ-tests at the NYC Neurological Institute). Later, in early 1916, Sprague Mitchell's mentor and Head of the PEA Visiting Teachers program Harriet Johnson became a staff member too.

Gary School League and Bureau of Educational Experiments

In March 1916, one hundred women founded a committee that in April would organize into the Gary School League propagandizing William Wirt's plan of restructuring of overcrowded New York City public schools (Staring, Bouchard, & Aldridge, 2014). Among others present at the March 1916 gathering, Tanenbaum's (1916) *New York Call* report about the meeting lists "Mrs. John Dewey" and "Mrs. Alice Barrows Fernandez." In all probability, PEA worker Mary Marot was among the one hundred women present; nonetheless, she is not listed in Tanenbaum's report. Among the League's officers elected at the April 1916 meeting were PEA workers Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Eleanor Johnson, as well as Alice Chipman Dewey. While "Mrs. John Dewey" was elected Chairman of the legislative committee and Miss Eleanor Johnson was elected Chairman of the co-operation committee, "Mrs. Wesley Mitchell" became Chairman of the enlarged scope of the organization (*Dobbs Ferry Register*, 1916; *New York Times*, 1916).

Two months later, in May 1916, Head of the PEA Psychological Survey Lucy Sprague Mitchell, her husband Columbia University economist Wesley Mitchell, and Head of the PEA Visiting Teachers program Harriet Johnson founded the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The aims of the Bureau were to collect and share information regarding progressive education and to conduct, promote and support educational experiments. The initial Bureau counted twelve charter members (nine women, three men), the majority of them PEA workers who were on the staff of the PEA Psychological Survey, headed by Sprague Mitchell: Evelyn Dewey, Harriet Forbes, Eleanor Johnson, Harriet Johnson, and Frederick Ellis. By 1917, the majority of the women had changed work from PEA to the Bureau — however, since annual reports of the Public Education Association for the years 1914-1917 are missing (Cohen, 1964), we cannot be sure about specific dates.

Like the Public Education Association and the Women's Municipal League, the Bureau of Educational Experiments firmly supported Gary plan principles and the Gary School League. John Dewey who promoted the Gary Plan and his former student William Wirt who headed the reorganizing of inner-city public schools according to his Gary Plan served as the Bureau's honorary members. Interestingly, as of June 1916, the Bureau minutes in the Bank Street College of Education Archives show that the Bureau hired Elsa Ueland as a female field worker to visit schools in Gary, Indiana (where she lived and worked as Wirt's personal assistant) and to visit so-called 'Garyized schools' in other cities. Ueland had to compile a bibliography of literature about the Gary schools. Regretfully, Ueland's 1916 *Gary Bibliography*, issued as a Bureau publication, is now missing. Furthermore, later in 1916 the Bureau would also commission a researcher and an artist to put together an exhibit consisting of fifteen screens

detailing characteristics of the Gary Plan. So, there seems to have occurred a rather seamless transition from the work done within PEA offices to work developing within Bureau of Educational Experiment offices. This was emblematic for the early period of the Bureau. Internal Bureau weekly bulletins listed where and when 'moving pictures' of Gary schools would be shown, and the Bureau even organized a Gary Plan discussion evening for public school teachers early in March 1917 (Staring, 2013). It will therefore not come as a surprise to know that the Secretary of the Gary School League Alyse Gregory (1917) opened a letter addressed to the Bureau by detailing that "there is in New York City no other group of people so keenly in sympathy with the Gary school work, so deeply grounded in educational theory and practise, and so willing to help forward radical experiments in education." And it will not come as a surprise as well to know that the Bureau of Educational Experiments in May 1917 welcomed Elsa Ueland as a so-called non-resident member, meaning that whenever she would be in New York City attending Bureau committee meetings, she would have the qualifications and privileges of active Bureau members, but not the right to vote.

Bureau of Educational Experiments

In this web of interdependent connecting links between the Bureau of Educational Experiments, the Gary School League, and the Public Education Association, this web of links between former colleague settlement workers, colleague visiting teachers, colleague WTUL allies, colleague supporters of the 1909-1910 Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, one name remains rather opaque: Mary S. Marot. Her name seems to eclipse more often than not. She most certainly was *not* a prolific writer, and in fact it seems she mainly contributed her services as a visiting teacher. Of course, Marot's name prominently comes into view in PEA Director Howard Nudd's (1916) short historical sketch of the early history of visiting teachers in New York City. Bearing this in mind, it must appear evident that Mary Marot not only was the originator of the visiting teacher concept, but in all probability also of the record forms used by PEA visiting teachers to register their findings — as presented by illustrated substantiation in *The Visiting Teacher in New York City* (Johnson, 1916, pp. 14-19). A clue is the fact that the fictitious visiting teacher that 'signed' the model form in Johnson's (1916) book was "Mary Doe" (p. 17). Johnson commented that such record forms are suggestive guides "for a visitor beginning the work, and in the hands of a director who understands the possibilities and limitations of visiting teacher service, it is a most valuable means of estimating the efficiency and resourcefulness of the members of the staff" (p. 19). Obviously, the PEA was very proud of its clear record forms!

These circumstances would explain why the Bureau of Educational Experiments in 1918 wished Mary Marot to become part of their progressive educational crusade and be their Educational Recorder every time when they required to record information regarding pupils at the diverse schools where they held educational experiments (for instance, Play School and Public Schools 64 and 95 in 1918, and as of 1919 their own two laboratory schools: the City and Country School and the Nursery School). In March 1918, Mary Marot was granted a leave of absence from the PEA Visiting Teachers staff to begin work as Recorder of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. Later that year she resigned from her PEA work to become fully engaged as the Bureau recorder. In March 1921, Marot presented a report to her Bureau co-workers about her developing recording work during the previous three years. A year later, the Bureau of Educational Experiments issued an extended version of the report: *School Records — An Experiment*. Book reviews were extremely positive about Marot's work (e.g., *Journal of Education*, 1922). In *School Records*, apart from sketching and clarifying a multitude of exemplars of school records, Marot (1922) listed and explained the following guiding principles:

- "Records must provide information for making changes in school procedure…
- Concrete illustrations are necessary to a school record in order that the picture may be clear enough to base changes upon…
- What the children are achieving is shown only in the responses of the children themselves…
- Records which are to show school progress must show processes of growth in the school…
- The activity of the group must be observed and recorded…
- The teacher herself must be the recorder…
- The organization of a school's record material will correspond to its organization of procedure if its records are to be of use to the school." (pp. 7-12).

Conclusion: Carson College for Orphan Girls

Intriguingly, interdependent connecting links re-appear around 1920. Early in 1916, Elsa Ueland had been appointed Special Secretary to Superintendent Wirt in Gary (see above). Ueland's work for Wirt included contributing "a volume to a projected series [of books] on the Gary Plan" (Cohen, 1990, p. 53). However, there was to be no series of books as foreseen. A number of months went by, and then Ueland resigned

her secretarial job in Gary to become the first President of Carson College for Orphan Girls in Flourtown, near Philadelphia — officially opened in 1918 (Contosta, 1997; M'Liss, 1916, 1917; *Survey*, 1924). Ueland regularly informed her educational colleagues about progress made in her school, in the *Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Correction* (1918), in *The Survey* (1924), and in *Progressive Education* (1925). It will come as no surprise to discover that "Elsa Ueland and her staff at Carson College worked hard to meet the individual needs of each girl, while offering a well-integrated program that linked school to all other aspects of the child's life," and that what "stands out in retrospect about Carson's progressive education program is its resemblance to the Gary Plan" (Contosta, 1996, p. 336).

In May 1917, when preparing for her work as Carson College's President, Ueland became a non-resident member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments (see above). In that capacity, she must have spoken to many Bureau members, hired Bureau workers, and teachers at Play School (later renamed City and Country School) and Nursery School during her visits to New York City. When she heard that Mary Marot had almost finished her work as Bureau recorder in 1921, she invited her to become educational recorder at Carson College. The literature does not state when Mary Marot fully moved back to her birth town Philadelphia to become Recorder at Elsa Ueland's Carson College. It may have been as early as winter 1921: William McGarry, in his March 1921 report of his visit to Carson College, stated that its President Ueland found the College "a cross-section of the public school with advantages of record-keeping not given to the latter" (p. 20). It is most likely that the recorder was Mary Marot. Before she retired several years later, Marot co-authored an article explaining the health program at Carson College (Willets & Marot, 1922). Two years later, in possibly her final article, Marot (1924) returns to her former work: "The Right to Learn" is a moving visiting teacher case study. Mary S. Marot died in 1938.

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