



Reframing and Recontextualizing Maria Montessori's 1915 California Visit

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Abstract: Maria Montessori's visit to California in 1915—her second visit to the United States—coincided with multiple events in the region: San Francisco's Panama–Pacific International Exposition (PPIE), San Diego's Panama–California Exposition (PCE), and the National Education Association of the United States (NEA) annual meeting in Oakland. Her visit also came at a time when the American Montessori movement was splintering, and the academic elite increasingly criticized her educational model. These circumstances made Montessori's visit to California a potentially valuable opportunity to rekindle interest in Montessori education across the United States. Discussions of Montessori's visit in 1915 have been framed around her training course and demonstration school at the PPIE. Based on information from primary sources (e.g., newspapers and archival materials), some of which have been overlooked, this article asserts that her visit to California had broader implications. While her eight months in California did have a positive impact on the growth of the Montessori movement, Montessori's engagement with mainstream education had limited impact and it gave way to waning interest in Montessori education in the United States.

In 1915, Maria Montessori made her second visit to the United States. During her initial visit in 1913, her itinerary was situated around East Coast cities (e.g., Washington, D. C., New York City, and Boston; see Gutek & Gutek, 2016). This first visit to the United States was successful at inserting Montessori education into the American educational zeitgeist and it left an American audience hungry for more training courses enabling more individuals to become Montessori educators and thus establish Montessori schools. As a direct result of this, Montessori intended to return to the United States

in 1914. Due to her father's health and the outbreak of World War I, her return trip was delayed until 1915 (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. vii–x).

After her 1913 visit, the demand for more Montessori training within the United States went unsated. The primary factor inhibiting this—and an exponential spread of Montessori education—was Montessori's tight control over who was qualified to provide training courses. She asserted that training conducted by anyone other than herself was unauthorized and invalid (Gutek & Gutek, 2020; Cohen, 1972, pp. 369–370). Americans' demand

for more training courses, combined with Montessori's restrictions and the uncertainty of Montessori's return, led to some of her former students from the East Coast leading unauthorized Montessori training courses ("American Montessori training school for teachers," 1914; WES²). Many of these individuals were aligned with the Montessori Educational Association (MEA), the first Montessori organization established in the United States. Learning about this, Montessori interpreted these actions as direct affronts to her declarations, and she questioned the interests and loyalty of the leaders of the American Montessori movement—specifically, the MEA and its affiliates (e.g., Samuel S. McClure, Alexander Graham Bell, Mabel Hubbard Bell, and Anne E. George; Gutek & Gutek, 2020). The MEA was directly involved in Montessori's 1913 trip to the United States, but these actions related to training course offerings, among others, led to a rift and resulted in Montessori's decision to rebuff their involvement in her 1915 visit (Cohen, 1972; Gutek & Gutek, 2020; Povell, 2010, pp. 101–102). Additionally, in 1915, Montessori issued a formal declaration regarding the establishment of Montessori associations which, as Cohen (1972) asserted, "disavowed the MEA" (p. 369). According to Cohen (1972), this declaration, titled "General Regulations for the Formation of an Authorized Montessori Society," had specific clauses declaring that Montessori would have complete control over the creation of any Montessori society (pp. 369–370). These events thrust the American Montessori movement into an existential crisis.

Regardless, Montessori was intent upon visiting America to share her educational Method with the masses. While her 1913 visit to the East Coast was primarily geared toward the private sphere, her 1915 visit to the West Coast focused on the public sphere as well as general appeal.

Coming to America

Maria Montessori and her son, Mario Montessori (the Montessoris), traveled to California at a convergence of national and international events happening across the region. There were two world's fairs, the Panama–Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco and the Panama–California Exposition (PCE) in San

Diego, as well as the National Education Association of the United States (NEA) annual meeting in Oakland, which coincided with an International Congress on Education also in Oakland. During her visit to California, Montessori attended and lectured at these events in addition to delivering speeches and courses in other cities across the Golden State (e.g., Los Angeles and Pasadena).

The PPIE and the PCE were both large world's fairs organized to celebrate the completion and opening of the Panama Canal. The PPIE took place during most of 1915 in San Francisco and, somewhat confusingly, the PCE happened in San Diego during the same general period. While both events were world's fairs, the PPIE was much larger in scale and notoriety. Many of the secondary sources that discuss this period of Montessori's biography emphasize the role of her participation in the PPIE, going so far as to frame it as the crux of her travels (Bonsteel, 1995; Buckenmeyer, 2018; Kramer, 1976) while some sources have generally overlooked her involvement in the PCE (Gutek & Gutek, 2020; Kramer, 1976; Standing, 1998).

Simultaneous to these overlapping events in California, World War I was underway in Europe, and Montessori's relationship with her original East Coast American disciples and the MEA was disintegrating. While her 1913 visit was sponsored and coordinated by the MEA and Samuel S. McClure (see Gutek & Gutek, 2016), her 1915 visit purposely avoided their involvement. Instead, she relied on financial support from the wealthy family of Adelia McAlpin Pyle, Montessori's former student and an ardent disciple. Mario Montessori, other former students (e.g., Katherine Moore and Helen Parkhurst), and her longtime friend Anna Fedeli also assisted her (Gutek & Gutek, 2020, pp. 190–192).

Her visit also came at a time of personal and professional tumult. Her father, Alessandro Montessori, was ailing and her relationship to her son, Mario, who had been born out of wedlock, was becoming increasingly discussed in the American press.² On the professional side, in addition to the rift with the MEA, 1915 was the year that William Heard Kilpatrick published his highly critical evaluation of the Montessori education Method, *Montessori Examined*. Kilpatrick was a highly influential pedagogue who wielded immense power over the educational practices in the United States from his

¹ All newspaper articles with unknown authorship have been assigned an alphanumeric identifier, based on the publication name, which are referenced in-text. These references and identifiers are listed in the "Newspaper Articles" subsection of the reference list.

² Across different news reports, he was identified as her nephew, cousin, adopted son, or son. For further details regarding the evolution of Maria's and Mario's relationship, see Babini & Lama (2000, pp. 107–109).

professorship position at Teachers College (New York). In his evaluation of the Montessori Method, Kilpatrick was paradoxically critical of the freedom given to children to pursue their interests while simultaneously critiquing the structured use of the didactic materials.

Despite these hardships and challenges, Montessori was hopeful about the expansion of her educational Method (SFC4). A newspaper article from 1914 quoted Montessori as being “enthusiastic about America,” and went on to explain that “the United States was the country where she expected to see her method of educating the young brought to perfection” (NYT1). Clearly, she approached her visit to America with optimism, seeing it as a valuable opportunity to expose her Method to a wider audience.

Historical Reevaluation

The recent digitization, transcription, and indexing of primary source materials, such as newspapers and other archival sources, has made it possible to expand, reframe, and reconcile the historiography of Montessori’s 1915 visit to the United States. The following sections present the timeline of events as supported by primary source materials while critically evaluating the accounts included in the previously discussed secondary sources. By reconciling primary sources with secondary sources, this article seeks to provide more clarity concerning Montessori’s travels and to document the impact of her visit.

The Montessoris’ itinerary was hectic and appears to have been in a constant state of flux, which understandably caused confusion among both secondary and primary sources. Kramer (1976) asserted that the trip to California was “under the auspices of the [NEA] to demonstrate her work to educators and the public at the Panama–Pacific International Exposition,” yet did not include evidence to support this claim (Kramer, 1976, p. 212). Buckenmeyer (2018, pp. xi–xiv) affirmed the lack of evidence for Kramer’s claim. Cohen (1972) asserted that the Montessori Alumnae Association in Los Angeles was the organization that planned Montessori’s visit, also neglecting to include supporting evidence.

Some authors have wrestled with the question of who deserves credit for the invitation, arrangement, and planning of the Montessoris’ travel (Buckenmeyer, 2018; Gutek & Gutek, 2020; Kramer, 1976; C. Montessori, 2015). Secondary sources provide no evidence-based answers, though primary sources indicate there may have been a combined effort among a number of organizations

and individuals: Adelia Pyle (a former student living in New York who was from a wealthy family), Alvin E. Pope (Chief of the Department of Education and Acting Commissioner General in New York City for the PPIE), the NEA, Katherine Moore³ of Los Angeles (a former student and leader of the Montessori Alumnae Association in Los Angeles), the Dante Alighieri Society, J. H. Francis (Superintendent of Los Angeles City Schools), Jesse F. Millsbaugh (President of the Los Angeles State Normal School⁴), George F. Bovard (President of the University of Southern California), and the California State Board of Education.

While several sources asserted that Montessori went to California specifically to participate in the PPIE (Gutek & Gutek, 2020; Kramer, 1976; Standing, 1998), other evidence points to her primary destination being Los Angeles (and adjacent Pasadena) with plans to participate in the PCE (LAH5; LAR1). Based on press reports, their itinerary was constantly fluctuating as plans developed (LAH5; LAH6; LAT2; LAT3; NYT3). Montessori’s personal letters, as well as contemporary news reports, indicate that she did not fully commit to attending the PPIE in San Francisco until early June (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 30–35). While a news report from October 1914 indicated Montessori had committed to participate in the PPIE, many of Montessori’s plans had changed in a year (“Educational news and editorial comment,” 1914). Whereas Montessori’s visit to the United States in 1913 was focused on private education, her 1915 visit focused more on public education.

Italy to New York

The Montessoris embarked from Naples, Italy aboard the steamship *Duca degli Abruzzi* on April 7, 1915, bound for New York (NYSun1; NYTrib1). According to the passenger list (see Figures 1a and 1b), Mario, listed under his father’s last name, Montesano, was visiting a “relative or friend” identified as “Ms. Moore Catherine, Los Angeles,” while Montessori’s entry indicated that she was visiting “nobody” (Ancestry.com [*Duca degli Abruzzi* passenger list], 2010). The passenger list provided information that other sources had overlooked. With this information, the Montessoris’ intended destination

³ At least four different spellings of her name have been encountered. “Katherine Moore” was the most common form used across primary sources, including her listing in both the 1915 and 1916 Los Angeles City Directories (Los Angeles Directory Company, 1915, 1916).

⁴ The predecessor to University of California, Los Angeles.

Figure 1a

Duca degli Abruzzi Passenger List – Maria Montessori and Mario Montesano (page 1)

SALOON, CABIN, AND STEERAGE ALIENS MUST BE COMPLETELY MANIFESTED.

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES

Required by the regulations of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor of the United States, under Act of Congress approved February 20, 1907, to be delivered to the United States Immigration Officer at the Port of Arrival.

S. S. *"Duca degli Abruzzi,"* sailing from *Naples*, *April 4th*, 190*7*

No. on List	NAME IN FULL		Age		Sex	Married or Single	Calling or Occupation	Able to—		Nationality (Country of which citizen or subject.)	Race or People	Last Permanent Residence		The name and complete address of nearest relative or friend in country whence alien came.	Final Destination	
	Family Name	Given Name	Yrs. Mos.	Yrs. Mos.				Read	Write			Country	City or Town		State	City or Town
1	Cafaldi	Alessio	31	6	M	S	Physician	Yes	Yes	Italy	Italian	Italy	Completano	None	USA	New York
2	Montessori	Maria	44	7	F	S	Physician	Yes	Yes	Italy	Italian South	Italy	Chiaravalle	[illegible]	USA	New York
3	Montesano	Mario	17	0	M	S	Student	Yes	Yes	Italy	Italian South	Italy	Rome	[illegible]	USA	New York

Figure 1b

Duca degli Abruzzi Passenger List – Maria Montessori and Mario Montesano (page 2)

THIS SHEET IS FOR SALOON OR FIRST-CABIN PASSENGERS.

STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL

to the United States Immigration Officer by the Commanding Officer of any vessel having such passengers on board upon arrival at a port in the United States.

Arriving at Port of *NEW YORK*, *19. Apr. 1915*, 19*0*

Line #	Whether having a ticket to such final destination	By whom was passage paid?	Whether in possession of \$50, and if less, how much?	Whether ever before in the United States; and if so, when and where?		Whether going to join a relative or friend; and if so, what relative or friend, and his name and complete address	Ever in prison...	Whether a Polygamist	Whether an Anarchist	Whether coming by reason of any offer, solicitation, promises, or agreement, express or implied, to labor in the United States.	Condition of Health, Mental, and Physical	Deformed or crippled. Nature, length of time, and cause.	Height		Complexion	Color of—		Marks of Identification	Place of Birth	
				Yes/No	Year or period of years								Where?	Feet		Inches	Hair		Eyes	Country
1	Yes	By myself	Yes	Yes	1913	New York, Chicago	No	No	No	Good	No	5	2	Healthy	Brown	Brown	Italy	Completano		
2	Yes	By myself	Yes	No	—	—	No	No	No	Good	No	5	7	Healthy	Brown	Brown	Italy	Rome		

appears to have been Los Angeles where they would rendezvous with Katherine Moore.

After 12 days at sea during wartime, the Montessoris arrived at the Port of New York on April 19 (ITA5; NYSun1; NYTrib1; WES1). Upon their arrival, the Montessoris were welcomed by former students, Montessori disciples, and others. Cohen (1972, pp. 368–369) asserted that Anna Fedeli traveled with the Montessoris, and that Helen Parkhurst was present to welcome them. While Fedeli and Parkhurst did meet up with the Montessoris, primary sources confirm they did so in California and were not present in New York (Ancestry.com [Ancona passenger list], 2010; C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 33, 39; SPJ3).

New York to San Francisco to Los Angeles

The Montessoris' brief stay in New York was documented in secondary sources (Cohen, 1972; Gutek & Gutek, 2020; C. Montessori, 2015) and an analysis of primary sources confirms the majority of the details. However, in one instance, Cohen (1972) incorrectly reported “[the Montessoris] came straight to Los Angeles” after their arrival in New York (p. 369). To the contrary, a day after their arrival in New York, Montessori participated in a conference at a Children’s House located in a tenement housing complex⁵ at 520 E. 77th Street, which was established by the New York chapter of the MEA (Gutek & Gutek, 2020, pp. 223–224; Rodman, 1915). Sources also revealed that one of Montessori’s former pupils, Margaret Naumburg, was present at the conference and eagerly informed Montessori that she had received approval to begin a Montessori classroom at New York’s Public School 4 (PS4), which must have been encouraging news to Montessori (Gutek & Gutek, 2020, pp. 223–224; Rodman, 1915).

On April 21, two days after their arrival, the Montessoris and Adelia Pyle visited the Bronx to see Angelo Patri at Public School 45 (PS45) where he was the principal.⁶ Then, in the afternoon, the Montessoris and Pyle were aboard a Chicago-bound train (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 2–6). Upon their arrival in Chicago, they went to the Blackstone Hotel, where her former students

held a reception in her honor (C. Montessori, 2015, p. 4). Afterward, they boarded a San Francisco-bound train and arrived in Oakland on the morning of April 25 (C. Montessori, 2015, p. 5; SFC5). They reached San Francisco by ferry, where they were driven by automobile to a “suite of rooms” at the Inside Inn⁷ (SFC5; SFCP3). Montessori also managed to attend two events in her honor later that day (ITA3; ITA6; C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 13–16; SFC5; SFC6; SFCP2; SFCP3). Three days later, they traveled to Los Angeles.

Los Angeles and its Environs

Several secondary sources have discussed Montessori’s time in the Los Angeles area (Buckenmeyer, 2018; Cohen, 1972; Gutek & Gutek, 2020; C. Montessori, 2015) and, for the most part, the details concur with primary sources. One report asserted that the Montessoris arrived in Los Angeles on April 26 (C. Montessori, 2015, p. 12), though the consensus among primary sources is that they arrived April 28 (LAE2; LAH2; LAR2; LAT4).⁸ Upon their arrival in Los Angeles, they immediately traveled to the Hotel Maryland in Pasadena (LAE2). This hotel was of interest because it was the location of a Montessori class established by one of her former students, Mildred Johnston (LAH1; LAR2; LAT4). There were two other Montessori classes in the area, both established by Katherine Moore: St. Catherine’s School (636 W. Adams St.) and Seventh Street School (1822 E. 7th St.; LAR2). St. Catherine’s School was a private school, but the Seventh Street School was a public school in Los Angeles and is notable because it has been credited as the first instance of a public Montessori program in the United States (Price, 1915).

An element of Montessori’s travels that has not been documented in secondary sources was her brief side trip to San Diego to consult on plans for the Montessori Institute at the PCE (SDET6). On May 2, the Montessoris and their contingent, including Adelia Pyle and Mary Powell Jordan, traveled to San Diego (SDU5, p. 1). Their visit lasted less than 36 hours, but it was important because it helped lay the groundwork for Montessori’s involvement in the PCE and gave them an opportunity to tour some of the local schools (SDET1).

⁵ A picture of children at “a Montessori school for the children of New York’s East Side” was printed in the pages of *Outlook* magazine (March 10, 1915, p. 579). It’s plausible that this is the same school that Montessori visited.

⁶ For information about Angelo Patri and his role in New York public schools, see Wallace (2005).

⁷ Inside Inn was a hotel located within the grounds of the PPIE.

⁸ One report indicated Montessori and her fellow travelers were met by Katherine Moore in San Francisco to escort them to Los Angeles (LAH2).

Upon their arrival in San Diego in the afternoon of May 2, they were met by Duncan MacKinnon, San Diego's superintendent of city schools, who escorted them to the PCE grounds (LAT8; SDU3).

On May 3, the Montessoris and their contingent returned to Los Angeles, where they attended a few social engagements held in honor of Montessori that demonstrated a clear public interest in her work. On May 6, Montessori was honored in Pasadena at a dinner event and at a public reception hosted by the Pasadena Board of Trade (LAE5). On May 14, Montessori attended a meeting of the Friday Morning Club, a local women's club (LAT9). Montessori spoke at the Castelar Street School on May 19, and she attended a celebration that evening at the Los Angeles High School auditorium (ITA7; LAE3). She was also an honored guest at the inaugural meeting of University of Southern California's Scholarship Society where she delivered a speech through an interpreter about her educational Method (WN1; WN2; LAE3; LAH4; LAT1; LAT7).

In addition to these public events, Montessori conducted a series of 10 public lectures given across six weeks, held at Los Angeles' Olive Street School (419 S. Olive Street) beginning on May 27 (LAE4; LAH3; LAT6). According to Buckenmeyer, the first lecture (May 27) and the fifth lecture (June 9) of this series pertained to "the social liberation of the child" (Buckenmeyer, 2018, pp. 3, 15–22). Buckenmeyer also indicated that the sixth lecture (June 10) in this series focused on "the social rights of the child and the *Casa dei Bambini*, Rome, Italy" (2018, pp. 3, 23–29).

Concurrently with these public events and appearances, Montessori was engaged in the first part of the third International Training Course⁹, which took place in Pasadena, Los Angeles, and at the PCE in San Diego (National Montessori Promotion Fund, 1916). The course commenced in Pasadena at the Montessori class at Hotel Maryland on May 8 (LAT5). The remainder of the Los Angeles courses were held at the Boyle Heights Intermediate School (LAH8). The Los Angeles City Schools administration made special arrangements for Montessori to engage 30 children from the Seventh Street School for the course held at the Boyle Heights Intermediate School. The children, transported to the location via automobile, "represent[ed] seven or eight nationalities, none Americans," and reportedly began

⁹ The National Montessori Promotion Fund (1916) identified this course as "1st California Class 1915."

each day by being bathed and dressed at the Seventh Street School (Price, 1915).¹⁰ According to Buckenmeyer (2018), Montessori delivered a lecture on May 12 about the Montessori materials, which was likely part of the training course, but this connection was not confirmed (2018, pp. 3, 11).

Meanwhile, Montessori solicited the help of Helen Parkhurst, a former pupil and professor at Wisconsin State Normal School in Stevens Point. Parkhurst took a leave of absence and joined the Montessori contingent in Los Angeles to assist with the training courses (SPJ3). Additionally, Montessori had written to her longtime friend Anna Fedeli in Italy, who was looking after her father, requesting she join them in California (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 27–28). Records indicate that Fedeli departed Naples, Italy on May 26 aboard the *Ancona* bound for New York. She arrived on June 8 and continued westward by train to Los Angeles (Ancestry.com [Ancona passenger list], 2010; see Figures 2a and 2b).¹¹ Montessori's letters place Fedeli's arrival in Los Angeles as June 13 (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 33, 39).¹²

Comparing secondary and primary sources related to the Los Angeles leg of the Montessoris' trip revealed that only part of the story was documented. Facts about their time in Los Angeles were scattered across secondary sources without a clear consensus. By connecting these facts into a detailed chronology here, it becomes apparent that Montessori's time in Los Angeles was notable for a few reasons: the third International Training Course began there; she recruited public school children to demonstrate her methods; and it became a proving ground for events at the PCE and PPIE.

San Diego and the Panama–California Exposition

The Montessoris and their contingent of Anna Fedeli, Adelia Pyle, Helen Parkhurst, Helen Little, Edith Little, and Mary Powell Jordan arrived in San Diego on June 28, where they stayed for the month of July (SDET8).

¹⁰ Price's statement reflects the prevailing attitude of the time that ethnicities and nationalities were distinct and nonoverlapping, along with the exclusionary idea that White people were true "Americans."

¹¹ C. Montessori (2015, p. 30) indicates that Fedeli departed Naples on May 27.

¹² Gutek and Gutek (2020, p. 188) asserted that Fedeli arrived in Los Angeles on June 19, and they cite C. Montessori (2015, p. 39) as their supporting evidence. Gutek and Gutek (2020) miscalculated or confused the dates.

Figure 2a
Ancona Passenger List – Anna Fedeli (page 1)

Form No. A
Department of Commerce and Labor
IMMIGRATION SERVICE

List

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES

ALL ALIENS, in whatsoever class they travel, MUST be fully listed and the master or commanding officer of each vessel carrying such passengers

S. S. *Ancona* sailing from *Naples*, *May 26th*, 1915

No. on List	HEAD TAX EXEMPTIONS		HEAD TAX DEPOSITS		NAME IN FULL		Age		Sex	Married or Single	Calling or Occupation	Able to—		Nationality (Country of which citizen or subject)	Race or People	Last Permanent Residence		The name and complete address of nearest relative or friend in country whence alien came.
	U. S. Citizen	Resident of U. S.	U. S. Citizen	Resident of U. S.	Family Name	Given Name	Yrs.	Mos.				Read	Write			Country	City or Town	
1					<i>De Lombo</i>	<i>Maria Camilla</i>	31		F	S	<i>Professor</i>	Yes	Yes	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Italian South</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>my father De Lombo Alessandro Montessori 25, via Conte Rosso - Rome</i>
2					<i>Fedeli</i>	<i>Anna</i>	31		F	S	<i>Professor</i>	Yes	Yes	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Italian South</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Alessandro Montessori 25, via Conte Rosso - Rome</i>

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL
S. S. *Ancona* sailing from *NAPLES*, *May 26th*, 1915 | Arriving at Port of *NEW YORK*, [8 Jun 1915]

List #	NAME IN FULL		Age		Sex	Married or Single	Calling or Occupation	Able to—		Nationality (Country of which citizen or subject)	Race or People	Last Permanent Residence		The name and complete address of nearest relative or friend in country whence alien came
	Family Name	Given Name	Yrs.	Mos.				Read	Write			Country	City / Town	
2	<i>Fedeli</i>	<i>Anna</i>	31		F	S	<i>Professor</i>	Yes	Yes	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Italian South</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Alessandro Montessori 25 via Conte Rosso - Rome</i>

Figure 2b
Ancona Passenger List – Anna Fedeli (page 2)

List

STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL

must upon arrival deliver lists thereof to the Immigration officer. This (yellow) sheet is for the listing of SECOND CABIN PASSENGERS ONLY.

Arriving at Port of *New York*, 1915

No. on List	Final Destination (Detailed address preferred)		Whether having a ticket to such final destination	By whom was passage paid?	Whether in possession of \$50, and if less, how much?	Whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where?		Whether going to join a relative or friend, and if so, what relative or friend, and his name and complete address?	Whether a Polygamist	Whether an Anarchist	Whether coming by reason of any offer, solicitation, promises, or agreement, express or implied, to labor in the United States.	Condition of Health, Mental, and Physical	Deformed or crippled. Nature, length of time, and cause.	Height		Color of—		Place of Birth	
	State	City or Town				Yes	No							Feet	Inches	Hair	Eyes		Country
1	<i>Calif.</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>	Yes	By myself	Yes	No	—	<i>Mrs. Maria Montessori Hotel Maryland</i>	No	No	No	Good	No	5	5	Healthy	Brown	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Senigallia</i>
2	<i>Calif.</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>	Yes	By myself	Yes	No	—	<i>Mrs. Maria Montessori Hotel Maryland</i>	No	No	No	Good	No	5	4	Healthy	Brown	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Senigallia</i>

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF ARRIVAL
S. S. *Ancona* sailing from *NAPLES*, *May 26th*, 1915 | Arriving at Port of *NEW YORK*, [8 Jun 1915]

List #	Final Destination		Whether having a ticket to such final destination	By whom was passage paid?	Whether in possession of \$50, and if less, how much?	Whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where?		Whether going to join a relative or friend, and if so, what relative or friend, and his name and complete address?	Ever in prison...	Whether a Polygamist	Whether an Anarchist	Whether coming by reason of any offer, solicitation, promises, or agreement, express or implied, to labor in the United States.	Condition of Health, Mental, and Physical	Deformed or crippled. Nature, length of time, and cause.	Height		Color of—		Place of birth	
	State	City / Town				Yes	No								Year or period of years	Where?	Feet	Inches		Hair
2	<i>California</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>	Yes	By myself	Yes	No	—	<i>Mrs. Maria Montessori Hotel Maryland</i>	No	No	No	No	Good	No	5	4	Healthy	Brown	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Senigallia</i>

Reportedly, they were also joined by “a private class composed of fifty young girls from all parts of the United States” (SDET8; see Appendix C). The Montessoris’ time in San Diego has received limited attention; only some secondary sources have included brief discussions (Buckenmeyer, 2018; Kramer, 1976; C. Montessori, 2015). Regardless of the reason for this, the Montessoris’ travel to San Diego was confirmed in newspaper reports (as early as March 1915), which indicated Montessori would conduct a training course at the PCE (LAH7; LAR1; SDET4). Their participation in the PCE was significant because it built on their experience from Los Angeles and served as a warm-up or practice for the larger PPIE.

Montessori’s arrival was inaugurated with a lecture she delivered in Italian and interpreted by Pyle for an audience of 50 students (SDET2; SDET3). Similar to her public lectures in Los Angeles, Montessori planned a short course of lectures and demonstrations “for the benefit of mothers, teachers, and all others interested,” but these plans were canceled due to time constraints (Robinson, 1915; SDET3; SDU4). The Montessori training course in San Diego, a continuation of the first part of the third International Training Course, began on Thursday, July 1, and was conducted on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 3:30 p.m. at the San Diego State Normal School¹³ in conjunction with a summer school program (Robinson, 1915; SDET8; SDU1; SDU7). Fedeli, Parkhurst, and Helen Little conducted a demonstration Montessori class on Mondays and Wednesdays (SDU7; SDET3).¹⁴ Initially, the demonstration class was planned for the Exposition grounds (GEN1; ODJ2). On July 12—Educational Day at the PCE—Philander P. Claxton and Maria Montessori both delivered speeches at the Spreckels Pavilion (LAE1; C. Montessori, 2015; SDET5; SDET10; SDU2). This booking with the U.S. Commissioner of Education probably sparked interest in the Montessori Method amongst the general public.

Conducting a course in connection with the PCE at the San Diego State Normal School and participating in special events at the PCE were valuable opportunities for Montessori to present her educational Method to a new and receptive audience. After concluding the training course at the PCE, Montessori and her contingent headed north to San Francisco where they applied their experience at the PCE to their program at the PPIE.

¹³ The predecessor to what is currently San Diego State University.

¹⁴ For a list of the children who participated in the San Diego demonstration class, see Appendix A.

San Francisco and the Panama–Pacific International Exposition

This portion of Montessori’s 1915 visit is well documented across several secondary sources (Bonsteel, 1995; Buckenmeyer, 2018; Cohen, 1972; Gutek & Gutek, 2020; C. Montessori, 2015; Sobe, 2004). Additionally, as the PPIE drew much press coverage, information concerning Montessori’s participation in the Exposition was readily available. Yet, like other aspects of her visit to California, some details have been overlooked, inaccurately portrayed, or inconsistently reported.

By the end of July, news reports declared Montessori had decided to extend her California visit, indicating that Montessori and Fedeli would conduct a training course at the PPIE from August through November (NYT2). In letters to her father, Montessori described weighing the decision to extend her visit to conduct the course, specifically emphasizing the financial aspects (C. Montessori, 2015, pp. 48–51). Arriving in San Francisco on August 1, Montessori and her contingent hit the ground running. The following morning, Montessori commenced the second part of the third International Training Course at the PPIE¹⁵ and, a few days later, the demonstration classroom opened under the direction and supervision of Parkhurst (ITA1).¹⁶ The demonstration classroom in the Palace of Education, often referred to as the “glass house,” included theater-style seating to encourage visitors to observe the Montessori system in action (see Figure 3; Bonsteel, 1995; Hinkle, 1915; Sobe, 2004). The class of 30 children was selected from an application pool of approximately 2,500 and news reports provided a list (see Appendix B) of those who were enrolled in the demonstration class (Buckenmeyer, 2018, pp. 254–255; ITA10; SFC2). This large application pool once again demonstrated the public interest in the Montessori Method.

¹⁵ National Montessori Promotion Fund (1916) identified this course as “2nd California Class 1915.”

¹⁶ Cohen (1972) reported the demonstration school was conducted by Montessori herself with assistance by Moore and Parkhurst (p. 369), yet primary sources refute this, and no contemporary evidence has been located to support the assertion that Moore accompanied the Montessoris to San Francisco. Cohen cited a source from October 1914 to support this claim (see “Educational news and editorial comment; American Montessori courses,” 1914), though many details of Montessori’s itinerary were not finalized at that point. Contemporary news reports from August through December 1915 do not indicate Montessori supervised the demonstration school, but reports confirm that Parkhurst was the supervisor (Hinkle, 1915).

Figure 3
Montessori Demonstration Classroom, PPIE, San Francisco



Located in the Palace of Education, this is an interior view of the Montessori demonstration classroom with children gathered around a table and adults standing in the background. Records indicate there were 30 children enrolled in the class yet there are 35 children seated at the table in this photo. The adults standing in the background include Maria Montessori, Adelia Pyle, Helen Parkhurst, Anna Fedeli, and Mario Montessori, among others. Just beyond the windows, an audience is peering in, watching the young children. Though this photograph does not include a specific date, it was likely taken on the classroom's opening day, August 4, 1915. Source: Edward A. Rogers Panama–Pacific International Exposition photograph collection, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library (BANC PIC 2015.013:15989--NEG). <https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/k6zp4dxk>

Montessori devoted her time to conducting lectures for educators (the training course), limited to 30 pupils each, and held in various State buildings across the exposition grounds four times a week. Demonstrating the level of interest from educators, reports indicate around 1,800 students applied (SFC3; SFC7; SFE1; Todd, 1921, vol. 4, p. 68). Similar to the PCE, the PPIE training courses were conducted by Montessori in Italian, aided by Fedeli, who served as her assistant, and Pyle, who served as her interpreter (ITA4; SDU7; SFCP4). August 5th was the day of the first training course at the PPIE, which took place in the Nevada State Building; subsequent lectures were delivered at other State buildings (ITA9; SFC3; Todd, 1921, vol. 4, p. 68). Ultimately, the training course in San Francisco spanned from August through November, but the official number of classes held remains elusive.

Montessori and her colleagues spent considerable time preparing for the PPIE, and their efforts yielded some direct impacts. For example, some students who took the training course went on to disseminate the Montessori Method of education to part of China (Chen & Liu, 2023; SFCP1; SFCP5; SFCP6). Additionally, the PPIE provided ample opportunity to expose the general public to Montessori's methods in a classroom where they could observe the Method in action.

Oakland and the National Education Association Annual Meeting

While her travels and activities in San Francisco at the PPIE are well documented, her time in Oakland at the NEA Annual Meeting is less widely documented in secondary sources despite the coverage in primary sources. Buckenmeyer (2018) and Cohen (1972) both include some details while overlooking others and perpetuating some inaccuracies. For example, Buckenmeyer (2018) included the transcript of a speech, which he identified as "Oakland lecture: Biological liberty and the psychic development of the child" and dated August 28, 1915, though no context for the speech was provided. An examination of the conference program and the speech transcript establishes that the speech was delivered during the Montessori Congress (Buckenmeyer, 2018, pp. 241–247; NEA, 1915b).

The NEA's 53rd Annual Meeting was held in Oakland, August 16–27, at the newly constructed Municipal Auditorium (or, Civic Auditorium) and at Hotel Oakland. The NEA was founded in 1857 as the

National Teachers Association and became formally known as the NEA in 1870.¹⁷ Then it was chartered by the U.S. Congress in 1906 (Selle, 1932). By 1915, the NEA was the largest organization of education-related professionals in the United States. In an historical account of the NEA, West (1980) explained how the strength and importance of the NEA was exerted through their conventions, publications, and the recommendations of their committees. These committees were tasked with recommending "a course of study for high schools; [preparing] an ideal program for the education of youth; and [reporting] on school registers and annual reports" (West, 1980, p. 7). Since it was the largest organization representing the interests of educators in the United States at the time, the NEA wielded substantial influence on members' and policymakers' practices related to the public education system. This influence specifically concerned pedagogical practices, and the Montessori Method of education had piqued their interest. The event was well attended by an international gathering of between four and five thousand educators, including Montessori (SU1). Thus, the involvement of Montessori and her allies had the potential to insert the Montessori Method into public schools across the country. Overall, Montessori delivered four speeches at the NEA meeting. The transcripts were published in the conference proceedings (see M. Montessori, 1915a, 1915b, 1915c, 1915d).

In conjunction with the NEA meeting and the related International Congress on Education, there was also a Montessori Congress held August 28 in the ballroom of Hotel Oakland.¹⁸ The program for the conference indicates that David Starr Jordan (President of the NEA) presided over the Montessori Congress, which, in addition to a speech by Montessori, included speeches by Edward L. Hardy and Arthur H. Chamberlain (Secretary of the California Council of Education and California Teachers' Association).¹⁹ According to the

¹⁷ The conference program, published prior to the event, listed August 16–28 but the subsequently published proceedings listed August 16–27 (NEA, 1915a, 1915b).

¹⁸ Cohen (1972) documented Montessori's participation in the NEA annual meeting; however, his account lacked information about her participation in the International Congress on Education and Montessori Congress.

¹⁹ Claxton did not attend, but one of his representatives was in attendance to deliver prepared remarks (ITA2). Hardy's speech was titled "Possibilities and Opportunities of the Montessori Work for American Children," and Chamberlain's was titled "The Future of the Montessori School in America" (NEA, 1915b, pp. 42–43).

program, Montessori delivered an untitled “Address” at the Montessori Congress on August 28 (NEA, 1915b, pp. 42–43). Buckenmeyer (2018) included a speech transcript dated August 28, which revealed itself as the speech Montessori delivered to the Montessori Congress in the Hotel Oakland ballroom (ITA2).²⁰

It is unclear if any immediate impact or action resulted from Montessori’s participation in the NEA meeting. Regardless, her presence was important because it provided her the opportunity to share her Method with a large audience of influential educators and policymakers.

After the Expositions

Over the course of her 1915 visit to the United States, Maria Montessori received numerous invitations from across the nation to visit various cities and conduct lectures or courses. In addition to others, invitations came from New York, Washington, D.C., Portland, Oregon, and Stevens Point, Wisconsin (ODJ1; ODJ2; SPJ1; SPJ2; SPJ4; SPJ5). This widespread interest demonstrates how educators, and the American public, were interested in the Montessori Method of education. However, beside speaking at a conference in New York, her itinerary was solely focused on California. These invitations from outside California were rebuffed, except for Stevens Point, Wisconsin, which received serious consideration (SFC1; SPJ1; SPJ2; SPJ5).

Stevens Point was considered because Montessori’s assistant and confidante Helen Parkhurst was on the faculty of the Wisconsin State Normal School at Stevens Point, and Montessori was offered a position there. She would be able to continue her training courses and related work with a steady salary and institutional support (SPJ1; SPJ2; SPJ5). Interestingly, the faculty position was negotiated, agreed upon, and contracts signed; Montessori was set to begin in January 1916 (SPJ5). But this arrangement never became a reality. Ultimately, Montessori canceled the Stevens Point contract and departed America to accept an opportunity in Spain (NYTrib2; SS1).

The reasoning for her change of plans is unclear, but

several news reports provide some insight. According to one report, Montessori had been offered a large sum of money to establish her system in Spain’s primary schools (NYTrib2). In another, a note from Montessori’s secretary to the California State Board of Education indicated she left for Spain “heartbroken over the harsh treatment she was accorded in California” and that she “cancelled all her contracts in this country” (SS1). Another account indicated Montessori’s plans changed due to her father’s death and concluded by mentioning a congratulatory note acknowledging the kindness shown to her (ITA8). The harsh treatment which Montessori references is unclear, but it is possible this relates to remarks by Edward Hyatt (Secretary, California State Board of Education), who characterized her Method as a fad or a passing fancy (Hyatt, 1915). These inconsistencies across primary sources are difficult to reconcile.

Discussion and Conclusion

Historically, literature pertaining to Maria Montessori’s 1915 California visit have framed the conversation around her participation in the PPIE. While this was probably the most widely documented aspect of her California visit, it was only a fraction of the time she spent in California. Misunderstandings, inconsistencies, and oversights regarding Montessori’s California itinerary occurred. Though Montessori’s intent to take a faculty position at Wisconsin State Normal School was previously documented (see Gutek & Gutek, 2020), the details of this decision are one of the most unreported aspects of her time in America in 1915. Her brief visit to San Diego in early May and her month-long sojourn there in July are other periods of her time in California that have generally been overlooked. Additionally, primary sources indicated that Montessori actually conducted two separate training courses during her time in California in 1915 (National Montessori Promotion Fund, 1916).

By examining the historiography associated with this part of Montessori’s biography through primary and secondary sources, the inconsistencies have been examined to achieve a more accurate record. Beyond reframing the historiography, this article also sought to examine the impact of Montessori’s travels to California in 1915. 1915 was a time of both personal tumult and progress for Montessori education and the Montessori movement in the United States. While it is tough to quantify the impact of her visit, a few points are clear.

²⁰ The August 28 speech transcript included in Buckenmeyer (2018) is identified by two distinct titles: (1) “Montessori’s address to the N.E.A. national meeting: Learning and developmental freedom of the child,” and, (2) “Biological liberty and the psychic development of the child,” (pp. 4, 241).

Prior to Montessori's visit to California in 1915, a relatively small number of Americans were trained under the tutelage of Montessori. Her visit changed this trend, and it made training more accessible to Americans, especially those on the West Coast. Meanwhile, participation in both the PCE and PPIE increased the notoriety of her educational Method in the United States. Further, her training course at the PPIE had a direct impact on the diffusion of Montessori education in America and even overseas to China (Chen & Liu, 2023; "Colony celebrates anniversary," 1915, p. 19; National Montessori Promotion Fund, 1916; SFCP1; SFCP5; SFCP6). While we can only speculate, it seems plausible that if Montessori had followed through with her faculty position at the Wisconsin State Normal School in Stevens Point, the historical trajectory may have been different; the advancement of her Method across the United States may have taken a stronger foothold.

Reframing Montessori's 1915 visit to California by challenging our understanding of Montessori's biography potentially paves the way for other avenues of research. For instance, another Montessori demonstration school was established at the PCE in the summer and fall of 1916 (SDU6). Montessori's return to the United States in 1917, where she delivered another series of lectures in San Diego, has received limited analysis (see Cohen, 1972; Moretti, 2013, 2021). Another area requiring deeper analysis is the lasting impact of her 1915 courses on teachers and schools in California and beyond. Given the new resources and information that are becoming accessible, it may be time to reconsider and reevaluate more details of her biography and the diffusion of Montessori education across the United States.

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Newspaper Articles

Note: This list includes newspaper articles with unknown authorship. They have been assigned an alphanumeric identifier, based on the publication name, which have been referenced in-text.

Glendale Evening News (GEN)

GEN1. Exposition notes. (1915, May 27). https://archive.org/details/c100_2012_019/page/n13/mode/2up

L'Italia (ITA)

ITA1. All'esposizione fu iniziato ieri il corso educativo della Dottoressa Montessori. (1915, August 5). 4. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066408/1915-08-05/ed-1/seq-4>

ITA2. Il congresso Montessori a Oakland: Il metodo educativo della Dr. Montessori discusso ed esaltato dagli insegnanti Americani. (1915, August 30). 4. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150830.2.35>

ITA3. La D.ssa Montessori nella nostra città. (1915, April 26). 5. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150426.2.35>

ITA4. La Dr. Montessori a San Francisco: L'illustre pedagoga inizierà oggi il corso delle sue lezioni all'esposizione. (1915, August 2). 4. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150802.2.37>

ITA5. Maria Montessori a New York: Essa rimarrà in America 4 mesi e verrà direttamente in California. (1915, April 21). *L'Italia*, 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150421.2.3>

ITA6. Maria Montessori a San Francisco. (1915, April 25). 4. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150425.2.36>

ITA7. Maria Montessori festeggiata a Los Angeles. (1915, May 24). 8. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19150524.2.48>

ITA8. La partenza di Maria Montessori. (1915, December 3). 4. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=ITA19151203.2.37>

ITA9. La prima lezione della Montessori alle maestre. (1915, August 6). 4. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066408/1915-08-06/ed-1/seq-4>

ITA10. La scuola Montessori. (1915, August 6). 4. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066408/1915-08-06/ed-1/seq-4>

Los Angeles Express (LAE)

LAE1. Addresses teachers. (1915, July 13). 8. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/608012921>

LAE2. Dr. Montessori reaches L.A. (1915, April 30). 8. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/608093561>

LAE3. Dr. Montessori to address U.S.C. body. (1915, May 20). 7. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/608014747>

LAE4. Dr. Montessori to talk. (1915, May 25). 6. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/608016084>

LAE5. Pasadena women to honor Dr. Montessori. (1915, May 4). 2. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/608009381>

Los Angeles Herald (LAH)

LAH1. Americans are given praise by educator. (1915, April 30). 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150430.2.162>

LAH2. Child educator to be greeted by all L.A. (1915, April 27). 20. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150427.2.453>

LAH3. Dr. Montessori to open class here. (1915, May 25). 13. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150525.2.460>

LAH4. Dr. Montessori to speak at U. of S.C. (1915, May 20). 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150520.2.314>

LAH5. Mme. Montessori invited. (1915 March 4). 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150304.2.232>

LAH6. Mme. Montessori to teach in Calif. (1915, April 20). 7. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150420.2.77>

LAH7. Montessori ends her work in L.A. (1915, June 24). 5. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150624.2.341>

LAH8. Montessori holds first class here. (1915, May 10). 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19150510.2.224>

Los Angeles Record (LAR)

LAR1. Educator to San Diego. (1915, March 23). 8. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/678145164>

LAR2. Montessori, educator, is due tomorrow. (1915, April 27). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/678145703>

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LAT1. The city and environs: Events briefly told; new college society. (1915, May 21). 1-10. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/160235612>

LAT2. Dr. Montessori coming: Noted educator to hold her third international training school in this city in

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- LAT4. Expected today. (1915, April 28). II-8. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/380595861>
- LAT5. Girls may rue war husbands; heroes in trenches may not be fireside dears; day to come, says Britisher, when women repent; Pasadena visitor said last goodbye to father. (1915, May 10). II-6. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/380511173>
- LAT6. Montessori lectures. (1915, May 25). II-1. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/160180902>
- LAT7. Noted educator at U.S.C.: Mme. Montessori will address Scholarship Society and persons prominent in school circles. (1915, May 21). II-3. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/160198409>
- LAT8. Teaching plans of Montessori; goes to San Diego to talk over arrangements at the fair. (1915, May 3). II-6. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/160166572>
- LAT9. Women's work, women's clubs. (1915, May 14). II-6. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/380512529>
- New York Times* (NYT)
- NYT1. Carnival days make Rome gay. (1914, February 22). C2. <https://www.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/97575856>
- NYT2. Dr. Maria Montessori at exposition. (1915, July 22). 18. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/97736222>
- NYT3. Mme. Montessori at Exposition. (1914, August 3). 8. <https://www.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/97537224>
- New York Tribune* (NYTrib)
- NYTrib1. Dr. Montessori arrives: Italian educator to demonstrate methods on coast. (1915, April 20). 14. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1915-04-20/ed-1/seq-14>
- NYTrib2. Spain recalls Montessori: Has \$75,000 offer to install system, she sends word. (1915, December 18). 5. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/468971551>
- Oregon Daily Journal* (ODJ)
- ODJ1. Dr. Montessori is not to come here. (1915, December 1). 9. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/78374929>
- ODJ2. Famous educator will soon come to this coast: Effort being made to secure Dr. Montessori for Portland. (1915, April 25). 7. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/78480363>
- Sacramento Star* (SS)
- SS1. Montessori grieved. (1915, December 6). 3. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/607481806>
- Sacramento Union* (SU)
- SU1. Educators gather at Bay for international session. (1915, August 15). 8. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SDU19150815.2.84>
- San Diego Evening Tribune* (SDET)
- SDET1. City schools are praised. (1915, May 4). 1.
- SDET2. Dr. Montessori gives lecture. (1915, July 2). 10.
- SDET3. Dr. Montessori will lecture for adults. (1915, July 3). 8.
- SDET4. Invitation accepted by Madame Montessori. (1915, March 22). 6.
- SDET5. Italian woman speaks Monday. (1915, July 9). 9.
- SDET6. Mme. Montessori here to consider school. (1915, May 3). 6, 7.
- SDET7. Montessori class at normal ends. (1915, August 11). 8.
- SDET8. Montessori to teach 25 San Diego children. (1915, June 26). 4.
- SDET9. Summer school to open Monday. (1915, June 30). 10.
- SDET10. Tomorrow at the exposition; education day. (1915, July 10). 9.
- San Diego Union* (SDU)
- SDU1. Dr. Montessori heard by 400 pupils, tutors. (1915, July 20). 9.
- SDU2. Dr. Montessori speaks at fair; keep child's mind free, hearers told. (1915, July 13). 1, 4.
- SDU3. Gleaned on prado and isthmus. (1915, May 2). 10.
- SDU4. Lecture course register open. (1915, July 6). 5.
- SDU5. Montessori class planned, \$1000 voted for building; founder of system sees fair. (1915, May 3). 1, 3.
- SDU6. Montessori method to be shown at fair. (1916, June 3). 5. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SDDU19160603.2.80>
- SDU7. Normalites hear Italian educator. (1915, July 2). 6.
- San Francisco Call and Post* (SFCP)
- SFCP1. Chinese girl, protegee of Mrs. Gould, to teach Montessori in Orient. (1915, August 28). 4. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150828.2.105>
- SFCP2. Dr. Montessori women's guest at Jewel City. (1915, April 26). 8. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150426.2.90>
- SFCP3. Mme. Montessori to be fair guest. (1915, April 24). 11. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150424.2.174>

- SFCP4. Montessori child education method is opened at exposition today; kiddies trained at fair under new system. (1915, August 2). 1. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19150802.2.103>
- SFCP5. Mrs. Gould and her sister, Mrs. Wong, to teach in China; rail magnate's wife to introduce Montessori system in the Orient. (1915, November 1). 3. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19151101.2.31>
- SFCP6. Mrs. Gould sails tomorrow to begin life work in China; sisters, long separated, now plan to devote years to Oriental race. (1915, November 5). 5. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19151105.2.55>
- San Francisco Chronicle* (SFC)
- SFC1. Dr. Montessori will give twelve lectures: Going to Wisconsin after her work at exposition. (1915, October 19). 5. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/576515480>
- SFC2. Education by suggestion will be aim of Montessori class at fair: Individuality of the child will be developed by famous teacher. (1915, August 5). 11. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/574390245>
- SFC3. First Montessori lecture. (1915, August 6). 5. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/574389001>
- SFC4. Four Montessori schools to start. (1915, May 1). 1. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/574338139>
- SFC5. Great educator here for visit. (1915, April 26). 4. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/576476922>
- SFC6. Mme. Montessori to arrive here today. (1915, April 25). 33. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/366160776>
- SFC7. Montessori classes to open at exposition. (1915, July 30). 11. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/574353624>
- San Francisco Examiner* (SFE)
- SFE1. Dr. Montessori due here on Sunday next. (1915, July 30). 9. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2132790517>
- Stevens Point Journal* (SPJ)
- SPJ1. Dr. Montessori accepts Stevens Point invitation. (1915, October 9). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/250412314>
- SPJ2. Dr. Montessori will teach in Stevens Point? (1915, October 6). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/250412055>
- SPJ3. Going to California: Miss Helen Parkhurst of normal to assist Dr. Montessori. (1915, May 26). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/250573464>
- SPJ4. Madam Montessori returning to Italy: Announcement of the cancelling of Madam Montessori's engagement made by local bureau. (1915, December 8). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/250416241>
- SPJ5. Montessori to teach: Famous woman educator will give course at normal. (1915, October 28). 2. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/250413686>
- The Sun* (NYSun)
- NYSun1. Dr. Maria Montessori here: Teacher of "sense system" to instruct in California. (1915, April 20). 3. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1915-04-20/ed-1/seq-3>
- Washington Evening Star* (WES)
- WES1. Go to greet Dr. Montessori: Capital educators will welcome teacher back to United States. (1915, April 20). 20. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1915-04-20/ed-1/seq-20>
- WES2. To lecture at G.W.U.: Montessori method to be topic of Dr. Harriet E. Hunt. (1915, February 9). 7. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1915-02-09/ed-1/seq-7>
- Whittier News* (WN)
- WN1. Attend address. (1915, May 21). 3. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/684728148>
- WN2. Dr. Montessori explains her system: Mind development for child is keynote; local people in audience. (1915, May 22). 1. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/683610941>

Appendix A

List of Children in PCE Demonstration Class, San Diego

	Name	Parent Name		Name	Parent Name
1	Sylvia Allerback ^a	Fred Allerback	21	Arthur Kelly ^a	John L. Kelly
2	John Barter ^b	–	22	Dorothy Ash Lindsay ^{a,b}	–
3	Marjory Barter ^b	–	23	Clayton Mosher ^a	G. W. Mosher
4	Annette Clewett ^{a,b}	George E. Clewett	24	Norman O’Farrell ^{a,b}	Fred O’Farrell
5	Richard Clewett ^{a,b}	George E. Clewett	25	Harold Obercotter ^{a,b}	L. M. Obercotter
6	Robert Clewett ^{a,b}	George E. Clewett	26	Clara Packard ^{a,b}	Walter Packard
7	Charles H. Clower ^a	Dan E. Clower	27	Martha D. Reynolds ^{a,b}	Alexander Reynolds, Jr.
8	Ida Virginia Clower ^{a,b}	Dan E. Clower	28	Robert Perring Ridout ^b	–
9	Harriet Sefton Crouse ^{a,b}	Lena Crouse	29	Richard L. Sinclair ^{a,b}	B. W. Sinclair
10	John Nydegger Degelman ^b	–	30	Ethelyn Stanton ^a	Leon I. Stanton
11	Laura Ferris Degelman ^b	–	31	Evadne Teggart ^{a,b}	Frank Teggart
12	Marie Eastin ^a	John Eastin	32	Justin Thomas ^b	–
13	Amelia Fiola ^a	Tom Fiola	33	Dorothy Titus ^b	–
14	Lillian Gould ^{a,b}	Arthur Gould	34	William Van Horne ^a	F. W. Van Horne
15	Barbara Gray ^{a,b}	Gordon Gray	35	Edwin Arden Watkins ^a	Mrs. E. P. Watkins
16	May Juliet Grube ^{a,b}	Rev. Howard Grube	36	Amy Fredericka Webb ^{a,b}	Frederick Webb
17	Angelyn Courtney Hay ^{a,b}	Arthur Hay	37	Howard Kermit Williams ^{a,b}	Mrs. H. C. Williams
18	Warren Hershner ^{a,b}	–	38	Ione Beatrice Wright ^a	W. D. Wright
19	David Clark Hipolito ^b	–	39	Marie Young ^a	Emmett Young
20	Ward Clayton James ^{a,b}	Lloyd O. James			

Note. As is evident from this list, there are discrepancies among sources as to who attended the demonstration class. For instance, of the 39 children, 20 of them are listed in both sources, 11 are unique to SDET8, and 8 are unique to SDET7. Another source indicates that “there will be about forty little pupils,” which seems to confirm the above list of 39 children (SDET9). Children in the demonstration class ranged in age from three to six and were taught by Anna Fedeli, Helen Parkhurst, Helen Little, and Edith Little. The demonstration class was conducted on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 3:30 p.m. The model school was conducted in the art studio of the San Diego State Normal School, not on the Exposition grounds as was initially planned (Robinson, 1915).

^a SDET8.

^b SDET7.

Appendix B

List of Children in PPIE Demonstration Class, San Francisco

	Name	Address	City
1	William Mitchell Baxter	1713 Green St.	San Francisco
2	Alice Bernee	–	–
3	Bruce Worster Brown	–	–
4	Robert Summer Brookings	–	–
5	Chester Buchanan	2717 Berkeley St.	Berkeley
6	Percy Cotton	946 Noe St.	San Francisco
7	Marinda Cummings	556 Sixteenth Ave.	San Francisco
8	John S. Drum, Jr.	2114 Broadway	San Francisco
9	Alice Ellinwood	2523 Filbert St.	San Francisco
10	John Corbett Gill	2555 Larkin St.	San Francisco
11	Jean Baird Hartzell	3021 Fulton St.	Berkeley
12	Mortimer Kuhn	–	–
13	Margaretha McCracken ¹	–	–
14	Arthur McEwen	–	–
15	C. Elizabeth McWood	–	–
16	Kathleen [MacLemore] ²	2843 Green St.	San Francisco
17	Joseph Marks	3326 Washington St.	San Francisco
18	Matthew Marsh	1501 Leavenworth St.	San Francisco
19	Emil Morris, Jr.	2872 Clay St.	San Francisco
20	Catherine Musante	1270 Jackson St.	San Francisco
21	Marcella Oberti	1511 Mason St.	San Francisco
22	Mercedes Quinonez	Stanford Ct. Apartments	San Francisco
23	Helen Storer	–	–
24	Franklin Thomas	6117 Racine St. ³	Oakland
25	Welbourne Thomas	617 Racine St. ³	Oakland
26	Margaret Pershing	Post of Presidio #20 ⁴	San Francisco
27	Claudine Cotton Warren	2098 Vallejo St.	San Francisco
28	Charles Albert Warren	–	–
29	Ralph Waldo Wellerstein	430 Point Lobos Ave.	San Francisco
30	Robert T. Whitcomb	Massachusetts Bldg.	San Francisco

Note. This information is sourced from the following: Buckenmeyer, 2018, pp. 254–255; Crocker-Langlely San Francisco Directory, 1915, 1916; SFC2; ITA10.

¹ Margaretha McCracken is listed in Buckenmeyer (2018) as “Maryaretha McCracker,” but a review of the original source confirms the correct spelling (see ITA10).

² Buckenmeyer (2018) identifies this name as “Kathleen Mechemore,” however, upon inspection of Buckenmeyer’s source for this information it appears that the last name actually reads “MacLemore.”

³ The address included in the original source material, and subsequently in Buckenmeyer (2018), inconsistently identify the street numbers for the Thomas siblings, but it is unclear which is accurate.

⁴ Margaret Pershing’s address was misspelled in Buckenmeyer (2018) and should read, “Post of Presidio #20.”

Appendix C

List of Participants in the First California Training Course (Pasadena, Los Angeles, and PCE in San Diego)

	Name	Residence
1	Miss Edna Christine Abbott	268 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
2	Mrs. Alfa Wood Anderson	Glendora, Cal.
3	Mrs. Emma Ashburn	303 West E. St., Ontario, Cal.
4	Mrs. Katharine Bates	El Cajon, R.F.D., Cal.
5	Miss Anita Rose Blun	The Wellsmore, 77th St. and Broadway, New York City
6	Mrs. Prudence Stokes Brown	Llano, Cal. c/o Del Rio Co-operative Community
7	Mrs. Ruby H. Bruning	5032 St. Lawrence Ave., Chicago, Ill.
8	Mrs. J. P. Burlingham	206 ½ Comstock Ave, Syracuse, N. Y.
9	Miss M. Pamela Clough	2427 Prospect St., Berkeley, Cal.
10	Mrs. Augustus (May) Davis	693 S. Euclid Ave., [Pasadena], Cal.
11	Mrs. Hope Gardiner Dillingham	1106 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
12	Miss Jeanie Joel Dillon	950 Clark St., Stevens Point, Wis. Perm. add., Alvarado Hotel, Los Angeles, Cal.
13	Miss Pauline H. Field	Hollywood, Cal.
14	Miss Roberta L. Fletcher	1525 35th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Perm. Victorville, Cal.
15	Miss Marie A. F—tz	909 Harrison St., Syracuse, N. Y.
16	Miss Enid Frank	345 West 88th St., New York City
17	Mrs. S. H. Friend	406 Irving Place, Milwaukee, Wis.
18	Miss Ellen B. Frink	907 Hilyard St., Eugene, Ore.
19	Miss Mary Louise Gilman	405 West D. St., Ontario, Cal. Perm. add., Covina, Los Angeles, Cal.
20	Miss Elizabeth L. Glass	683 Shepard Ave, Milwaukee, Wis.
21	Mrs. Florence P. Griffith	10 Aurora Drive, Riverside, Cal.
22	Mrs. Lillian Parks Gunnell	381 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto, Cal.
23	Miss Cecelia Hardman	1317 12th St., Santa Monica, Cal. Perm. add., 2826 10th St., Seattle, Wash.
24	Mrs. Hazel Clark Hipolito	2345 Ocean View Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
25	Miss Mary T. G. Hodenpyl	Cooperstown, N. J., c/o Susan Fenimore Cooper Foundation. Perm. add., 123 Hobart Ave, Summit, N. J.
26	Mr. Prince Hopkins ‡	Santa Barbara, Cal.
27	Mrs. Agnes C. Houghton	26 Hancock St., Lexington, Mass.
28	Miss Mildred Johnston	Alameda and Santa Rosa Sts., Altadena, Cal. Perm. add., P. O. Box 404, Chicago, Ill.
29	Dr. Mary [Powell] Jordan	230 Colina Ave, Los Angeles, Cal.
30	Miss Helen Klock	406 Irving Place, Milwaukee, Wis. Perm. add., Derry Village, N. H.
31	Mrs. J. W. Lawrence	925 Flink Ave., Venice, Cal.

	Name	Residence
32	Miss Lois Lindsay	1256 Western Ave., Topeka, Kan.
33	Miss Edith R. Little	1225 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill.
34	Miss Helen M. Little †	1225 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill.
35	Miss Helen McCall	1506 Harmon Place, Minneapolis, Minn. Perm. add., 910 2nd St., Santa Monica, Cal.
36	Miss May T. McGuinness	131 Benevolent St., Providence, R. I.
37	Miss Lucy Mead	555 Chestnut St., San Francisco, Cal.
38	Miss Katherine Moore	2003 So. Grand Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
39	Miss Ruth Pendleton Morrison	1506 Harmon Place, Minneapolis, Minn.
40	Mrs. Mary L. Newland	281 Addison Ave., Palo Alto, Cal.
41	Mrs. Hazel G. Owen	718 So. Los Robles, Pasadena, Cal.
42	Miss Helen Parkhurst ^a	56 West 75th St., New York City
43	Miss Dorothy Peck	1350 Bryant St., Palo Alto, Cal.
44	Miss Margaret E. Perkins	1525 35th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Perm. add., Windsor, Vermont
45	Miss Louise Person	Alameda St., Altadena, Cal. Perm. add., 4601 E. Colorado St., Pasadena, Cal.
46	Miss Adelia McAlpin Pyle ^a	Calle Duputacio, 262, Pral., Barcelona, Spain. Perm. add., 11 E. 68th St., New York City
47	Miss Dorothy Sears	Kenilworth, Ill.
48	Mrs. Belle F. Stein †	56 W. 75th St., New York City
49	Miss Mildred Tarrant	Grand Rapids, Wis. Perm. add., Durand, Wis.
50	Mrs. Beulah Townsend	2347 Ocean View Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
51	Mr. James Townsend	712 San Fernando Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.
52	Miss Adele Von Berlo	195 Harrison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
53	Miss Blanch Weill	555 Chestnut St., San Francisco, Cal. Perm. add., 1627 17th St., [Bakersfield], Cal.
54	Miss Irma Weill	555 Chestnut St., San Francisco, Cal. Perm. add., 1627 17th St., [Bakersfield], Cal.
55	Miss Elizabeth Whitcomb	Glendora, Los Angeles County, Cal.
56	Miss Agnes Wiley	612 Kensington Road, Los Angeles, Cal.
57	Miss Bertha A. Wiley	1324 ½ S. New Hampshire Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
58	Mr. J. Stitt Wilson	Ridge Road, Berkeley, Cal.
59	Mrs. J. Stitt Wilson [Emma Agnew Wilson]	Ridge Road, Berkeley, Cal.
60	Miss Violette Wilson	Ridge Road, Berkeley, Cal.

Note. This data is sourced from National Montessori Promotion Fund (1916).

† Attended only part of the course.

‡ Attended part time but does not hold certificates.

^a Attended both 1915 California training courses.

Appendix D

List of Participants in the Second California Training Course (PPIE, San Francisco)

	Name	Residence
1	Miss Ruth Cooper Fisch ‡	—
2	Mrs. Eugene Andriano	1461 Vallejo St., San Francisco, Cal.
3	Miss Lydia Atterbury †	3620 LeConte Ave., Berkeley, Cal.
4	Miss Marion Baldwin	1440 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.
5	Miss Ella A. Barrett ‡	3109 Sacramento St., Los Angeles, Cal.
6	Mrs. Florence Bassity	Peking, China
7	Mrs. Marion Ebon Beaufait	c/o Castelleja School, Palo Alto, Cal. Perm. add., 1408 Scenic Way, Berkeley, Cal.
8	Mrs. F. A. Berne	2197 Divisadero St., San Francisco, Cal. Perm. add., South Tacoma, Wash.
9	Miss Dorothy Chapel	661 Mansfield Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
10	Miss Lillian Mark Crawford	1521 28th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Perm. add., 432 S. Prospect St., Hagerstown, Mass.
11	Miss Julia Farney	c/o John Muir School, Berkeley, Cal. Perm. add., San Jose, Box 87, Cal.
12	Mrs. C. H. Farrington	483 E. 25th St., Portland, Ore.
13	Miss Catherine L. Flanner	1350 Bryant St., Palo Alto, Cal. Perm. add., Chicago, Ill.
14	Mr. William Gerkee	Room 324, 417 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Cal.
15	Mrs. Harriett Germaine	501 Greenwood Ave., Blue Island, Ill.
16	Mrs. Jean E. Gilbert	110 Cooper Ave., Upper Montclair, N. J.
17	Miss Helen E. Goodell	Loda, Ill.
18	Mrs. Grace J. Greenhill	1023 Jefferson St., Waco, Texas
19	Miss Emily H. Greenman	353 West 117th St., New York City
20	Miss Eleanor Hay	LaGrange, Mo., c/o Dr. J. T. Muir. Perm add., Urbana, Ill.
21	Mrs. Florence Hoffman	553 Oakland Ave, Oakland, Cal.
22	Miss Nina Hurlbut	Tulalip, Wash.
23	Miss Louise Klein	Blackmer Home, 50 Takota, Oi Matsu Cho, Koishikawa, [Tokyo], Japan. Perm. add., 321 E. Second St., Plainfield, N. J.
24	Miss Ellen Wheeler Knight	Fordyce, Ark.
25	Miss Ah Ying Low	53 Pen Tzu Hutung, Peking, China
26	Miss Margaret Murphy	116 Lake St., Oakland, Cal. Perm. add., 108 Peck St., Negaunne, Mich.
27	Miss Helen Parkhurst ^a	56 West 75th St., New York City
28	Miss Adelia McAlpin Pyle ^a	Calle Duputacio, 262, Pral., Barcelona, Spain. Perm. add., 11 E. 68th St., New York City
29	Mrs. Sarah Scroggs	1806 Addison St., Berkeley, Cal.
30	Miss Mary Spiers	Calistoga, Cal.

	Name	Residence
31	Mrs. Esther Taylor	2116 San Jose St., Alameda, Cal.
32	Miss Rose Trumpler	1629 McAllister St., San Francisco, Cal.
33	Miss Dorothy Dart Watrous	406 Hawthorne St., San Diego, Cal.
34	Miss Mary Alice Woitishik	1402 B Ave., Cedar Rapids, Iowa
35	Mrs. Sun Yue Wong	53 Pen Tzu Hutung, Peking, China

Note. This data is sourced from National Montessori Promotion Fund (1916).

[†] Attended only part of the course.

[‡] Attended part time but does not hold certificates.

^a Attended both 1915 California training courses.