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Harriet Castle and the Beginnings of Progressive Kindergarten Education in Hawai'i 1894-1900

THE LATE 19TH CENTURY saw a number of Euro-American changes in the focus of philosophical thought. The general thrust of these changes was to concentrate on becoming, rather than being. Thinkers such as John Dewey (1859-1952), drawing on the advances of anthropology and biology, gave philosophic expression to the dynamic character of experience. Many philosophers, dissatisfied with pure speculation, sought ways to make philosophy directly relevant to practical affairs. Such changes in philosophic orientation would affect many American institutions. In Hawai'i, Dewey's ideas were first introduced by Harriet Castle (1847-1924) and made an early impact on the teaching practices of kindergartens in Honolulu from 1894 to 1900.

The idea of kindergartens began in Germany with Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) and was later transported to the United States. Its first partisans were Germans who, having despaired of living in Germany after the collapse of the Revolution of 1848, pulled up their stakes and journeyed to the American Middle West. There in 1855, in Watertown, Wisconsin, Mrs. Carl Schurz, a former student of Froebel, established America's first kinder-

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garten. Five years later the first English-speaking kindergarten, owned and managed by Elizabeth Peabody, was established in Boston.¹ In 1873, the city of St. Louis opened the first tax-supported kindergarten in the U.S.²

In Hawai'i, kindergartens were begun under private auspices. The Kingdom's first kindergarten teacher might have been Miss Birch Fanning, who arrived in Honolulu August 3, 1889. Although she announced her plans to start her own kindergarten, she ended up as a teacher for Punahou Preparatory School on Beretania Street in 1892. This experience was short-lived, and Punahou did not begin a permanent kindergarten program until 1900.³

The first kindergarten was established by Francis M. Damon in 1892 and was connected to the Chinese Mission of which he had charge. Because of the success of this experiment, the Woman's Board of Missions, founded in 1878, organized four kindergartens in 1893. Separated along racial lines, they were organized for Japanese, Portuguese, Hawaiians, and for a group classified as "other races."

The Portuguese kindergarten was started on Miller Street by Reverend Henry Soares. By 1895, the Chinese kindergarten enrolled 36, the Portuguese kindergarten 53, the Hawaiian kindergarten 40, the Japanese kindergarten 28, and the "foreign" (Caucasian) kindergarten 48.⁴ All of these were early attempts to provide free co-educational education to underserved or unserved children of working parents.

As imperfect as these poorly funded and struggling initial kindergartens were, they represented a growing awareness in Hawai'i that a heterogeneous, non-English speaking population of children were presenting a serious problem to grade school work. Indeed, crowded classes had forced a ruling by which the Republic's Department of Public Instruction forbade the attendance of children under six years of age in grade schools. With crowding, furthermore, came a growing concern that the ideal of universal education could never be realized. Public school enrollment reached 14,522 in 1897, while private school enrollment reached 3,954.⁵

Mary Tenney Castle (1819-1907), the pioneer missionary and

wife of Samuel Northrup Castle, had raised her children to accept responsibility for bettering society. Educated in New England, she had been closely involved with child education reform, abolition, feminism, and prison reform before coming to Hawai'i in 1841. In the 1890s, she and her daughter Harriet would be early supporters of reforming kindergartens organized by race. They were two of the early supporters of offering a greater number of kindergartens for Hawai'i's children. More importantly, as they saw it, traditional formalist instruction, which stressed repetition, memorization, and rigid discipline, was no longer adequate preparation for a rapidly changing world. The various private kindergartens could be rendered more effective if unified along the new and progressive direction being set by John Dewey.

In 1895, supported by Mary Tenney Castle's gift of \$10,000, the various free kindergartens were unified under the direction of the newly organized Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association of the Hawaiian Islands (FKCAA). Its key leaders were: Charles M. Hyde (1832-1899), its first president; Harriet Castle its financial secretary and driving force; and Mabel (Mrs. Henry) Castle (1864-1950), its publicist. Other prominent members⁵ included the wives of business and civic leaders: Clara Bingham, Emma Dillingham, Cornelia Bishop, Cherilla Lowrey, Frances Hobron, Mary Whitney, and Agnes Judd.⁶ With the separation of the new Association from its old Board connection, a nonsectarian policy was adopted. The FKCAA's common goal, pursued with considerable zeal, was to provide lifetime learning and moral and citizenship skills to the underserved population of children of working parents. Such schools, it was thought, would provide needed education in addition to early social skills in an increasingly economically complex Hawai'i.

Because of its newness, the FKCAA was soon in search of an educational methodology to implement its mission. Harriet Castle, the guiding spirit of the Association, would be responsible for shaping this direction through importing the pedagogical views of John Dewey, a friend of the Castle family. Although the general role of Dewey was noted in Charlotte Dodge's history of the

FKCAA,⁷ his specific link to the Association through Harriet Castle has not been previously examined.

John Dewey, one of America's foremost pragmatists, is still best known for his educational philosophy. Born in Burlington, Vermont, Dewey was educated at the University of Vermont and The Johns Hopkins University. He later taught at the University of Minnesota, the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, and Columbia College. His theory, which would help to shape education for the 20th century, resulted from his rejection of the rigid and formal approach to education that dominated schools in the late 19th century. Such an approach was incorrect, he argued, because it was based upon an erroneous psychology in which the child was thought of as a passive creature upon whom information and ideas had to be imposed.

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

As Dewey saw it, the child's nature is neither completely malleable nor forever fixed. With Aristotle, Dewey believed that the function of education is to encourage those habits and tendencies that constitute intelligence. Dewey stressed creating the proper type of environmental conditions for eliciting and nurturing these habits. In the correct and controlled environment, adaptive lifetime habits could be formed. Moreover, education, as the continuous reconstruction and growth of experience, also develops

the child's moral character. Virtue is taught by cultivating fair-mindedness, objectivity, imagination, openness to new experiences, and the courage to change one's mind in the light of new facts.

Dewey thought the school was best understood as a miniature society; as such, it should be representative of the essential institutions of this society. As an ideal society the school is the chief means of social reform. In the controlled social environment of the school, trained teachers could develop creative individuals who could work effectively to eliminate existing social evils and build a better society. For Dewey, the school is the medium for developing habits for systematic inquiry and for tolerance of the new and untried.

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

The pedagogic implications of these ideas were grasped quickly by the civic leader Harriet Castle. Educated at Punahou School, reared in an intensely intellectual environment, and convinced that women could make a difference in a patriarchal society through educational and moral leadership, she became one of Hawai'i's most important kindergarten reformers. The result of her adherence to Dewey's ideas is best seen in the reasons given by the early founders for the establishment of the FKCAA, the training of the instructors, and the education that was planned for the children.

Henry Castle (1862-1895), brother of Harriet and the youngest child in a family of nine, was the first in the Castle family to recognize Dewey's importance. A voracious reader and widely read in the philosophical literature of 19th century Europe, he was an honors graduate of Punahou School. Enrolling at Oberlin

College in Ohio in 1879, he became the roommate and fast friend of George Herbert Mead. Indeed, Mead married Henry's older sister, Helen K. Castle, in 1891. It was through Mead, an outstanding philosopher in his own right, that Henry and Harriet came to understand John Dewey's philosophy. It was also through Mead that the Castles became close friends of John Dewey.⁸

While undergraduate students at Oberlin College and later as graduate students at Harvard, Mead and Castle spent many hours speaking of the instrumentalist and pragmatist challenges to traditional, more static idealist philosophical systems. Mead, who later became one of the nation's leading pragmatist philosophers from his important post as chairman of the University of Chicago's Philosophy Department, spent many hours testing his ideas in conversations with Henry Castle.⁹ Later, after his marriage to Helen Castle, he served as a frequent host to Harriet Castle and John Dewey at the Mead home in Chicago. Thus, prior to the founding of the Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association in 1895, Harriet was fully impressed with, and knowledgeable of, the Dewey-Mead orientation to philosophical analysis and pedagogy. Through personal correspondence, reading, and lengthy discussions with Mead, Dewey, and her brother Henry, Harriet became convinced that early education should reflect the new view of human development being discussed in the highest corridors of academia.¹⁰

With Dewey, Harriet and her brother Henry understood that if education was to be relevant and meaningful it would need to be transformed. Moreover, they wanted education to constantly expand the range of social situations in which individuals perceived issues and made and acted upon choices. They wanted schools to inculcate habits that would enable individuals to control their surroundings rather than merely adapt to them. Traditional formal education, which emphasized memorization and conformity to lessons taught by an authoritarian teacher, was incapable of providing an education that would improve society by making it more "worthy and harmonious."¹¹ No longer isolated from the reality of a quickly changing society, the progressive school would become "an embryonic community life" active with types of

occupations that reflect the life of the larger society. As Dewey said:

When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious.¹²

Dewey's educational theory included a condemnation of "the old school" for the passivity of its methods and the rigid uniformity of its curriculum. For too long the educational center of gravity had been "in the teacher, the textbook, anywhere and everywhere you please except in the immediate instincts and activities of the child himself."¹³ The essence of the new pedagogy was to shift this center of gravity back to the child. The business of the new school would be to

not only facilitate and enrich the growth of the individual child, but also to supply the same results, and for some, technical information and discipline that have been the ideas of education in the past.¹⁴

Throughout the 1890s, Harriet Castle traveled to leading kindergartens on the Mainland and visited with leaders of the incipient movement of progressive education and teacher training. In 1897, she toured Chicago's famed Hull House as a guest of Jane Addams and Addams' assistant, Alice Holden. Harriet was particularly interested in the efforts of the distinguished Hull House staff to apply some of the innovative ideas of Dewey to educational conditions in Chicago.¹⁵ Most importantly, she grew increasingly confident that Hawai'i could also have success with Dewey's educational innovation.¹⁶

As financial secretary for the FKCAA, Harriet was responsible for raising funds to make the organization viable, as well as for selecting personnel and preparing the annual report. In both her fund raising and her personnel selection, she played a crucial role in setting the path for the organization for years to come. Her

influence would prove to be crucial to the FKCAA's early implementation of Dewey's ideas.

The archives of the FKCAA are filled with ledger books and scrapbooks of her personal appeals to friends and to businesses and prospective donors not personally known to her. It is clear that she had taken on the entire funding efforts for the young organization. She hoped for numerous small donations, and envelopes were sent out for monthly pledges. In addition, she placed collection boxes at the downtown Hobron's Drug Store, the offices of Castle and Cooke, and Thrum's Book Store. Contributions produced sums varying from five dollars to five cents. In 1895, \$777.85 was raised to supplement the seed grant of her mother Mary Castle. In later years, benefit events with local talent and amateur entertainers would add to this total.¹⁷

In her appeals to local businessmen, gifts to progressive kindergartens were presented as good investments and "a saver of future tax expenses for jails, prisons, and almshouses" in Hawai'i. Further, adequately funded kindergartens were good influences against the "great cloud of anarchy that has been slowly gathering and spreading over the civilized nations of the earth."¹⁸ One appeal, written to prospective donors in February of 1895, concluded that "we long to gather in all of the little ones whom we constantly see about the city, but our borders are so limited."¹⁹ Other letters would give emphasis to the need by concluding, "The hope of the world lies in the children."

Harriet's interest in training teachers for progressive education began in earnest in 1896. In that year, she participated in the Chicago Froebel Association's Training School for Kindergartners led by John Dewey. In this month-long seminar, she received intensive study in Dewey's pedagogy and psychology. The Meads hosted her during her lengthy stay, and one can imagine that the day's expert instruction became the evening's source of penetrating discussion.

Harriet's notes, which for a period were used to guide FKCAA education, emphasized the role kindergarten teachers could play in producing independent future citizens. Obedience was a means, not an end. Further, teachers must guide their immature charges,

but the true object of education would be the development of reasoning, thinking individuals responsible for their own behavior. Most specifically, to become this thinking, reasoning, intelligent, self-directing individual, the child must begin by assuming responsibilities as soon as he or she is able to do so, adding to them from year to year. At ten, with but slight supervision, the child should be able to take care of his or her body, take baths, dress and undress, put clothes away, and keep possessions in order.²⁰

In an important pamphlet prepared by Harriet to support her plea for funding, she gave clear expression to her faith in Dewey-style education. The pamphlet, entitled "The Kindergarten and the Public School," was prepared after a lengthy 1897 tour of Columbia University Teachers College and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. Both institutions were early leaders in the field of progressive education. The pamphlet was widely distributed to donors, community leaders, and prospective leaders alike. In it, Harriet argues that the object of the kindergarten is to develop the whole child in a balanced fashion. For her, the foundations of this method are the facts attested to by science and experience. These, as she saw it, were:

1. The brain grows with the greatest rapidity between the ages of three and seven. The increase of later years is small compared with its growth in these years.
2. Two weeks practice of holding objects in his right hand will make the infant in his first year right handed for life.
3. This is the age of sense perception; the child learns from what he sees, hears, tastes, touches, and smells; and, therefore, as his environment is, so will he be.
4. If the child is saved to a good life, there will be no grown-up man to punish.
5. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.²¹

The pamphlet quotes authorities who supported Harriet's vision of a kindergarten. For example, William T. Harris, U.S. Commis-

sioner of Education under President Grover Cleveland (1893-1897) had claimed that "two years of the child's life in the kindergarten will start into development activities of muscle and brain which will secure deftness and delicacy of industrial power in all after life."²² Harriet added her own observation that the kindergarten would lead to permanent character changes. Specifically, kindergarten would mean "fewer saloons and better homes, fewer policemen, fewer courts, fewer prisons, fewer paupers, less insanity, and consequently less public expense along these lines and more money for other purposes."²³ Such thinking was, of course, common among supporters of progressive reforms in education across the United States.

For Harriet, education at the kindergarten level must "develop in these citizens of today as well as tomorrow the habits, attitudes, appreciations, and skills necessary for the life in democracy."²⁴ Furthermore, this primary instruction would provide miniature democracies where "situations arise which give opportunity for the development of . . . habits, attitudes, appreciations, and skills necessary for life." Perhaps most importantly, young pupils would be taught to think for themselves, to reason, to judge and to evaluate the facts of experience. Since environments change, set and static standards of conduct would not be enough. Morality, correctly understood, "is an active attitude, not a passive one. Habit must be formed through action. We must learn to be good." Kindergarten education, through teaching perseverance, flexibility, cooperation, initiative, self-control, and life-long reasoning skills, would provide citizens capable of sustaining both democracy and progress in social institutions.²⁵

Harriet Castle, like Dewey, viewed the teacher's role as that of a skilled guide. The kindergarten teacher should create ideal situations for both sense training and discipline of thought. All instruction should recall that thinking does not occur for its own sake. Rather, "it arises from the need of meeting some difficulty, in reflecting upon the best way of overcoming it, and thus leads to planning . . . mentally the results to be reached, and deciding upon the steps necessary and their serial order."²⁶ With Dewey, she felt that this was the best preparation for pure speculation or

abstract investigation. Thought, she argued with Dewey, begins with a difficulty, moves through a resolution, and may appropriately end with an abstract speculation or abstraction. In this last stage, solutions to difficulties or problems may be generalized to similar difficulties or problems.

Harriet left her most immediate stamp on the training of teachers and the education of young ones through her choice of the FKCAA's first permanent supervisor. In 1896, while spending the summer with the Meads, she devoted her free hours to reviewing applications from aspirants responding to her letters sent to school district leaders. Harriet's dream of finding an enthusiastic supporter of Dewey's ideas was fulfilled when she met the brilliant Chicagoan Frances Lawrence (1876-1935) and hired her away from the Sheboygan, Wisconsin school system on August 1st. Frances would guide instruction at the FKCAA for the next 39 years.

Chicago-born Frances Lawrence, an 1893 graduate of the Chicago Kindergarten College, had studied and absorbed the pedagogy of John Dewey. With Harriet's mandate to be daring in applying Dewey's ideas to kindergarten education in Hawai'i, Superintendent Lawrence arrived in Hawai'i in 1896 and made some immediate changes. For example, she abandoned paper pricking, mat weaving, and the formal use of Froebel's "gifts" used in the early free kindergartens in favor of free play, rhythms construction, and creative art on open *lānais* (porches or verandas) or outside.²⁷ These child-centered improvements would allow children to develop their senses, their imagination, and their capacity to live cooperatively with other children.

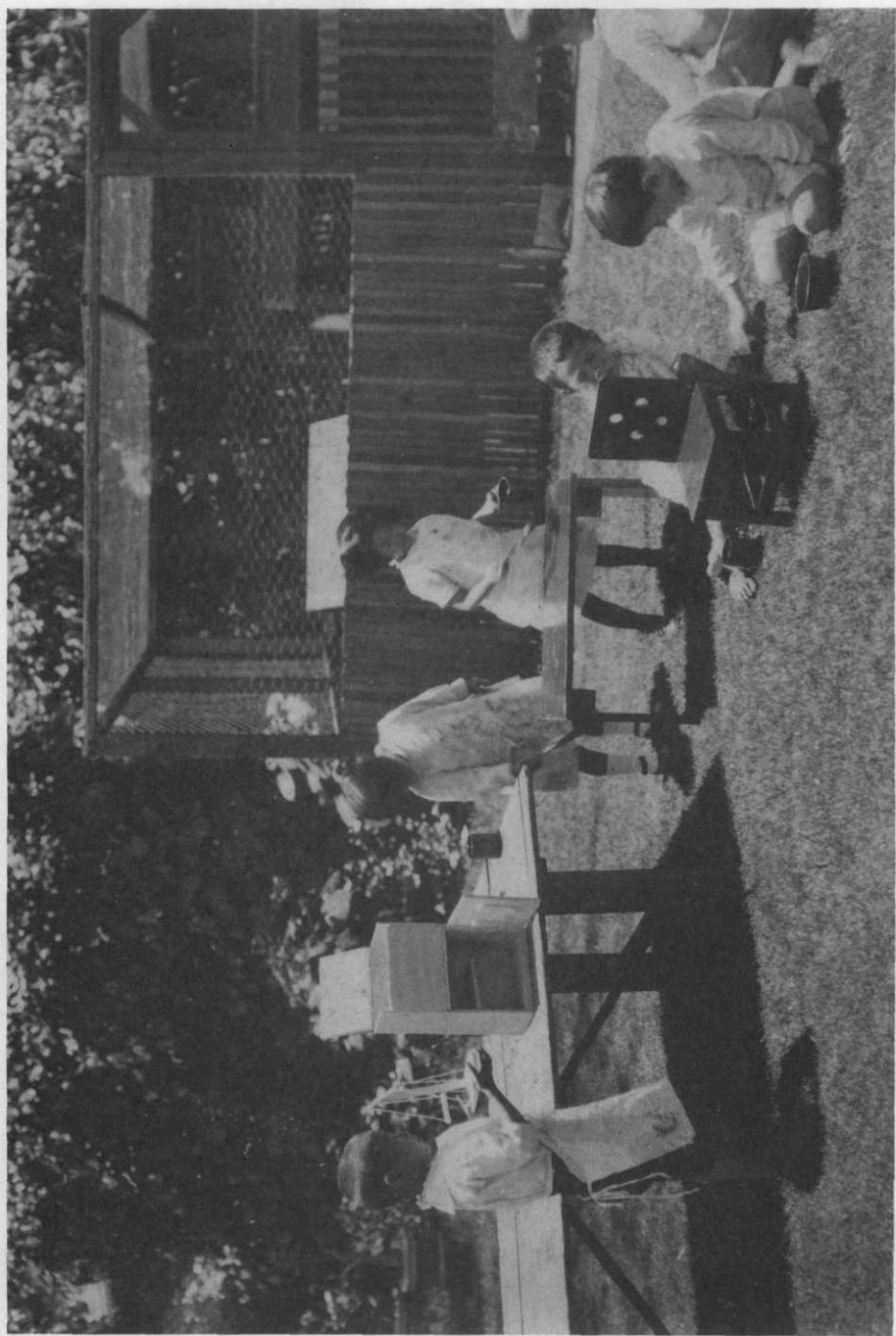
Lawrence's reforms also included giving children free access to suitable art materials so as to encourage drawing, modeling, painting, and construction. In more traditional education, access to these materials was limited, and young artists were encouraged to imitate accepted drawings rather than to experiment. In the same way, Lawrence felt music and rhythm were important in the educational process. Her kindergartens avoided the mechanical "lessons" and emphasis on accuracy of tone characteristic of formalist education. Instead, they stressed opportunities for volun-

tary play, experimentation with sounds, and creative initiative. Spontaneity of response and freedom for joyous participation, rather than precision of movement and controlled or ordered action, became the aim of Lawrence's kindergartens. These were typically taught in situations involving rhythmic play and games, in singing, and in free experimentation with simple musical instruments such as the gourd or drum. Marching games and outdoor experiences in the swing and the seesaw provided opportunities for rhythmic movement. Lawrence saw the additional benefit from this expression being the development of self-confidence and a renewed interest in learning. Her ideal was to work with nature, not against it. Like Dewey, she taught that a child's best chance for happy, useful living is to develop the child's capacities, not to punish his or her deficiencies.

The same general idea was true of the social arts of drama, pageantry, story telling, and reading. Unlike traditional kindergartens, which stressed control, memorization, and repetition of stories read by the teacher, Lawrence's progressive sense was that children's love of acting was natural and should be encouraged. Children were expected to invent stories and to relate them to the class. The teacher was more of a facilitator of discussion than an authoritarian figure requiring "right" answers to questions about standard stories read to a group. Furthermore, Lawrence quickly saw that Hawai'i presented special opportunities for the exercise of dramatic talent and story use.

Kamehameha Day, with its opportunities for the children to prepare their yellow and red cloaks and caps, was one such opportunity. Another was May Day, with its *leis*, *hula* dancing, and merrymaking. Kindergartens kept costume boxes handy from which children could select material. Spectacle and pageantry provided ample chance for organized play, experimentation, problem solving, and creativity.²⁸

FIG. 1. "The fact that he is *making* things gives just the stimulus the child needs to give him real control of himself in the Process." Caption on undated photo of the Castle Kindergarten, Honolulu. (Castle collection, College of Education, University of Hawai'i.)





Castle Kindergarten ©
1934

In her concern to integrate the social arts into the academic curriculum, then, Lawrence revealed her Deweyite lack of relish for the historic separation of labor and leisure, man and nature, thought and action, individuality and association, method and subject matter, mind and behavior (fig. 1). For her, intelligence in the child was, as for Dewey, the purposeful reorganization, through action, of the material of experience.

During Miss Lawrence's first few years, Queen Emma Hall on King Street was the Association's headquarters. This two-story structure was surrounded by verandas on both levels, and there were outside stairways at the ends. A hall separated each floor into two large rooms. The "foreign" kindergarten, the training school, and the Association office occupied the top floor, and the Hawaiian and Japanese kindergartens the lower one. The grounds were ample and contained space for a large playground and entry drive. Miss Lawrence was also in charge of the three auxiliary kindergartens on Fort Street, Miller Street, and the Palama Settlement. Except for the integrated school at Palama, the early kindergartens were organized on racial lines for Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, and "foreign" children.

After 1900, the policy of segregation would gradually be replaced with complete integration.²⁹ This was partly because of Hawai'i's ethnic diversity and partly because of the progressive assumption that democracy would be achieved only as schooling was popularized in character as well as clientele (fig. 2). Democracy could not flourish, progressives tended to feel, where there was segregated education. Democracy demanded a universal education in the problems of living together and of advancing society's interests. Segregated schools could not reflect reality in Hawai'i and, therefore, could not be the center of the struggle for a better life.³⁰

By 1900, the FKCAA had committed itself to desegregated education. It also committed itself to admit children of all ethnic groups in approximately the same ratio found in Honolulu's

FIG. 2. Castle Kindergarten, Honolulu, 1934. (Castle collection, College of Education, University of Hawai'i.)

population. Further, since the Castle family had been joined by other generous donors, children could be admitted without consideration as to their parents' economic or social status. For placement purposes, applicants were examined for physical size, mental age, maturation, and evidence that they could profit from the education offered. Only children of severe mental incapacity were excluded. In the 20th century, as the application lists grew longer, the demand for more schools increased.³¹

Although the private sector provided the major initiative, the Territorial government entered the field in 1919. In a tentative fashion, funds were provided for kindergartens at Waiialua on O'ahu, Kahului on Maui, and Hilo on the Big Island. In June of 1921, enrollment reached 587, but fell to 52 a year later. Because of discontinued funding, and perhaps because the private sector dominated the field at no cost to the public, public kindergartens disappeared until 1943.³²

In addition to her guidance of the kindergarten curriculum along progressive lines, Miss Lawrence continued the training of teachers, most of whom were high school graduates, in Dewey's ideas. In 1894, the training school represented Harriet Castle's goal of training Hawaiian and "foreign" girls for community service and "happy motherhood." Many of the early trainees came from the Kawaiahaeo Seminary, which later merged with Mill's Institute to become today's Mid-Pacific Institute. Others later came from the Kohala and Maunaolu Seminaries. During Frances Lawrence's 39-year tenure, 59 young women received training in Dewey's methods and took teaching positions in kindergartens. Gradually, however, the growing task of training teachers was absorbed by the Honolulu Normal School, created in 1896 and, after 1931, by the University of Hawai'i.³³

By 1900, Harriet's dream of a comprehensive progressive education for Hawai'i was still to be realized. Nonetheless, as she reviewed the changes in the first five years of the FKCAA, she saw a continuing role for women such as Miss Lawrence to guide the future direction of early childhood education in Hawai'i. Later, representatives of Columbia University, the U.S. Department of Education, and the Kindergarten Department of Los

Angeles would rate the progressive education offered by the FKCAA as among the best in the country. Indeed, in 1920, John Dewey would visit Hawai'i *en route* to Japan and China and would himself comment on the excellence of progressive kindergarten instruction then available through the FKCAA. His belief that the FKCAA and the Castle Kindergarten had bridged the gap between theory and practice gave, perhaps, the ultimate stamp of approval on years of hard work.³⁴

In 1900, and at a time when Dewey's ideas were just beginning to have an impact on the education of the nation as much as they already had in Hawai'i, Harriet Castle continued to believe that progressive education provided the best opportunity for providing life long learning skills to young people facing the challenges of a changing environment. As she put it:

The time must come when we will be willing to begin a work whose full harvest cannot be reaped until generations after we are gone. We must begin sometime to put our very best and strongest effort upon the children of today who are in the coming tomorrow to be the mothers and grandmothers of successive generations from whence this abundant harvest will be reaped—reaped from the seed sowing of today if it be well done. What matters it if we are not here to see!³⁵

Progressive education, as it existed in 1900, possessed an experimental curriculum directed toward the challenges of the future. With full faith in rational exploration, the unlimited potential of intellect to solve problems, and the sense that education held the key to social improvement in the 20th century, progressive educators in Hawai'i optimistically viewed the prospects for a new century.³⁶ However, the actual record of accomplishment of progressive education in Hawai'i, seen in retrospect, was somewhat less than Harriet Castle and other early adherents hoped. Progressive elementary and kindergarten education never succeeded in its quest to provide educational opportunity for all ethnic and class groups in Hawai'i. As Dr. Ralph Steuber, the noted historian of educational theory and education in

Hawai'i noted in an interview, progressivism also failed to provide the social integration and progress that Harriet and others had hoped. This failure, however, may have been due to the inability to apply progressive theory to actual teaching practice, rather than to the shortcomings of Dewey's ideas.³⁷

Despite a continuing debate about the role formal pedagogic structure should play in the curriculum, today progressivism is a generally accepted element in elementary and secondary education. Dewey's central assumptions that the school is a community builder and that self and knowledge are both social constructs are given assumptions of teacher training in contemporary Hawai'i. This is particularly true of the unspecialized curriculum of the kindergarten and the elementary school. Moreover, today, as in 1900, the private school often leads the public school in curricular innovation. Brief visits to the public University Lab School and to private schools such as Punahou, Hanahau'oli, and Holy Nativity, reveal that basic progressivistic assumptions regarding education are alive and well.

In the 1980s, Dr. Steuber notes, elementary school progressive theory faces challenges from the more individualistic and spiritual pedagogy of Montessori schools. In addition, the contemporary concern that ethnic pluralism be respected by educators militates against the progressive tendency to homogenize diverse ethnic traditions. Harriet Castle's original progressive sense, that schools should serve as "incubators of a new world" while Americanizing students from diverse backgrounds, is challenged repeatedly today.³⁸

Despite the practical difficulty of translating progressive theory into reality, the early efforts of Harriet Castle and the FKCAA established an educational framework that endures. The basic optimistic and secular faith that trained human intelligence can change the world for the better continues to be attractive. Most importantly, the fact that the central assumptions of progressivism are often held unconsciously today reveals the importance of the pioneering work of the FKCAA in the 1890s.

NOTES

- ¹ Luella Cole, *A History of Education* (New York: Rinehart, 1950) 525. See also Benjamin O. Wist, *A Century of Public Education in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaii Educational Review Press, 1940) 134-35.
- ² Adolphe E. Meyer, *An Educational History of the Western World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972) 377.
- ³ Robert C. Schmitt and Ronn Ronck, *Hawaii's Firsts* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, forthcoming).
- ⁴ Annual Report for 1895, FKCAA Archives, Mother Rice Kindergarten, Honolulu.
- ⁵ Wist, *A Century of Public Education* 135.
- ⁶ Charter of the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association of the Hawaiian Islands, FKCAA Archives.
- ⁷ Charlotte Dodge, *A History of the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association of the Hawaiian Islands, 1895-1945* ([Honolulu]: [FKCAA] n.d.), FKCAA Archives.
- ⁸ Ermine Cross, *The Story of the Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Kindergarten* (Honolulu: Paradise Engraving and Printing, 1923) 3.
- ⁹ Henry Castle, letter to Sister Carrie, March 1882, *Henry Castle Letters* (London: Sands and Company, 1902) 106.
- ¹⁰ Henry Castle, letter to Mary Castle, June 1885, *Henry Castle Letters* 201.
- ¹¹ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964) 118.
- ¹² John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: D. Appleton-Century, 1899) 43-4.
- ¹³ Dewey, *The School and Society* 51.
- ¹⁴ Dewey, *The School and Society* 70.
- ¹⁵ Harriet Castle Letters, 1897, FKCAA Archives.
- ¹⁶ J. N. Crouse, Chicago Kindergarten College, letter to Harriet Castle, Castle Correspondence, FKCAA Archives.
- ¹⁷ Dodge, *A History of the Free Kindergarten* 10.
- ¹⁸ Dodge, *A History of the Free Kindergarten* 9.
- ¹⁹ Castle Correspondence, FKCAA Archives.
- ²⁰ Harriet Castle, Notes, FKCAA Archives.
- ²¹ Harriet Castle, The Kindergarten and the Public School, Castle File, FKCAA Archives.
- ²² Harriet Castle, The Kindergarten and the Public School, FKCAA Archives.
- ²³ Harriet Castle, The Kindergarten and the Public School, FKCAA Archives.
- ²⁴ Harriet Castle, "Kindergarten Objectives," *KG Magazine*, May 1923.
- ²⁵ Harriet Castle, "Kindergarten Objectives," *KG Magazine*, May 1923.
- ²⁶ Castle File, Notes, FKCAA Archives.
- ²⁷ Dodge, *A History of the Free Kindergarten* 5.

- ²⁸ Adeline E. Babbitt, *A Program for Children From 18 to 72 Months in the Hawaiian Situation* (New York: Columbia U, 1948) 79-88.
- ²⁹ Dodge, *A History of the Free Kindergarten* 13.
- ³⁰ Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* 125-26.
- ³¹ Babbitt, *A Program for Children* 96.
- ³² Schmitt and Ronck, *Hawaii's Firsts*.
- ³³ Wist, *A Century of Public Education in Hawaii* 135.
- ³⁴ Cross, *The Story of the Henry and Dorothy Castle Memorial Kindergarten* 4-6.
- ³⁵ Harriet Castle, *Is the Kindergarten an Especial Opportunity for Hawaiian Girls?*, 1900, Castle File, FKCAA Archives.
- ³⁶ Herbert Zimiles, "Teachers College Record," *Progressive Education* (Winter 1987): 205.
- ³⁷ Dr. Ralph Steuber, personal interview, 10 May 1988.
- ³⁸ Steuber, personal interview.