AN INTELLECTUAL JOURNEY FOR COMMUNITY

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For approximately twenty years I have been on an intellectual journey to better understand something called community. Community can be defined as a unified body of individuals, or a people with common interests being in proximity of one another. It can describe people of common history, of culture, of location and even of like-mindedness. A community can take many forms. It can describe a geographical entity such as the community ball park, community school community hospital and store. We even speak of something called academic community. The School and Community Journal notes that "when the school functions as a community rather than in a community, its constituents (students, parents, teachers and staff) associate with each other and share common values about the education of children. As an educator, this attempt to understand community drew me to progressive education. Like many of you, I was intrigued by Lawrence Cremin's Transformation of the School, the history of progressive education from 1876-1957. I wanted to become more familiar with the likes of John Dewey, George Counts, William Heard Kilpatrick, Lucy Mitchell, Caroline Pratt, Marietta Johnson and Elsie Clapp. Although I spent the last two years in high school in an experimental program called a model school, my education was largely teacher and text centered. I attended segregated schools until one African American male was admitted to my junior high in 1967.

My interest in community was stimulated early in college I was introduced to classical social theory. I continued this study in graduate school, wading through Durkheim's discussion of mechanical and organic solidarity, Tönnies' discussion on Gemeinshaft and Gesellshaft and Weber and Marx who also showed concern for the transition of rural/agrarian society to an industrial one. Most believed this transition resulted in a disruption of community. Understanding this transition seemed to be a primary concern in the founding of social science. What did the move to industrialization following the American Civil War do to us, to our sense of place, to our identity and to what we thought of as community? Or is community nothing more but an ideal trip of nostalgia? I believe there is something legitimate, even it if is a nostalgia trip. Progressive education offered me one attempt to see how educators and intellectuals addressed the transition from rural/agrarian society to urban society and what they usually perceived as a loss of community. I was less interested at the time

in their pedagogical creativity and innovation, although the two are related.

My own personal history is affected by transition. My ancestors originated in Scotland and Ireland migrating to America and ending up in the South Carolina low country and the hills of western North Carolina. Transition has been a part of my family's existence as they migrated from these areas to work in the booming textile mill industry at the turn of the twentieth century. The southern textile industry was largely funded by northern capital and many workers were drawn to the industry for economic reasons or just the excitement of something different. This migration from the mountains to the foothills challenged the extended family roots of many and the virtual existence of many mountain communities. Textile manufacturers believed they understood and could create community and they attempted to do. The mills owned the houses, the ball fields, provided land for the churches, and built schools for the children of the workers. I wrote my dissertation on one of these communities, the Parker School District in Greenville, South Carolina, which existed from 1921-1954. The District was not named after Col. Frances Parker, but textile magnate Lewis Parker. By the early decades of the 20th century, the mills in upstate South Carolina had more spindles than the entire state of Massachusetts. The school superintendent of this textile mill school district. Lawrence Peter Hollis, had previously worked as welfare capitalist, often traveling as a young man into the mountains to recruit young people to come and work in the mills. For some reason, probably its attention to manual training, Hollis became entranced by progressive education, often sending his teachers by the busload to summer school at Teachers College to take courses under Dewey, Kilpatrick, Counts and others.1 While a few of the Parker teachers embraced the philosophy of the social progressives most were content to follow the superintendent and prepare students for their lives as textile workers. The superintendent believed he was building community and in a narrow sense he was, but more in terms of loyalty and duty to the textile mill, rather than in terms of shared interest and ideals couched in democratic living. Part of the socialization process of the mill district was to create a loyalty to the mill village in which one lived, went to church and played. This was often accomplished through recreation or sport, usually baseball or

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basketball.² It is important to understand this activity as a pedagogical one. Textile mill owners were sophisticated in their use of power and control under the guise of community-again really loyalty and a sense of duty to the mill village. Each textile community in the Greenville area had its own elementary school and then the students were funneled to the same high school. The mill village in the south was for-profit and anti-union, although there are occasional instances of worker resistance. Although David Tyack's categories of the social and administrative progressive are problematic at best, Superintendent Hollis could espouse the democratic rhetoric of the social progressives, but acted through policy as an administrative progressive.³ He might be described by historians as welfare capitalist and was certainly a paternalist.

Upon interviewing at West Virginia University and due to my early work in progressive education, I was asked by the search committee if I knew anything about Arthurdale, the New Deal subsistence homestead created through the National Industry Recovery Act of 1933 that had a progressive school. I had no idea what they were talking about, Cremin did not mention the Arthurdale School. Obviously this questioning was due to my interest in progressive education. I have spent the last ten years researching and documenting the educational experiment at Arthurdale. This New Deal community was initiated under the auspices of Eleanor Roosevelt and was designed to relocate coal miners displaced by the Depression and thus out of work. Many of the federal planners like Milburn Wilson and Rexford Tugwell were clearly in the social progressive camp and saw an opportunity to literally build a community from the ground up. They also knew that simply building the houses, or the community structures, was not enough and that the homesteaders needed to be socialized into their new world. The Arthurdale School was perceived as the institution to best take on this task. The federal planners along with Mrs. Roosevelt argued for a progressive school, one that linked school and community and that served as the core of community life. Mrs. Roosevelt selected Elsie Ripley Clapp to serve as the Principal and Director of Community Affairs, a title that clearly shows their desired connection between school and community. Advising Clapp on school policy and curriculum were John Dewey, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, William Russell, and Carson Ryan among others. The school philosophy articulated a strong faith in democracy and linked this understanding with developing a sense of identity and place, in essence community. Clapp always referred to the school as a community school and wrote a brief history of the

school in her work Community Schools in Action published in 1939 at Dewey's behest.4 The attempt to develop a sense of identity and place is evident through examination of the Arthurdale curriculum. There was a direct attempt by Elsie and her staff to integrate Appalachian history, culture, including music and art and folklore into the curriculum. Although a bit paternalist, the educators, most of whom were hand picked by Elsie and non-natives were well versed in progressive methods. They believed the children of the coals miners had lost a sense of who they were in the coals camps. It was necessary Elsie believed to remedy this if they were to build community. Elsie had served as Dewey's graduate assistant and had commented on his Democracy and Education and had a good sense of Dewey's understanding of community and democracy. Elsie, like Dewey was trying to create a type social solidarity, a community consciousness where the people understood who they were and were willing to work together in a sense of shared interest. In this ideal, everyone had a sense of his/her contribution to the social whole and nurtured their creative capacity; a capacity they believed made us human. This creative capacity is related to one's work and how that work fit in contributing to the Arthurdale community as well as to one's own sense of self. This connection of one's contribution to the Arthurdale community was closely associated with work through home building but also the crafts of weaving, pottery, ironwork, furniture making, and crafting and using musical instruments such as guitars, fiddles and mandolins for square dancing, a type of communal activity. Dewey was always interested in the aesthetic nature of work as a crucial component of community. He, like Marx makes the case that industrialism and capitalism had devalued the contribution of the workers and resulted in loss of control. Both argue this created a sense of alienation from the creative process and even the communal process and what makes us human. What they seem to have in common is the basic understanding of human work/labor and how what we do helps define who we are. Certainly complex, this related to one's control over their work, their ability to create and shape their destiny. It relates to our understanding of place, who we are and where we fit. This is important to keep in mind in relation to teacher work and its role in the community. This attention to the aesthetic nature of work can be seen in progressive attempts to resolve the dualism between intellectual and manual labor. This is why the children at the Dewey lab school and the Arthurdale School learned to spin and weave. Understanding one's work through where one contributes is important, but so

is one's connection to the process. I believe understanding this connection is the foundation for Dewey's understanding of community. But there is still more to it, for community must be grounded in an ethical context. There is no real absolute freedom in Dewey's view, freedom has boundaries and limitations and tolerances. Dewey was always trying to balance the role of individual with the role of citizen. He argued in The Public and Its Problems that growing individualism in modern society threatened community and working together for the common good. True individuality could only be achieved when the individual had the capacity to seek its fullest potential, felt useful and cooperated.6 For Dewey, one's community was to do justice to our individuality and to our need for social connection."7 Dewey wrote, "Competition will continue, but it will be less rivalry for acquisition of material good, and more an emulation of local groups to enrich direct experience with appreciably enjoyed intellectual and artistic wealth."8 Dewey also believed that the conception of democracy itself had become too grounded in individual rights. Individual rights became associated with the freedom to act regardless of the consequences. This belief undermined the essential moral nature of community and democracy as he saw it. Actions had consequences regardless of what one perceived as an individual right. This type of individualism cannot ever lead to an association where people work for the benefit of the common good.9 Dewey holds what Michael J. Sandel refers to as constitutive community, where the individual perceives actions as relative to others, where the individual feels a certain responsibility to the group and adheres to certain values. It is within the social group that the individual finds freedom to work toward individual interests within the harmony and interest of the larger group. 10 Sandel also writes of two other types of community, sentimental and instrumental. One who holds an instrumental view envisions social life as a burden and cooperation is only for private means. A sentimental view of community places focuses on a social union of benevolence as selfish aims where there are shared values and sentiments.

On my intellectual journey, I have often asked where does Dewey's view of community come from, being so central to his thought? From his Vermont upbringing he suggests that he has a sense of the urban and the rural. We need to keep in mind that Burlington was a bustling timber town and that he spent time in Oil City, Pennsylvania, an oil and gas town outside Pittsburgh that fueled the steel mills and was truly a working class town. His most important academic years were spent in

two of America's largest cities, Chicago and New York. Yet, in a most Jeffersonian sense he is quite attracted to the rural side, and like Jefferson believed a type of communal understanding existed in that environment. Dewey believed the problem of the public, the need to restore community, could be enhanced through the "methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion."11 It is very clear at Arthurdale that the educators are using the school to restore community life: something they felt was destroyed by the life in the coal camps. Robert Crunden suggests that Dewey merely substitutes the school for the church in his attempt to restore community life. 12 Crunden's comment has always fascinated me. It is understandable why Crunden might say this in light of what modernity did to the church, attacking many of its metaphysical positions and thus challenging the Judeo-Christian ethic. One can also understand why Dewey feels the church no longer served the purpose of ethical socialization and why he needed a substitute. Could there be a connection between Dewey's own understanding of community and his early experience with religion? I believe there is. Dewey is clear to point out in A Common Faith (1934) there is a distinct difference between religion and the religious. He describes religion as "strictly a collective term."13 Dewey wanted to rescue the religious from religion. Religion for Dewey defined, confined, bracketed and constrained the human experience. Religion created a selective type of community. exclusive rather than inclusive. One could be a member of that institutional community if one followed the doctrine, rituals, etc. It was not the spiritual element that Dewey found offensive, but the potential for conflict, the negation of inquiry and reflection and the creation of boundaries for human experience.14

Dewey noted this form of religious community and wrote, "The things in civilization we most prize are not of ourselves. They exist by grace of the doings and sufferings of the continuous human community in which we are a link. Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously sharedhere are all the elements for a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class or race. Such a faith has always been implicitly the common faith of mankind. It remains to make it explicit and militant."15 Dewey's faith is in democratic community and he sees a religious spirit in democratic community. I believe Dewey's early upbringing in the Congregationalist church shaped his understanding of community and

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continues to shape my own as a member of a similar Protestant denomination. The Congregationalist church was an autonomous body, meaning it governed itself, was held together by a common belief and shared ideals. Dewey was an active member of the Congregationalist Church and the Student Christian Association at the University of Michigan prior to his departure to Chicago in 1894. However, his ideas about traditional religion were changing. He began to expand his understanding of Christian ethics to a larger framework seen in articles such as "Christianity and Democracy (1892) and "The Ethics of Democracy" (1888). He was pushing his ethics into political and social theory and eventually made the connection to education. In the essay "Christianity and Democracy he writes, "every religion is an experience of the social relation of the community, its rites, its cult, are a recognition of the sacred and divine significance of these relationships." He believed if the rites, rituals and dogma become ends in themselves they lose their spiritual connection. Dewey saw revelation in the form of human intelligence, inquiry and action guided by reason, not the worship of reason, to find practical solutions to everyday human problems. This type of reasoned inquiry found itself nurtured first in democratic society and it was only though democracy that "the community if ideas and interest through community of action, that the incarnation of God is man (man that is to say, a organ of universal truth) becomes a living, present thing having its ordinary and natural sense."16 An example of Dewey's religious ethic and how he was beginning to tie it to practical affairs at the time can be seen through a recommendation letter James Tufts wrote to William Rainey Harper. Tufts noted Dewey was "a man of a religious nature, is a church member, and believes in working with the church. He is actively involved in practical ethical activity and is a valued friend at the Hull House in this city."17 By the time of Dewey's arrival at Chicago, at the time a Baptist institution, he had in effect rejected any association with organized religion, but according to Tufts was of a "religious nature," as he began to develop and further his ethic of "practical activity." Directed to political and social change, Dewey would become a new kind of prophet often preaching against the sins of rampant individualism, social Darwinism and unchecked capitalism, all threats to the democratic way of life. I believe that Dewey began the lab school at Chicago under girded by this focus. Chicago was approximately 75% ethnic, rampant with political and social problems. One should note he arrived in the midst of the Pullman strike. Pullman like many textile manufacturers was known as one who had built community for his workers.

Pullman was the consummate welfare capitalist. Pullman was also the subject of Jane Addams' A Modern Lear, what Dewey called one of the best treatises of the time on ethical philosophy. 18 The traditional or old school for Dewey separated the student from their real world and their experiences, a type of diss-connection not conducive to individual growth and the building of community. In School and Society Dewey wrote, "when the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating with the spirit of service. and providing him with instruments of effective selfdirection, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious." 19 The school should reflect the social community and the needs of the community need to be connected to method and subject matter.20 Crunden writes, the Dewey lab school "was a reality and an ideal." a pragmatic realization of the energy and the moral significance that Dewey had once directed to the church. The school became the key institution for the nurturing and the saving of souls for democracy."21 In a Jamesian kind of way the school was like bringing God to earth. to use the value of religious experience to save souls for democracy.22 Dewey always envisioned the school as a moral enterprise and as the foundation of democratic society. In an essay called the Ethical Principles underlying Education he described this conception of the school. "The child who is educated there (in the school) is a member of a society and must be instructed and cared for as such a member. The moral responsibility of the school and those who conduct it is to society. The school is fundamental an institution erected by society to do a certain specific work - to exercise a certain specific function in maintaining the life and advancing the welfare of society. The education system which does not recognize this fact as entailing upon it an ethical responsibility is derelict and a defaulter. It is not doing what was called into existence to do and what it pretends to do."23

According to Dewey scholar James Campbell, who has extensively explored Dewey's conception of community the ultimate goal of education for Dewey was to produce people of sound judgment. This is formed through what Dewey termed a scientific attitude of mind and reflective inquiry. This was not simply a cognitive or psychological affair, nor was it merely a social affair, but a combination of both. It is important to not that Dewey emphasized wisdom over intelligence when intelligence is defined strictly in a cognitive manner. Dewey wrote about wisdom in the *Ethics* as the "nurse of all virtues." That affection and wisdom lie

close to each other is evidenced by our language; thoughtfulness, regard, consideration of others, recognition of others, attention to others."25 It was the church that helped social one into the life of the community in Dewey's world and I believe Dewey has an acute understanding of this even though he might not admit it upfront. It is not the metaphysical Dewey wishes to bring to the school, but the ethical separate from the metaphysical. For him is a coming together of common purpose, shared ideals, meeting each other's needs and a place of communication through such examples as a town meeting. The church as Dewey knew it and many other Americans, served as a place for communication of the religious and the political. It was the center of community life for many. Outside the family, the church served a primary ethical function. The world for Dewey is precarious, in transition, a place where certainty is proven elusive. 26 However, there is less comfort and great responsibility when one admits the uncertainty of human existence. It is easier to live with certainty and determinism. We have seen a rise in religious extremism in the three great religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. While these extremists may be in the minority they are politically engaged and vocal. These people see their way as the only way, if you are not like me or refuse to believe like me you are an infidel. This allows me to treat you as an Ich -es, an I-it.27 Theocracies in any form are a threat to democracy, humankind and even the religions themselves. Dewey understood this threat and so did Jefferson and Madison. My Baptist forebears pushed Madison hard on free speech and the freedom to worship without state interference. Now too many of these same folks believe that prayer in school will result in a Copernican revolution in character development. It's not nearly so simple. It is much more difficult to question, to inquire, to reflect, to imagine, to act and to change. It is much easier to see the world from black and white and refuse to auestion.

Dewey's contemporary Josiah Royce sometimes called a pragmatic idealist, always envisioned hope for the great community. John McDermott writes, "Royce was wise to use the word hope at the end of his life. In this way he affirmed the creative possibility of the future of man, while not limiting this commitment to any set belief or doctrine." Royce and Dewey envisioned the great community not as maintenance of the status quo or the cessation of differences. While Dewey's great community reflects Peirce's community of inquirers, Royce's notion (also influenced by Peirce's discussion of signs) reflects what he termed a community of interpreters. 29

For Royce and Dewey it is community that leads us to salvation, like the early church, a bringing together of diverse elements including a community of culture, language, ethnicity, race and gender. Both Dewy and Royce grasped this interpretation. Dewey wrote in *The Ethics of Democracy*, "Democracy, in a word is a social, that is to say, an ethical conception, and upon its ethical significance is based its significance as governmental. Democracy is a form of government only because it is a form of ethical association."³⁰

Democracy provides the freedom we need to develop this type of ethical association of community. It provides the opportunity for diverse communities to exist without the pressure to relinquish its beliefs or values. But we must be vigilant when those values threaten the rights of others to pursue life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our history contains example after example when free speech was attacked. This usually occurs during some kind of conflict such as the world wars and the Cold War. Dewey was always chagrined when this happened, when in reality we needed more free speech, not less. I am not sure the left or the right really understands democratic community. When pushed, political correctness leads to an environment of no dialogue, inquiry or communication for fear of offending someone. I am sorry but some people need to be offended. How would Jefferson. Franklin, Madison, Adams, Paine, etc. fare today in this environment? I guess we would still be British subjects. Yet, I have also heard from the right, often from the pulpit that we should respect those who rule, us because God has placed or ordained them to be there. They base this assumption of scripture from Jesus who said "give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's." I guess we would still be British subjects. While I see some value for postmodern thinking, its openness to the spiritual, its attack of science and the worship of reason. I agree with Richard Bernstein who argues that the postmodern can be nihilistic and fragmentary, not how we build democratic community. And on the other side an exclusiveness and extremism that might make John Winthrop and Cotton Mather shudder. This is not how we build democratic community. Perhaps neither ideological side is interested in community. James Campbell is on the right track of suggesting that we need to "participate in the life of the neighborhood, congregation, union, and school," so we can get a sense of their personalities and social problems of our geographic area. He writes, "Through the shared process of initiating, discussing, evaluating, choosing, implementing, and re-evaluating, we can refine our goals and purposes and test our available means."31 In

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essence democratic community is grounded in faith and hope, it need not necessarily be total faith in man, God or reason, or ideology. Dewey, Royce and Mead understand this to be the fore of community and a better society. As educators we have let a vocal minority [I refuse to call them religious] remove faith from discourse. This same group has dominated moral discourse. We need to have faith in ourselves, in our students, in what we do, and in democratic community as an ethical association. There is no blueprint to follow, but there are examples to study and learn from. No blueprint allows us to exercise freedom to make the world a more "kind and gentler place." George Herbert Mead wrote, "We have become bound up in a vast society all of which is essential to the existence of each one, but we are without the shared experience which this should entail."32 It is this shared experience that is far too often neglected in schools. In a recent RFP from the Department of Education expressed concern about the declining reading scores from the 4th grade to the 8th

grade. They most likely assume some failure in methodology. In reality it may be due to more of a transition, certainly a social/psychological one. It could also be due to an institution that is far too alienating for many students seeking to locate self and makes little attempt to build community. We see in contemporary society a fragmentation not seen since the Vietnam War and Civil Rights era. How can we expect people to work for the common good when they so get little practice? We can help remedy to some degree in schools. As educators we must insist that "education means the creation of a discriminating mind, a mind that prefers not to dupe itself or to be the dupe of others," and we must cultivate the habit of suspended judgment, skepticism, and inquiry over more tradition or convention for its own sake.33 My search for community has not ended. It is both an individual pursuit and a communal one, and I believe it is a journey worth undertaking, even if I never truly arrive at the destination.

ENDNOTES

- 1. See Sam Stack, Lawrence Peter Hollis, Vitae Scholasticae 2, 1989, pp. 1-6
- 2. Hollis introduced basketball to the Greenville community and is said to have learned the game from Naismith. Large tournaments were held between communities that created a sense of identity and loyalty to team and village. The famous Chicago White Sox [black sox] Shoeless Joe Jackson grew up in the Greenville textile community of Dunean. See Sam Stack, "Welfare Capitalism as an Educational

Ideology," PhD Dissertation. (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1990).

- 3. David Tyack, The One Best System (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).
- 4. Elsie Ripley Clapp, Community Schools in Action (New York: Vintage Press, 1939). This work is a chronicle of Elsie's years in Kentucky and Arthurdale, West Virginia and covers the period of 1929-1936. Clapp also published The Use of Resources in Education (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952) which further discusses her work at Arthurdale and how they used local resources in the curriculum. For a biography on Clapp see Sam F. Stack Jr., Elsie Ripley Clapp (1879-1965): Her Life and the Community School (New York: Peter Lang, 2004). Also see Dan Perlstein and Sam F. Stack Jr., "Building a New Deal Community," In Semel and Sadovnik, Schools of Tomorrow, Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 213-238.
- 5. Dewey documents another school; the Gary Schools in his book Schools of Tomorrow, Middle Works v 8, pp. 205-404. See also Ron Cohen and Raymond Mohl's work on the Gary Schools, Children of the Mill (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).
- 6. Robert Westbrook, John Dewey and American Democracy (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1991).
- 7. See Richard Bernstein, "Community in the Pragmatic Tradition," In Morris Dickstein, The Revival of Pragmatism (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 153.
- 8. John Dewey, The Public and Its Problems (New York: Henry Holt, 1927), p. 217.
- 9. Robert Bellah, et al. The Good Society (New York: Vintage Press, 1991).
- 10. Dewey, The Public and Its Problems, p. 127. Michael J. Sandel, Liberation and the Limit of Justice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

- 11. Ibid., p. 209.
- 12. Robert Crunden, Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 39-63.
- 13. John Dewey, A Common Faith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 8.
- 14. Ibid., p. 14.
- 15. Ibid., p. 87.
- 16. Crunden, Ministers of Reform, pp. 57-58.
- 17. Ibid., 58.
- 18. See Marilyn Fisher, "Jane Addam's Critique of Capitalism as Patriarchal," In Charlene Siegfried, Feminist Interpretations of John Dewey, College Station: Pennsylvania University Press, 2002). pp. 278-296.
- 19. John Dewey, The Child and the Curriculum and School and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 29. Originally published in 1902.
- 20. John Dewey, "Ethical Principles Underlying Education," Early Works, 5, p. 63.
- 21. Crunden, Ministers of Reform, p. 61.
- 22. See William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Modern Library, 2002). Originally published in 1902.
- 23. John Dewey, "Ethical Principles Underlying Education," Early Works 5, pp. 57-58.
- 24. John Dewey and James Tufts, Ethics (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 405. Originally published in 1908.
- 25. Ibid.
- 26. John Dewey, Reconstruction in Philosophy (New York: Henry Holt, 1920) and A Quest for Certainty (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960).
- 27. See Martin Buber's, I and Thou, Translated by Walter Kaufman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970).
- 28. John McDermott, The Basic Writings of Josiah Royce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 18.
- 29. Ibid., p.7.
- 30. John Dewey, "The Ethics of Democracy," Early Works, v 5, p. 241.
- 31. James Campbell, The Community Reconstructs: The Meaning of Pragmatic Social Thought (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p. 87.
- 32. George Herbert Mead, Selected Writings, edited by Andrew Reck, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 301.
- 33. John Dewey, Middle Works, v 13, p. 334.