

John Dewey and the American Civil War

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Introduction

As a southerner and first-grader during the centennial celebration of the Civil War's onset, I grew up with a fascination of that war. Although no significant battles occurred in western South Carolina, I held re-enactments of great battles in my backyard. William Faulkner fully captures my emotions in his book, *Intruder in the Dust*:

For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on the July afternoon in 1863, the brigades are in position behind the rail fence, the guns are laid and ready in the woods and the furled flags are already loosened to break out and Pickett himself with his long oiled ringlets and his hat in one hand probably and his sword in the other looking up the hill waiting for Longstreet to give the word and it's all in the balance.¹

It does not take much for a fourteen-year-old to think, "*This time. Maybe this time.*"² The Civil War centennial took place at a time of racial unrest in the south due largely to the 1954 *Brown* decision and attempts to integrate schools exemplified by Little Rock and resulting in actual occupation by federal troops not seen in the south since 1876.

So my familiarity with the Civil War began as a child coming of age in the 1960s and the early 1970s. I recall my grandmother often speaking of that dastardly Sherman and his march to the sea, carving a 60-mile-wide path through Georgia and South Carolina, the seat of secession. Her recollections were at least two generations from the actual events, but these stories had been passed down to her clearly: a type of southern collective memory. My maternal (North Carolina origin) and paternal (South Carolina origin) ancestors fought for the Confederacy, one serving as a cook in the 21st South Carolina as a young teenager, and the other in the respected 25th North Carolina (NC) Infantry that participated in the major battles of the Seven Days, Sharpsburg (Antietam), Fredericksburg, and the Petersburg Campaign.

Charles Fraser's book *Cold Mountain* is based on the unit history of my maternal ancestor's unit, the 25th NC. The U.S. was never the same after 1859; the war changed this country. Perceptions and collective memories of the Civil War shaped my sense of identity over a hundred years later, but also shaped many other lives associated with U.S. intellectual thought and educational practice, including Colonel Francis Parker, William James, and John Dewey through the experiences of his father, Archibald Sprague Dewey. Biographers and historians often speculate on the influence the Civil War had on Dewey. Dewey often mentions and seems proud of his father's service, noting that during his youth his father shared his experiences with the Dewey boys.³ Sidney Hook maintains the Civil War was always a part of Dewey's thought. Hook writes:

There is one theme related to violence that Dewey never wrote about in length, so far as I know, but nonetheless lay close to his heart; for in conversation with me over a quarter of a century he would raise it and return to it whenever some event or movement gave it relevance. This was the American Civil War, in whose shadow he came to self-consciousness.⁴

According to Hook, Dewey saw no historical necessity for the Civil War but, after the raid of John Brown on Harper's Ferry, believed Lincoln's solution to purchase slaves from the slave holders came too late. According to Hook, Dewey felt Brown was an extremist and Emerson's portrayal of Brown (Dewey greatly admired Emerson) was "out of character in his extravagant defense of Brown."⁵ Never a friend of extremism, there is no question Dewey is concerned with the impact of the war on social, political, and economic forces and that his work is an attempt to deal with the country's changing social and moral fabric following the war and the war's stimulation of U.S. capital and industrialization. My purpose in this paper is briefly to explore the impact of the Civil War on Dewey, and its impact on his moral consciousness and his view of intelligence as being the best means to solve problems rather than resorting to forms of violence such as war. For Dewey the process of education was a key component in how to make use of one's intelligence. While Dewey never wrote about his father's experience in the war there is little doubt his father, Archibald, shared his experiences with John. Dewey has many intellectual influences; two of the most important are Francis Wayland Parker, to whom Dewey refers as the father of progressive education, and William James, one of the founders of philosophical pragmatism. Parker was a Civil War veteran and often spoke of how the war affected his life and, although James served only briefly, the war affected his life through his family's experiences.

Colonel Francis W. Parker

Colonel Frank. W. Parker, as he is listed on the muster roll, joined the 4th New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in August 1861 and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in Company E. During the Civil War officers were often elected and by 1865 Parker had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel serving a short time as prisoner of war in North Carolina. The 4th New Hampshire spent the war's early years off the coasts of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia as the Union attempted to form a blockade to capture southern coastal islands. In 1863, the regiment was active in the battle of Fort Wagner on Morris Island. Serving with Grant in the Army of the Potomac in May 1864, the 4th participated in the battle of Drewry's Bluff, followed by Cold Harbor, and the prolonged Petersburg siege. On July 30, 1864 Parker witnessed the famed Battle of the Crater when coal miners from Pennsylvania dug a tunnel under Confederate entrenchments and placed explosives.⁶ The detonation created a huge gap in Confederate lines, the violence of the explosion stunning both Confederate and Union troops, but the Union failed to exploit its opportunity. Chronicled in the movie *Cold Mountain*, Union troops, accompanied by many African-American soldiers, entered the crater and failed to advance. This failure led to angered Confederate troops pouring fire into the crater and heavy hand-to-hand combat. Parker personally evaded the crater's violence but was wounded on August 16, 1864 in an engagement near Malvern Hill, Virginia and was back in New England by September 1864 for recuperation. While in New Hampshire, Parker campaigned for Lincoln, eventually being recalled for service with Sherman's army near Goldsboro, North Carolina. Unfortunately, Lieutenant Colonel Parker and a squad of men were captured by Confederate cavalry when they made a detour near Goldsboro. Parker was captured on the same day—April 9, 1865—that Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia. Eventually paroled, Parker spent the last months of the war on occupation duty in Raleigh, North Carolina. Parker was once asked what part of his education he valued most. He notes “his five years on the farm and his four years in the army.”⁷ The unit was mustered out in August 23, 1865, having suffered a total of 234 casualties. Parker experienced considerable violence as a soldier; he fought to restore the Union and for the freedom and emancipation of the slave. His war experiences taught him the “value of each life as a factor in building up and maintaining the social well-being of any community.”⁸ Challenging the autocracy of the formal school, Parker's goal was to “emancipate the child and the teacher both.”⁹ Dewey notes Parker inspired “the teacher and the child in the schoolroom with his own affectionate and sympathetic personality.”¹⁰ Parker needed all his skills as an educator

and leader as he began to battle the formal school's formalism and autocracy to emancipate both child and teacher.

William James

Shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter by Confederate forces on April 12, 1861, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to subdue to revolt. On April 17, William James and a friend, Tom Perry, watched the Rhode Island militia march off to war. Caught up in the fervor, William signed up for a 90-day enlistment with the Newport Artillery Company, spending his time rolling bandages and making bullets.¹¹ Other than this short stint in the militia William James never served in the Union army; no one is sure why not. Some suggest his father's opposition to his service, others suggest his poor eyesight. Rather than joining Union forces James entered Harvard in 1861, although William, Sr. did not support his sons going to college. At the time Harvard was described as "small, sparsely attended, poorly equipped and thinly staffed,"¹² yet seemed to be able to attract excellent students such as William James.

James' brother Wilky joined the 44th Massachusetts in 1862 and by 1863 was recommended by his regimental colonel for a place in the newly forming Black regiment, the 54th Massachusetts, chronicled in the movie *Glory*. The 54th was under the command of twenty-five-year-old Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the regiment composed of roughly 1,000 soldiers including two sons of Frederick Douglass. William James was in the crowd watching the 54th march off to war and pondered his own choice not to serve as had his brothers, Wilky and Bob. James recalls the regimental march through Boston:

I looked back and saw their faces and figures against the evening sky, and they looked so young and victorious, that I, much gnawed by questions as to my own duty of enlisting or not, shrank back—they had not seen me—from being recognized. I shall never forget the impressions they made.¹³

Bob was serving in the 45th Massachusetts and eventually the second all-Black regiment, the 55th Massachusetts, which found itself in the middle of the Boston draft riots in July, 1863. The James brothers did not participate in the Battle of Gettysburg, however, shortly after the end of Gettysburg, on July 10, 1863, Wilky's regiment was shipped to James Island just outside of Charleston, South Carolina where he participated in the battle of Fort Wagner, the culminating scene in the movie *Glory*. In this virtual suicide mission 50% of the regiment was killed, including Robert Gould Shaw and 23 officers. Wilky was shot in the side and foot, dragged himself to the ocean and was picked up by stretcher bearers; one bearer was struck in the head as he carried Wilky. Like many Civil War wounds, Wilky's became infected and required recuperation. After

healing he was mustered in again, participating Sherman's attack on Charleston. Wilky survived the war and attempted to create a profitable plantation in Florida with the help of freed slaves. A poor manager of money, he declared bankruptcy in 1877, began to suffer from his war wounds, and died in 1883. He was 38 years old.¹⁴

While James' experience of the war is very different from Parker's, he too experiences a kind of violence as he watches his brother gradually wither and die from his wounds. James knew the role of race in the war, that his brother died believing in a cause focused on ending slavery, and that slavery was a major cause of the violence. Apparently, James regretted not enlisting beyond his short stint with the Rhode Island militia and "chalked it up to his own pusillanimity with respect to the defining moment of his generation."¹⁵ In his speech dedicating the St. Gauden's monument in Boston Common honoring Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts, James states, "Every war leaves such miserable legacies, future war and revolution, unless the civic virtues of the people save the State in time."¹⁶ Scholars insist that of all the primary pragmatists, including James, Charles Sanders Pierce, and Dewey, it was James who stresses most the emphasis on moral choice and how to weigh those choices. Perhaps he saw his "enlistment in a civilian form of service opposite to war in the form of a moral equivalent."¹⁷ In the next section I address the participation of John Dewey's father, Archibald Sprague Dewey, in the war, followed by a discussion of the potential impact of the war on Dewey and how it shaped his view of violence as an immoral means to solve human problems.

Archibald Sprague Dewey and John Dewey

Archibald Sprague Dewey, John Dewey's father, was 50 when the Civil War began in 1861. Lucina was pregnant, raising two boys at home, and helping to run a successful business. We do not know what precipitates Archibald's enlistment in the 1st Vermont Cavalry, the only cavalry regiment supplied by Vermont during the war. Was it patriotism, support of abolitionism, escape from dealing with the loss of a child, or was he just seeking adventure? We simply do not know, but we do know Archibald was a staunch Republican and remained one throughout his life. Archibald sold his grocery store, enlisted in the summer of 1861, and when funds ran out Lucina sold the family home and moved in with relatives.¹⁸ Archibald had little formal schooling but was well-read and a keen observer of events and detail as I shall demonstrate.¹⁹

Archibald Dewey's unit, the 1st Vermont Cavalry, was a respected cavalry unit during the Civil War. The unit participated in over 72 battles and skirmishes including Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Yellow Tavern, Cold Harbor, Five Forks, Dinwiddie Court House, and finally the Appomattox Campaigns, eventually leading to the surrender of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. During the war the regiment lost 10 officers

and 124 enlisted men in battle and 4 officers and 200 enlisted men to disease. During the Civil War far more soldiers died from disease, exposure, and lack of immunities than from war wounds.²⁰ During the war the cavalry was used mostly for intelligence gathering, reconnaissance, skirmishing, and feigning movements to confuse the enemy, but by 1863 was participating more in larger engagements such as Gettysburg and Brandy Station, the largest U.S. cavalry battle ever fought. A cavalry regiment was generally composed of around 1,000 soldiers, or troopers as they were called, 5 squadrons to a regiment.²¹ The 1st Vermont was composed of 10 companies of around 100 men per company making close to 1,000 troopers in the regiment. Archibald Dewey initially enlisted as a 1st Sergeant but served most of the war as a staff officer, also serving as regimental quartermaster with an enlisted quartermaster sergeant under him. Archibald, sporting a gray beard at the time, was considered a “good and competent man of high character.”²² As a former storekeeper, the role of the regimental quartermaster was an ideal assignment. With the assistance of the quartermaster sergeant, Archibald was in charge of company wagons and their contents which typically included tents, mess gear, company desk and library, ordnance, food, and tools. This responsibility could also include forage, food for horses, and the distributing of items to troopers. His role during combat was to keep wagons and stores secure—not a simple task.²³

During the Shenandoah Valley Campaign, which made Stonewall Jackson even more famous, the 1st Vermont Cavalry was ordered by commanding Union General Nathaniel Banks to seek out and find Jackson who was eluding and harassing federal troops. Fearing a threat to Washington, Lincoln pressured Banks to act and challenge Jackson’s 17,000 men. Jackson was trying to tie up Union forces under George McClelland who were pressuring Lee’s forces around Richmond. Historians refer to the conflict between Banks and Jackson as the first Battle of Winchester. Fearing Jackson and his reputation, Banks ordered the federal stores in Strasburg, Virginia burned. “As the 1st Vermont abandoned Strasburg,” writes unit historian Joseph Collea, “the regiments own train, consisting of nineteen wagons and two ambulances, waited up ahead commanded by Archibald Dewey.”²⁴ Archibald Dewey reports in detail his participation in the event and certainly conveys this experience to an attentive young John and his brothers Davis and Charles. Archibald, known for his sense of humor, also knew how to tell a story and one can easily visualize the event.

The baggage train was taken across Cedar Creek early in the morning of May 24th by orders from headquarters, [Archibald writes,] “...about ten o’clock word came that the trains in front

were cut off and we should soon be attacked; this caused a slight flurry, which a word from my wagon master C. P. Stone of Company F instantly quieted. About 4 o'clock a battery of 4 guns, followed by our regiment under Col. Tompkins as a support, came up and took a position a short distance to the right and front of our train. The firing was brisk for over half an hour, when the battery, being threatened by a flank movement of the enemy...was forced to limber up and retire...the train was put in motion, each driver taking his proper place in the line in the most perfect order. We had no sooner commenced to move that the enemy's sharpshooters showed themselves emerging from the timber within half rifle range, and the hiss of bullets soon became familiar; but not even then did confusion arise—in proof of which I will say that three drivers dismounted to chain their wheels in descending a steep hill.... Four teams crossed the stream unhurt, the others got into the water, several horses fell by the fire which was poured in by largely increased numbers; there being now from 7 to 100 within 20 to 25 rods. Still not a man left his seat while his horses kept their legs. When one horse fell, another was cut loose, the driver would mount and be off. In this way seventeen horses out of seventy-six were saved. When the passage through the water was obstructed by dead or disabled horses the order was given to the drivers to save themselves by cutting out each a horse for himself; and I have reason to hope that all are alive, though two were wounded and four are prisoners. I have written nothing on hearsay; the whole movement was made under my own observation and directions.²⁵

In attempting to protect the wagons, Archibald Dewey's men held their ground as long as they could. Attempting to retreat to Williamsport, the wagon train found itself under attack; attempts to burn the wagons failed.²⁶ Tired and hungry Confederates swarmed over the 1st Vermont's possessions. Confederates gave General Banks the derogatory nickname "Commissary Banks" and the regiment lost all its regimental flags to the enemy. Regardless of this significant loss, Archibald Dewey was noted by 1st Vermont Colonel Charles Tompkins for his "faithful and meritorious service and received a promotion to Captain."²⁷ Chaplain Woodward of the 1st Vermont recalls, "Our retreat from Virginia was rapid, our disasters considerable, and our escape wonderful considering the circumstances. Every hour lessened our calamities by bringing in men who we feared were hopelessly cut off."²⁸

Archibald participated as quartermaster throughout the war and, as mentioned, took part in some of the war's most significant battles. The 1st Vermont served the later years of the war under Judson Kilpatrick, Phil Sheridan, and the notorious George Armstrong Custer whom the 1st Vermont respected due to his bravery and aggressiveness. Custer often asked for the 1st Vermont to serve with him and the regiment sought retention under his command.

Lucina Dewey, missing her husband and, according to Jane Dewey, "Weary of the long separation from her husband brought about by his service in the Union army moved the family to his headquarters in northern Virginia for the last winter of the war."²⁹ Probably sensing the need for her boys to see their father, Lucina sold the house on Willard Street in Burlington on April 1, 1864 and began planning to move the family closer to Archibald. Jane Dewey notes the family moved to Cumberland, Virginia in 1863 and did not return as an intact family to Burlington until 1867. Cumberland was considered Union and Union-sympathetic territory. There is no doubt the family was together around Christmas, 1864 and around Moorefield, Virginia, now located within West Virginia in what today is termed the eastern panhandle. During the winter camp of 1864, a time when both armies tended to go into winter quarters, there was a lull in the fighting. With the war going against the Confederacy it was deemed safe for families to visit loved ones in camp, although the 1st Vermont had been engaged at Lacy Springs as late as December 21, 1864. The region the Deweys lived in includes Harpers Ferry, Shepherdstown, and Martinsburg with Shepherdstown, only a few miles from the Antietam battlefield. We do not know if young Dewey visited any of these areas. According to Charles Cowles of Company I, 1st Vermont Cavalry who kept a diary at the time, the weather was mild and comfortable for the time of the year. On Christmas Eve, 1864, he notes a "lot of galvanized Yankees were sent back to prison," and on Christmas day they received their "Christmas rations meal and some sweet potatoes."³⁰ Dewey was four years old when he joined his father and recalls the first Christmas spent with his father in 1864.

The Xmas I remember best was the one when I was four-years-old I think; my father was stationed in West Virginia in the war and mother took us down to spend a winter there, and one of the few things I remember is waking up and seeing their bed across the room, it seemed a mile, and then getting some things; one of them was a little wooden churn. Afterwards my mother told me, it must have been many years later that they thought we would be so disappointed because it was so impossible to get things there and how happy we were with what we got.³¹

John Dewey also mentions spending some time in Charles Town, West Virginia, where John Brown was tried and hanged.³²

The 1st Vermont was not engaged again until a conflict at Waynesboro, Virginia on March 2, 1865. Present at Appomattox one month later, the 1st Vermont was witness to the Army of Northern Virginia's surrender on April 9, 1865, reported in *The Burlington Free Press*.

So the principal army of the Confederacy under immediate command of its commander and chief and greatest general, has gone down with its capital. So the rebel confederacy has crashed down in golden ruin: Praise be to God who has given us the victory!³³

It is not known whether Archibald was present at the Grand Review of the Union armies held in Washington. Apparently, he remained behind and spent time in North Carolina and then was involved in a business in southern Illinois, near Cairo. Following the close of the war Archibald did not return to Burlington until 1867. Archibald Dewey never wavered from the party of Lincoln although the party was transforming away from Lincoln's vision of a republic by the people, for the people, and of the people. In 1876, John recalls Archibald's anger at first reports Democrat Samuel Tilden had won the presidential election. "In 1876 when the first reports were that Tilden was elected," Dewey writes, "my father said the civil war was fought in vain and that it would have been better to let the southern states go."³⁴

Prodded by biographers interested in chronicling his life, John Dewey wrote in 1933 about his father's service and seems the proud son. "My father was in the army most of the civil war period and I and my mother and brother lived with other members of the family."³⁵ George Dykhuizen notes Archibald "delighted his sons with anecdotes of his youth and with accounts of his experiences during the Civil War."³⁶ Dewey also recalls his father's dry wit and geniality and Jay Martin emphasizes he "yearned to be affected by his father" and "hungered for his father's affection."³⁷ As a young child, Dewey grew up without his father and was already eight years old when the family was reunited in Burlington. Archibald was absent during the formative years of Dewey's life, but through their correspondence a closer relationship built over the years.

Archibald's letters to John show his wit, compassion, and affection for his son. Archibald often commented on the weather. On October 16, 1882 Archibald writes to John,

...the weather is magnificent, not a cloud to be sure...morn to dewy eve, and then we have a new moon which stands straight up on its tail, or hangs down by the nose, not being a

moonologist I can't say which way to put it, but there it is, and if it stays there till you come home you may see it for yourself....³⁸

Archibald also warns John to watch out for the “southern cannibals,” referring to mosquitoes, when young Dewey was in Baltimore studying at Johns Hopkins.³⁹ Although Archibald often attended the First Congregational Church with Lucina he often poked fun at her in his letters to John noting in one letter her religious fervor in attending a temperance meeting and her frequent illnesses.⁴⁰

Archibald wrote John on his 26th birthday (October 20, 1889) and seemed to write most often when prodded by Lucina.

Haven't I let you alone pretty well this time, [writes Archibald,] “I didn't forget yesterday, the anniversary of your burglarious entrance to the family circle, but the weather was so fine that I did not lay aside the spade for the pen, as the garden is more than half unawakened from its summer sleep.... I was too tired to do more than think of John and pray, God bless him.”⁴¹

That same year Archibald and John had a political argument over the election of Grover Cleveland. Dewey told his father he would vote for Cleveland, a Democrat and the first Democrat to be elected after the Civil War. Dewey tells Sidney Hook it was the second emotional crisis in his life when his father, still a Lincoln Republican, feels John is betraying the “cause for which he had fought.”⁴² The first crisis is the religious struggle Dewey deals with as a young man, heavily influenced by his mother.

Early in 1891, due to health and age Archibald and Lucina moved in with John and Alice in Ann Arbor where Dewey was a professor at the University of Michigan. Archibald was 80 years old when he passed away on April 10, 1891. There is no known reaction of John Dewey to his father's death, however, the First Congregational Church in Ann Arbor refers to his death as, “our brother Mr. Archibald S. Dewey, who even his short sojourn among us we have learned greatly to esteem and love.”⁴³

The Civil War and John Dewey

When Dewey and his brothers Davis and Charles visited their father in northern Virginia they entered a world “damaged and scarred by massive destruction, starvation, and corpses.”⁴⁴ Scholars note the experience as “an important reference point for [Dewey's] later reflections on the futility of violence in the achievement of human purposes.”⁴⁵ There is little doubt Dewey was affected by changes in social, political, and intellectual thought that followed the Civil War, yet he writes virtually nothing that specifically connects his thought to the

war. The war stimulates the U.S.' own industrial revolution and the power and exploitation of capital. This change does not go unnoticed by Dewey and in many ways forms the genesis of his thought and concerns about the disruption of community life and the threat it posed to democracy. For Dewey the school plays an instrumental role in the restoration of community life, where people work together for self-satisfaction but also for the common good. Dewey's concept of community restoration is well-formed prior to the turn of the 20th century, evidenced in his works *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum*, and thematic throughout his work.⁴⁶

While never an absolute pacifist, Dewey always champions the use of intelligence over force to solve human problems and conflict. In his support of the U.S.' entry into World War I, Dewey seems to see intelligence as a means to an end eventually to make the world safe for democracy. Dewey's oldest son Fred, a commissioned officer during World War I, and Dewey supported Wilson's war aims in the construction of a post-war world of peace. Dewey envisioned the U.S.' entry into war as a means to force its allies to move the new world toward an U.S.-shaped democracy. Dewey's progressive allies were outraged by his stance, most notably Randolph Bourne and Jane Addams, and contemporary historians note Dewey's naïveté in the use of war as an instrument for peace.⁴⁷ Dewey was in essence "keeping with his understanding of the importance of community, moreover, he backed the concept of a global order for the larger society to emulate."⁴⁸

Dewey learned from his naïveté and optimism in the use of war as an instrument of peace, evident through his participation in the outlawry of the war movement "using the method of intelligence to build the requisite moral and political awareness for the realization—conceptually and in application—that the system of war is detrimental to the demands of any situation."⁴⁹ Dewey's conceptualization of outlawry is based on an educated public "cognizant of morality as justice formulated through standards of societal consciousness."⁵⁰ "The considerations that moved him with respect to war," writes Sidney Hook, "were all the more weighty in his judgment on civil war—which is the fiercest and most inhuman of all wars—as an instrument of social change in a democracy where other modes of affecting change albeit more slowly, are available."⁵¹

Throughout Dewey's work he emphasizes education is key to the creation and maintenance of democratic society. Education is the process by which we "learn to live together peacefully as well as a practical application of life's everyday experiences to the body of knowledge already acquired. Education was the key to social cooperation

and peace.”⁵² Education is the process by which society learns and practices this civil virtue.

The American Civil War forms the foundation of Dewey’s understanding of war. As a child he witnesses devastation and suffering brought on by the war, but also experiences the impact of war on his family as he endured separation from his father. The war has an impact on his father and his future colleagues Colonel Francis Parker and William James. In a note of caution—and one that is contemporary—James says it best: “Democracy is still upon its trial.”⁵³ James notes in his oration honoring Robert Shaw:

The civic genius of our people is its only bulwark, and neither laws nor monuments, neither battleships nor public libraries, nor great newspapers nor booming stocks; neither mechanical invention nor political adroitness, nor churches nor universities nor civil-service examinations can save us from degeneration if the inner mystery be lost.⁵⁴

In a world characterized by civil war, ethnic genocide, religious war, and growing nationalism, Dewey’s desire to create “a global culture that is socially, economically, and culturally based on the concept of justice”⁵⁵ becomes a moral imperative for society’s virtual survival.

Endnotes

- 1 William Faulkner, *Intruder in the Dust* (New York, NY: Signet Books, 1948), 12.
- 2 *Ibid.* Of course Faulkner is referring to what became known as Pickett’s Charge which failed to break the Union lines at Gettysburg and is considered to be a major turning point in the war.
- 3 John Dewey to Joseph Ratner, September 9, 1949. *The Correspondence of John Dewey 1871–2007*, electronic edition. (Charlottesville, VA: Intelix), <http://www.nlx.com/collections/132>. At the time Ratner was planning a biography of Dewey.
- 4 Sidney Hook, *Education and the Taming of Power* (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1973), 141–142. Hook mentions Dewey’s support of the Outlawry of War movement. He does not mention Dewey’s support of World War I and his attempt to make Europe an U.S.-style democracy.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 6 Jack Campbell, *Colonel Francis W. Parker: The Children’s Crusader* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1967), 23–24. In 1862 while serving in Florida, Parker was brought up on charges by 79 men in

Company E, 4th New Hampshire for “striking and choking them.” Parker was arrested and tried but the charges were dropped on a technicality. Parker had a strong reputation for discipline and was apparently fond of occasional strong drink. See Campbell, *Colonel Francis W. Parker: The Children’s Crusader*, 28.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ William R. Harper, Albert G. Lane, John Dewey, and Emil G. Hirsch, “In Memoriam: Colonel Francis Wayland Parker, Late Director of the School of Education, University of Chicago,” *The Elementary School Teacher and Course of Study* 2, no. 10 (1902), 699–715. See specifically page 702.

⁹ Ibid., 705.

¹⁰ Ibid., 714.

¹¹ Robert Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism: A Biography* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 40. In his study of the roots of pragmatism, Louis Menand, in *The Metaphysical Club* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), also looks at the life of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., also a Civil War veteran.

¹² Richardson, *William James*, 43.

¹³ Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 74. This quotation is from a letter James writes to Carlotta Lowell in Ferris Greenslet’s, *The Lovells and Their Seven Worlds* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), 289. Carlotta was the daughter of Colonel Charles Russell Lowell of the 54th Massachusetts who died from his wounds at Cedar Creek in 1864 and who was nephew to poet James Russell Lowell. Colonel Lowell was observed by James during the regimental march and presented the “young and victorious” figure James describes. Williams James gave the dedication address for the August St. Gaudens monument dedicated to Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts. Menand refers to it as one of James’ greatest speeches. See Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 147.

¹⁴ Ibid., 230. Henry James, Sr. supported Wilky’s plantation experiment in Florida with \$40,000, a substantial amount, felt Wilky had received his inheritance, and subsequently left Wilky out of his will. William James supported his brother’s inclusion in the will yet was concerned Wilky’s wife “had a good deal of money.” At the time the estate of Henry, Sr. was about \$1.5 million in modern currency.

¹⁵ Charles F. Howlett and Audrey Cohan, *John Dewey, America’s Peace-Minded Educator* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016), 19.

- ¹⁶ William James, *Essays in Religion and Morality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 73. The essay within which this quotation appears is entitled, “Robert Gould Shaw: Oration by William James.”
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), 10. See also John Dewey to George Dykhuisen, October 15, 1949, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*.
- ¹⁹ Jane Dewey notes in her “Biography of John Dewey,” [in Paul Schlipp’s *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (LaSalle: IL, Open Court, 1939/1989), 6,], that Archibald is fond of Shakespeare, Milton, Carlyle, and Thackeray, but not fond of Emerson or Thoreau.
- ²⁰ See <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/facts.htm>
- ²¹ See <http://www.civilwar.com/overview/315weapons/148532-calvary-62478.html>
- ²² Joseph Collier, *The First Vermont Cavalry in the Civil War: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010). This is the most comprehensive study of the 1st Vermont Cavalry. Archibald was commissioned quartermaster on 14 November 1861. See *Burlington Free Press*, November 15, 1861, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84023127/1861-11-15/ed-1/seq-1/>. Archibald’s muster record only records his service through 1862. Another book, G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War: A History of the Part Taken by the Vermont Soldiers and Sailors in the War for the Union, 1861–1865*, vols. 1 and 2 (Burlington, VT: Free Press Association, 1886) contains information only on Vermont infantry, not cavalry.
- ²³ See www.civilwar.com/overview/315weapons/148532-calvary-62478.html
- ²⁴ Joseph Collea, *The First Vermont Cavalry in the Civil War: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 61. This is the most comprehensive study of the 1st Vermont Cavalry. Archibald was commissioned quartermaster on 14 November 1861.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 71.
- ²⁷ Ibid. Originally published in *The Burlington Free Press*, June 13, 1862, 2. Colonel Tompkins credits A. S. Dewey for his valuable service and efficiency in the affair.
- ²⁸ *The Burlington Free Press*, June 6, 1862, 2. This issue also reports Archibald Dewey as safe.
- ²⁹ Jane Dewey, “Biography of John Dewey,” 7.

- ³⁰ *Diary of Charles C. Cowles*, Company I, 1st First Vermont Cavalry, 1864. Burlington, University of Vermont Library.
- ³¹ Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 12.
- ³² John Dewey to Mrs. Porter, July 29, 1933, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*.
- ³³ *The Burlington Free Press*, April 14, 1865, 1.
- ³⁴ John Dewey to Salmon Levinson, January 1, 1932, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*. Samuel Tilden won the popular vote but due to irregularities the election was thrown to Congress where Republicans compromised with Democrats to remove Union troops from the south if Democrats would support putting Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House. The only other candidates to win the popular vote and not be elected are Al Gore and Hilary Clinton.
- ³⁵ Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 10.
- ³⁶ George Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 6.
- ³⁷ Martin, *The Education of John Dewey*, 19.
- ³⁸ Archibald Dewey to John Dewey, October 16, 1882, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*.
- ³⁹ Archibald Dewey to John Dewey, September 22, 1882, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*.
- ⁴⁰ Archibald Dewey to John Dewey, October 21, 1885, *The Correspondence of John Dewey*. There is no further documented correspondence between John and his father following this date.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Hook, *Education and the Taming of Power*, 141.
- ⁴³ Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, 342.
- ⁴⁴ Howlett and Cohan, *John Dewey*, 16–17. See also Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1–2.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ John Dewey, *The School and Society*, rev. ed. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1915), and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1902).
- ⁴⁷ For an extensive discussion of critique on Dewey's stance see Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 195–230.
- ⁴⁸ Howlett and Cohan, *John Dewey*, 72.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 132.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 133.

⁵¹ Hook, *Education and the Taming of Power*, 142.

⁵² Howlett and Cohan, *John Dewey*, 34.

⁵³ James, *Essays in Religion and Morality*, 74.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., xvi. For support of Dewey's understanding of a global public see John Narayan, *John Dewey: The Global Public and Its Problems* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016).

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