



# Sixteen “Creeds” at the Fin de Siècle

## *Transitioning to New Pedagogical Directions*

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**Abstract** • This article examines the pedagogic creeds published in New York and Chicago during 1896 and 1897 in *The School Journal*. The configuration of ideas framing the creeds reveals the dynamics of modernities and transatlantic crossings, mainly the ideas of Georg W. F. Hegel, Herbert Spencer, Friedrich Froebel, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Wilhelm Wundt and their contextual adaptation. The creeds are analyzed at the interplay of evolutionism and its versions, including Lamarckianism, developments in psychology, the intersection of Protestantism, and the gendered and racial ordering of society. The child study movement and theories of recapitulation also had a presence. The creeds provide a picture of the ideas at the fin de siècle. They were aimed at reform with various agendas that included social reconstruction with a modernist civilizing agenda, segregationism, and residential/boarding schools for Indigenous children. John Dewey’s more well-known and influential creed brought its own unique avenues through his embracement of pragmatism.

**Keywords** • evolutionism and education, religion and education, John Dewey’s creed, pedagogical creeds , progressive education, transatlantic crossing, kindergarten.

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During 1896 and 1897, *The School Journal*, a weekly journal of education published in New York and Chicago and edited by Amos M. Kellogg (a former professor of Normal Schools in New York, New Jersey, and Michigan), initiated a movement “to place before the teachers of the country, clear statements of the educational aims of the leaders.”<sup>1</sup> Ossian Herbert Lang, the managing editor, requested pedagogical creeds from 16 leading figures in education to be published in the journal.<sup>2</sup>

It is surprising that the publication of the 16 creeds by *The School Journal* has not been discussed by historians of education in relation to the educational debate of the fin de siècle. Central questions leading this article are: How did the creeds intersect with social reality in the micro-contexts of the United States. How did the creeds approach the matrix of coloniality and modernity? How did religion (nonsectarian Protestantism) intersect in many of the creeds with the pedagogic tenets, with new developments in the psychology of the time, and with versions of evolutionism? What do the creeds tell us about the institutionalization of education as a scholarly subject and about the transnational movement of the time? What were the implications



of a dominant linear historicism? What do the creeds tell us about education projects at the fin de siècle? We respond to these questions by situating the creeds historically and by examining them in relation to the intellectual and ideological configurations of this period that intersect with educational conceptions.

## Contextualizing the Creeds

The creeds were requested and published by *The School Journal* in 1896 and 1897 within an international context that Eric Hobsbawm conceptualized as entering into a world of empire in which the “advanced” in the capitalist core dominated the “backward.”<sup>3</sup> It was, he said, a new type of empire, a colonial one. Hobsbawm summarizes that most of the world outside of Europe and the Americas was under informal rule or political domination, mainly by Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, the United States, and Japan; most of the great empires in Asia remained independent, with the Western powers carving their spheres of influence.<sup>4</sup> It was the time when US imperialism took shape. By 1890, the United States had bought Alaska and the Midway Islands. It fought the Spanish war in 1898 and built a foreign empire: Puerto Rico was annexed, Cuba had a nominal independence, and the United States got control over the territory of the Philippines.<sup>5</sup> The manifest destiny of the United States took new forms. In Latin America, under its unchallenged Monroe Doctrine, the United States extended its economic domination and political interference without conquest.<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, scholarly preparation of Latin American professors of education in the United States became a feature (particularly at Columbia University in the 1910s and 1920s).

What was the immediate context at the time of publication of the creeds? The usual framework for educational change refers to urban issues and the crisis of the fin de siècle, including immigration, industrialization, the mechanization of farms, the move to cities, the poor working people, the rich becoming richer, women’s suffrage, and the establishment of settlement houses. The economic crisis of the 1890s was rather recent when the creeds were written. Meanwhile, class perspectives had found expression in the growth of labor unions—which between 1880 and 1886 grew from 168,000 to 1.2 million members—in local labor and socialist parties, and in the industrial unionism of the Industrial Workers of the World, which envisioned a radical vision of “industrial democracy.”<sup>7</sup> Concurrently, there were also markers in history of education and schooling because of their long-term significance. In the 1890s, the “New South” was becoming industrialized, while the political rights of Black people and marginalized and racialized groups were eroding. Lynching was a feature in many parts of the country, and the peculiar notion of “separate but equal” became the law of the land.” The Native American groups had been forced onto large reservations in Dakota and

onto small ones elsewhere; Indigenous tribal organizations were dissolved, and tribal lands were divided by the government to make Native Americans owners of small plots. The goal was full assimilation.<sup>8</sup> Appropriation of land was a main issue. Like in Canada, Indigenous children were placed in residential/boarding schools to destroy “the Indian” in them. The Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia), being “supportive” of Indigenous peoples, defended the position of the superintendent of Indian schools, saying that “if accomplished, [the move] could be more mischievous in its influence upon the cause of civilization of our Indians.”<sup>9</sup> Tom Pessah calls attention to the fact that the language used to describe the conflicts between settlers and Indigenous peoples was itself one of war, in that the experiences of the white settlers were described as massacres, with an implicit reference to (white) “civility” versus Indigenous “savagery.”<sup>10</sup> It can be argued that this was a new phase of settler colonialism, which may help us understand the history of education in the United States and Canada.<sup>11</sup>

The creeds can be read in relation to the ideological framework of the time, characterized by a configuration with overlapping components, as examined by Derrick Alridge, of residual Victorianism, civilizationism, and progressivism. Various temporalities intersected. Victorianism was grounded in an interpretation of Christianity that stressed a moral and orderly society, in line with the process of industrialization and individualism and with the ideal of social uplift.<sup>12</sup> Victorians had a racist view of nonwhites in the midst of immigration and the movement of Blacks to the North. Civilizationism, an old idea, in this case refers to an unilinear progress in line with the history of Western Europe.<sup>13</sup> This idea, which led to the view of non-Westerners and nonwhites as inferiors, was at the core of processes of colonization, had modern intellectual advocates going back to Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), had a place in the Enlightenment, and would legitimize imperialist visions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. European civilization was to be the universal culture.<sup>14</sup> The other strand was progressivism, which aimed at remedying the evils of industrial growth through reforms, by changing institutions and improving social life through various means, including efficiency, science, and community-based uplift. As reformist, progressive democrats—and we would include Dewey—developed a critique of the social conditions, although they did not use a language of class or articulate a structural critique.<sup>15</sup> These strands are present in the creeds we examine here. The decline of versions of Spencerian evolutionism, a strong presence in many of the creeds, would mark the demise of progressionism.<sup>16</sup>

## **The Pedagogical Creeds in Interplay with the Dominant Configuration of Western Ideas**

Ossian Herbert Lang, initiator of the published collection, chose the term “creed” to refer to “fixed principles of action,” without which the teacher

would be like “a captain of a ship without a compass.”<sup>17</sup> The use of the term is not surprising since, as Daniel Tröhler argued, Dewey’s discourse and that of other American educators of the time developed within a Christian Protestant mentality that was close to their notion of democracy and education.<sup>18</sup> The publication of the creeds occurred at an opportune time, since the educational debate was intense, not only in journals such as *The School Journal* but also in the US press and in neighboring Canada. The process of educationalization was part of various agendas, going from social reconstruction (albeit with a persistent civilizationist taint at the end of the century, even among the progressive minded) to the generation of mentality of efficiency, to assimilation and the consequent obliteration of cultures. Overall, the process was framed by the United States building its own empire and an internal crisis of the old order.

The writers of the creeds were white men in educational leadership and government positions, in line with a gendered understanding of educational administration; there were no women, although there were already distinguished women educators. The writers also did not include Black educators, even though there were well-known representatives such as Anna Julia Cooper (1858–1964) and W. E. B. Du Bois, both prominent African American educators and prolific writers, and schoolteacher Maritcha Lyons, who founded the Women’s Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn, a women’s rights and racial justice organization (the first in the United States).<sup>19</sup>

Most of the 16 published creeds articulated the notion of God and belief, along with the centrality of the child (child study movement) and versions of evolutionary theory. The creeds, in some cases, had experimental psychology as a point of reference, while in others, it was rational psychology—and various reconstitutions of Herbart and Froebel, as well as Hegelianism, the latter often vicariously.<sup>20</sup> Many, not all, of the authors adhered to the theory of recapitulation—culture moving through savagery, to barbarianism, to civilization—grounded in a linear historicism (the development of societies and cultures in a single continuum going from savagery to civilization). In this case, the connection with the Herbatians as well as with Herbert Spencer and Stanley Hall was evident, since they strongly espoused recapitulation theory and its correspondence with children’s development and curriculum.

It is important here to remark that Spencer has been conceptualized more as a Lamarckian than a Darwinian. A Darwinian would argue that natural selection—meaning that “natural variations that proved useful in the environment were naturally selected and then biologically passed on”—was the force behind evolution and not the transmission of characteristics acquired during one’s lifetime.<sup>21</sup> For Spencer, “animal and human evolution proceeded through the inherited effects of individuals’ positive responses to the challenges of the environment.”<sup>22</sup> Spencer expounded a social Darwinism based on the transmission of acquired characteristics and latent potentials, with the goal being to make people fitter so that improvements could be transmitted to their offspring. How does this relate to a Western-centric

education? As Thomas Fallace pointed out, Lamarckism led to the assertion that white ancestors gradually acquired mental faculties over time, with these becoming part of the biological inheritance of the Northern European races.<sup>23</sup> This marked, in some instances, a peculiar entrance of the notion of divine force driving evolution through the inculcation of the traditional Protestant virtues of hard work and intelligent decision making, in a justification of colonizing values and missionary modernist missions, even as the latter embraced progressive ideas. Thus, these themes provide the lines of our interrogation. The creeds include representatives of the main lines of the intense debate at the time, although they were all white men. The absence of Granville Stanley Hall is significant given his role in the child study movement. Our examination of the 16 creeds will bring the reader closer to the voices in that (rather exclusive) debate.

## The Creeds

We will start with “My Pedagogical Creed,” written by James Laughlin Hughes (1846–1935), a Canadian public schools inspector in Toronto from 1874 to 1913 who had a close relationship with US educational leaders and with the National Education Association, in which he was active. He was a graduate of the Normal School, a committed Methodist, a mason, and a strong anti-Catholic for whom order and progress were leading goals. Victorianism had a place in his vision. Hughes had a strong connection to William Torrey Harris, who, at the end of the century and until the publication of John Dewey’s *School and Society* (1899), was the major figure in philosophy of education at a point when, as James Scott Johnston put it, “on both sides of the Atlantic [philosophers and educators] attempted to resurrect the transcendental divine from Hegel’s Absolute Spirit,” the mark of the neo-idealist movement. Johnston argued that Harris did a metaphysical reading of Hegel.<sup>24</sup> Hughes was an advocate of Friedrich Froebel (he actually wrote *Froebel’s Educational Laws for all Teachers*, published in 1897)<sup>25</sup> and, like Harris, was active in the creation of kindergartens, in his case in Toronto.

Notably, Hughes wrote in his creed that “the selfhood of the child is the element of divinity in it.” His creed opens with the belief that “God is the creator, the source of life, the essence of life which gives it the power of evolution to higher life, and the center of universal unit.” One of the most important functions of education, then, would be “to aid in the complete development of individuality as the true basis for the community of humanity and the unity of humanity with God.”<sup>26</sup> Education would guide natural development, having in mind an ordered society within the colonial setting. Hughes’s concept of unity had Froebelian connections, as Froebel linked his thought to his theory of the universe, in which the cosmos was a unity springing from the Absolute or God. From this particular idealism, Froebel derived the principle of unity of humans, nature, and God, from which he

deduced his educational principles. Hughes embraced Froebel's understanding of education as an unfolding process—one of individual growth directed by the inner forces of the child. Education would lead a thinking and intelligent being growing into self-consciousness to a pure and free representation of the inner law of divine unity, an example of Froebelian rationalism.<sup>27</sup>

Hughes, along with Harris, played an active role in the Anglo-(North) American kindergarten movement and the related transatlantic network and exchange of ideas with intense processes of local contextualization.<sup>28</sup> Hughes's vision of Froebelian education was framed by the formation of the educational state in Ontario in that he advocated the socialization of the child through an educational process that would bring order and efficiency to a chaotic world.<sup>29</sup> The context was given by Canada as part of the British empire and intense processes of anglicization of immigrants through schooling and the destruction of Indigenous culture through residential schools.

An important creed was contributed by William Torrey Harris (1835–1909), author of *Psychologic Foundations of Education* and editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (a largely Hegelian journal). Harris's thinking was analyzed by Johnston as emphasizing “eternal verities in a Christian, quasi-Platonic understanding of Hegel's Idea and Spirit.”<sup>30</sup> Harris drew on the cultural epoch/recapitulation inspired by Rosenkranz's Hegelian understanding of cultural epochs in which the individual internalizes her civil society and state. The highest epoch should be a moral education reaching moral perfection (something like “the kingdom of God on Earth”).<sup>31</sup> Harris wrote in the creed: “I described [education] as the process by which the individual is elevated into the species.” He proposed that “education gives the individual the wisdom derived from the experience of the race [meaning the human race] . . . The second and more important lesson is, however, derived from the experience of human nature—the manners and customs of men [sic], the motives which govern human action and especially the evolution or development of human institutions, that is to say, the combinations of individuals into social wholes.” He also stated that “education implies as an essential condition the activity of a self . . . [The] self-activity of the individual which is to so act that it may reinforce itself by the self activity of institutions or social wholes.”<sup>32</sup> Johnston argued that Harris's aim was to develop cultural self-formation, or *Bildung* (as it was in Goethe's 1796 *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*).<sup>33</sup> Hughes's and Harris's positionings appear historically related to the assumed universality of the Western European way as qualitatively more progressive. This is in line with Harris's insistence on a humanistic curriculum that would provide an education in civilization and the classics, and his concern with vocationalism, not with science.

In his creed, Harris did not disregard experimental psychology, but he considered it insufficient without a rational psychology that would delve into the philosophical base, sustaining the life of the mind and the sense of human development. Education was considered by Harris, as with Froebel, as an unfolding of latent powers.

Kindergarten classes would ensure the young were introduced to the path to development and civilization.<sup>34</sup> There was no room for other forms of knowledge coming from, for example, the experiences and belief systems of those who were colonized, or of Indigenous peoples, Black people, or new settlers. (Of course, historically, we know of the interpenetration of ideas and cultural expressions.) As Hewes noted, Harris believed “that Indian Schools should erase all evidences of tribal savagery and force the students to adopt the civilized ways of [Harris’s] New England middle-class background.”<sup>35</sup> Following Luckey, we would say that Harris’s Hegelian notion of progressive development was in tune with a notion of organic evolution and cultural recapitulation.<sup>36</sup> Harris wrote in his creed: “I believe that the school as it is and as it has been is and has been a great instrumentality to lift all classes of people into a participation in civilized life. I believe that the world progresses and has progressed towards freedom.”<sup>37</sup> We conclude that freedom and progress, concepts articulated in the Enlightenment, are dominant concepts in this discourse. This imposing notion of modernity, however, neglects the fact that there is no purity, and that life “contaminates”—and that resistance and resilience are strong features of cultures forced into subordination.

As the St. Louis superintendent and in collaboration with kindergarten advocate Susan Blow, Harris opened the first public school kindergarten in the Depere School in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1873. They positioned the kindergarten’s social mission as the uplift of the poor within the framework of the dominant vision of the time, which construed education as a civilized Americanizing tool—with kindergarten being a bridge between home and school.<sup>38</sup> In Canada, Hughes, chief inspector for public schools in Toronto, was responsible for creating the first kindergarten in a public school in the country, opening it in Toronto in 1883, although there were fees until 1892.<sup>39</sup> In his role as superintendent, Harris administered, in St. Louis, a segregated system, and during the 1877–78 school year, the “colored” kindergarten with a Black teacher was introduced. Harris was seen as an “especial friend of the colored teachers of this city [St. Louis],”<sup>40</sup> which conveys Black people’s adaptation to their own oppressive circumstances, along with Harris’s commitment to work with Black teachers and educate Black children. The point here is to note the conceptions of human progress—which can hardly be separated from the state’s political and economic agenda and the still present settler colonialism—and contextualize Froebel’s pedagogical ideas.<sup>41</sup>

Of relevance here is “My Pedagogic Creed” by William N. Hailmann (1836–1920), who opened his creed by stating the danger of creeds, which he said were “apt to hinder rather than to help progress, which is the very essence and purpose of education.”<sup>42</sup> Hailmann translated, from German, Froebel’s *The Education of Man*, originally published in 1826,<sup>43</sup> and his understanding of the aim of education places him in the Froebelian line of thought. The creed reads:

The ultimate aim of education I find in the liberation of the child and of man [sic] from the blind forces of instinct and heredity, giving him [sic] conscious control of his powers and environment, placing him [sic] in possession of the achievements of humanity and of the ideals of humanity, and leading him [sic] to an adequate appreciation of his responsibility with reference to the progressive achievement of these ideals. . . The proximate aim of education [being] to lead him [sic] to individual, social, and universal efficiency.<sup>44</sup>

Hailmann's vision at the beginning of his creed entered into contradiction with his own resocialization practice with Indigenous children, as we will describe later.

The creed embodies Froebelian principles of self-activity and self-direction, and a preoccupation with the child's social attitude. When referring to the achievement side of development, Hailmann wrote that the "educational method should begin with play and lead the child gradually to productive and creative work."<sup>45</sup> Development here means being led to move to a goal through a process, and this is part of a teleological theory of education; the teacher was to induce that movement. This is development as unfolding—an unfolding of a latent principle that is already there.<sup>46</sup> Thus, Hailmann's approach was holistic, grounded in the Froebelian notion of life as connected to the whole, with the natural world being the basis for the curriculum. Education, he thought, should start with the surroundings of the child, since that is what they know. That surrounding was conditioned by the "educational" objective.

The presence of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) and of the Herbartians is clear in the creed. Hailmann wrote that the environment "yields experience and personal knowledge, [and] establishes apperceptive centers for the purposes of instruction."<sup>47</sup> Along these lines, Herbart articulated a doctrine of interest: the teacher was expected to show the clear connection between the new idea and the organization of the old ideas that the learner had built. This process is what Herbart called "apperceptive mass." Herbart thus moved away from the theory of development as unfolding, as Jürgen Oelkers explained, to the formation of the mind,<sup>48</sup> referred to by Dewey as education as formation—in other words, assimilating the new with the old.<sup>49</sup>

When he wrote the creed, Hailmann was the US Superintendent of Indian Schools (a position he held between 1894 and 1898), at a time considered the good years of "Indian Education."<sup>50</sup> His work was also within the framework of the policies and requirements of the Department of the Interior. Hailmann applied the Froebelian principles, and we can find contradictory echoes of his creed in his work in "Indian" boarding schools, as he paid attention in his creed to social requirements in the schools.<sup>51</sup> As superintendent, he thus created small groups in the dorms, asking the boarders to create their own decor; the evening hours, previously organized as individual study time, were made into a social period. Following Froebel, he promoted the narration of tribal legends by older students and Indigenous

staff, encouraged cooperative endeavors and native crafts, and employed Indigenous staff and teachers.<sup>52</sup>

However, Hailmann's 1895 report contains a statement that embodies the complexities of the process of assimilation at the crossroads of racism and resistance on the part of the Indigenous people. It also shows incoherence in his own understanding of education. The report reads:

But the cruelty, it should be remembered, lies not in the education that is given to the Indian Youth, but in his return to [an] uncongenial environment and in the failure to provide well-directed, efficient measures for securing [an] improved environment for the educated youth, in the failure to protect him against the savagery of the old Indians, and in not affording him opportunities and incentives to hold fast to the aspiration and to practice the arts which his education has given him.<sup>53</sup>

This statement takes us back to Hailmann's ultimate aim of education as stated in his creed—to provide liberation from heredity and access to the achievements of humanity, with the latter being defined by the matrix of political and economic power in the age of empire, leaving as a result “the coloniality of being.”<sup>54</sup>

We move now to Levi Seeley's (1847–1928) “My Pedagogic Creed.” A professor of pedagogy in the Normal School in Trenton, New Jersey, Seeley's point of reference was educational developments in Germany, as shown in the books he wrote, for example, *The American Public School System and Its Needs from the Standpoint of German Pedagogics* and *The Common-School System of Germany and Its Lessons to America*.<sup>55</sup> In his thesis, Seeley advocates a pedagogical system “based on principles of experience and science” developed in Germany,<sup>56</sup> offering a testimony of the lasting influence of educational developments in Prussia on the United States. He embraces popular education interwoven with a universalist vision of religion and the emerging science of education.

Seeley summarizes his creed in four statements: “a science of education which requires professional trained teachers filled with true knowledge and [the] spirit of teaching; the child is the center of pedagogic interest in the school, therefore a psychological study of the individual is necessary; the end of education is character, which gives noblest aim to instruction; and the final purpose to be sought, which is also closely allied to the preceding statement is to bring the child to a knowledge of God, his [sic] duty to Him [sic] and to his fellow-man [sic].”<sup>57</sup>

Seeley's point of reference in his creed is Wilhelm von Humboldt, who, as head of the Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction from 1808 to 1811 in Prussia, created the *Volksschule* system and advocated the training of teachers.<sup>58</sup> In *The Common-School System in Germany*, Seeley also has great praise for Luther—in his words, “the father of the school system”—and for August Hermann Francke, a pietist born in Luebeck in 1663. Seeley placed great emphasis on self-examination, reliance on God, and the study

of the Scriptures.<sup>59</sup> Thus, for Seeley, in addition to the intellectual and physical sides of the child, there was the moral and religious side, which could “be fully developed only by lessons from the Holy Scriptures.” But he was aware that there was much more to learn. In fact, he was a fallibilist in terms of knowledge and the science of education, while also envisioning the school as a place to teach such “universally accepted truths as the existence of God, man’s responsibility to Him [sic], the duty of man to man [sic] as well as the great moral lessons of the Bible.” He also quoted Hegelian German philosopher Johann Karl Rosenkranz (1805–1879), who wrote of accustoming the youth to “the idea that [in] doing good, he unites himself [sic] with God as with the absolute Person.”<sup>60</sup>

Although Seeley acknowledged the relevance of Herbart in that he created a system of pedagogy, he did not refer to the correspondence/recapitulation theory expounded by the Herbartians. His universal vision resided in a religious outlook that went even beyond sectarianism and advocated the study in schools of universally accepted religious—not theological—truths and moral lessons based on the Bible. The civilizational argument was central to his emphasis on character leading to the formation of the virtuous citizen—with no reference to the oppressive US social context of the time, to Afro-Americans, to Indigenous peoples, or to the profoundly patriarchal character of society. Seeley was convinced of the universal goodness of his view within a binary of good and evil.

Patterson DuBois (1847–1917) also contributed his creed to the journal. The author of *Beckoning from Little Hands* and *The Point of Contact in Teaching*<sup>61</sup> made the point that

Education is that process by which an individual is led to acquire ideals, and to realize them through his [sic] own self-activity. In a Christian education these ideals are God-ward or Christ-like. It therefore aims to put the person in full possession of every natural power that makes for righteousness, and so to develop the whole nature, physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual.<sup>62</sup>

It was the notion of how to live life completely, revealing Spencerian features. His approach was profoundly child centered, following the child’s nature through their contact with life, concrete sensory experiences, and activities.<sup>63</sup>

DuBois made the point that he had little sympathy for recapitulation theory. There are notable key concepts in DuBois’s creed: the sense of unity with race—the child enters into an “inheritance of race possessions,” meaning the Western construction, with no reference to the complex influences behind it; an emphasis on activity/self-activity, in which activity deepens consciousness (showing Froebel’s influence); and a focus on environment versus heredity—“pedagogically we have little, if anything to do with heredity, but we have everything to do with the environment.” He refers to educators as “warders of the child’s environment,” going on to say: “It is the part of environment to suggest ideals, and so utilize the potential of hered-

ity, whatever it may chance to be.” The statement has a Lamarckian echo. Obedience advocated as a virtue reflects his understanding of character, citizenship, and the order of things.<sup>64</sup>

Most creeds stressed God, the Christian religion, and a rather conservative theology at the time of the emerging presence of the Social Gospel. This shows the political dominance of a Protestant Christian view conceived as universal. Social gospelers would later embrace the tenets of progressive education, albeit largely with a civilizationist approach.<sup>65</sup> Modernity knocked at the door and generated hybrid constructs. Thus, R. Heber Holbrook’s (1845–1910) “My Pedagogical Creed” was centered on the concept of growth imbued with a notion of progress—moving to improvement—and the understanding that “all growth is of the Divine,” that “teaching is soul creating” (leading to insight into the plans of God), and that knowledge is itself growth through the growth of the soul.<sup>66</sup> In the last instance, the goal is cultivation of intelligence. Conversion was, of course, an integral component and was defined as the conscious recognition by the soul of the loving fatherhood of God through Christ. Everything in the creed is dualistic, being either good or evil. The axioms that Holbrook put forward—such as the mind, being naturally self-active, naturally growing right and enjoying growing right—had as their starting point the fusing or identification of the mind with the soul.<sup>67</sup> The text of this creed had been quite popular among educators, having been previously published by Holbrook in the *Clarion* (Pennsylvania), the *Jacksonian*, the *Public School Journal*, and the *Southern School*.<sup>68</sup> This reveals the extent of the acceptance of Holbrook’s views by teachers and leading educators at the time.

Most creeds reflect a concern with the changing character of the fin de siècle and social upheaval, while stressing discipline and acceptance of the order of things as well as patriotism. “My Educational Creed,” contributed by T. G. Rooper (1847–1903), HM Inspector of Schools in England, emphasizes character through the cultivation of reverence, inspired by Goethe. This was Rooper’s ideal for education, and he distinguished this from practical concerns. The spirit of patriotism—knowing what others had done for the newer generations—would “replace the prevalent feeling of class hatred, the canker of national life.”<sup>69</sup> This was a clear reference to the crisis of the fin de siècle and the workers’ movement. Thus, to the spirit of patriotism Rooper connected reverence and discipline, and within this conceptual context, he placed the formation of the citizen. For that, he turned to the Bible and the encouragement of reverence for the heroic character, and to this he added reverence for beauty, giving examples of Western art. The creed concludes with a reverence for (Protestant) Christian life.<sup>70</sup> He espoused a notion of citizenship that was quite nationalistic, one that could not lead to any criticism of the matrix of power and the exclusive character of US democracy.

We also find a preoccupation with the national spirit in Richard Boone (1849–1923), who at the time of writing his creed was president of the State Normal College in Ypsilanti, Michigan. He had done his PhD at John Hop-

kins University with G. Stanley Hall, the leader of the child study movement and an advocate of recapitulation theory. His evolutionist view of education was grounded in genetic psychology and on the principle sustained by Hall that nature is right. Boone wrote in his creed: “Education is a natural and inevitable process—a quality of the mind, incident to one’s personality, and not something transferred or acquired. The child is educated whatever be his environment.”<sup>71</sup> Boone understood education as an unfolding process.

In his book *Science of Education*, Boone referred to cultural epoch theory (recapitulation) as the teaching of modern science: “The most complete statement of the doctrine [cultural epochs] is found in Herbert Spencer’s chapter on ‘Intellectual Education.’”<sup>72</sup> It is interesting to note that the creed makes sense in light of his book—in particular, Boone’s assertion that the race and national spirit cannot be ignored and his emphasis on hereditary merits and the faults of a race. In it he quoted Fouillée: “It is not a matter of the instruction of individuals, but of the preservation and improvement of the race.”<sup>73</sup> There seems to be a reference to the human race. However, we can also read in Boone’s book a reference to the “unthinking races,” stating that they are “teleological, superstitious, and hold all truth with a bias.”<sup>74</sup> In the introduction to the book, he also made clear that “race inheritance is one factor in fixing the character of the educational doctrine.”<sup>75</sup> Beyond the meanings of race inheritance, Boone cited all the major figures in education, but he often quoted the Victorian biologist and educator Thomas Huxley (1825–1895), who mounted an uncompromising defense of Darwinian natural selection.

The creed by Francis W. Parker (1837–1902), principal of the Chicago Normal School, starts by expressing “unbounded faith in the development of the human race,” conceives of education as the path and goal of humanity (in the language of the time, “mankind”), and discusses the aim and end of education as building community life. The child, the author wrote, should be a citizen in their little community.<sup>76</sup> Parker, to whom Dewey referred as the father of progressive education in the United States, had fought in the Union Army (1861) and reached the rank of colonel.<sup>77</sup> An important point about his background is his preparation in Germany (1872–1875), where he became familiar with Herbart’s work and his emphasis on the science of education. However, we can note many influences in his work, with G. Stanley Hall being an important one. Parker was also active in the Illinois Society for Child Study. He referred in the creed to the need for an unprejudiced approach through the study of education as a science, while stressing the work of the teacher as an art informed by the study of psychology and everything pertaining to the development of a human being.<sup>78</sup> Parker expressed this within Western-centric conceptions, having in mind the goal to develop the personality “into the highest standards of manhood and womanhood.”<sup>79</sup> He espoused the idea—in line with the child study movement—that the curiosity of the child leads to knowledge, rather than knowledge being transmitted through a “skilled teacher based on awareness of her students’ apperceptive

mass (i.e., their previous educational experience.”<sup>80</sup> Parker closed by expressing his conviction that one can achieve universal salvation on Earth through education. We would also note that the divide between religion and formal education is blurred within a nonsectarian Protestant ecumenical framework. Parker ended his creed with the following:

I believe that man is the demand, God the supply, and the teacher the mediator, and when the day comes that this mediation shall approach perfection the human race will enter into new life. I believe that no teaching is worthy [of] the name if it does not have a moral and ethical end . . . The study of God’s truth, and the application of His [sic] truth are the highest glory of man [sic]. Herein lies the path and the goal of education.<sup>81</sup>

The creed does not open an avenue to a reproposal of moral and ethical ends informing his salvationist conception of education.

In his creed, L. H. Jones (1844–1917), Superintendent of Public Schools in Cleveland, Ohio, emphasized the themes of method, the “conduct” to be taught, and the ideal of responsibility, character, and achievements on the part of teachers.<sup>82</sup>

Earl Barnes (1861–1935), a professor of education at Stanford University, wrote a very short creed. He asserted that the “great problem of this immediate generation is to work out the natural history of human beings as a basis for educational activity, and I believe that when this is fairly accomplished we shall find that what we have is a philosophy of life and life’s possibilities, not materially different from philosophies held in the past, but perfected in many details.”<sup>83</sup> A look at his prolific writing to make sense of his short creed shows that Barnes’s evolutionary views were in line with Lamarckian theory. In his writings, Barnes portrayed Black people as inferior, while he supported the social enfranchisement of women (with a universal designation, having in mind white women).<sup>84</sup> He referred to Indigenous peoples as savages: the “Indian” on the reservation at Idaho was “a prudent savage.”<sup>85</sup>

Iowa State Superintendent Henry Sabin (1829–1918) wrote his creed with an emphasis on the method of teaching, questioning the marking system as a thing of the past, and stating his belief that the poorest should “receive the best education he [sic] is fitted for.” He believed that it was “wicked to ask high school children to carry studies that tax the energies of grown people,” and he praised manual work. Sabin also believed in “American schools for American children, and not in imported notions poorer than our own.” The “aristocracy of character,” a designation that David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot gave to the period between 1820 and 1890, embodied Sabin’s concerns with virtues of citizenship. Sabin underlined in his addresses and written work that “we must train the moral side of the children, for if we blot out the name of the Deity from our schools, we have struck their deathblow, I believe, and besides have forever wronged the pupils.”<sup>86</sup> Carroll Engelhardt described Sabin as an educational evangelist who preached, in

teachers' and public meetings, the "common school ideology of republicanism, Protestantism, and capitalism."<sup>87</sup> Within this context, he concludes the creed with a call for authority and obedience.

"My Shorter Pedagogical Creed," by Burke Aaron Hinsdale (1837–1900), a professor of Science and Art of Teaching at the University of Michigan and a former pastor of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, pays particular attention to the child's mind. For Hinsdale, the proper conception of education was centered in mental growth or power of the mind, which is self-active through its own activity. A pedagogue of his time and influenced by Herbart, Hinsdale wrote that "the growth of the mind or its education, in the first stage depends absolutely upon the establishment of points of contact between the mind and its environment." An open question would be, which environment? For him, the teacher played a central mediating role, generating the relation between the child and the "education-stuff."<sup>88</sup> Herbart put great emphasis on authority and on an individual character formation that was subordinated to that authority ethical demands.<sup>89</sup>

The creed from Edward W. Scripture (1864–1945) brought an epistemological break—a new way of approaching educational psychology. A professor at Yale University, he wrote a creed that both implicitly and explicitly showed the influence of G. Stanley Hall on his thinking. Scripture had done his doctoral thesis at the University of Leipzig with Wilhelm Wundt, the latter considered the initiator of experimental psychology, and on his return was hired by Hall at Clark University, where he remained for a year before going to Yale. He was cofounder, with Hall, of the American Psychological Association. At the time of the publication of his creed, he was a professor and the director of Yale's Psychological Laboratory.<sup>90</sup>

Scripture went beyond Wundt's experimental psychology, moving toward an Americanization of Wundt's ideas that was in line with behaviorist psychology. As stated by Daniel Tröhler, "Wundt aimed at measuring mental processes under controlled conditions in order to come to a better cognition of the soul, American researchers such as Edward Wheeler Scripture (at Yale University) aimed at measuring reaction times of different people in different conditions such as tiredness or stress."<sup>91</sup> Scripture's creed broke with Froebelian concepts, moving the conversation in a different direction.

Thus, Scripture opened his creed with the statement: "I believe that one of the prime duties of education is to train the child to have obedience and self-control. It would be hard to say too much in favor of [a] military drill for this purpose." As a psychologist, he advocated that the child's attention should not be strained, that children should be taught to love that which is beautiful, that manufacturers and merchants (sic) should not dictate methods of instruction, and that teaching should be truthful to students' living reality. Of particular interest here is his critique of neo-Hegelianism, which he considered dead but as still having a home in American kindergarten. In a critique of Froebelian methods, Scripture argued that in Froebel's method nothing is what it is, and thus "the sphere symbolizes the universe, the sun,

the earth, the moon (Why not the orange, the grape and the soap bubble? . . . Away with mysticism, let's come down to common sense!).” He closed with a statement on when a good time would come: “When education will be an art based on scientific principles and not a hodge-podge of antiquated philosophies, vague psychologies, innumerable fads, and endless nonsenses.”<sup>92</sup>

“My Pedagogical Creed” by John Dewey (1859–1952) introduced a new way of understanding education, and the one that has remained known. The creed has five articles: (1) What Education Is; (2) What the School Is; (3) The Subject-Matter of Education; (4) The Nature of Method; (5) The School and Social Progress. In “What Education Is,” he wrote: “I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race.” Moreover, he stated: “[The child] becomes inheritor of the funded capital of civilization.”<sup>93</sup> This is a reference to the civilized world in line with an evolutionist interpretation. In relation to the theory of cultural epochs, he published in 1896 a pedagogical critique and argued for placing the interest of the child first, rather than on the succession of epochs in the race. In his words: “It is a question of psychology, of child study, not of race history.”<sup>94</sup>

Johnston has argued that Dewey was indebted to Hegel as much as William Torrey Harris was. However, as we mentioned before, Harris conducted a metaphysical reading, while Dewey did a nonmetaphysical, even naturalistic, reading. Johnston wrote: “And whereas, for example Harris emphasized the movement of a child’s thought from symbolic to intellectual as a movement from particular to universal, Dewey emphasized the same movement as one proceeding from a vague to a more focused whole in which particulars are united with the universal.”<sup>95</sup> Dewey argued that the psychological and social sides are organically related, as “education cannot be regarded as a compromise between the two, or a superimposition of one upon the other.”<sup>96</sup> In other words, it is not only about individual development nor adaptation to the existing order. In Gert Biesta’s words, it needs to be seen “in more disciplinary terms: as neither a psychological nor a sociological problem.”<sup>97</sup>

In article 2, Dewey made clear his notion that education was failing because “it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life.” This is why he said that “education is, therefore, a process of living and not of preparation for future living”; it is part of the life experience of the child. He believed that the discipline of the school should come from the life of the school and not from the teacher.<sup>98</sup>

Article 3 is on the subject of education. Here, Dewey cautions against introducing the child too abruptly to special studies not related to their social life; the notions of civilization and progress are strong. He believed that “the primary basis of education is in the child’s powers at work along the same general constructive lines as those which have brought civilization into being.” He wrote: “If education is life, all life has, from the outset, a scientific aspect; an aspect of art and culture and an aspect of communication . . .

I believe finally, that education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience; that the process and the goal of education are one and the same thing."<sup>99</sup> This statement embodies a different philosophical approach from Hegelianism/idealism, grounded in a pragmatism for which there is nothing that transcends the natural world of experience. This approach became a point of reference in efforts at changing education in various parts of the world, in particular in Latin America.<sup>100</sup>

Article 4, *The Nature of Method*, is grounded in the notion that ideas (he referred to intellectual and rational processes) result from action and devolve (go back), allowing better control of actions. Reason, for Dewey, was "the law of orderly or effective action." This takes us to action-experience and later to learning by doing. When children are thrown into a passive absorbing attitude, they are not permitted to follow the laws of their nature, since the active precedes the passive.<sup>101</sup> Jerome Bruner, in his critical reading of Dewey's creed, called it prophetic, with five articles of faith, and he made clear that the creed "defines truth in the pragmatic spirit: truth as the fruit of inquiry into the consequences of action."<sup>102</sup>

Article 5, *The School and Social Progress*, contains one of Dewey's most famous phrases: "I believe that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform." Dewey believed that education is "a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness," and that the method of social reconstruction emerges from the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness. Thus, the ideal school would reconcile the individualistic and institutional ideals. There is, then, a community duty to education.<sup>103</sup> The approach was one of social reform. Of course, we can question what kind of reform.<sup>104</sup>

Dewey did not hesitate to use religious language. He closed his creed by saying: "I believe that every teacher should realize the dignity of his [sic] calling; that he [sic] is a social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the security of the right social growth. I believe that in this way the teacher always is the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God."<sup>105</sup> His language was part of his social and even personal Protestant context, but at the same time he differentiated education from religion. It is not surprising, then, that his creed, in conveying modern pedagogical and psychological principles, was read and adopted in very different ways. The phrase "pedagogic creed" with its religious invocation would remain associated with Dewey, while the other creeds would fall into oblivion.

Dewey's creed shared much of the language of the time, but he moved the issues in a different direction. This was perceived by his contemporaries, such as John Clark, who commented on Dewey's creed in *The School Journal* in March 1897. Clark considered the creed to be as important as Herbert Spencer's work, and he found it remarkable. However, he pointed out that it lacked external ideals of education and a recognition that the child has a spiritual nature that transcends physical powers and the environment, and

that “[the child] has a divinely implanted soul.”<sup>106</sup> The latter point would also be made by Catholics such as Frans De Hovre and Alberto Hurtado later on.<sup>107</sup> Dewey’s creed generated some disorientation. Holbrook, in a comment written in *The School Journal* in 1897, also referred to Dewey’s creed as remarkable. Realizing that Dewey projected a new understanding of education, he did not want to judge, but rather decided to wait for the opinion of distinguished educators such as Harris.<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusion

The creeds show a transatlantic movement of ideas, mainly those of Hegel, Spencer, Froebel, Herbart, and Wundt, and a contextual adaptation of those ideas at a point when there was a crisis of the social order and the United States was emerging as an imperialistic power. Readers of the creeds encounter not only new and old strands but also a strong nationalist tone, albeit they use different words such as “the race,” people, and patriotism to convey the message. In some cases, this nationalism appears to be conflated with the standards of Western civilization. In the case of Harris, for example, he refers to a species of a larger human *Bildung* that we construe as Western-centric. We don’t find in the creeds a reference to emerging US imperialism or to the segregation of Black and Indigenous members of society. In some cases, the creeds put great emphasis on the individual with a universal connotation in a context of modernity and coloniality, while in those with a progressive reformist orientation the emphasis was on the collective, on the common good. Christianity and its virtues in its Protestant iteration—a component of the dominant ideology that filtered into public education—were explicit in most of the creeds, except for those of Scripture and Hailmann. Not surprisingly, US missionaries influenced by the Social Gospel moved tenets of progressive education with a reformist approach to Latin America but still maintained a civilizationist redemptive approach, even though they could be critical of American imperialism, particularly in the 1920s.<sup>109</sup>

As can be expected when dealing with the *fin de siècle*, the creeds reveal the impact of evolutionism, in particular its interpretative versions, including the influence of Herbert Spencer and of Lamarckianism, sparking notions of latent potentialities. Not all the authors of the creeds subscribed to Lamarckianism, even as they subscribed to the theory of cultural epochs. A linear historicism is clearly conveyed in the stages of the theory of cultural epoch, although Harris subscribed to Hegel’s understanding of history in which history returns taking a different shape of Spirit. The notion of human progress relying on a sole exclusive narrative is a characteristic of all the creeds, including the reconstructionist ones. The landscape of the educational debate was the erosion of rights of racialized minorities, segregation, and residential/boarding schools for Indigenous children, the social consequences of the industrial revolution. The creeds do not refer to the context. Dewey’s creed

marks a movement toward pragmatism, introducing a naturalistic metaphysics (meaning that nothing transcends the natural world of experience) with its pedagogical implications to the conversation, although he still ascribed at that point to a unilinear approach to human development.<sup>110</sup>

Many of the creeds, in particular those of Hughes and Harris, show a Froebelian influence in the understanding of development as unfolding, and in some cases, they include strong Herbartian concepts, including the emphasis on moral character and education as formation, with social control as an implicit goal.<sup>111</sup> (Harris's influences were more decidedly Hegelian than Froebelian.) Dewey rejected both concepts and emphasized the process of inquiry. The creed by Scripture signifies an epistemological break with the Froebelian creeds with its experimentalism and critique of neo-Hegelianism. Meanwhile, Dewey's creed, an expression of Dewey's early work, brought its own unique avenues, albeit with the tones of the time.

The creeds provide a picture of the dominant educational ideas at the fin de siècle. The authors were mostly aware of the perceived need to use education as a tool for social improvement, and they used a universalist tone grounded in emerging Western thinking about education, and in some cases, in new developments in psychology that influenced education. Pedagogically, the creeds display a child-centered approach, but one aimed at European and North American (namely, US) children. By and large, most creeds conveyed the dominant oppressive values in a racially polarized society and were inserted in the social and gender ordering of society.

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## Notes

1. *The School Journal* 53, no. 22 (1896): 662.
2. One of these writings was the soon-to-be famous John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," *The School Journal* 54, no. 3 (1897): 77–80. *The School Journal* also included creeds written by Francis W. Parker, director of the Cook County Normal School of Chicago; Canadian James L. Hughes, public schools inspector in Toronto; Richard G. Boone, president of the State Normal College of Ypsilanti; Louis H. Jones, superintendent of public schools in Cleveland; Levi Seeley, professor of pedagogy at the State Normal School at Trenton; Edward W. Scripture, director of the Laboratory of Psychology at Yale University; R. Heber Holbrook, principal of a Pittsburgh high school; William N. Hailmann, superintendent of Indian schools between 1894 and 1897 and, at the time of publication, school superintendent in Dayton; Earl Barnes, professor of education at Stanford University; Patterson DuBois, author of well-known works on children and on religious culture; Burke A. Hinsdale, professor of pedagogy at the University of Michigan; T. G. Rooper, H.M. inspector of schools in Great Britain; John S. Clark, professor of arts education and biographer of John Fiske; Henry Sabin, school superintendent in Des Moines; and William T. Harris, Education Commissioner in the United States. Ossian Herbert Lang, ed., *Educational Creeds of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: E. L. Kellogg & Co., 1898), compiles 15 of the creeds (not including Sabin's) and contains other pieces, including the speech "A Bit of a Creed," delivered by James P. Haney, director of manual training in Manhattan, at the meeting of the New York State Art Teachers Association in March 1898; a revision of a somewhat summarized version of the codes published by George P. Brown in *The Public School Journal* that he edited; and fragments from Pestalozzi, Froebel, Diesterweg, Herbart, and Beneke with some analysis.
3. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Abacus, 2012), 56.
4. *Ibid.*, 57.
5. Faith Jaycox, *The Progressive Era* (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 13.
6. For an interpretation of the curricular debate, see Herbart Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
7. Shelton Stromquist, *Re-inventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 5; Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 4.
8. Jaycox, *Progressive Era*, vii, 93.
9. Herbert Welsh, "The Position of Superintendent of Indian Schools Threatened: A Serious Danger to Be Averted" (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1894).
10. Tom Pessah, "Violent Representations: Hostile Indians and Civilized Wars in Nineteenth-Century USA," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 9 (2014): 1628–1645, here 1628, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.767918>.
11. David Armitage, "From Colonial History to Postcolonial History: A Turn Too Far?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 64, no. 2 (2007): 251–254, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4491616>.
12. Derrick P. Alridge, "Of Victorianism, Civilizationism, and Progressivism: The Educational Ideas of Anna Julia Cooper and W. E. B. Du Bois, 1892–1940," *History*

- of *Education Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2007): 417–446, here 418, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20462186>.
13. *Ibid.*, 420, citing Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 229.
  14. See Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).
  15. Stromquist, *Re-inventing "The People,"* 6.
  16. Peter J. Bowler, "Darwinism and Modernism: Genetics, Palaeontology, and the Challenge to Progressionism, 1880–1930," in *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences 1870–1930*, ed. Dorothy Ross (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 236–54, here 236–37.
  17. Lang, *Educational Creeds*, iii.
  18. Daniel Tröhler, "The Pragmatist Response to the Perils of Metropolis and Modern Industry in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Democracy and the Intersection of Religion and Traditions: The Reading of John Dewey's Understanding of Democracy and Education*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, James Scott Johnston, Gonzalo Jover, and Daniel Tröhler (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 17–43; see also Daniel Tröhler, "The 'Kingdom of God on Earth' and Early Chicago Pragmatism," *Educational Theory* 56, no. 1 (2006): 89–105, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2006.00005.x>.
  19. Val Marie Johnson, "'The Half Has Never Been Told': Maritcha Lyons' Community, Black Women Educators, the Woman's Loyal Union, and 'the Color Line' in Progressive Era Brooklyn and New York," *Journal of Urban History* 44, no. 5 (2018): 835–861, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144217692931>; Alridge, "Of Victorianism"; Jarvis R. Givens and Ashley Ison, "Toward New Beginnings: A Review of Native, White, and Black American Education Through the 19th Century," *Review of Educational Research* 93, no. 3 (2023): 319–352, <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543221105544>; W.E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935); Shannon L. Eickhoff, "Anna Julia Cooper: Standing at the Intersection of History and Hope," *Educational Considerations* 47, no. 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.4148/0146-9282.2251>
  20. Neo-Hegelianism/neo-idealism reached many educational leaders and educators through William Torrey Harris.
  21. Thomas D. Fallace, "Was John Dewey Ethnocentric? Reevaluating the Philosopher's Early Views on Culture and Race," *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (2010): 471–77, here 475, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40793355>.
  22. Bowler, "Darwinism and Modernism," 242.
  23. Fallace, "Was John Dewey Ethnocentric?"
  24. James Scott Johnston, "Rival Readings of Hegel at the *Fin de Siècle*: The Case of William Torrey Harris and John Dewey," *History of Education* 42, no. 4 (2013): 423–443, here 425, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2013.795614>.
  25. James L. Hughes, *Froebel's Educational Laws for all Teachers* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897).
  26. James L. Hughes, "My Pedagogical Creed," *The School Journal* 53, no. 12 (1896): 317–318, here 317.
  27. Kevin Brehony, "Transforming Theories of Childhood and Early Childhood Education: Child Study and the Empirical Assault on Froebelian Rationalism,"

- Paedagogica Historica* 48, nos. 4–5 (2009): 585–605, esp. 591, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230903100965>.
28. Kristen D. Nawrotzki, “‘Like Sending Coals to Newcastle:’ Impressions from and of the Anglo-American Kindergarten Movements,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 223–233, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230701248321>.
  29. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, “The Creation of the Educational State, the Normal School and the Formation of a Polity in the Emerging ‘Age of Empire,’ 1841–1918,” in Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Joseph Stafford, *The Peripatetic Journey of Teacher Preparation in Canada* (Leeds: Emerald Publishing, 2020).
  30. Johnston, “Rival Readings,” 443.
  31. *Ibid.*, 430; Johnston, personal communication, 18 January 2023.
  32. William Torrey Harris, “My Pedagogic Creed,” *The School Journal* 54, no. 26 (1897): 813–15, here 813, 814. Where original quotes in this article refer only to members of the male sex the authors insert *sic* after the masculine noun or pronoun in the interests of adopting inclusive language.
  33. Johnston, “Rival Readings,” 430.
  34. Eric Luckey, “Kindergarten for Civilization: The Intellectual Origins of the St. Louis Public Kindergarten,” *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 6 (2018): 800–821, here 808, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2018.1486443>.
  35. Dorothy W. Hewes, “Those First Good Years of Indian Education: 1894 to 1898,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 5, no. 2 (1981): 63–82, here 65, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.05.2.7464820078131676>.
  36. Luckey, “Kindergarten,” 808.
  37. Harris, “My Pedagogic Creed,” 815.
  38. See Luckey, “Kindergarten.”
  39. Danuta Wloka, “Public School Kindergarten in Ontario: A Historical Perspective” (MEd diss., Queen’s University, 2020), <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/27770>.
  40. Kurt F. Leidecker, “The Education of Negroes in St. Louis, Missouri, During William Torrey Harris’ Administration,” *Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 4 (1941): 643–49, here 649, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2293026>.
  41. Armitage, “From Colonial History.” Following Armitage’s lead, we consulted Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
  42. William N. Hailmann, “My Pedagogic Creed,” *The School Journal* 53, no. 23 (1896): 685–686, here 685.
  43. Friedrich Froebel, *Die Menschenerziehung: die Erziehungs-, Unterrichts- and Lehrkunst, angestrebt in der allgemeinen deutschen Erziehungsanstalt in Keilhau* [The education of man: The Art of education, instruction, and training, aimed at the educational institute at Keilhau], vol. 1 (Keilhau: Verlag der allgemeinen deutschen Erziehungsanstalt, 1826); Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. William N. Hailmann (New York: Appleton, 1887).
  44. Hailmann, “My Pedagogic Creed,” 685.
  45. *Ibid.*, 686.
  46. Jürgen Oelkers, “Remarks on the Conceptualization of John Dewey’s *Democracy and Education*” (lecture delivered at the Annual John Dewey Society Symposium, American Education Research Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 11 April 2005).
  47. Hailmann, “My Pedagogic Creed,” 686.

48. Oelkers, "Remarks."
49. The Herbart Society was founded by Charles De Garmo upon his return from Germany in 1881. Many of the writers of the creeds including Dewey and Harris were at the time members of the Society. See Andrea English, *Discontinuity in Learning: Dewey, Herbart and Education as Transformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
50. Hewes, "Those First Good Years," 63.
51. Hailmann, "My Pedagogic Creed," 686.
52. Hewes, "Those First Good Years," 70, 71, 74.
53. William N. Hailmann, *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1895* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 6.
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91. Daniel Tröhler, *The Languages of Education, Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (London: Routledge, 2011), 136.
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94. John Dewey, "Interpretation of the Culture-Epoch Theory," *The Public School Journal* 15, no. 5 (1896): 233–236, here 233. According to Thomas Fallace, "Repeating the Race Experience: John Dewey and the History Curriculum at the University of Chicago Laboratory School," *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2009): 381–405, the theory of recapitulation provided the foundation for the history curriculum at the Laboratory School. He also conceptualized Dewey—for whom transcendental laws did not exist, as he saw progress as dependent upon human invention and creativity—as a pragmatic historicist during his time at the University of Chicago.

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100. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Localizing Dewey's Notions of Democracy and Education: A Journey Across Configurations in Latin America," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 80, no. 3 (2019): 433–453, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhi.2019.0022>.
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111. Oelkers, "Remarks."