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**Abstract**

*Much has been written about the life and works of Helen Marot involving her work as Secretary of the New York branch of the Women's Trade Union League. Little has been on paper about her influence on educational renewal and progressive education. Yet, throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, Helen Marot was certainly also involved in educational endeavors. This case study describes the life and educational works of Helen Marot during this period, which have been underreported in the literature. Although this paper will mention and address Marot's numerous political activities, the authors' focus is on showing how the early developments in her life pertain to her later educational contributions.*

**Key Words:** Helen Marot (1865-1940), Caroline Pratt (1867-1954), Margaret Higgins Sanger (1879-1966), Herman Schneider (1872-1939), William Wirt (1874-1938), Bureau of Educational Experiments, Cloak Makers' Strike, Committee on Industrial Relations, Fabian Society, Free Library of Economics and Political Science, National Labor Defense Council, New Review, Shirtwaist Makers' Strike, Socialist Party, The Dial, The Masses, Women's Trade Union League.



**Delegates First Biennial Convention  
Norfolk, Va., 1907.**

**Figure 1: Helen Marot (far right), at the First Biennial Convention of The National Women's Trade Union League of America (Henry & Franklin (Eds.), 1909, p. 34).**

## Introduction

Helen Marot (1865-1940) was the youngest daughter of Philadelphia well-to-do deeply religious Quakers — Hannah (*née* Griscom) Marot and Charles Henry Marot, bookseller, bookbinder, and publisher of *The Gardener's Monthly*. Her siblings were Mary (born 1860), Elizabeth (born 1863), and William (born 1871). Another sibling, a sister, died at an early age. While Mary Marot became known for her *Visiting Teacher* program (Staring, Aldridge, & Bouchard, 2014), and Elizabeth Marot became known for her book binding art and craftsmanship, William Marot became known because of his work at the University of Pennsylvania (Chamberlain (Ed.), 1902, p. 512).

Helen Marot received her education privately at home, at Philadelphia Friends schools, and at the Girls' High and Normal School at 17<sup>th</sup> and Spring Garden Streets. Even though we have scant knowledge of her early career as a teacher (Gaudioso, 1992), we know that throughout the 1890s she often changed jobs and activities. In 1890, she began work as manager at the West Philadelphia Hospital for Women (Comyges, 1909). In 1893 and 1894, she was on staff of the travelling library department of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. She also entered the library class of the Philadelphia Drexel Institute, graduating with honors in June 1895 (*Library Journal*, 1895; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1895). After graduation, Marot first worked with the New Century Club Library, that is, the library of the first women's club in Philadelphia, founded in 1877. Next, from November 1895 to April 1896, she was the literary editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, answering questions of interest concerning literary matters in the magazine's 'Literary Queries' column. Gaudioso's (1992, p. 21) brief biography of Marot states, "For readers who wanted to purchase books, she compiled a 288-page reader's guide to the best 5000 books, with 170 portraits of authors" for the *Journal's* Christmas 1895 issue — now missing. Then, in Andalusia, Pennsylvania she organized the library of New York State anti-slavery politician Rufus King (1753-1827), inherited by his grandson Dr. Charles Ray King (1813-1901). In September 1896, subsequent to the King library organizing project, Marot began work as a cataloguer at the Wilmington Institute Free Library, Wilmington (Sewall, 1897). In June 1897, together with two friends, Marot founded the Philadelphia Free Library of Economics and Political Science (*City and State*, 1898a; *Library Journal*, 1900; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1899). 1899). According to Gaudioso (1992), the founding of the library was influenced by the establishment of the London School of Economics and Political Science by the English Fabian Society and the subsequent formation of the American Fabian League. Marot became active in the Fabian Society of Philadelphia and remained involved through the early 1900s until 1912. However, many of the American Fabians were absorbed into the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, organized by Upton Sinclair in 1905 (Weisenberg, 1955).

Marot (1902) explained that the Free Library of Economics and Political Science was founded "on the idea that freely offered opportunities for education in economics and political science make directly for a more intelligent public opinion and a higher citizenship" (p. 2). Gaudioso (1992) also suggested the library was formed "in response to the American Fabians' new ideas of educating people in

social and political reform" (p. 31). According to the *Library Journal* (1897), Marot and her friends' four "intentions" were:

...(1) to form a free library complete in its collection of books, pamphlets, and periodicals relating to economics and political science; (2) to arrange for classes and courses of lectures to be conducted by some of the existing societies in Philadelphia, or independently as may seem better in each case; (3) to supply foreign as well as local requests for literature by direct sale or by forwarding to publishers...; and (4) to develop the scope of the library through correspondence, and to extend the loan of literature beyond Philadelphia as the financial conditions warrant...

adding that

The library will be open on Sundays and in the evening. Miss Helen Marot is librarian.

However, the library did not only realize Fabians' educational/andragogic intentions but attained a social function as well. It became a meeting place for liberal and radical minded Philadelphians, not least because of the series of lectures organized by them. For instance, *City and State* (1898b) listed the topics of the library's late-1898 course of lectures, illustrating its free-thinking point of view: 'Modern Industrial Society: Its Evolution and Characteristics,' 'The Organization of Labor,' 'Strikes and Their Remedies,' 'Labor Legislation,' 'Socialistic Solutions of Labor Problems,' and 'The Eight-hour Day.' Marot (1902) evidently saw her work at the library as adjunct to educational work "carried forward by colleges, public and private lecture courses and by public spirited citizens, through clubs, social settlements and various organizations contending for some specific reform" (p. 3).

The following year, Marot (1899b) wrote her first book review, for the local weekly *City and State*. She also compiled her first book, *A Handbook in Labor Literature* (Marot, 1899a), issued by her Free Library of Economics and Political Science. The book was well received by book reviewers of diverse specialized journals, popular magazines, and newspapers. Next, in 1900, she was co-author of the *Report of the Committee on an Association of Librarians to Maintain the Standard of Work and Wages* (Marot, Morris, & Randall, 1900), covering an investigation of opinions of library workers on the subject of forming an association consisting of graduates of the New York State, Pratt Institute, Drexel Institute, plus Armour Institute library schools. In addition, she wrote two letters to the editors of periodicals, one to *City and State* (Marot, 1900a), the other to *The Library Journal* (Marot, 1900b).

Throughout 1899 and 1900, together with her life-long companion Caroline Pratt (1867-1954), Marot investigated the custom tailoring industry's working and living conditions in and around Philadelphia (Staring 2013a-b). While their "investigation among the sweatshop and home workers in the garment making industry" had first been discussed at a February 1901 mass meeting of journeymen tailors at the Philadelphia Sheares' Hall under the auspices of Local Union 36 of the United Garment Workers of America (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1901c), Marot

and Pratt were leading the discussion on the topic of ‘Sweat Shops’ at a meeting of the Christian Social Union at St. Luke’s Parish House, Philadelphia on April 15 (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1901a). At that occasion, both women also presented the results of their 1899-1900 investigation (*Church Standard*, 1901a).

[It] was a cool, plain statement of horrible facts, all the more pathetic for not being at all sentimental or gushing. It told of hours of work practically unlimited save by the time fixed for the delivery of goods, and of nauseous and unsanitary conditions which it required brave devotion to a principle to invade day after day. As an example Miss Pratt spoke of the discovery of a vest, ordered for a well-known United States Senator, which was being made in an exceedingly dirty place, the contracts for this sort of work being mostly given out by fashionable establishments that sneer at labor unions as anarchistic or socialistic. (*Church Standard*, 1901b, p. 877).

Pratt’s employer, the College Settlement of Philadelphia, had issued a circular several days before both researchers delivered their address at St. Luke’s Parish House. *City and State* (1901) reproduced the circular “in the interest of the patrons of merchant tailors, as well as journeymen tailors” (p. 231). In all probability Marot and Pratt authored the text. On the one hand, the circular’s aim was to remove the impression that ready-made clothing forever “bears the stigma of the sweat-shop, and that sweat-shops are places to be shunned by all who care to have their clothing made in sanitary workrooms.” On the other hand, it presented suggestions to enable customers to identify first-class tailors who have their clothes made “on the premises or in sanitary workrooms suitable for the purpose:”

Ask your tailor where your clothes are made. If he is a Chestnut or Walnut Street tailor, there are not four chances in fifty that they are made on the premises. If he is honest, he will tell you: All over the city; down back streets and alleys, in the homes of Germans, Italians, Irish, Swedes, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, and a few Americans. If you are a good customer and deal at a first-class house, demand of your tailor that he give you an assurance that your clothing will be made on the premises or in sanitary workrooms suitable for the purpose...If ten or more of his customers make such a demand, he will be forced to consider seriously the subject of workrooms on his own premises and under his own supervision (p. 231).

In December 1901, the United States Industrial Commission on Immigration published “Wages of Garment Makers in the Philadelphia Trade,” Marot and Pratt’s (1901) special report on the Philadelphia ready-made clothing industry. A booklet unfolding their investigation of the Philadelphia custom-made clothing industry followed two years later (Marot & Pratt, 1903). Although both texts probably sketch the first investigation ever of the Philadelphia garment industry, neither the 1901 report, nor the 1903 booklet was

referenced more than a handful of times. On the other hand, the impact the research had on the investigators themselves was enormous. Marot’s companion Pratt (1948) wrote in her biography that it constituted “a bitter eye-opener, that experience” (p. 19). She added,

The work was done in the home, with no limit to the hours the people worked, and no check on working conditions — which were also living conditions, and which from both points of view were appalling. The contrast with educational practice as I knew it was painful. Helen and I often discussed the futility of trying to reform the school system, if after leaving school human beings had to earn their living under such conditions as these. As a district nurse said of a family of Italians who lived in a basement, “Their plants die in the little clay pots, but the children live.”

In fact, the investigation formed the most profound experience transforming both women into compassionate and tremendously committed, valiant and dauntless women. Cohen (1971, p. 499) observed that the research transformed Marot “from a studious librarian of pacifist tendency into a belligerent activist.” Adickes (1997, p. 56) similarly found that the investigation awakened Marot “to the condition of the working classes,” and transformed her “into an aggressive, partisan activist.” Dye (1980, p. 40) simply concludes, “Marot became a socialist.” What applies to Marot, applies to Pratt. Parallel conclusions regarding Pratt’s political state of mind should be drawn. During the next two decades, both women would grow to be social critics, fierce labor and trade union activists, authoring texts analyzing catastrophic circumstances in education, labor and politics. They became stern feminists, firm suffragists, and indeed: Socialists.

Another aspect to consider, which needs more research, is what kind of mathematics and statistics training was available to Marot and Pratt for their study. It is very much in the tradition of “moral statistics” outlined by Cullen (1975). However, while women were key contributors showing how to effectively use statistics from the beginning (e.g., Florence Nightingale’s research demonstrating the crucial need for hygienic practices during surgery), in the United States, statistical research at the beginning of the twentieth century was very much a boys-only club.

The experiences during the 1890s — described above — deeply transformed Helen Marot, a young woman securely educated in the liberal Philadelphia Quaker setting where social reform, a broad universal schooling and equal rights for women were highly valued. Marot developed from being a manager at a Philadelphia hospital for women, first to a literary editor of a women’s magazine, then into a multitalented librarian with the know-how of cataloguing, organizing, investigating and overseeing libraries, and finally into a fierce researcher of the turn of the twentieth century state of affairs in the custom clothing industry. Marot’s work for the Free Library of Economics and Political Science and her (publications of her) investigation of the garment industry clearly were educational endeavors in essence.

**From Philadelphia to New York City**

Helen Marot and Caroline Pratt moved to New York City in the fall of 1901 after they had vacationed in Ocean City, New Jersey during the summer (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1901b). In the spring of that year, Marot had already closed down the Free Library of Economics and Political Science, transferring the premises to the care of the Philadelphia Allied Building Trades Council (*Church Standard*, 1901a) and the books to the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Marot, 1902). This was in line with what she had hoped: “the organizers...trusted that the library would serve as an object lesson; that established educational institutions would appreciate its importance, and that the work, if once commenced, would be taken in hand and carried on by one of the existing organizations” (p. 3).

Caroline Pratt, who in Philadelphia had worked at the Normal School for Girls and at the College Settlement, began teaching an experimental manual training method in a private school and at the Hartley House — Hell’s Kitchen’s social settlement house (Staring, 2013a-b, 2015). As well, together with Marot she finished writing “Wages of Garment Makers in the Philadelphia Trade,” the official report of their garment industry investigation for the United States Industrial Commission on Immigration (Marot & Pratt, 1901).

Helen Marot, on the part of the Alliance Employment Bureau, began investigating the salaries paid to charity workers (Potter, 1902). However, several months before Marot would present her official report in November 1902, *Charities* (1902) and the *Evening Post* (1902) already reported that the response to the questionnaires sent in February 1902 to four hundred philanthropic organizations was rather inadequate to write a strictly representative report. In April 1903, the *New York Tribune* (1903) summarized Marot’s findings. And year later, in *Charities* magazine, Marot (1904) eventually sketched the conditions of her investigation, indicating and commenting the range of salaries paid to charity visitors, nurses, housekeepers, matrons, and kindergarten workers. She concluded the account by warning philanthropic organizations not to secure “the service of assistants at the lowest possible wage” (p. 420) since that strategy would merely lead to the eventual loss of efficiency of the organization as well as to impairing the value of their work.

In August 1902, *The Commons* published “The Value of an Economic Library,” an article in which Marot (1902) theorized about her 1897-1901 experiences with the Philadelphia Free Library of Economics and Political Science by formulating positions favouring not only challenging the dangers that pressurize democracy, like “yellow journalism” and “apathy of the people,” but also the founding of libraries like her former Free Library — positions that sound rather commonsensical today:

In every large city there is need of a library...engaged in educational work. It is peculiarly the province of a public library, supported by public funds, to contribute towards the education of citizens in citizenship...Such libraries as we have in mind should be kept fully stocked with the standard works of social economics and political science, both in theory and history, and should

liberally include works in philosophy and science of importance to the student of these special subjects...The accumulation of...ephemeral literature as well as of state reports demands the attention of some one who has not only a keen interest in public affairs, but who has a genius for the discovery and collection of material...[The] librarian should exercise his function of selection in the most generous spirit and remember that his judgment is not final, and, moreover, that exclusion of literature is sometimes more disastrous than overcrowding...A library, conducted on these principles and dealing with social problems, would in time grow into a veritable bureau of information...It can hardly be doubted that the very existence of such a library in a large city would stimulate interest and promote less biased thought (pp. 3-4).

### New York City and Philadelphia Child Labor Committees

Also in August 1902, Marot began work as an investigator of child labour for the New York Association of Neighborhood Workers (Stewart, 1902). In November of that year, her activities already helped the formation of the New York Child Labor Committee. A statement co-authored by members of the Committee issued early in 1903 indicates that the Committee intended to fight defects in the existing Child Labor and Compulsory Education Law by presenting a report making use of Marot’s investigation, showing massive evasion of the law (*Charities*, 1903). The January 12, 1903 *New York Daily Tribune* (1903c) already cited shocking facts about child labor among children who clean “halls and basements of the poorer flats and hotels,” newsboys, stock runners, and messenger boys from a yet unpublished report written by one of the researchers under Marot. For instance, the *Tribune* reporter wrote that the researcher “found messenger boys cooking opium pills in dives in Chinatown.” Early in February 1903, the New York press began reporting the findings of Marot’s six-months-long investigation. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1903d), the *Daily Standard Union* (1903), the *Evening Post* (1903b), the *Morning Telegraph* (1903) and the *Sun* (1903b-c) cited an official report by Marot on child workers to the investigating committee of the Child Labor Committee, apparently partly made public on February 5<sup>th</sup> (now missing). It seems this report discussed messenger boys, newsboys, peddlers, bootblacks, office boys and telegraph boys, paying extra attention to the fate of the American District Telegraph Company messenger boys. The majority of these NYC newspapers cited the same sections about the life of the child workers. For instance: “Few of them eat square meals but stand up at hurry up lunch counters or content themselves with sandwiches, ‘hokey pokey’ and similar concoctions. Most, if not all of them, smoke cigarettes, and some of them drink.” The press further described the same story how tips corrupted messenger boys in general, and noted that boys overcharged for their services. It is very likely that reporters drew on a kind of press release issued

by the Child Labor Committee. Later that month, the *Sun* (1903a) wrote:

A report made yesterday by Miss Helen Marot, the chief woman investigator for the child labor committee, says that in certain establishments children are employed as “assistants” by their parents, guardians, elder brothers or elder sisters. The boys and girls so employed are not mentioned on the firm’s payrolls, and so the employing firm is not responsible for a violation of the Child Labor law. This, Miss Marot says, demonstrates the necessity of requiring of all child applicants a certificate of birth instead of an affidavit sworn to by an unscrupulous parent or guardian before any chance notary.

In September, the Washington, D.C. *Evening Star* (1903) reprinted a *Chicago Tribune* article captivantly summarizing Marot’s investigation of effects of the corrupting influence on young ‘newsies’ — 10-to-14-year-old boys who peddled newspapers:

The newsboy, the average newsboy (geniuses don’t count), learns nothing definitely; he is erratic and undisciplined; his mind is jerky and discontinuous; he loses his power of concentration; he becomes dissipated; he eats and sleeps at irregular hours; he uses cigarettes, coffee, whisky and cocaine; he lies, swears and cheats; he is exposed at the age of ten to vices which usually just fall to wreck the ordinary youth who is exposed to them at the age of twenty; he sees and hears and learns all the wickedness of a down-town district at a period of his life when he has neither the physical nor the moral development for resistance; in short, he is a forced product...

The Committee’s campaigning work had a huge impact (Davis, 1967; Ensign, 1921). In February and March 1903, the press fiercely discussed the city’s child labor issues (e.g., *American Medicine*, 1903; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1903b-d; *Churchman*, 1903; *Evening Post*, 1903a; Goldmark, 1903; *Literary Digest*, 1903; *New York Daily Tribune*, 1903b; *New York Herald*, 1903; *Summary*, 1903; *Weekly People*, 1903). Sewall (1904), in her extended article on “Child Labor in the United States” in Bulletin No. 52 issued by the Bureau of Labor, explicitly thanked Marot for her 1903 advice and help in preparation of her expose. In April, Marot (1903) joined the campaign of educating the general public about failing child labor legislation, explaining the Committee’s work in an article in *The Commons* magazine. She précised her investigation:

It covered all kinds and conditions of employment in which children were known or suspected. It extended to children regularly employed and not attending school; children at work before and after school, factory children, children in stores and offices, children delivering goods or messages, to newsboys, bootblacks and peddlers....The discovery of little boys and girls’ futile attempts to support

a family or to support themselves were the tragedies the investigation unearthed and should relegate for all time the plea of the apologists to the region of out-of-date theories (p. 7).

The Committee’s campaign was a stunning success. In April, New York State Governor Odell signed the Child Labor Bill; the law took effect October 1, 1903 (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1903a; Hall, 1903). In her January 1904 contribution to *The Commons* magazine through the Association of Neighborhood Workers, Mary Simkhovitch (1904) proudly listed the results of the “Enforcement of the Child Labor Laws in New York,” instigated by Marot and others:

The child labor law applies now to factories, stores and offices, and to the messenger and delivery service. The requirements for beginning work are threefold: 1. *A minimum age, 14 years...* 2. *A minimum amount of education* — about equivalent to what a normal 12-year-old child has received... 3. *A previous compliance with the school law, i.e., statement from principal that child has been attending school regularly*” (p. 23).

Even though in 1907 the New York law as regards to newsboys turned out to develop into a failure (*Evening Post*, 1907), it set the mark for child labor laws in other states.

On the other hand and less dramatic: at the time, Marot also wrote short two-line reviews of books for the 1904 edition of the *A.L.A. Catalog* (see: Dewey (Ed.), 1904).

In 1903, the Pennsylvania State Federation of Women’s Clubs founded the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, renamed Pennsylvania Child Labor Association in 1908. No other than Helen Marot became its Secretary in 1904, helping to revise the Pennsylvania child labor law (Barnard, 1907).

Marot investigated the circumstances of children who worked in factories and mines from June to December of 1904. Again she found massive evasion of the existing child labor law (Durland, 1905; *Republican News Item*, 1905). A legislative campaign began in January 1905. Several weeks later, prominent Philadelphians, Marot representing the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, and representatives of other organizations travelled to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania to appear before the Judiciary General Committee in support of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Bill. The bill eventually passed legislation in April 1905 when Pennsylvania State Governor Pennypacker signed it (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1905). Two months later, in her article “Progress in Pennsylvania” in *Charities* magazine, Marot (1905) briefly described the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee campaign that ran between January and April 15, 1905 and detailed the importance of the new ‘factory bill’ regarding ‘employment certificates,’ protection to all children “except those engaged in domestic labor, farm labor or coal mining” (p. 834), and as regards night work and hours of work.

### Women’s Trade Union League

By the end of 1905, Marot moved back to New York City. Her work for the Philadelphia Child Labor Committee had been successful; the child labor law had been modified. In New York City she, for a short period, began work with the School Visiting Committee of the Public Education Association of the City of New York. However, the 1899-1900 Philadelphia clothing industry investigation in addition to the 1902-1905 child labor investigations and her campaigning for legislation in New York and Pennsylvania had made her not only aware of the evils of child labor, but more than ever the position of women in general, and especially their unsafe situation in overcrowded, unhygienic factories, sweat-shops, etc., troubled her. The majority of working girls and women had not organized themselves and hence had no effective means to change conditions of their long hours, low-paying work at often dangerous, unhealthy, vermin infested, badly sanitized, poorly ventilated workplaces. Marot must have thought, "If I may be able to help improve working conditions for mothers, would that indirectly help to minimize (their) evasion of child labor laws?" In 1906, therefore, she must have been glad to begin aiding Secretary of the National Consumers League Florence Kelley (1859-1932) and her assistant Josephine Goldmark (1877-1950) who investigated literature for a court case concerning working hours of female workers — *Muller v. Oregon*; argued and decided in winter 1908. In 1906, Marot was also one of the founders of The American Association For Labor Legislation (*Leaden Heel*, 1906). As well, in 1906, she began work as Secretary of the New York branch of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). Affluent WTUL allies and philanthropists — and sisters — Alice Lewisohn (1883-1972) and Irene Lewisohn (1886-1944) paid her salary (Dye, 1980). The WTUL aimed to educate unorganized girls and women in feminism, unionism, and union principles. Its seal assured that the league stood for the eight-hour day, a living wage, and guarding the home. In July 1907, the *Sun* (1907) cited strict unionist Marot who addressed a meeting of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

"In these days," said Miss Marot, "it is highly necessary that the women should be as well organized as the men in all branches of industry. The women telegraphers should be especially active in assisting women to organize, and could render very effective service in this way by cooperating with the Women's Trade Union League in trade union agitation among women."...Miss Marot's remarks were applauded, especially by the women delegates.

Newspaper reports of the time demonstrate that Helen Marot became an exceptionally effective organizer and negotiator who could even inspire President Roosevelt when she visited him in Washington, D.C. in 1907:

"The President," said Miss Marot, "expressed himself as greatly interested in the movement started by the league. He said he believed in the social and economic equality of men and women, and that he was tremendously interested in the work now being done by the league. He said he would not hesitate at any

time to express his approval of the aims and objects of the league." (*New York Press*, 1907).

In fact, according to the *New York Times* (1910a), Marot was so impressed by Roosevelt that she in 1910 offered him a job, faithfully "cut out for Col. Roosevelt if only he will take it."

Part of her work consisted of establishing links with other organizations and forming part of philanthropic and community development committees, the majority of which still have to be identified (see: Bond, 1908). For example, in April 1907, Marot attended the National Arbitration and Peace Congress as a delegate representing the WTUL (The Secretary (Ed.), p. 468).

Successive annual reports of the New York branch of the WTUL as well as newspaper reports show that Marot became a competent speaker at meetings of diverse unions, as well as at meetings of, for instance, such varied organizations as the Redfield Park Congregational Church, the Young Women's Christian Association, the League for Political Education, or the Woman's Suffrage Party — stimulating women to unionize (e.g., *New York Times*, 1907; The Women's Trade Union League of New York, 1909, p. 16; 1911, p. 22). Her work was needed, because the unions suffered badly during the depression of 1908. In 1907, in a letter to WTUL founding member Leonora O'Reilly (1870-1927), Marot wrote, "We are looking forward to a revolution in New York among working women" (cited in Dye, 1980, p. 87). In spite of that, between 1906 and the fall of 1909, her work mainly consisted of fulfilling usual WTUL duties (see Figure 1).

Even though Helen Marot on a regular basis wrote texts for internal WTUL use in her capacity as Secretary of the New York branch of the WTUL (e.g., Dreier & Marot, 1908a-b, 1912a-b; Marot, 1909b, 1910c), she most certainly was not a prolific writer. During these years, until November 1909, she wrote only one petite article, "Women in Industry" (Marot, 1909d), and four letters to the editor of several newspapers (Marot, 1907, 1908, 1909a, 1909c). These texts had no specific educational intentions. Of course, the major part of Marot's work as Secretary of the New York branch of the WTUL was not primarily educational. Yet, as indicated above, activities of stimulating workingwomen to unionize constituted a fair part of the work.

### Marot's passing auxiliary educational stance

Yet, it should not come as a surprise that the literature confers a small assortment of evidence of her 1906-1909 educational work. During Marot's first year as Secretary of the New York branch of the WTUL, by the end of 1906, it turned out that her earlier achievements for the New York City and the Philadelphia Child Labor Committees as well as her and Pratt's 1899-1900 investigation of the Philadelphia clothing industry had not passed unnoticed. The December 1906 Industrial Exhibit, held at the Horticulture Hall in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, the New Century Club, the Consumers' League of Philadelphia, and the Civic Club included booths with thorough educational purposes. For instance, apart from photographs showing children

under 14 making suits, booth IX — on the subject of custom tailoring — informed the public by listing coat-making and trouser-making statistics: the rates paid, the average working day, the average earnings, and the number of working weeks in a year. The exhibit's executive committee affirmed in their handbook:

Ninety per cent. of the custom work of all grades—however fashionable—in Philadelphia is made in home workshops—usually Italian. Sometimes these shops are in a cleanly condition; more often they are of a nature that would shock the unsuspecting customer who receives the suit. In this, as in the sub-contracting of the ready-made garments, what the home-worker loses in living space, and in time consumed in fetching and returning the garments, the employer gains in rent, light, etc. Note.—The schedules of Booths VII, VIII and IX were taken very largely from the reports of an investigation published in 1903 by Miss Helen Marot and Miss C. L. Pratt. (Industrial Exhibit, 1906, p. 18).

The exhibit was not organized under WTUL auspices. In fact, Marot's professional network and her personal connections dating from the time before her work for the WTUL made the informative booths possible, as acknowledged by the exhibit's executive committee. After all, Marot had previously worked for two of the exhibit's four organizing associations: the New Century Club and the Philadelphia Child Labor Committee — see above. And in 1906, she worked for Florence Kelley, the Secretary of National Consumers' League, that is, the mother organization of the exhibit's third organizing association: the Consumers' League of Philadelphia. Note that Scott Nearing — who had been Marot's assistant at the Philadelphia Child Labor Committee and who had replaced her as Secretary when she moved back to New York City in 1905 — and Florence Kelley delivered lectures at the 1906 Philadelphia Industrial Exhibit. So, it is very likely that Marot at some time or another in 1906 was co-involved with the arrangements of the Industrial Exhibit, if only as advisor.

A second example also gives an idea about Marot's shove from stern unionist to a more educationally informed community involvement union organizer. During the 1907-1908 recession of the U.S. economy, founder of the New York branch of the WTUL, and its first Secretary, Gertrude Barnum (1908) reported in *Charities and The Commons* that Helen Marot "persuaded a generous supporter of the Hartley House...to finance a plan for establishing a wardrobe repair shop." Barnum took charge of the enterprise; it was her opinion that the innovative shop "is promising to play an important part in testing the practicability of taking the mending, repairing and ordering of clothes out of the home and into well equipped shops where skilled workers can do, with ease and pleasure, what incompetent and over-worked housewives now do with great waste and anxiety" (p. 532). The plan was to establish a shop — the *Ship Shape Shop* — under the auspices of the WTUL and Hartley House settlement that on the one hand provided opportunities for unemployed girls and women to better their sewing skills and to learn all aspects of fine needlework, and on the other hand to create working conditions that constituted

alternatives to sweatshops. In fact, the plan had evolved from an earlier experiment, explained by Marot at an April 1908 meeting of The Women's Forum. "The [WTUL] has found itself almost powerless to help the hundreds of girls that come to it...but it is teaching a few of them to sew at the West Side Settlement" (*New York Tribune*, 1908a). The *Ship Shape Shop* opened its doors on June 1, 1908. A week later, the *Sun* (1908b) reported:

Miss Helen Marot, secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, which a week or two ago established a shop for unemployed women who could do plain sewing in a room given for the purpose by the West Side Neighborhood House, reported yesterday that the experiment has been a success and that another shop of the kind may soon be established. It will then be easier, she thinks, to extend the movement.

The *New York Daily Tribune* (1908b) cited Barnum: "We are going to turn wardrobe repairing into a skilled trade...It's going to be a profession as popular as trained nursing." In October, the *Sun* (1908a) wrote that the experimental stage was already history; the shop's workrooms were "sanitary and cheerful. Learners are paid from the start according to the work they accomplish." The *Ship Shape Shop* clearly filled an economic gap. In April 1909, the *Evening Post* (1909) in a two-column-long article confirmed that the repair shop, by then also offering the altering of ready-made dresses and waists, was still flourishing. The *Post* cited an employee; "Here you can have your inexpensive waists and simple summer things made under conditions that are sanitary for you and a guarantee of the welfare of the women who work here."

Thirdly, it is fascinating to know that Helen Marot was one out of fifty-three initial signers of the February 1909 Lincoln Birthday Call to form the National Association of the Advancement of the Colored People (Ovington, 1914). Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and John Dewey were co-signers of the call, printed in full in the February 13, 1909 *Evening Post* (Addams, et al., 1909). Throughout her life, Marot remained a loyal member and supporter of the NAACP; yet, she was not active in its governing bodies. The civil rights association grew to become the most influential organization educating American citizens in equality of rights and elimination of racial hatred and discrimination. The NAACP truly became a leading association doing educational/andragogic work to equal suffrage and civic engagement.

Nancy Schrom Dye (1980) related a fourth case in point of Marot's temporary shift from stern unionist to a more educationally informed organizer. In 1909, Marot had introduced what she called 'street meetings.' "Every day at noon and in the early evening, [WTUL] speakers set up a platform, unfurled their banner, and 'preached the gospel of trade unionism at and near the factory door'" to recruit workingwomen (p. 47). At the Second Biennial Convention of the National WTUL in Chicago in September 1909, Marot gave her union 'sisters' explanation of the educating WTUL street meeting actions, instructing factory workingwomen how to unionize, additionally explaining why and how they should organize meetings and strikes.

We had the best sort of a time at them. You don't have to send out notices. You just take a platform along, put up a banner and begin to talk. While someone is speaking others go round and distribute circulars among the girls and ask questions....The last one we got out was on getting married. The girls seemed to like it....It is helpful in time of strike to hold street meetings. We begin right after closing time. We concentrate our efforts on one trade, and do not just go around haphazard. For instance, when we were working among the white goods workers, we would go to their factories, and when the strike was on we would go outside the factory so that we could talk to the scabs when they came out. I want to tell you it gives tremendous courage to the union girls to have us talk there, even if we don't get hold of the girls who have been scabbing. I think these street meetings are something we can all get courage out of. (Marot cited in Henry & Franklin (Eds.), 1909, p. 20).

### 1909-1910: The Shirtwaist Makers' Strike

The previous section in this case study shows that Helen Marot during the first decade of the twentieth century gradually transformed from a rather studious member of the staff of diverse child labor committees into a creative WTUL unionist who organized an original clothes repair workroom for unemployed girls and women, who co-founded the NAACP, and who orchestrated street meetings at entrances of factories and sweatshops. During the years 1908 and 1909 this coincided with changes in the working life of her partner Caroline Pratt.

After she had worked at the Hartley House since her move from Philadelphia to New York City in the fall of 1901, Pratt resigned from her employment as an experimental woodwork teacher at the Hell's Kitchen's settlement house in the fall of 1908. It is probable that she resigned because of her growing involvement with the WTUL. When Marot became Secretary of the WTUL in 1906, Pratt too became an active ally. Between 1908 and 1913, she was on the WTUL Finance Committee — between 1911 and 1913 as Chairman. However, she had also begun designing wooden jointed dolls and toys, and wooden building blocks, having plans of producing and selling them (Pratt, 1948; Staring, 2013a-b, 2015). In April 1909, she already showed her dolls and toys to a public of colleague teachers during the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the International Kindergarten Union, held at Buffalo, New York, at an exhibition in the church parlors of the First Universalist Church. Two and a half months later, on July 1, the United States Patent Office filed a trademark request made by Pratt — finally registered as *Do-With Toys*™ on December 12, 1911. All this means that she was serious about her toy making adventure. Four months later, in November, the *Craftsman* (1909) had her first advertisement, recommending the toys, referring to a catalog (now missing). The November 6, 1909 *Evening Post* (1909) included "Toys That Help The Child," the very first article

describing her dolls and toys — reprinted two and a half weeks later by the *Washington Herald* (1909).

It appears that Pratt and Marot led a quiet life together in 1909, Pratt as member of the WTUL Finance Committee, also designing, producing and selling dolls, toys, and building blocks, and Marot as Secretary of the WTUL. Nonetheless, during autumn 1909 and winter 1910, both women more or less radicalized into firm, unyielding Socialists and unionists. The rapid change had one singular reason. On November 22, 1909 the *Shirtwaist Makers' Strike* began, also known as the *Waistmakers' General Strike*, *Waistmakers' Revolt*, or *Uprising of the Twenty Thousand* — lasting for thirteen weeks, in bitterly cold winter conditions, and involving about 30,000, perhaps even 40,000 strikers. The majority of the strikers were women. Forty-eight well-heeled, politically active women supported the strike as ally of the WTUL. Some WTUL allies, among them Pratt and Marot, primarily raised sums of money for the strike fund. Others gave legal assistance to strikers who were under arrest. Many league allies were renowned women in settlement work, education, women's suffrage, and politics, like Evelyn Dewey (Staring & Aldridge, 2014a), Laura Elliott, Harriet Forbes, Harriet Johnson, Helen Marot's sister Mary Marot, Florence Rauh and her sister Ida Rauh, Henrietta Rodman, Elizabeth Roemer, and Rose Pastor Stokes (Staring, 2013b; Zipser & Zipser, 1989). Furthermore, they acted as volunteer pickets (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1910; *New York Times*, 1909). It was Helen Marot who directed the WTUL support of the uprising.

Dye (1980) comments that "in their friendships and living arrangements many WTUL women lived their ideal of sorority by establishing their closest emotional ties with other women" (p. 56), forming compassionate feminist friendship networks, encouraging each other in their union and personal lives. The league was a "full-time commitment, a way of life" (p. 57). Several league members formed enduring relationships, maintaining household with one another. Dye specifically mentions, "Helen Marot lived all her adult life with Caroline Pratt" (p. 57). The 1910 United States Federal Census reveals that at the time, another women couple, Harriet Johnson and Harriet Forbes, were household members at 218 West 4<sup>th</sup> Street together with the Marot-Pratt couple. The four women were passionate WTUL Officers. They had all worked at or for the Hartley House. Forbes and Johnson were visiting teachers with the Public Education Association (PEA) since 1909, and Marot had worked with the PEA's School Visiting Committee in 1905 and 1906.

The November 22, 1909 *New York Call* (1909b) reveals that that evening comrades of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> Branches of the Socialist Party would hold a meeting at the "Rooms of Misses Pratt and Marot, 218 West 4<sup>th</sup> Street." It was the very evening when the *Shirtwaist Makers' Strike* began, following the approval of a resolution for a strike at an emergency meeting of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in the Cooper Union auditorium. Most probably Marot and Pratt immediately went to Cooper Union's Great Hall after the end of the Socialist Party meeting. *Hampton's Magazine* (1910) later wrote that the stage at Cooper Union "was well filled with members of the Women's Trade Union League. The meeting had been called by the League in conjunction with Shirt-Waist Makers' Union, Local 25, to consider the grievances of

shirt-waist makers in general, and especially of the shirt-waist makers in the Triangle factory, who had been, for more than two months, on strike” (p. 424).

For each and every WTUL ally, the situation had already been growing grim before the actual *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike* broke out. On November 4 — about a month after Marot returned from the 1909 Biennial Convention of the National WTUL in Chicago — President of the New York branch of the WTUL Mary Dreier had been arrested on dubious grounds while doing her picket duty at a strike of the Ladies’ Waist Makers’ Union against the Triangle Shirtwaist Company — an undersized strike that retrospectively should be catalogued as preliminary to the *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike* (Marot, 1910a; *New York Press*, 1909). The report of the arrest in the *New York Call* (1909a) included a copy of a letter to the Commissioner of Police about the legal right to picket, written by the members of the Committee to assist the Ladies’ Waist Makers’ Union — a special committee including Helen Marot, appointed by the Central Labor Union and the WTUL (Boyle, Billingeimer, Coughlin, & Marot, 1909). Newspaper reports of the arrest also at length summarized cases of rough treatment by the police and described an incident where a “plain clothes officer” had snarled at Helen Marot, on picket duty in the neighbourhood of Washington Square, “You uptown scum, keep out of this, or you’ll find yourselves in jail” (e.g., *New York Call*, 1909a; *Sun*, 1909).

#### 1910: Direct aftermath of the Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike

Between the end of November 1909 and February 1910, Pratt and Marot stood their ground in the eye of this labour movement hurricane (Dutcher, 1910). Yet, as soon as the *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike* ended, Marot’s partner Caroline Pratt resumed her work of producing and selling wooden playthings and Marot resumed her everyday tasks as Secretary of the WTUL. After the strike ended in February 1910, according to the *New York Times* (1910c) resulting in settlements with more than three hundred firms, the respected newspaper swiftly paid tribute to Marot for her relentless work as organizer of the WTUL support of the strikers.

Miss Helen Marot...was raised in what might almost be called the stronghold of Quakerism — Philadelphia. Many a Sunday morning she spent in worshipping in the little church there and in following the pleasant Quaker custom of staying to chat with friends after service. Her father had a happy hobby, that of telling people to do their own thinking, and perhaps it was because of this influence that Miss Marot believed in trades unionism...In helping the present strike, the biggest piece of work the [WTUL] has ever had to handle, Miss Marot has been most energetic. In fact, in the first few days she was so necessary that she was almost mobbed. The headquarters of the strikers literally resounded with cries for Miss Marot, who did everything, from playing doorkeeper to planning strategic moves. (*New York Times*, 1910b).

Now Marot had time to have eyes again for more educational aspects of her work. In March, the *New York Times* (1910c) reported that the “strike shepherdesses [were] going to turn teachers from strike leaders and hold schools of English for girls of every nationality.” Actually, the initiative was a month old; in February, the *New York Call* (1910a) had already reported the project of evening English classes for foreign-speaking girls at the WTUL headquarters, naming Marot’s sister Mary as well as Pratt and Marot’s household member Harriet Johnson among five teachers who conducted the classes.

As a result of the numerous news stories in newspapers and popular magazines about all particulars of the strike, Marot not only became well known as Secretary of the WTUL, but was also regarded as an expert on unions and wage issues. Early in April 1910, a journalist of — most probably — the *Spokane Press* interviewed Marot about wages of young women. On April 10, the interview appeared in the *Spokane Press*, under Marot’s name (Marot 1910b), and nine days later in a slightly extended version in the *Kansas City Gazette Globe* (1910), under the heading “Working Girls in New York.” In the article, Marot spoke out against “white slave traffic.” She stated, “To protect our girls from the clutches of...‘white slave dealers’ we must remove the temptation that leads many girls to fall into their clutches. We must give the working girl sufficient wages to place her on an independent footing. Then she will never willingly sell herself.” From that time, recognized as an expert, Marot also began to provide information, among other things related to unions and wages, first to both authors of *Making Both Ends Meet* (Clark & Wyatt, 1911), and next throughout the 1910s at several State and New York City hearings (see: Marot, 1911b, 1915c-d, 1917d; New York City Commission, 1911, p. 272). In a 1912 article, she summarized the conclusions in *Making Both Ends Meet*:

To make both ends meet [the] women are eating cheap food, wearing makeshift clothes, and are housed in ways that offer no opportunity for social intercourse. There is always the fear of the dull season or loss of their poor jobs. (Marot, 1912d, p. 74).

It is not certain, nor even clear, whether Marot was active as WTUL strike supporter in the July and August 1910 New York City *Cloak Makers’ Strike*. However, halfway during the very successful strike she wrote an article for the *New York Call* (Marot, 1910e). In it, she was searching for an educational approach, examining the question, “What is it that has made the present the psychological time for organization in the ladies’ garment industry?” Marot advised unions, first, to ‘get busy’ organizing workers, and, second, to also agitate them. “If it were college people we were talking about, instead of work people, we would not call it agitation, but education.” In her eyes “there is no kind of labor education which does not agitate.” It was her view that “While ‘get busy’ and agitate make ‘something happen’ is the lesson of the cloak makers’ strike,” the strike showed two other features that ought to lead to a successful settlement: the efforts to bring skilled as well as less skilled workers under one contract, and the energetic cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. Marot’s moral resulting from the above four factors: “if the International Ladies’

Garment Makers can in six months bring over 100,000 skilled and unskilled workers into organization, every trade in New York city can do the same.”

In the course of the summer of 1910, Marot began recruiting women garment workers to march in the September 5, 1910 Labor Day Parade (*New York Times*, 1910d). At the time, she must also have begun writing “A Woman’s Strike — An Appreciation of the Shirtwaist Makers of New York,” her annotations of the 1909-1910 *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike*, to be published in the first issue of the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*. Marot’s (1910a) interest was with the history of the strike, although she also explained the views the strikers themselves had. For instance, she noted that the opinion of the around 8,000 Russian men striking, initially expecting a short strike of at most three weeks, noticeably differed from the views of the women strikers. After relating the hardships of “underfed and often thinly clad” (p. 126), girls and women picketing in severely cold conditions, she commented, “The shirt-waist makers’ strike was characteristic of all strikes in which women play an active part. It was marked by complete self-surrender to a cause, emotional endurance, fearlessness and entire willingness to face danger and suffering. The strike at times seemed to be an expression of the woman’s movement rather than the labor movement” (p. 127). Marot’s article in *Proceedings*... — following her article on the “Moral in the Cloak Makers’ Strike” in the *New York Call* — constitutes a second more or less educational piece of writing subsequent to her experiences in the *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike*.

### The fall of 1910: Prelude to the New York City Child Welfare Exhibit

In the fall of 1910, Caroline Pratt became a member of the organizing committee of the 1911 New York City Child Welfare Exhibit that would include a booth — a ‘Playshop’ — showing her blocks, dolls and toys. As a result, articles about *Do-With Toys™* began to appear in major newspapers, e.g., in November in *Christian Science Monitor*, *Detroit Free Press*, and *Miami Metropolis*, in December in *New York Daily Tribune* and *New York Herald*, and in January 1911 in *San Francisco Call* and the *Evening World*. Advertisements in the December 19, 1910 *Evening Telegram* and *Evening World* made clear that *Do-With Toys™* were exclusively available at Gimbel Brothers. Judging by the number of press reports the early-1911 New York City Child Welfare Exhibit was a success — as were Pratt’s wooden playthings. Consequently, in May 1911, Pratt would also show them at the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit (Staring, 2013a-b, 2015).

Although 1910, since the end of the strike, was a calm year for the Marot-Pratt couple, a silly incident occurred in the fall, upsetting Socialist Marot. On November 21, a young *New York Times* journalist quoted Marot about her stand vis-à-vis President Roosevelt (*New York Times*, 1910a; see above). The following day, the *New York Call* (1910c) cited a furious Marot, protesting that the *Times* had incorrectly cited her words. She affixed, “I am certainly glad we have The Call to set us right in these matters. The capitalist papers simply cannot be depended on to do us justice.” A few days later, the *Times* published a letter by Marot (1910f), putting right the earlier *Times* article. Later,

in December, under the heading “Suppressed by Capitalist Paper,” the *New York Call* (1910d) quoted Marot explaining that although the journalist in his original article had cited her correctly, *New York Times* editors had removed vital information and citations. Similar censoring editing had occurred with Marot’s (1910f) letter published in the *Times*. The *Call*’s article included Marot’s original letter along with the text of the letter as published in the *Times* after editorial interventions (see: Marot, 1910d, 1910g).

Next, in December 1910, the *New York Call* published a statement about the right of free speech in a letter written by comrades of the 1<sup>st</sup> Branch of the Socialist Party, co-authored by Marot (Bruere, Poole, Marot, Fraser, & Mailly, 1910). Comparable politically informed letters (co-) authored by Marot, or other politically rooted texts by her pen, will merely be referenced in the coming sections, but will not be analyzed here. Others have already begun to describe Marot’s place in political history, summarizing her views, also focusing on her union work (e.g., Adickes, 1997; Cohen 1971; Dye, 1980; Polansky, 1987). The remaining sections of this case study will mainly address Marot’s more or less educational activities in relation to her life and work.

The year 1910 ended for Marot by a significant yet underreported incident. At the December 16 meeting of the Central Federation Union, Helen Marot exclaimed that the Union should take a hand in the movement to pinpoint dangerously unsafe factories and sweatshops.

“We must get right down to business and start a movement to get legislation to make it mandatory for an employer to have sufficient fire escapes. The conditions in the shops at present make it unsafe for people who work there. *Our brothers and sisters may be burned any time a fire breaks out.*” Miss Marot concluded with an appeal to all delegates to see to it that a list of shops of their various trades be sent in to the committees of the Women’s Trade Union League so that they may be able to go on with their work. (*New York Call*, 1910b; italics added).

### The year 1911

The next four years remained relatively calm for Caroline Pratt and Helen Marot. It is interesting to note that Pratt, like Marot, had radicalized during the 1909-1910 *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike*. For instance, the March 24, 1911 *New York Call* had her acid letter to the editor criticizing Prestonia Mann Martin (1861-1945) who in a speech at the Hudson Theatre had spoken of her eugenic and anti-suffragist visions. Pratt (1911) argued biting, “Our ignorance on the subject [of ‘rearing a sublimated race’] is colossal. I assure you we don’t know a thing about it. Let us have a School for Wuzziness at once.”

A day later, an enormous heartbreak classified Marot and Pratt’s 1911 spring: the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire on March 25, 1911 causing the death of 146 workers. Three months after Marot articulated her December 16, 1910 fears — “*Our brothers and sisters may be burned any time a fire breaks out*” (see above) — the warning became a reality. Conditions in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory had been life-threatening unsafe; and the

fire that eventually broke out killed 23 “brothers” and 123 “sisters.” It is horrifying that the November 24, 2012 Tazreen Fashion Factory fire in Dhaka, Bangladesh shared almost all aspects in common with the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory — also causing the death of many workers because of blocked and locked exits, making it almost impossible to escape the fumes and fire. Workers leaped from windows to escape flames and smoke. It was not difficult to conclude, “*L’histoire se répète...*”

Marot felt as if slapped in the face! The fire scarred her too. Adickes (1997, p. 56) states that Marot organized “protests following the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911.” Yet, to her grim satisfaction she became a member of the special Joint Relief Committee of the Ladies’ Waist and Dress Makers’ Union No. 25 to aid victims of the fire and their families (Mailly, 1911). Early in 1912, they reported about their work (*New York Call*, 1912c). Marot’s committee activities soothed the pain she felt about the loss of so many lives in a tragedy she had warned for, and which could have been prevented.

During late spring 1911, Marot attended the third WTUL biennial convention, held in Boston, June 12-17. She reported the event in *The Survey* (Marot, 1911b). Nothing much happened during summer time. Marot owned a 100-acre farm near Becket, Massachusetts where she and Pratt spent their summers, only returning to New York City by the end of the summer, or early in the autumn. On September 11, Marot and Pratt’s close friend, Treasurer of the New York WTUL Carola Woerishoffer was killed in a car accident — a second tragedy in 1911. Marot (1911a) wrote the official obituary of her friend for the WTUL organ *Life and Labor*. On September 19, she read several resolutions expressing appreciation and sorrow, which were adopted at the monthly meeting of the WTUL (see: *New York Call*, 1909c). Finally, on October 30, Marot (1912a) spoke as WTUL representative at a meeting in memory of Woerishoffer at the Manhattan Greenwich House settlement.

Comfortingly for the Marot-Pratt couple, from November 24 to December 20, Caroline Pratt had the opportunity to demonstrate her wooden playthings at the educational museum of Teachers College, Columbia University. Patty Hill (1868-1946) of the Horace Mann School, at that time Assistant Professor of Kindergarten Education at Teachers College, had organized the exhibition of Christmas gifts at the museum, including Pratt’s *Do-With Toys*™.

### The year 1912

Early in 1912, Marot climbed the barricades again. The WTUL supported the *Laundry Workers’ Strike* that broke out in the second week of January. Marot (1912b) wrote a small impression of the strike for the February issue of *Life and Labor*. And although she only briefly was on the spot supporting another textile workers’ strike that began in January — the notorious *Lawrence Strike* in Lawrence, Massachusetts (Dye, 1980, p. 106) — Marot arranged the combined moral support of the WTUL and the Socialist Party in New York City. Among other things she organized a large protest meeting at the New Star Casino. In a column-long article, the March 7 *New York Call* (1912b) announced the meeting “against the inhuman conditions prevailing at Lawrence,” and printed the text of a resolution concerning

the strike forwarded by the WTUL to Socialist Congressman Victor Berger on March 1 — signed by Marot. The resolution was converted into evidence during the March 1912 House of Representatives hearings on the *Lawrence Strike* (Dreier & Marot, 1912b).

That the winter 1912 situation was tense, and that emotions rose high (Marot, 1914a, pp. 188-189), is illustrated by the fact that little than a week later Marot’s partner Caroline Pratt was involved and identified by name in a suffragists *versus* anti-suffragists fighting. The March 16 *New York Herald* (1912) openly fingered Pratt as a helper of her suffragist “sisters” in a “bitter row” at the Women’s Industrial Exhibition at the New Grand Central Palace, New York City. In spite of this belligerent confrontation, no further major incidents occurred in 1912. All built-up emotions could flow with composure; both women remained serving socialist, unionist, feminist and suffragist causes in practical ways. Whilst Pratt continued demonstrating and selling her playthings and was a member of the Education Committee of the Socialist Party, Marot continued organizing and ‘agitating’ (~ educating, see above) working girls and women in union work. The April 28 *Sun* had two editorials related to the upcoming May 4 NYC feminist parade where 15,000 women were expected to march for equal suffrage. One article (*Sun*, 1912a) reported that the parade’s Eleventh Division — the march’s largest division — included the WTUL, together with, of course, WTUL allies Marot and Pratt. “Suffrage Storm Shifts From London to Ohio” (*Sun*, 1912b), the other article, named U.S. *foremost* suffragists. It must have been a tremendously flattering experience for the Marot-Pratt couple to see that the editorial referenced them as prominent WTUL women and suffragists!

Just about the time when Marot between mid-May and early-August began touring the United States — visiting Kansas City, St. Louis, Denver, Scranton, and other places as a special WTUL National Organizer (e.g., *Evening Post*, 1912; Franklin, 1913; *Labor Journal*, 1912; Marot, 1912c; *Scranton Wochenblatt*, 1912) — *The Gospel of the Kingdom* issued Marot’s absolutely underreported, yet extremely important instructive analysis of social effects of wages of underpaid working girls and women. Marot (1912d) herself competently summarized her own statements:

There are 6,000,000 working women in the United States. The average wage of these women is \$6.00 a week. The purchasing-power of \$6.00 is inferior food, inferior clothing, inferior shelter. Six dollars allows no margin for (1) illness, (2) recreation, and (3) education. The hours of working women average ten per day. All physicians declare that this is excessive and injurious to health. Unorganized women in industry lower men’s wages. Laws protecting working women can be fully enforced only when women are organized. Workers are the only inspectors *always on the job*, but they can not report infractions without the protection of their union. Organization is education. Women in the past met their problem as personal — *which they were*. They now through organization are learning to meet their

economic problems as social — *which they are* (p. 75).

On September 8, at a mourning meeting at the Labor Temple, Marot eulogized Socialist, trade unionist and journalist William Mailly who had died September 4 (*New York Call*, 1912a). A few days later, together with President of the New York branch of the WTUL Mary Dreier, Marot wrote the official WTUL obituary of Mailly (Dreier & Marot, 1912a).

Lastly, in November, Marot attended a conference of representatives of twelve organizations to inaugurate a campaign to establish minimum wage boards in New York City (*Sun*, 1912c).

### The year 1913: An Important Time of Activism

In January 1913, WTUL allies led by Helen Marot decided to get actively involved with a strike of 8,000 clothing workers in the white goods trade that was declared on January 9. They delivered speeches from automobiles at diverse demonstrations of strikers and organized a bazaar, a 'tag day,' and a relief fund to benefit strikers and their families (*New York Press*, 1913a-b). WTUL allies also assisted strikers under arrest (*Evening Post*, 1913). The strike lasted until well in February.

In February 1913, Marot was one of thirty-seven members of the Socialist Party — including birth control activist Margaret Sanger and colleague WTUL allies Ida Rauh and Rose Pastor Stokes — who signed a resolution of protest against the attempt to recall militant strike activist William 'Big Bill' Haywood from the Socialist Party National Executive Committee (Warbasse, et al., 1913). The protest did not help; Haywood was dismissed and left the Party's governing bodies. Around the same time, Marot had a similar experience. During winter 1913, the WTUL began committing itself to working for protective legislation for working girls and women and for equal suffrage, thereby alienating and disillusioning Marot and other experienced stern unionists who climbed various barricades (Adickes, 1997). Dye (1980) comments, Marot "epitomized the 'woman as worker' position. Although an ally, she never wavered from her conviction that the WTUL should be committed to the working class and not to women as a special group...She was vehement in her opposition to women's minimum wage legislation, arguing that if women needed state protection, then unorganised men did, too" (p. 58). In fact, Marot had already become disillusioned in this respect in 1911 and 1912. As a consequence, Marot resigned as the League's Secretary early in spring 1913, not long after the New Jersey *Paterson Silk Workers' Strike* began where 'Big Bill' Haywood who had played a decisive role in the success of the 1912 *Lawrence Strike* once more seized a crucial part in organizing a strike committee amalgamating all of the workers' nationalities (Golin, 1988; Marot, 1914a, pp. 203-204). Dye (1980) states that Marot's explanation for resigning was that she was of opinion, "the work of the league should be done by women wage earners themselves" (p. 128; see also: Marot, 1914a, pp. 65-77). Yet, until 1915, she remained a member of the Executive Board of the New York branch of the WTUL.

One of Marot's very last tasks as Secretary of the New York branch of the WTUL was writing a letter of

advice — published in *The Prairie Farmer* — addressed to a fictive country girl wishing to make her fortune in a metropolis like New York City (Marot, 1913). Another militant social activist who gave 'sisterly' advice in *The Prairie Farmer* was Marot's colleague WTUL ally and comrade Rose Pastor Stokes. Both women who often met at various forums, were members of the Committee of the Sociological Fund of *Medical Review of Reviews*, its objective to make performing of Eugene Brieux's play *Damaged Goods* possible — a controversial 'sex hygiene drama' adapted into English by playwright G. B. Shaw. Brieux's *tour de force* was originally announced for production at the Astor Theatre on March 10, then at the Thirty-ninth Street Theatre on another date, but ultimately succeeded to being successfully produced at the Fulton Theatre on March 14 (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1913; *New York Herald*, 1913; Van Vechten, 1913) and later in Washington, D.C. and other East Coast cities (e.g., *Washington Herald*, 1913).

Now that she had resigned from her duties as WTUL Secretary and was without salaried employment, Marot began writing *American Labor Unions*, the first extensive textbook on the subject (see below). In March of the previous year, Marot's partner Pratt (1912b) had published "To Socialize the Schools," an article in *Educational Foundations* discussing her vision of education in near-future schools. The structure of the article was that of a typical research proposal: aims of the experiment, current unfavorable conditions, ways to reverse the unfavorable conditions, principles of an experiment, and financing of the experiment. The first three items were present in the article. The latter two were not. It is likely that Pratt used the article to solicit funding to start a pilot experiment in socializing a school. It probably formed part of a research proposal that persuaded Pratt and Marot's colleague WTUL ally Edna Smith (1885-1922) to fund an experimental class in the main assembly room at the Hartley House settlement during a two-months-long period in the spring of 1913. During the experiment, Pratt observed six kindergarten age children adjusting to their new environment, her *Do-With Toys™*, her building blocks, woodworking tools, to each other, new ideas, and to learning to work together. In May, Pratt declared the experiment a success. Around that time, the socialist magazine *The Coming Nation* (Simons, 1913) announced that Pratt who since May 1912 was on the Socialist Party National Educational Committee was making a special study of the Schneider Plan (now missing), one of the plans to help combat school congestion in New York City (see below) — a situation that according to Pratt (1912a) formed a most unfavorable condition for sound education. The subject of congestion of the city and of schools was a topic that lived in Marot and Pratt's circle of friends and acquaintances working in settlement houses, education, etc. For example, Marot as Secretary of the New York branch of the WTUL was one of the experts who appeared before the New York (City) Committee on Congestion of Population (New York City Commission, 1911, p. 272) testifying her view on city congestion.

Following the summer break, in September 1913, Pratt then rented an apartment at the corner of 4<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Streets and set up another pedagogical experiment, co-founded and again subsidized by Edna Smith: Play School.

Eleven four- and five-year-olds from the locality attended the kindergarten. So, 1913 ended placidly.

### The year 1914: An Important Year of Reviews and Publications

The January issue of *The Masses* has Marot's (1914d) "The Revolutionary Spirit At Seattle," a small article not to be reviewed here. Later in the spring of 1914, Marot found salaried employment again; in May she began working as a member of the *New Review's* editorial board. In June 1916, together with Floyd Dell, Max Eastman and Arturo Giovanitti, Marot became co-owner of the socialist journal. Even though they stated in their "Announcement" that they would publish no editorials (*New Review*, 1914), many of their texts were not signed; it is therefore likely that in the near future a number of those anonymous *New Review* writings published since May 1914 will be identified as Marot's. Remarkably, "Federal Interference In Colorado," commenting President Wilson's three-years' truce proposition to settle strikes of miners in Colorado, and featured in the December issue, was the first article in *New Review* signed by Marot (1914b).

In the meantime, mid-1914, contrary to what might have been expected, Marot's partner Pratt had not given up on marketing *Do-With Toys™*. Her toy-making venture had not ended subsequent to founding Play School. The June *Country Life in America* (1914) holds an advertisement pronouncing, "Do-With Toys are now made and sold by The Stryvelyne Shop cooperating with Miss Caroline Pratt who announces many new toys and toy schemes." So, Pratt did no longer carve up her time between teaching at Play School and producing her playthings. She gave almost all her attention to the school and some time to devising the toys.

In late summer, in August, *American Labor Unions*, Marot's (1914a) second book, became available. Marot — member of Local 12646 American Federation of Labor, as she introduced herself in the title-page — immediately stated her aims in the "Preface" to the book:

This book undertakes to give the labor union point of view of the labor union policies and methods which characterize the labor organizations of national reputation. These policies and methods, even the forms of organization adopted and advocated by each, are based on certain "rights." To the workers these rights are as real and as inevitable as any of the political or religious rights claimed and secured in earlier times (p. v).

Marot certainly was not afraid to specify a neutral place in unionist debates:

I hold no special brief for the left or the right wing of the American Federation of Labor, nor for the American Federation itself as opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World, nor for the Railroad Brotherhoods, independent of the one or opposed to the other. My object has been to interpret each of these organizations as it interprets itself, with this difference: I have noted the criticisms made by the different groups within the labor movement of each of

the others, when these criticisms deal with fundamental things. I have disregarded the differences based on personal rivalry (p. vii).

Marot's unionist political standpoints and essays will not be reviewed here. It should suffice to indicate the contents of the book for interested and/or studious readers by listing a fair number of its chapters' titles: "Philanthropy and Labor Unions," "American Federation of Labor," "Organization of Women," "Industrial and Trade Organization," "The Boycott," "Arbitration," "Violence," "Strikes and Violence," "Sabotage," "Labor in Politics," and lastly "Direct Action." Although the book was not educational in an actually direct sense of the word, it surely was in an indirect way, as an agitation-learning digest. Yet, how far Marot succeeded in socialists and unionists' eyes is up to the comrades and unionists to scrutinize and ultimately to decide upon. At the time, the book was exceedingly well received, and was praised in numerous reviews — not referenced here.

At some undefined time in the late fall of 1914, after Marot (1914c) reviewed Algernon Crapey's *Rise of the Working Class* for *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, she, Pratt, and Edna Smith moved into a three-story house on Thirteenth Street, parts of the ground and second floors reserved for Play School. The school was still insignificantly small; Edna Smith and Caroline Pratt were the sole teachers. In 1915, Play School would slowly grow after reports of its didactic approach in newspapers and a very influential book: *Schools of To-Morrow*.

### The year 1915: "Unemployment Will Result From a Minimum Wage"

During its final one-and-a-half year keeping itself afloat, *New Review* published many unsigned texts. It is therefore exceedingly likely that in the not so distant future a number of these unsigned 1915 and 1916 *New Review* contributions will be identified and verified as Marot's. Interestingly, she began the year by publishing "The A. F. of L. Convention" (H. M., 1915), an article simply initialled "H. M.," discussing the November 1914 convention of the American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.), held at Philadelphia. (Note again: Marot's politically inspired essays will not be reviewed here.)

Almost instantaneously, 1915 got much hot and hotter for Marot — as it got for Pratt as well. On January 9, Marot had to appear before the New York State Factory Investigating Commission to testify her view regarding the minimum wage as a legislative proposition. Marot (1915d) had prepared a *Statement* for the Commission, explaining her stand:

The position I take on wages boards is the one which I consider is valid for trade unionists. All unionists oppose the creation of wages boards for the regulation of wages in organized trades. Also all unionists oppose the fixing of minimum rates of wages for men by the State in either organized or unorganized trades (p. 774).

Marot (1915c) — according to her own words a "very humble" member of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and

Accountants' Union — gave evidence, "I stand as one of the trade union women who are refusing to endorse the minimum wage as legislative proposition" (p. 2823). In the course of the hearing it became obvious that she chose organization of workers above minimum wage legislation. In her opinion, strong unions would "not permit a decrease of the staff" (p. 2827) as could be expected if merely a sudden introduction of minimum wages would be legalized, without guarantees that after introduction no workers would be laid off because of it. The Commission's Chairman summarized her unionist standpoint as follows:

Miss Marot...testified that in her opinion if there was a minimum wage fixed that it would result in a great many being thrown out of employment, the inefficient workers, and also that it would mean the introduction of new machinery and more methods of greater efficiency and it would result in longer hours if it were possible in the speeding up of work and shorter seasons. (In Dutcher, 1915, p. 2836).

The *New York Times* (1915a) cited Marot, condensing her stance, "Unemployment will result from a minimum wage," while the *Evening Post* (1915) cited her firm statement, "What is needed in the matter is concrete experience, not theory. Legislation is not the remedy for low wages." It is evident; Marot would not change her mind, modify or abandon her convictions.

As indicated above, 1915 got much hotter for Pratt too. Already in January, the Stryvelyne Shop that manufactured and sold her *Do-With Toys*™ since June 1914 went bankrupt, thereby out of the blue severing their business agreement with Pratt. As a consequence, Play School now received all of her attention. She straightaway invited journalists to visit the school and write about its unique pedagogical approach. First reports came out in March, in the *New York Tribune* (Fleischman, 1915; Rodman, 1915). Interestingly enough, this happened only ten days after a verbal upheaval about her partner Marot's provoking stand that working girls and working women were not interested in suffrage had appeared in the same newspaper:

Miss Helen Marot...has made a study of working women and knows them better than they have time to know themselves. "They have little conception of their place in industry and of their relation to other wage earners, but they have a very present realization of how to help out at home," she stated..."The woman movement and 'the great industrial movement' of which we hear so much haven't reached the consciousness of most working women. They are too much involved with their outside work and their work at home to realize what these are. And you must remember," she went on, "that it was not until women had leisure that the suffrage movement was born...Working girls now go outside to work, not as competent wage earners, as men do, but as helpers out at home. So you see they still have the domestic point of view. Men feel that their domestic duty coincides with the performance of a day's

work. Women give time and strength to industry as men do, but are not relieved from home duties. So you see working women haven't really as much time to give to outside ideas like suffrage as working men. And working women feel keenly the need of direct action. This talk of suffrage is too far away from them. Trade union girls...look to their unions to obtain the legislative action they want..." The "women movement," according to Miss Marot, is a middle class woman's movement..."And, as a matter of fact, most of the legislation enacted for the benefit of working women has come from women who do not work and who know little of the conditions of those who work," Miss Marot added. The minimum wage she cited as an example of legislation that women workers themselves objected to, but which other women were quite in favor of. (*New York Tribune*, 1915; see Figure 2).

Several days later, through honoring adversarial, the *New York Tribune* published a commentary indicating that a number of Marot's WTUL allies vigorously resented her statements (Gruening, 1915). The news that Marot put the unionist's cat among the suffragettes' minimum wage protagonists' and not-working middle-class women's pigeons reached the country with some delay. Just when reports about Pratt and Smith's Play School were appearing in the *New York Tribune* (Fleischman, 1915; Rodman, 1915), *Daily East Oregonian* (1915), *Harrisburg Telegraph* (1915), *Kingston Daily Freeman* (1915) and probably other newspapers as well were reporting Marot's words under a heading implying that working women were "too busy [earning a living] to be strong suffragettes."

In June, Marot (1915a) placed a minuscule memorandum regarding the sinking of the British ocean liner RMS Lusitania by a German U-boat in *New Review*, stating, as perhaps befits a true American unionist Socialist, "The sinking of the Lusitania threatened our safety, but not more so, indeed far less than the unemployment in this country directly due to the war."

A few weeks earlier, in May, enthrallingly, Evelyn Dewey and her father John Dewey had issued *Schools of To-Morrow*, including a report on Pratt and Smith's experimental Play School, most certainly investigated by Evelyn Dewey (Staring & Aldridge, 2014a). The Deweys reported that Pratt's school "organizes all the work around the play activities of little children" (Dewey & Dewey, 1915, p. 116), adding that every child in the school "has floor space of his own with a rug, and screens to isolate him sufficiently so that his work is really individual" (p. 117) and that Pratt's role as a teacher was "to teach the pupil processes and control of tools, not in a prearranged scale but as they are needed in construction" (p. 118). They found that the toys used in the school on the whole were very good, and even described them; that is to say, they roughly sketched wooden jointed dolls and construction blocks. Yet, it is evident that Play School children in 1915 played with Pratt's *Do-With* dolls and toys and with building blocks that she had devised. *Schools of To-Morrow* and scores of book reviews appearing in newspapers, magazines and academic

journals nationwide, citing its information regarding Play School, introduced the school and its pedagogy to educationists and parents in the whole of the United States, and even internationally.

Early in November, the *New Republic* contained an article by Marot about her partner's Play School, "a laboratory both for the children and teachers, and as it gathers material, a laboratory for the community" (1915e, p. 16). The description of the school's toys and dolls and blocks points out features, which were similar to sketches by Fleischman and Rodman in the *New York Tribune*, and by the Deweys in *Schools of To-Morrow*. Marot wrote:

Toys are a serious part of the equipment. They have been selected with careful regard for the use to which the children will put them. The men, women and child dolls are proportionate in size, and related to them are horses, carts, domestic animals, trains of cars, and *all sizes of blocks* for use as building material. The children supplement these toys with boats, auto-trucks, derricks, steam shovels and house furnishings which they make at the bench. (p. 16; italics added).

Note how Marot illustrated the school's informal shop-work-like activities and the ways the children adjusted to their environment:

The school offers each child an opportunity to carry his curiosity about things through experiment to discovery. It is equipped with an apparatus which is not fixed but is constantly extended. This includes work-benches furnished with full-sized tools. Girls as well as boys of four and five years use hammers, saws and planes without dire consequences to tools or fingers...With the help of such tools and by dramatization the children reconstruct the world of adults — that is, the part with which they come in contact — in miniature. Given this opportunity to interpret their environment, an understanding of it becomes for them a very pressing need. It is this condition of the mind that the school sets out to induce (p. 16).

Marot added a special feature of the school — "excursions of discovery."

The excursions of discovery do not parallel the information trips which are common in school programs. The Play School excursions are made several times a week and are not special occasions. Sometimes they are made in search of definite information, but usually they keep to the spirit of children of seven years or younger, which is one of exploration and adventure. If a region once visited proves of high interest the trip is repeated at short intervals. The river and the docks, for instance, are inexhaustible. What the children see on their expeditions is not turned by the teacher on their return to the school into a lesson, nor is its use dictated by her. The school, endowed with the patience of science, leaves all that to

the children...The instinct of all children is to turn the life of the adult world over into miniature through play (pp. 16-17).

Marot's article references a statement issued by the school, describing the aims of making fieldtrips: "We trace the interdependence of traffic and industry. We watch wagons and guess what they contain, where they are going and where they came from. We trace them to the railroads and back to the stores, we follow them to the river, loaded with rocks and dirt which we have already seen taken out of the subway excavations; and then we see these loaded on boats" (p. 16). During the fieldtrips the children experienced interdependences of the physical and social worlds. Back in school they subsequently tied their experiences and notions gained during the exploration excursions with social studies perspectives. They became young geographers in the true sense of the word (Sprague Mitchell, 1928). But they felt more than mere young geographers. They were young road workers, young clerks and young underground employees, young nurses and young politicians, etc., sharing and working their common experiences. Marot commented, "The life of the city was thus transformed from an itinerant circus to a field of discovery, marvellous in content and intellectual stimulus" (p. 16).

### A painful tragedy in November 1915

In October 1915, in "A Sporting Proposition for Labor," Marot (1915b) analyzed the labor lawyer and Chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission Frank Walsh's 1915 personal report to Congress. As already stated above, Marot's political essays will not be reviewed here. Yet, it certainly is of interest to know that in the same month, *Labor Gazette* (1915) was first to report that Marot was to become a member of the (novel) Committee on Industrial Relations with offices in Washington, D.C. to replace the United States Commission on Industrial Relations (see: *Iron Trade Review*, 1916; Leja, 1993; *New York Call*, 1915b; *New York Times*, 1915b; *Sun*, 1915; Walsh, et al., 1916a-g). Committee on Industrial Relations Editor George West (1916) later summarized the Committee's responsibilities and purposes in *Pearson's Magazine*:

The Committee's effort will be to keep before the public the injustice and suffering which exist where labor is not organized; and to expose those perversions of government authority in city, state and nation which prevent a fair and free field to those who are carrying the message of organization (p. 202).

At the same time a gripping drama effecting Marot and Pratt unfolded its concluding part. Gray (1979) in her biography of birth control activist Margaret Higgins Sanger (1879-1966) tells that Sanger fled the United States in 1914, having made "arrangements with Marot and Pratt to take care of her youngest children while she was gone" (p. 81). Hauser (2006) in her biography of Pratt also indicates that the Marot-Pratt couple cared for two of Sanger's children — Grant, aged six, and his sister Peggy, aged four — for some time when Sanger had fled the United States in 1914. "How long they stayed with Caroline and Helen is not clear," Hauser adds, appending, "but...the children missed their

parents so much that their father had to retrieve them and get a relative to live with them” (pp. 130-131). Unfortunately, Hauser does not attach conclusions to her casual remarks regarding this atypical episode in Marot and Pratt’s lives.

How did this tragedy related to Marot and Pratt who were caring for Sanger’s children unfold? William ‘Bill’ Sanger (1873-1961), born in Berlin, Germany and immigrated to the United States in 1878, was an architect who had studied at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art in New York City. He married Margaret Higgins in 1902. Margaret, who was a trained nurse, had begun her studies in medicine, but abruptly ended medical training because she was stricken by tuberculosis. Their first son Stuart was born in 1903; second son Grant was born several years later, and daughter Peggy in 1910. Yet, Margaret separated from her husband in 1913 — the year of the *Patterson Silk Strike* of which she was a leading activist (Golin, 1988). In her *New York Call* columns and in her pamphlet *Family Limitation* discussing family planning she risked detention by acting in defiance of the Comstock Law of 1873. But the real reason for her exile, indicated above, was her 8-page monthly newsletter *The Woman Rebel*, promoting contraception, launched early in 1914. On April 3, 1914, post office authorities served notice on her that copies of *The Woman Rebel* were ‘unmailable.’ In August 1914, she was indicted to have violated postal obscenity laws by mailing copies of the newsletter. In October 1914, she appeared in court, charged by the federal government with violating postal codes. Adickes (1997) states that she faced “four criminal charges carrying a maximum sentence of forty-five years” (p. 132).

Not long after, Margaret Sanger left the United States for Canada, fleeing to England under the alias ‘Bertha Watson.’ Her youngest children were given in the care of Marot and Pratt (Katz, Hajo, & Engelman (Eds.), 2003, p. 113). Early in 1915, circumstances got really complicated when William Sanger had to appear in court too. Friends — Helen Marot included — were present at the court case (*New York Call*, 1915c). There and then they decided to issue a call for the formation of a Birth Control League (*Survey*, 1915). At some time in the spring of 1915, both Sanger children left the Marot-Pratt home and stayed with Margaret’s sister Ethel in William Sanger’s house on 11<sup>th</sup> Street, merely two blocks from Marot and Pratt’s townhouse. Not long after, on Sunday May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1915, they then entered the Stelton Modern School in New Jersey as boarders, together with 27 other students.

Margaret Sanger’s (1938) autobiography recounts the tragedy, which followed. By the end of October 1915, subsequent to the September 11, 1915 conviction of William for having violated the Criminal Code, Margaret returned to the United States. “A few days after my arrival Peggy was taken ill with pneumonia...Peggy died the morning of November 6, 1915” (pp. 138-139). Avrich (1997) writes that Margaret, “who had just returned from Europe, suffered a nervous breakdown” (p. 238). Adickes (1997) writes, “the loss devastated [her] and subjected her to fits of remorse for the rest of her life” (p. 132).

Marot and Pratt felt shattered. They had cared for Peggy for several months. However, they were additionally shocked by the news that Peggy passed away on November 6, 1915. It was the official publication date of Marot’s article on Pratt’s Play School in the *New Republic*! This

tragedy may explain why Pratt and Marot never spoke about Marot’s 1915 *New Republic* article. It was too painful for them to be reminded of the dramatic and confusing day, to think about Marot’s article without at the same time remembering Peggy’s sad death (Staring, 2013b)!

### Trade-unionism and minimum wages

Two texts by Marot’s pen, written well before November 6, appeared during these bewildering times. In October 1915, the *Unpopular Review* issued “The Minimum Wage-Board And The Union,” printed under Marot’s *nom de plume* ‘A Trade-Unionist’ (1915). In November, the American Federation of Labor organ *American Federationist* had “Trade Unions and Minimum Wage Boards” under Marot’s full name (Marot, 1915f). Both articles explain her firm, stern and unyielding stand regarding unionism and minimum wage boards. Since the time she attended the November 1912 conference of representatives of a dozen organizations to install a campaign to set up minimum wage boards in New York City (*Sun*, 1912c; see above), Marot had more than once accounted for her views behind closed doors. Later she would also express them publicly at several assemblies, e.g., in March 1915 at a meeting of the NYC chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (*New York Call*, 1915a), and earlier, in January of that year, during the New York State Factory Investigating Commission hearings — briefly reviewed above (Marot, 1915c-d). Note that early in 1916, the Executive Committee of Merchants and Manufacturers of Massachusetts (1916) issued *The Minimum Wage: A Failing Experiment*, a booklet that in an appendix examined and compared both texts Marot had published on minimum wage and trade unionism (pp. 38-45) — ignorant of the fact that ‘Trade Unionist’ and Marot were one and the same person. It is amusing to read that they reasoned that Marot in her November 1915 *American Federationist* expose “seems in full accord with many of the arguments made by the writer of the *Unpopular Review* article” (p. 43, italics added). Their concluding commentary regarding Marot’s *American Federationist* article reads:

We find in this well-reasoned article of Miss Marot’s the same skepticism and lack of confidence in the present school of reformers who are seeking to remodel our economic life, which we ourselves feel. Her contribution to the problem is most helpful, and should have weight with those labor leaders thus far unattached to either side of the Legislative Minimum Wage controversy, and should give food for serious thought to that element of labor which she characterizes as lacking sufficient courage to be consistent in their unionism (p. 45).

Marot’s *American Federationist* article, in complete accordance with the booklet’s authors’ conclusion, powerfully stirred the pot. It was assessed to constitute a perfect example of high-quality agitation, wholly fitting unionists’ demands, and as a result was reprinted in at least five union magazines and journals between 1915 and 1918 (see: Marot, 1915g-h, 1916k-l, 1918d). “Trade Unions and Minimum Wage Boards” was Marot’s most powerful article ever. And who knows, it may even have soothed the pain

related to her *New Republic* commentary regarding her companion's Play School (Marot, 1915e), forever associated with the tragic death of Peggy Sanger (see above).

Publication of Marot's November 6 *New Republic* article may have had an unforeseen aftermath for Pratt's Play School. *New Republic* was a journal of opinion founded in 1914 with financial support of social activist and supporter of women's trade unions Dorothy Payne Whitney Straight (1887-1965) who in 1904 had come into a major inheritance, and her husband, banker Willard Straight (1880-1918). Pratt (1948), in her autobiography, remembered a visit at some unspecified time in 1915 by Dorothy Willard Straight and a friend — according to her as a consequence of the May 1915 release of *Schools of To-Morrow*:

As a result there were more visitors and some offers of financial assistance. Mrs. Willard Straight came with a friend and spent a whole morning, and the size of the check she sent me later was generous evidence that the morning had been interesting (p. 55).

This seemingly precise memory may nonetheless be a blur of historical accuracy — a kind of Freudian mistake. It is not known whether Marot's *New Republic* article appeared after (and perhaps as a consequence of) Mrs. Willard Straight's visit to the school, or whether the article appeared prior to the visit — and the visit should perchance be interpreted as a consequence of Marot's *New Republic* article. (Remember that Pratt never spoke of her partner's article because of reasons explicated above — not even in her autobiography that appeared well after Marot's death.)

Another person who visited the school, several times, was Lucy Sprague Mitchell. All through 1913 and 1914, Mitchell had worked under Harriet Johnson, former housemate of Marot and Pratt, who was head of the Public Education Association's Visiting Teachers project (Staring, 2013b). She had just changed to organizing a Psychological Survey for the Association. When in 1916 the Mitchell family moved from West 10<sup>th</sup> Street to 15 Washington Square North, Sprague Mitchell offered to house Pratt's school in an old stable at the rear of the house — with an entrance at 14 MacDougal Alley. The stable was converted into a proper school with three classrooms, while the back yard was turned into the school's playground.

### **The years 1916 and 1917: No American Martyrs for A European War**

Again, the year began friendly and calm. In January 1916, the *Sun* (1916) reported that Mayor Mitchel, at the request of the NYC Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration Committee, had appointed Marot as member of an honorary committee to assist in the Shakespeare celebrations of May 1916. Yet, not much later, duties related to her Committee on Industrial Relations work already determined Marot's schedule. On January 30, she was one of the speakers at the 'Industrial Relations Night' at a Labor Forum in the Washington Irving High School where a report made public by the Committee on Industrial Relations on the January 1916 East Youngstown, Ohio strike and consequent riot was discussed (*New York Call*, 1916a; *Evening Post*, 1916).

On February 17, members of the Committee on Industrial Relations Frank Walsh and Helen Marot jointly

climbed a mass meeting pulpit at the Manhattan Lyceum during a strike in New York City.

Miss Marot told the strikers that only through their own efforts will they be able to better their condition. "You can't reform capital," she said. "If you think the bosses will raise your wages and shorten your hours of work of their own free will, you are mightily mistaken. The only way to improve your condition is to fight and keep on fighting." (*New York Call*, 1916b).

Soon after, still in winter 1916, Marot began writing for *The Masses*, well before the magazine merged with *New Review* in July of that year. She served the editorial board until December 1917, when the U.S. government repressed publication because of its believed antiwar policy (Leja, 1993). Between March 1916 and May 1917, twenty-three verified pieces of writing by Marot's pen appeared in *The Masses* — initialled "H.M." or fully signed. These fifteen months constituted Marot's most productive time as an author of outspoken unionist articles. Possibly even more texts written by Marot appeared in *The Masses*, but are not yet identified, since these were not signed, or perhaps even mis-initialled (e.g., L. M., 1916; H. K. M., 1917). Still, her 1916 texts in *The Masses* (H. M., 1916a-f; Marot, 1916 a, 1916c-i), and a 1916 letter to the editor in the *New York Times* (Marot, 1916b) will not be reviewed here because of their purely political and unionist contents. The same holds true for a text on women's interest in the 1916 Labor Day that appeared in at least two newspapers — *Niagara Falls Gazette* (Marot, 1916j) and *Pittsburg Press* (Marot 1916m) — and for all her articles in the 1917 *Masses* (H. M., 1917a-i), a text in *Mother Earth Bulletin* (Marot, 1917b), and an extended review of Thorstein Veblen's book *The Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation in Political Science Quarterly* (Marot, 1917c). As stated before, Marot's comrades and colleague unionists should review these texts, evaluating them on socialist and unionist merits. Note that Adickes (1997) has synopses of six of Marot's texts in *The Masses*.

On May 13, Marot decidedly refused to march in the gigantic 'Preparedness for War Parade' in New York City, categorically opposing an aspiration for a United States intervention in the European war. Was it because of her Quaker background? Was it a remnant of her Fabian socialism still vibrant? Or was it her belief in international socialism? The May 14 *New York Call* (1916c) cited Marot at her best, fulminating against preparing for war, addressing herself to her comrades:

I have kept away from the preparedness parade lest I might do the show some act of violence. I regard the parade as a most hypocritical and diabolical demonstration by people who are trying to get us into trouble. It is an attempt to force preparedness on the country. The outturning was a farce and a fake, owing to the coercive methods used to get marchers in line. Friends whom I asked to investigate tell me of employes who declared they had to march on penalty of losing their jobs. I do not know of a

woman in the labor field who does not feel as I do toward the preparedness parade.

Without a doubt, Marot did not intend to become some kind of American martyr to the European War! Small wonder that she — a year later, in March 1917 — together with all colleague members of the Committee on Industrial Relations would powerfully warn for a United States entry into the European War: “A memorial has been presented to the President and Congress to avoid war by all means possible, but, if war is forced, then to ‘take all profit out of war’” (Walsh, et al., 1917b, p. 10). Marot was very clear and passionate about her beliefs. “Like the Fabians, Marot maintained that to be a socialist, a person must first understand the society he or she wanted to change” (Gaudioso, 1992, p. 39).

As regards a completely different political arena, we cannot say with certainty that Marot and close friends like Alice Chipman Dewey, Florence Kelley, and former colleague WTUL allies who were on the National Executive Committee, the National Committee of State Chairmen, or the National Advisory Council of the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage, met indeed at a special June 1916 ‘Woman’s Party Convention’ organized by the Congressional Union in Chicago, to launch a Woman’s Party “which will work independently to secure the immediate passage of the National Suffrage Amendment” in Congress (Congressional Union for Women Suffrage, 1916, p. 2). Yet, it is certain that Alice Chipman Dewey in 1916 resigned her Advisory Council chair to join the Woodrow Wilson Independent League (Staring & Aldridge, 1914b). Did Marot agree with Chipman Dewey’s decision? We were not able to extract Marot’s 1916 stance from the literature. More research is needed.

It is, on the other hand, a fact that she, her friend Ida Rauh, and three other persons sat on the Promoting Committee to form the National Labor Defense Council — also spelled National Labor Defence Council, and National Labor Defense Counsel. In November, Rauh (1916) was the first radical progressive who announced that the Committee obtained consent of five lawyers, among whom Committee on Industrial Relations Chairman Frank Walsh:

In order to give the *unorganized workers* the advantages of the organized workers, the National Labor Defense Counsel has been formed...[The] counsel proposes to employ a man who is intimately connected with the labor movement; who is competent to report situations to the counsel; who is able to carry out the advice of the counsel; employ local attorneys; who will represent the counsel locally; and who will raise the money for the conduct of trials. To maintain such an agent in the field will need money.

A month later, in *The Masses*, all five members of the Promoting Committee made known that the Committee needed \$5,000 to maintain the envisioned agent (Marot, Older, Barton, Steffens, & Rauh, 1916). In 1917, then, Walsh became Chair, and Marot became Vice-Chair of the National Labor Defense Council.

Both the Committee on Industrial Relations and the National Labor Defense Council needed cooperation from

unions and other organizations to maintain services. In January 1917, the Committee reported that they urgently needed money to stay afloat (Walsh, et al., 1917a). In June, the Council pleaded labor unions, labor papers and magazines, and several radical and socialist organizations for collaboration with them (e.g., Walsh, Marot, & Harvey, 1917a-i), and to remit funds to maintain their services (*New York Call*, 1917).

### 1917: Camp Liberty

Since the time Helen Marot headed WTUL support of the *Shirtwaist Makers’ Strike* late 1909 and in early 1910, she radicalized. Even though she may have had agitation, that is: educational, intentions, the many strikes she was involved in, as well as the internal WTUL struggles regarding minimum wages and suffragist issues, did a greater reliance on her radical unionist Socialist Party stance than of her more moderate Quaker and Fabian socialist background. It is perhaps telling that since 1912 she no longer participated in the Fabian Society. Still, her steady close observation of her companion’s toy adventure, Pratt’s publications about play and toys (see: Staring, 2015), her published texts in the *New York Call*, and her work for the Socialist Party’s National Education Committee (related to the Schneider plan, see above), her founding of Play School in late summer 1913, the numerous, daily conversations with Pratt discussing educational renewal, all these and more education related activities made Marot precisely aware of the importance of educational reform.

The fact that since 1909 both her colleague WTUL allies and former housemates Harriet Johnson and her companion Harriet Forbes worked with the Public Education Association of the City of New York (PEA), that her sister Mary Marot worked for the PEA since 1908 (Staring, Aldridge, & Bouchard, 2014), and that other close friends, like Evelyn Dewey (Staring & Aldridge, 2014a) and Lucy Sprague Mitchell worked for the same organization as well, brought Marot in even closer contact with educational renewal praxis. By the end of 1915, and during the winter of 1916, a group of PEA workers and a number of their progressive friends intended to establish an educational clearinghouse as regards progressive educational experiments in the United States. The group included, among others, Harriet Forbes, Harriet Johnson, Helen Marot, Caroline Pratt, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell. At the time, they called themselves the Bureau of School Information. Through these informal gatherings, Marot in time got entangled in experimental educational. It is interestingly to note that Marot, a radical, politicized woman operating in Socialist and unionist spheres, striving for social reform, societal change and organizing women, slowly turned to renew society by exploring experimental education of youngsters — the next generation.

In May 1916, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, her husband Wesley, and Harriet Johnson founded the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The Bureau strove to be a simple, cooperative, flexible and democratic organization. The initial Bureau counted twelve charter members: nine women, and three men, the majority of whom were members of the earlier informal group who discussed organizing a clearinghouse. Among the women were Evelyn Dewey, Harriet Johnson, Harriet Forbes, Helen Marot’s

partner Caroline Pratt, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell (Staring, 2013b). Bureau members met in diverse councils and formed various committees. Virtually all minutes of meetings of Bureau councils and committees are in the archives of Bank Street College of Education, supplemented by minutes in the archives of City and Country School, both in New York City. The two collections, put together, form a complete archive of Bureau minutes, 1916-1920. They show that the Bureau, 1916-1919, had no accurately thought through direction *vis-à-vis* its purposes. The Bureau cultured a hybrid position. Consequently it limped on two legs, as a clearinghouse gathering and distributing educational information, issuing bulletins, preparing exhibits, maintaining a specialized library, and as an organization conducting and subsidizing a range of educational experiments.

Following the summer of 1916, charter members of the Bureau began planning experiments in four education-related fields: teaching, health, administrative problems, and lastly, school and community. The many topics of interest included Gary school methods (Staring & Aldridge, 2014a), Marietta Johnson's educational views (Staring, 2014), quality of light and air in schoolrooms, discipline in schools, and Alexander's muscular coordination and breathing habit changing procedures (Staring, Bouchard, & Aldridge, 2014). During the fall of 1916 and winter months of 1917, the Bureau of Educational Experiments held a number of informal conferences. Topics included industrial education, vocational guidance, dramatization in schoolwork, toys and play, nature study and social hygiene, summer camps, and rural schools. Next, Bureau members began writing detailed plans for specific experiments. Twenty proposals were handed in. Only a few plans survived scrutiny. A small number of suggested topics for research would eventually form the nucleus of a project — leading to a report, experiment, or book publication (Staring, 2013b).

In winter 1917, Helen Marot, not a member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments, handed in a plan, essentially a proposal to organize a multi-day educational conference. She suggested investigating viability of organizing a seminar about educational aspects of military training in public schools. The archives of City and Country School hold the original proposal, titled "Conference on the Educational Aspects of Military Training in Public Schools. Plan as submitted by Miss Marot, March 8th." It states that forum discussions should address psychological, medical, sociological, and physical training aspects. Marot recommended Columbia University philosopher and honorary member of the Bureau of Educational Experiments John Dewey to present a summary of relevant educational views. However, the plan did not survive scrutiny, and instead of organizing such a seminar, the Bureau hired Marot as a researcher requesting her to write a proposal to recruit city boys for farm labor in the countryside. Marot's positive response led to an actual experiment administered by the Bureau. The archives of Bank Street College of Education hold Marot's research proposal "A Program for Emergency Activities in Relation to The Proposed Mobilization of Boy Labor for Farms" as well as minutes of meetings where Bureau members examined Marot's plan. The rationale was that implementing the proposal would lessen work force demands. Consequently, it would help alleviate food shortage that might ensue due to World War I.

Boys and young men would work in the country as farm cadets during the day and board in a labour supply camp by night. The work itself would constitute an educational experience for the boys; it was "to test out by actual practice new and meritorious methods of instruction for children and youth" and to demonstrate "social and educational values of a summer's experience in a carefully supervised labor camp" (Artman, 1918b, p. 149).

On May 9, Marot (1917d) very briefly defended the plan in Washington, D.C. in a statement given during hearings before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the United States Senate, relative to the proposal for increasing the production, improving the distribution, and promoting the conservation of food supplies in the United States. The Bureau of Educational Experiments financed publication and distribution of *Farm Labor and Boy Camps*, a folder on the subject, written by Marot — now missing (see: *Public*, 1917, p. 569). Fortunately, it was reprinted later that year in *The New Country Life*. In it, Marot (1917a) explained the camps' purposes:

Our proposition is to institute labor supply camps in farm districts where boy labor could be used by neighboring farmers. In these camps, boys from sixteen to nineteen years will live and go to the farms for their day's work. This will relieve the farmer of the care of the boys' housing and board, a serious matter in the farm household. It will give the boys companionship they crave, and insure their personal independence of the farmer...For educational purposes the [camp] Leader will encourage the boys to discuss their work of the day and induce farmers on rainy days or in slack seasons to explain farm processes in which the boys are engaged and other processes on which they do not work but which relate to their work...He will institute conferences at which the scientific agriculturists of the state are invited to talk and use the moving picture films of the farm institutes. He will develop the educational features so that the boys in the camp will have the opportunity of using their intensive experience on the farms as a basis for an extensive interest (pp. 70 + 72).

Next, in June 1917, Camp Liberty, the envisaged farm cadet camp was indeed set up in Stanley, near Geneva in upstate New York, at the invitation of several of its farmers. In total twenty-seven young men of different — mostly immigrant — parentage and with different religion (five religions were represented), mainly from comfortable NYC and suburban middle-class families and a minority from lower East Side families, with an average age of eighteen years, were recruited and enlisted through the Farm Service Office at Columbia University and the Farm Cadet Bureau of the State Military Training Commission. On the whole, they were students from high schools and colleges. Camp Liberty lasted until intensive farm harvest ended by the end of August 1917 (*Christian Science Monitor*, 1917; *Daily News*, 1917; *Geneva Daily Times*, 1917; *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 1917; *Syracuse Journal*, 1917). In May 1918, the camp's leader's report appeared in *The*

*Survey* (Artman, 1918b), while approximately around the same time the Bureau issued a special bulletin analyzing the experiment (Hunt (Ed.), 1918) — including a ‘descriptive report’ by camp leader Artman (1918a). While there is no evidence that anyone objected to this Bureau sponsored exploitation of student labour, both accounts raise questions about how well the middle class Bureau of Educational Experiments reformers understood the relationship between labour and learning. What did the young ‘student’ farmers learn from a day of hard farm labour? What did they learn from the camp’s self-government features? “It taught them the dignity of manual work when honestly and thoroughly done,” wrote the camp’s leader (Artman, 1918b, p. 154). He exemplified his evaluation by giving several illustrations of first-hand experiences of farm life and farming operations carrying some educational aspects for inner-city young men. Still, though his report and the Bureau bulletin bespeak the camp’s council — asserting that the group formation processes and working in a rural environment was in itself educational, as contrasted to, for instance, spending the summer in recreational camps — they deliver no genuine insights into Camp Liberty’s educational aspects. The great demand for the young men’s labour and ten-hour working days effectively prevented them from attending educationally intended evening gatherings.

[The boys] came to have a new and fuller appreciation of farm life and of the satisfaction of the country. Most of them were enthusiastic about life in camp...The experience developed resourcefulness. The outdoor exertion built up their bodies so that they returned to the city with hardened muscles, increased weight and minds refreshed. A fine spirit of comradeship and of mutual helpfulness found expression in these normal associations of camp and field...Aside from the increased production of food, the chief ends attained by this demonstration lay in the increased vigor of the boys, first hand knowledge of farm conditions, and a clearer understanding of urban and rural inter-relations...The chief social importance of this camp, however, is in the establishment of mutual sympathy between the farmers and the city boys...City and country must become better acquainted. The farm labor camp here portrayed offers one practical way to acquaint them. (Artman, 1918b, p. 154).

One of the contributions in the special bulletin issued by the Bureau of Educational Experiments (Hunt (Ed.), 1918) cites a report of a Bureau committee member (who most probably was Helen Marot), stating,

When I visited the camp the first day of September, I had an informal conference with the boys. Their discussion of their experience during the summer, as well as their discussion of the general questions involved in farm labor, was impersonal, intelligently critical and eager. Half of the boys would like to continue the experience next summer; all of them made the unqualified assertion that their summer had

been valuable and that they were glad that they had had it. (Committee Member, 1918, p. 20).

However, even though camp leader Artman in both his reports as well as the Bureau in their bulletin extensively praised the experiment, no further camp sessions were organized under the Bureau’s aegis. Marot was unable to supervise the organizing of a second camp session. At the time, Marot kept herself busy writing for *The Masses*, she had her work on the Committee on Industrial Relations as well as on the Promoting Committee to form a National Labor Defense Council, and later as Vice-Chair of the Council, while she in addition was writing another report for the Bureau, eventually turning it into another book. The Bureau had appointed her to make a 6-months’ survey of points of view and literature regarding ‘Industry and Education.’ By the end of October 1917, Marot was given some extra time to prepare her report. In January 1918, after she had completed the survey, she submitted her report on industrial education. Later that month, the Bureau’s Department of Information, its Working Council and its Executive Committee discussed the report, recommending that it “be offered to a magazine for publication, reserving rights for publication in book form after the completion of the final report” (Minutes Department of Information, January 6, 1918. Archives of Bank Street College of Education).

#### 1918: Marot’s report on ‘Industry and Education’

In September of 1918, Helen Marot (1918c) published her third book, *The Creative Impulse in Industry*, including a favorable plan to integrate school and workshop where play materials are produced, originally conceived and thought out in detail by her partner Caroline Pratt. Four months prior to the publication of the book, in May, the *Dial* (1918) announced that as of July 1, Marot who for years had “been associated with American labor organizations” would serve their editorial board, bringing “to the problems of readjustment both imagination and Practical understanding.” Marot served its editorial staff from October 1918, after the magazine had moved offices from Chicago to New York City, until November 1919, when the magazine was sold, and Marot retired. “Reconstruction at Work,” Marot’s (1918a) first contribution in her new capacity that appeared in October will not be reviewed here.

Earlier that year, in February, she became well known in NYC educational circles, because at a luncheon given in honor of the NYC Board of Education by five educational organizations she publicly spoke out against the dismissal of high school teachers for alleged disloyalty because of their stand regarding the United States’ war efforts. The *New York Tribune* (1918) cited Marot telling, “such procedures smacked of German methods, which must be fought vigorously, especially after the war.” And the *Sun* (1918) quoted her saying, “When things like that cloud the public school system...we are in danger of forgetting some fundamental things essential to liberty.” According to the *Sun*, “There was loud applause.”

In April, conform advice given by members of the Bureau of Educational Experiments cited above, Marot (1918b) published “The Creative and Efficiency Concepts of Education” in the *Dial* — a dense article, based on her

report on industrial education for the Bureau (see above). In it, Marot stated that the United States almost certainly would not introduce the German system of industrial education because it reflected German societal circumstances which were not equivalent to those in the United States, the German people's "psychology was still a feudal psychology," and, unlike "the Anglo-Saxon, the German has not experienced the liberating effects of the political philosophy which developed along with modern technology in both England and America" (p. 341). Furthermore, industrial education based on German educational principles that was introduced in American schools before 1915 "was faltering in its progress because the German idea [was] essentially at variance with our national concepts and political institutions" (p. 342). The brief analysis brought Marot almost directly to her main critique of industrial education in general, Germany and the United States included:

The result is that as the system has been introduced in America it neither prostitutes the schools in the interest of industry, nor does it give the children the power through experience to meet the real problems of industry. In our industrial schools there is an elaboration of technology; there is, as well, its application to the general principles of physical science, industrial and political history, even to the aesthetics of industry. But all of these attempts have emphasized the absence of the really significant factors. These factors are those which give men the ability to control industry. After all, no work in the subject matter of industry is educational which does not in intention or in fact give the persons involved the ability to participate in the administration of industry. Even the best of schemes for industrial education have so far left the pupils helpless before their subject (p. 342).

Marot found that "destructive influences which developed in the era of craftsmanship" were still dominating "the present era" (p. 342), and workers', and for that matter students', possibilities to grow intellectually and emotionally, in the main: opportunities for growth, were completely neglected. Industrial education merely amounted to industrial training. It was her view that educators should "of themselves initiate productive enterprises wherein young people will be free to gain first hand experience in the problems of industry, as those problems stand in relation to their own time and generation" (pp. 342-343). Because circumstances were changing, potential for transforming industry and industrial indication arose. Marot concluded her *Dial* article by stating, "A creative concept which can survive and inhibit the predatory concept [of capitalist industry] must rest upon a people's desire for productive experience, and their ability to associate together for that common end" (p. 344).

### 1918: *The Creative Impulse in Industry*

Marot's (1918c) *The Creative Impulse in Industry* was dedicated to her life-long companion "Caroline Pratt whose appreciation of educational factors in the play world of children, intensified for the author the significance of the

growth processes in industrial and adult life" (p. v). Pratt's educational scrutiny regarding the use of toys by children played a central role in Marot's life, as she made clear in her 1918 book by referring to the fact that Pratt had pointed out for "the last ten years" — and had "given the subject scientific attention" — that "toys are the tools of little children which they use in their effort to become acquainted with their environment, which they use in schemes of play, and which are in fact efforts on their part to try out and experience the adult life into which they are thrown" (pp. 123-124). Marot's book, in the words of Leja (1993), argues

for the necessity of reconstructing both industry and education in order to provide the industrial worker with a creative experience...Creative expression should not have to be confined to the limited, individualistic field of art, but should be characteristic of associated effort as well. Art may someday be coextensive with life, she dared to hope. The work of Dewey, Veblen, and Caroline Pratt, to whom the book is dedicated, figured prominently in Marot's thinking (p. 144).

It will not come as a surprise to learn that the underlying theme of Marot's book is, as one reviewer so pointedly précised, that "industry to properly perform its function must be first of all a continuation of the educational process begun at school, and must therefore offer opportunity for first-hand experimentation" (Wolf, 1918, p. 209). Besides criticizing American as well as German industrial education in the book's second and third chapters (critiques that will not be reviewed here), Marot, in the fourth chapter, scrutinized two plans to reorganize overcrowded NYC public schools.

The first plan was the Schneider plan. We noticed above that according to Simons (1913) in *Coming Nation*, Socialist Party National Educational Committee member Caroline Pratt was writing a special study of this plan in 1913 (now missing). Possibly Marot's opinion does not diverge much from her partner's points of view. It is obvious and understandable that both women analyzed school and class congestion conditions throughout the 1910s (see: Pratt, 1912a; and possibly: L. M., 1916). As to the plan: in 1894, Herman Schneider (1872-1939) received his professional engineering degree at the Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Immediately following his appointment as Instructor at his *alma mater* in 1899, he proposed a plan to train prospecting engineers, a course program combining apprenticeships in commercial shops and stores with theoretical instruction at *Coöperative Schools*. In 1914, newly elected New York City Mayor John Purroy Mitchel hired Schneider as consultant to the Board of Estimate for one year for a week every month to introduce his vocational and trade related program in the city's overcrowded schools. Yet, throughout the middle and late 1910s, Schneider's plan barely impacted school congestion, and consequently was only introduced in a few secondary education schools. It was in some private commercial schools.

Marot's (1918c) critique of this first plan (~ the Schneider plan) reads:

The experience while it lasts may have educational value for the pupil. But in spite of what it may or may not hold, for the general run of pupils it leads up a blind alley because the apprenticeship does not fulfill the promise which apprenticeship supposedly holds out. That is, the pupil, when he becomes a worker, will be thrown back into some factory groove where his experience as an apprentice cannot be used, where he is closed off from the chance to develop and use the knowledge or training he received... There is no progression from apprenticeship to industrial control; no chance to use the knowledge gained where opportunity for participation in administration and reorganization of industry is cut off. The best of trades is a blind alley, educationally speaking (pp. 80-81).

The second plan to combat school congestion was the Gary plan. In 1907, William Wirt (1874-1938), a former Dewey student, accepted the post of Superintendent of Schools in Gary, Indiana — a steel industry town founded the previous year. Wirt had developed a program to efficiently use the whole school. He split the student population into two platoons, effectively creating two sub-schools within the one school. While School X students were busy in the academic classrooms, School Y students were studying art in a museum, doing homework in the library, taking physical education in the gymnasium or on the playground, or manual training and industrial arts in shops. School X students swapped places with School Y students in the afternoon. In 1914, New York City Mayor Mitchel hired Wirt — as he had hired Schneider — as consultant to combat school congestion. Wirt first implemented the program in two utterly overcrowded schools in the Bronx. As a consequence of swift achievements, Wirt was asked to implement the program in more NYC schools.

Marot was not troubled to criticize this second plan (~ the Gary plan) too:

The children's life in these schools is an experience in industry where there is nothing to hide, no trade secrets to keep back. The children have the full opportunity of seeing their work through to its completion and understanding its purpose and recognizing its value and use. It provides more than any other school system a liberal field for productive endeavor. But the Gary schools are not industry; they are a world apart; they represent, as all schools are supposed to, moments sacred to education and growth. They are not subjected to the test of coordination in the world of industry. They give the children a respect for productive enterprise that should be invaluable later in effecting their resistance to the prostitution of their creative power. They do not give them experience in the administrative side of industry for which the children of high school age are ready and in need (pp. 85-86).

According to the *Evening Telegram* (1919), Marot, in May 1919, told an audience at the city's People's Institute during a lecture on 'Vocational Adjustment' that "while the Gary system did offer children much first hand experience in industry, it did not give them a proper conception of its connection with the world".

*New York Call* book critic Pippa (1918) asked rhetorically, "Does Miss Marot advocate the Gary system?" She parried, "No; for her idea is more revolutionary and beneficial, if carried out, than the Gary plan." Marot's idea referenced by the *Call's* reviewer constituted a program for an integrated "workshop and [a secondary pre-vocational] school concerned with the production of play materials" (Marot, 1918c, p. 117). It was a completely new, truly revolutionary program for an "educative workplace" where "skills were balanced with the humanities and social sciences" (Rowbotham, 1995, p. 63). It was Marot's (1918c) conviction that,

Because educational content in modern factory work is not accessible to the mass of workers, we have fostered the illusion that the educational subject matter of industry was inherent in the technical process of fabrication. As we have fostered this illusion, we have missed the educational principle applicable to the craft period, as well as to the present, that the condition of the educational requirement, is that workers' participation in productive enterprise coincide in the long run with creative intention and accomplishment. This central requirement of industrial education means that individuals learn to function with conscious creative intention in the environment in which they live and that their learning furnishes a basis for critical and informed evaluations in industrial activity. In the craft period the creative intention required the worker's mastery over every process of his craft. In this machine age of associated enterprise the creative intention requires the ability to associate with others in the administration of industry as well as to take the place of an individual in the routine of factory work (pp. 113-114).

It is imperative to recognize that her partner Pratt previously proposed the idea to Marot, who declared:

[The] work done by Caroline Pratt on children's playthings has disclosed the fact that the present toy market is below grade from the point of view of the service of toys to children. The market does not supply the children with the sort of material and the sort of tools they require in their play schemes. Therefore, the product chosen has a legitimate social claim on the market (p. 116).

The educative workplace was to be a groundbreaking experimental Toy Shop, manufacturing wooden toys, simple to construct. Forty students ranging in age from 14 to 17 years would make up the staff of the Toy Shop. Half a dozen adults would do the heavy or unsafe work on machines, and would help to guide the students to improve their standards

and techniques related to, for example, a) technical problems of manufacturing playthings; b) keeping financial accounts and estimate costs; c) up-keep of the working force, buildings, tools, and other equipment; d) the financial aspects of the venture; e) staff service; and finally, f) literature and history related to the subject. Students would be members of the shop's staff and working force, that is: manufacturers, producers, clerks, and they were, of course, learners — all at the same time. The proposed course would cautiously be limited to two years.

Marot outlined several interdependent positive outcomes of the program. For instance,

The experience in the shipping of goods and in the handling of raw materials, in the installation of power, in the up-keep of the equipment and the general care of the factory will be participated in by all the workers in their turn, according to the requirements of the industry. While there will be adjustment of the workers, and trials as to the place of each will be made in the shop, intensive experiments in shop organization, like other shop problems, will be carried out in the school. This arrangement will serve the educational and the productive purpose, as experimentation should not be limited by the requirements of the shop, but by the requirements of industry at large. The school will be indeed the workshop laboratory where problems which originate in the shop can be taken over for analysis and solution. These concrete shop problems will represent required school subjects as the progress of the shop and the success of the enterprise depend upon their solution...The attention of the pupils will be directed to the factory and school buildings and the importance of making them a pleasant workplace and an acquisition to the neighborhood in which they are situated. The problem of noise from machinery and dirt and dust from fuel will be taken up as subjects demanding generous consideration...The pupils will be given full opportunity to write out statements of facts they have discovered or to write stories or plays or poetry which are inspired by the subject matter they have gathered. These literary productions will not be called for as exercises in the art of writing or of fact-recording, but as contributions toward the equipment of the school. The books which are collected as well as the original compositions will be submitted to critical analysis and accepted as accessions to the library if they come up to standards in authenticity and in literature...If the school experience is educational, the interest of the pupils in subject matter will not end with the solution of their shop problems or with their experience in industry. The above outline of tentative school subjects representing as they do the solution of the problems of a specific industry signifies merely the starting point of

an adventure for young people in the serious affairs of adult life (pp. 120-129).

### Reviews

The Bureau of Educational Experiments (in Marot, 1918c) made the following supporting statement regarding Pratt and Marot's experimental industrial school and Toy Shop plan in their "Preface" to *The Creative Impulse in Industry*:

The experiment which is outlined at the close seems to the Bureau to be of real moment, — one of which both education and industry should take heed. They earnestly hope it may be tried immediately. In that event, the Bureau hopes to work with Miss Marot in bringing her experiment to completion (p. vii).

In addition, the Bureau sent 210 special letters to advertise Marot's book; it distributed 2000 copies of a publications list including the book, as well as 1900 folders printed by the publisher, advertising the book. The Bureau mailed 115 complementary copies of the book.

The first favorable review of the book already appeared in September, in *Current Opinion* (1918): "What we need in America, [Marot] says, is a new realization of the meaning of industrial democracy and a new dedication of our powers to the educational task of discovering the possibilities of creative experience in associated enterprise" (p. 176). *Current Opinion* cited Pratt and Marot's plan of experimental industrial school workshops, stressing that the proposed workshops would be financed independently of the schools, but on a basis of profits; that the Toy Shops would be under the direction of those competent in "technological processes," estimation of costs, and efficient organization of the work.

Miss Marot is convinced that the creative spirit now regarded as the prerogative of sculptors, painters, poets and musicians may some day be infused into the main current of industry. Thus the burden of the masses will be lifted and joy be brought into every-day life (p. 176).

Pratt and Marot's plan was passionately reviewed in a kindheartedly article in the *New York Call* — not mentioning Pratt's name though (Pippa, 1918). Abbott (1918), in November, in the *Modern School* magazine, also drew attention to the plan for "school-workshops," or "industrial training-schools" (p. 350). John Dewey (1918), Marot's co-editor at the *Dial* who served as the Bureau of Educational Experiments' honorary member, wrote in *New Republic*, "in this little book [the reader] will find the most sincere and courageous attempt yet made to face the problem of an education adapted to a modern society which must be industrial and which would like to be democratic" (p. 23).

There were also reviews of the book that either did not encouragingly pay attention to Pratt and Marot's plan regarding experimental industrial schools to make wooden playthings (e.g., S. D. L., 1918), did not mention it at all (e.g., Tead, 1918), or did not describe the plan correctly. For example, the *New York Times* (1918) wrote, "A plea for the kind of industrial system which would stimulate and satisfy the native impulse for creative production is followed by an

account of a workshop that would meet such a standard, an account based on an experiment actually being tried in New York.” Note in particular that *Education* (1919) praised “The Bureau of Educational Experiment (*sic*) [that is] responsible for these studies. This Bureau is doing some surprising original and helpful work in a scientific spirit, and its results are worthy of the attention of educators everywhere.” *Education*, however, did not pay any attention to Pratt and Marot’s school-workshop plan. As well, at times, reviewers unequivocally dismissed the plan. For example, Editor of *The Survey* Fitch (1918) wrote:

[Marot’s] example of an experiment in education that would “stimulate the impulses of youth for creative experience” is something less than might have been expected after her extended analyses of the shortcomings of industry. Why stimulate these impulses of the youth at all if he is doomed to be swallowed up presently by an industrial system that will treat him like a piece of machinery instead of a reasoning being...It is to be regretted that Miss Marot did not enliven her arguments with concrete examples of factory methods (p. 202).

Despite such half-hearted book reviews a second printing of Marot’s book was called for, and was already issued in December 1918, only three months after the first release. This second printing triggered several more reviewers to scrutinize the book. *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1919) excitedly opined in their review:

In the final chapter an extremely interesting experiment in industrial education is outlined, and we are given to understand that there is a probability that the project will be given a fair trial. If so, it will be one of the most valuable and significant contributions that has yet been made to the subject of industrial education.

It is appealing to note that ‘A. E. R.’ (1919) in *New Age* paid attention to Marot’s view that “control of industry is not to be effected by giving the workman a vote, but by training him in control; and Miss Marot sketches an educational system designed for this purpose” (p. 433). The *New Age* reviewer informed her/his readers that Pratt was working out a self-governing workshop experiment in the manufacture of toys.

Mid-January 1919, first President of the American Psychological Association and first President of Clark University Granville Stanley Hall gave an address at the Chicago Fifth Annual Convention of the Vocational Education Association of the Middle West. The address (Hall, 1919), subsequently published in *Pedagogical Seminary* founded by Hall in 1891, addresses Marot’s book, passionately detailing the plan regarding an experimental industrial school to manufacture “carefully chosen” wooden toys:

The very clever scheme of Caroline Pratt is worthy of attention. Finding the toy industry in America far behind the needs of children or what it is in the leading European countries, she proposes an educational, model industrial school to make carefully chosen toys, and not

only that but an agency to market them, such that every child shall in two years pass through the entire course from the place of origin for the material to the market and use of the toy...It is not at all impossible that the school will have to take this vast material of industrial education out of the hands of capitalists and out of the reach of trade unions, and present the world with finished model institutions which are at the same time cultural and economically self-supporting (p. 88).

Phyllis Blanchard’s (1909) review, also in *Pedagogical Seminary*, delivers an understanding analysis of the book. About half of the review concerns Pratt’s plan regarding a combined school and Toy Shop. Blanchard enthusiastically summarized Marot’s proposal, concluding,

Since the Toy Shop is conducted on a strictly self-supporting basis, it is quite feasible to extend its principles to other trades and to bridge the first few working years of the child’s entrance into industry in this manner. By this extension of education we shall vitalize the mechanical association of workers which has been brought about by increasing division of labor, and make each individual feel himself an integral part of the whole organization. In so far as the employee can see the entire business enterprise in all its ramifications...the creative impulse is released, and the association necessitated by modern machine methods of production becomes spiritual as well as physical (p. 103).

*Journal of Applied Psychology* had a review of the book too that refers to Pratt’s plan. Its reviewer even mindfully observed that Marot’s book was dedicated to Pratt (L. R. G., 1919, p. 98). Her/his review describes the plan of the amalgamated industrial school and Toy Shop as if it were already an existing experiment:

Miss Caroline Pratt, with the help of several adults, is conducting a Toy Shop with about forty pupils between 14 and 17 years of age. The pupils have here an opportunity to become familiar with all the technical, financial, administrative, economic, aesthetic and literary processes involved in the production of marketable toys for American children (p. 99).

*The Standard* also stated that Pratt had already established her toy factory:

Miss Marot logically ends therefore with a plea for a new kind of industrial enterprise...She outlines this new type and commends an educational experiment already being worked out on the new lines, the toy factory established by Miss Caroline Pratt. (P. C., 1919, p. 157).

Another 1919 review, in *The Playground* (1919) considerably mentions,

A system of industrial education is outlined whereby the shop may be the laboratory for the

school. The shop is to be an actual factory where the laborers work half time in shifts, the other half spent in the school where they are to be taught every phase of the industry from the production of the raw product to the consumption of the finished one.

The *Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Toxicology* had an enthusiast review:

The last chapter in [Marot's] book is constructive and outlines a plan for industrial education as opposed to industrial training, the prime object being to keep the creative instinct alive. The school is to be an experiment to determine whether through education the creative experience may be enjoyed in association with other workers in spite of the division of labor. To accomplish this the worker must be given a true participation in productive enterprise. (Cobb, 1919, p. 416).

The 1919 *English Journal* proudly announced that the plan in essence, to all intents and purposes, merely concerned Kilpatrick's Project Method.

There is no reason why we should not, in secondary schools and colleges at least, permit our pupils to participate in choosing the objectives and in planning the procedure, and to bear much of the responsibility for executing the plan. The project method again! You knew it all the time? Naturally, for the project method is the method of real living in school as well as in industry (W. W. H., 1919, pp. 139-140).

Finally, it is appealing enough to mention that constructive attention was also given to Marot's book in such works as Goodsell's (1923) *The Education of Women*. Another interesting fact is that since a decade, for instance, an analogous vocational education to Marot's suggested amalgamated school and Toy shop exists in the home town of one of the authors; the Regionaal Opleidingscentrum (ROC), that is: the Regional Vocational Education Centre, in Nijmegen, The Netherlands offers a course for future cooks, waiters and other hospitality industry workers, unconsciously celebrating Marot's genuinely, truly creative spirit — never acknowledged until this very day, expressing her never clearly understood oracular voice. Final year students, after several internships earlier during their studies, run a school-related restaurant, from composing the menus and buying meat, vegetables, wines, etc., to cooking, plating and serving meals, to administering the restaurant's finances, e-mailing regular customers informing them about new menus or special events, cleaning the kitchen and restaurant, overseeing the checkout, etc.

#### **The year 1919: Lecturing on *The Creative Impulse in Industry***

Marot's stance, conceivably influenced by her truthful Quaker and later her Fabian influenced upbringing, perhaps even reflecting opinions of the Marot-Pratt couple's close friend Randolph Bourne (Staring, 1994), remained

stalwartly anti-war. This resolved stance expressed itself immediately after the November 1918 armistice, showing Marot as one of the signers of the call to found a League of Free Nations Association (e.g., Agar, et al., 1918a-c, 1919; Beard, et al., 1918; League of Free Nations, 1918).

Early in 1919, she regularly lectured on subjects relating to her 1918 *The Creative Impulse in Industry*. For example, newspapers announced that she spoke on "An Educational Experiment in Industry" at a February 20 conference of the Federation for Child Study (*New York Call*, 1919a). A moderately extensive report of another lecture, in the *Evening Telegram* (1919), shows that her secondary pre-vocational education ideas mirror Pratt's views about kindergarten and primary education. *Evening Telegram* cited Marot's words (italics added):

Ninety-five per cent engaged in industry to-day are poor, dumb, and driven. What hope is there for a nation which permits such a condition? Our schools have been making an effort for the last twenty-five years to connect their instruction with industry. They have been trying to fit children into the industrial world as it now exists. What they should be doing is not to make children fit in, but to train them so that they will be able to reshape industry...From the beginning of the school programme at six the child's whole environment has been predigested for him. He is denied *the experience of having experienced experience*.

Next, *Evening Telegram* in hardly any lines marked and provoked Marot's revolutionary view:

Miss Marot then presented her constructive programme for training children to enter industry. Part time should be spent in an actual factory, according to Miss Marot, while the remainder should be used in studying the relative cost of the manufactured product to price, the market of the raw products, the market of the finished produce and other phases of the industry. In following such a course Miss Marot contends that a liberal course in physics, mathematics and geography will be obtained. "Such a course would be equivalent to a high school course," said Miss Marot.

Around that time, she began lecturing at the Rand School of Social Science (*New York Tribune*, 1919). Her lecturing scheme is not known, and neither is anything known about courses or even the subjects she taught.

In March 1919, Marot was one of the speakers at the Women's Freedom Congress, organized in conjunction with the Women's International League at New York City's Chalif Normal School of Dancing (*New York Call*, 1919c; Wayne, 1919). And in April, she was one of the people incited to give statements "on problems of the day" at a meeting of the State Reconstruction Commission. Marot confined "her speech to what she believes should be the direction taken on industrial education and the reorganization of the Civil Service" (*New York Call*, 1919b). Marot's friend Lewis Mumford (1982) claimed in his

autobiography that in 1919 she was “summoned to inquisitorial State hearings and bound under some undisclosed threat not to reveal what questions were asked” (p. 244). Either Mumford referenced the April 1919 instance when Marot gave a statement at a meeting of the State Reconstruction Commission, mentioned above, and clearly accounted for in newspapers of the time, or he insinuated another “State hearing,” and Marot and newspapers indeed kept silent about it. Later that year, in autumn, Marot, already officially retired from her work for the Committee on Industrial Relations and the National Labor Defense Council and when she was in the process of retiring from her editorial work with *The Dial*, now respected as an expert in industrial reform, often received invitations to give lectures and addresses about her views detailed in *The Creative Impulse in Industry*. For instance, between September 15 and October 25, the International Conference of Women Physicians was held at the National Board of the Young Women’s Christian Associations in New York City. At one of their meetings on industrial health, Marot (1920b) presented a lecture on novel, creative initiatives in industries in the United States, England and Italy. However, she did not once mention her plan of an integrated pre-vocational school and shop.

Another fact: later that year, in November, Marot sponsored the League of Oppressed Peoples — a league that disappeared in oblivion very quickly (Malone, et al., 1919).

As pointed out above, Marot served the editorial staff of *The Dial* from October 1918 until November 1919. All in all, in 1919, she published four politically inspired articles regarding unions and unionizing (Marot, 1919a-d) — not to be reviewed here. Interestingly, in April 1919, Marot’s companion Pratt published an article in the journal too, essentially at the precise time when her Play School became City and Country School, and the Progressive Education Association was founded in Washington, D.C. Together with other well-known New York City based educational reformers like Margaret Naumburg and Helen Parkhurst, she became a member of its Advisory Council (Staring, 2013b). Pratt (1919) opened her *Dial* article — on “Experimental Schools,” including her own school — by stating that primary education teachers who wish to start to experiment at their school will have to deal with the school’s administration as well as with the school’s formulation of procedures and methods. She only reviewed the second aspect, observing that the experimental method of trial and error was the child’s method when, for instance, learning to walk and talk and use their hands. She spelled out what experimental schools aspire:

After children have acquired the degree of motor control which they commonly do during babyhood, they are confronted with the organized world around them. But their natural method of experimentation with this organized material is constantly inhibited, as their experimental handling of it inevitably comes into conflict with some adult possessive interest. Their activities are curtailed and regulated at home and their experiments are supplanted and forestalled at school...Experimental schools, in opposition to this practice, undertake to protect the

environment of the children so that they may carry on their experiments with confidence and freedom (p. 413).

Pratt perceived play as “the child’s application of the trial and error method of science to people and to the things about them.” Play at her own school could and should be distinguished from play at kindergartens and Montessori-inspired schools. She maintained that “kindergarten is a *system of teaching* the children how to play” that does not recognize their desire to experiment. As well, “The Montessori, distinguished from the kindergarten method, is a system of training” that does not allow children to use play material as they please, but only allows them to use it “for the purpose for which it was originally designed” (p. 413; see also: Pratt, 1917; Staring, 2013a-b, 2015). Since children were limited in using materials, their development was obstructed. Pratt (1919) found that both teachers and children in experimental schools are constantly experimenting:

The teachers are continuously trying out the values to the child of different kinds of materials and situations, and the children are continuously experimenting with the materials which are available and learning through these at first hand to make adjustments, generalizations, and conclusions. The teacher directs the child to sources of information as well as material so that he may have the stimulating experience of answering himself the questions the experience excites. The questions and answers point constantly to new fields and opportunities (p. 414).

Still, interests and modes of expression change when children grow older. Eight-year-olds are no longer reproducing “adult existence by the method of play,” but wish instead “*some* training and *some* teaching,” for instance through handwork.

Many of the formal schools, in place of books and in place of hours of listening to the words of a teacher, are trying to meet the real needs of the children through first-hand experience in different forms of handwork...Mere handwork does not suffice. It must be handwork with a purpose which the children understand (p. 414).

Pratt clearly sketched a developmental picture of growth. She concluded by stating that experimental schools were not yet able to set up their own standards, adding, “[When] they do they will not be standards which can be standardized. They represent a never ending line of experiences to be pooled, and they indicate advances which have goals which are as various and as changing as the goals of individuals whether those are adult or juvenile” (p. 415).

It must be obvious: Pratt and Marot not only shared the same educational goals, but their ideas, wording, pedagogical views and aspirations were matching too, Pratt’s related to kindergarten and primary education, Marot’s concerning secondary pre-vocational education.

#### Behind the scenes

Now, Marot's January 1918 report on 'Industry and Education' written for the Bureau of Educational Experiments, redrafted as an article for the *Dial* (Marot, 1918b), reviewed above; her 1918 book *The Creative Impulse in Industry* (Marot, 1918c), reviewed above; all reviews of the book, some of them passionately in favour of Pratt and Marot's plan, in part reviewed above; her lectures and talks relating to her 1918 book; did it ever lead to anything? Or was Pratt and Marot's plan merely an intellectual endeavor? Was it perhaps merely an exercise in educational discourse?

The prevailing literature will not provide the solution to this itching research question. Only archival research unearths the sequence of circumstances that literally happened behind the scenes. The Bureau of Educational Experiments' May 1919 "Annual Statement to the Trustees," now in the archives of Bank Street College of Education, states that Helen Marot in 1918 had associated with Mr. Constantine, "a man who has been a production manager...and later supervisor of industrial education in the schools of Passaic," and that a set of models which had been made, called "Little World Toys," had received "favorable comments from toy manufacturers and buyers." The Statement further reads, "The factory is to be initiated first and toys for the Christmas trade made before the plan for a school is attempted. The success of the venture depends of course on Mr. Constantine's ability to raise the necessary capital. The toys are on exhibition at the Bureau office." It is likely that a collection of painted wooden dolls in the Bank Street College of Education archives forms part of, or is, the set of Little World Toys models, which had been made — most probably — by Caroline Pratt in 1918. At some time during the 1930s, either Lucy Sprague Mitchell or Harriet Johnson gave the set of dolls to Bank Street College of Education educationist Barbara Biber. In September 2011, Biber's daughter — former Sarah Lawrence College Child Development Institute Director Margery B. Franklin — donated them to the Bank Street College of Education archives (Clark, et al., 2015).

Summarizing, there is evidence in the archives of the Bank Street College of Education that Marot, with Bureau of Educational Experiments' blessings, was hard-working trying to gain notice of companies, business men, educators, financiers and others for Pratt's (and her) plan *well before* her article "The Creative and Efficiency Concepts of Education" appeared in the April 1918 *Dial*, and her book *The Creative Impulse in Industry* was published in September 1918. In retrospect, all signs appear to indicate that these activities as well as Marot's Bureau report, her *Dial* article, and her *The Creative Impulse in Industry* must also have constituted an all-or-nothing situation for Pratt's wooden toys and dolls. Either their plan in *The Creative Impulse in Industry* would become a living reality, this time, after the 1915 liquidation of Stryvelyne Shop that manufactured and sold Pratt's *Do-With Toys*<sup>TM</sup> since June 1914, or Pratt would at long last just have to give up her *Do-With* dreams of manufacturing toys and dolls. Either Pratt and Marot would set in train a revolutionary pre-vocational school and shop venture in their lives, or their existing successes would be preserved, and Pratt's school would be given all their attention.

It is evident that by the end of 1917, throughout 1918, and during the first half of 1919, Marot tried her utmost, both behind the scenes as by publishing "The Creative and Efficiency Concepts of Education" and *The Creative Impulse in Industry* and by lecturing about the contents of the article and book. However, she failed!

In the summer of 1919, she resigned from her work with the Bureau. She no longer pursued a career of organizing and founding an industrial school and Toy Shop. However, the collapse of Marot and Pratt's plan to found a pre-vocational school annex toy-manufacturing shop managed by the students themselves in a positive way made room for other Bureau initiatives. During spring and summer 1919, Pratt restructured City and Country School. In September 1919, when the Bureau under Harriet Johnson's lead founded a laboratory nursery school for pre-school age children, City and Country School officially became laboratory elementary school of the Bureau.

Ironically, only three months later, in December, at the Art Institute of Chicago, Pratt was awarded the Mrs. Hubbard Carpenter Award for toys of greatest art and educational value for her group of wooden *Do-With Toys*<sup>TM</sup>. There and then, she closed the toy-manufacturing chapter of her life, directing all her energy to heading City and Country School.

### **The years 1920 and 1921: Marot's Final Article and Travels to Italy**

In 1920, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* published "Production and the Preservation of Initiative," Marot's (1920a) final article. In 1919, or in 1920, Marot had become a member of the United Labor Education Committee that organized a large conference on the subject of education of workers in July 1920 (Auger, 1920).

A year later, during late winter and spring 1921, Marot made a trip to Italy. Once returned to the United States, she immediately, on May 2, lectured on "What Is Happening in Italy Today" at a meeting of the WTUL (*New York Call*, 1921a). A month and a half later she again told about her Italian experiences at the Summer Conference of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society held at Chodikee Lake, Highland, New York — in a lecture titled "Creative Instincts in Industry" (*Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*, 1921; *New York Call*, 1921b). By the end of August, then, Marot's (1921) final publication — a book review — appeared, discussing a book about psychological problems in industry. Around that time, in the summer of 1921, Marot retired completely from all her salaried work and from public life. Mumford (1982) claimed that she turned to writing, though unsuccessfully, and to studying psychology. Hauser (2002) states that she also studied anthropology. Indeed, at an undisclosed date, most probably during the 1930s, Marot began writing *Oneself: A Story of Growth and Arrested Development*, her fourth book, among other things on the pedagogical approach at her companion's City and Country School. She finished the manuscript in 1939.

Helen Marot died on June 3, 1940.

P.S. Ten years later, Caroline Pratt sent Helen Marot's (1939) manuscript *Oneself* to Columbia University Press for publication, but the publishers were not interested in adding

it to their program. For a long time, the manuscript was believed missing; the "present location of the manuscript is unknown" (Leja, 1993, p. 357). In 2011, one of the authors

discovered that the manuscript is in the archives of City and Country School (see: Staring, 2013a, p. 96). Copyrights prohibit citation.

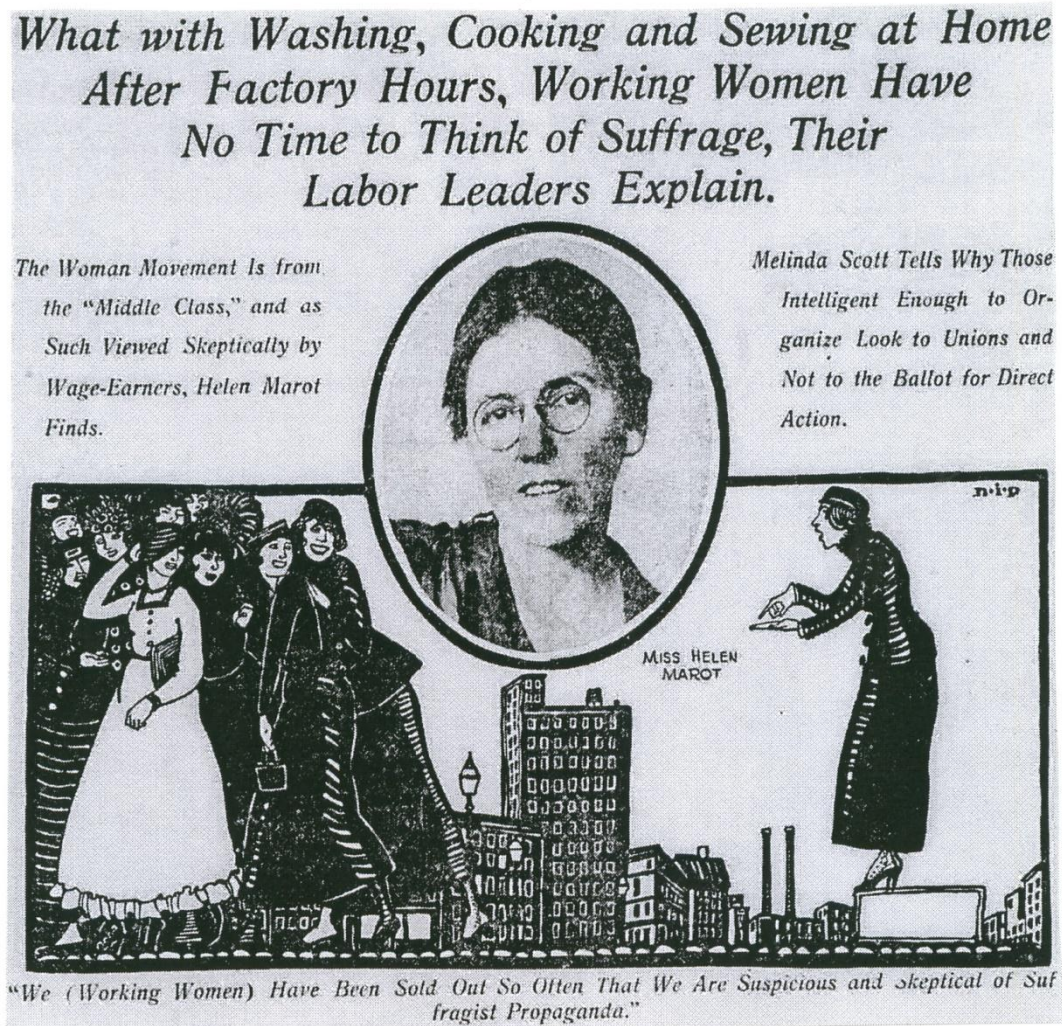


Figure 2: Helen Marot, her portrait in medaillon (New York Tribune, 1915, p. 7).

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