

know logically and scientifically? What different part of our experience does the religious imagination seek to represent? Religious experience, as he now understood it, shares in the modes of both knowing and representing, science and art. Like these, but in its own special, integrative way, it connects person with person and thus allows people to feel at home in the universe. For Freud, the religious experience was a defensive illusion, but for Dewey, since religious attitudes have the capacity for realization in action, they are as real as any other experience and certainly far from illusory. Religious experience provides aspirations toward values, and aspirations lead to the actualization of values in social life. Religious values, Dewey said in his conclusion to *A Common Faith*, which is repeated on his tombstone, "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."

Dewey waited forty years after severing his connections with an institutional church to explain his religious views of 1894. Finally, *A Common Faith* allowed Dewey the scope to touch more fully than elsewhere on Bergson's theme of the evolution of consciousness and to expand it. But the reception of the book in 1934 showed Dewey that his audience was far less ready to understand, much less embrace, his method of inquiry into faith than it was to grasp such other inquiries as he had made with logic, social life, politics, or art. He said no more publicly on the topic, although he continued his personal engagement in his own version of faith. In private, when a young student at a small college wrote to him to ask whether it were true, as her teacher said, that "pragmatists deny the existence of God," he could not resist replying immediately: "The statement you quote is absurd," he began, since pragmatism is "concerned with testing of statements and beliefs," not with proofs of existence. Indeed, I know one Catholic," he added, "who wrote an article saying that the pragmatist test—of consequences—was a proof of the existence of God" since the universe "works so well."

For himself, Dewey insisted that the development of his philosophic point of view was not determined by religion, nor were his religious attitudes modulated by way of his philosophic investigations. For him, religion was not a philosophical problem, or philosophy a religious problem, but both were fused in his "feeling that any genuinely sound religious experience could and should adapt itself to whatever beliefs one found oneself intellectually entitled to hold." "I have not been able to attach much importance to religion as a philosophic problem," he observed. But in *A Common Faith* he attached a great deal of importance to it as a human need for otherness that resembles the needs satisfied by art and philosophy but goes beyond both to touch the human community and the experiences of friendship, brotherhood, and even the emotion so important to Dewey: love.

WEALTH AND POVERTY

In the 1890s, America turned a corner. After a decade of peace, everything seemed to break loose. Clouds of uncertainty gathered, although on the surface everything seemed fine. Progress had been so evident in the 1880s that even some social reformers could assume that it would solve poverty and bring about at least some of the conditions that such hopeful utopian commentators as Bellamy and Howells envisioned.

In Chicago especially, hopes ran high. The city was booming. Louis Sullivan describes this period in his *Autobiography of an Idea* (1924). In Chicago, he, Frank Lloyd Wright, LeBaron Jenney, Daniel Burnham, and John Wellborn Root developed a new American aesthetic, which Sullivan characterized in his famous phrase "form follows function." Using new materials, steel framing, and innovative technologies such as the elevator, they created a whole new sense of space in designing the tall buildings for which Chicago became famous.

Caught in the euphoria of the time, the city fathers decided that for the coming celebration of Columbus's discovery of America, Chicago

should create the greatest world's fair the universe had ever seen. Gathering together a national consortium of architects, artists, and construction workers and supported lavishly by businessmen, entrepreneurs, bankers, and promoters, they created a monumental fair, which soon became popularly known as the "White City" for its pure white buildings and was officially known as the World's Columbian Exposition. It was always unclear whether the fair was a celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage of discovery or a very expensive toast to the triumph of business enterprise centered in Chicago.

But underneath it all, the future of the 1890s was already present. The grand buildings were mostly made of staff—a kind of plaster—and were constantly in need of repair. It was all an illusion, and many critics looked beneath the surface grandeur and saw deception. Thorstein Veblen found in the fair a perfect illustration of his theory of the dominance of pecuniary over aesthetic considerations characterizing (and creating) middle-class taste. Just after the fair closed, in November 1893, W. T. Stead announced a conference with the theme "If Christ Came to Chicago!" What would he see?—municipal corruption, rapacious capitalism, vagrancy, and prostitution—that was the Soiled City that Stead saw behind the White City's mask.

A participant in creating the fair, Louis Sullivan, saw in its "bigness, organization, delegation, and intense commercialism a parallel to the rapidly increasing mergers, combinations, and trusts in the industrial world" and therefore not the beginning of Atruria but the enlargement of the "feudal idea" in America. When Ward McAllister, gadfly to New York's wealthy "Four Hundred," declared that the fair proved Chicago society to be "moving in the right direction," he unintentionally corroborated the analyses by Veblen and Sullivan of the fair's meaning.

Right next to the White City, another set of buildings was rising, John D. Rockefeller's recently founded University of Chicago, with its Gothic, distinctly feudal architecture. Here was another confirmation of Veblen and Sullivan. Soon, John Dewey would occupy an office in the university from which he could see the fair's buildings rapidly

decaying. When the businessman Charles T. Yerkes donated the world's largest telescope to the university, W. T. Stead remarked: "It is much better for people like Mr. Yerkes that the scrutinizing gaze of the public should be turned to the heavens than to the scandalous manner in which he neglects his obligations to the people."

The most striking contrast with the magnificent White City lay in the depression of 1893. The aging socialist Thomas Morgan described this contrast. Every day, he said, the unemployed "assemble peacefully on the lake front, begging for work, and with the strong arm of the law are driven back into their tenement houses, [so] that the visitors who come to see the White City might not see the misery of the Garden City which built it." One of the favorite places for the unemployed to congregate was around the statue of Columbus just outside the fairgrounds. So was it this—poverty and despair caused by rampant money capitalism—that Columbus's voyage and discovery were all the while making for and meaning? After the fair closed, its ruined and deserted buildings were soon taken over and inhabited by poverty-stricken bohemian artists and writers. Was this a symbol of the low place assigned to art by the new gospel of affluence? Was Richard Morris Hunt's marble Fair Administration Building, modeled after St. Paul's Cathedral, the exemplary building of the new Chicago? Or was it Jane Addams's Hull House, where some of Chicago's poor could be saved from starvation each day?

The panic of 1893 ushered in an economic depression that lasted much longer than the fair did. The bankruptcy of overexpanded railroads, the collapse of several large companies, a stock market sell-off, and a tide of bank failures leading to the virtual disappearance of credit created massive bankruptcies and widespread unemployment. There was agrarian devastation, too, for farmers also had overextended themselves, seeking credit after the decline in European purchases. Then, when the loans were called in, foreclosures followed. In farming areas, several protest parties sprang up, increasing in numbers and stridency as the agricultural depression grew—the Grange, the Greenbacks, the Farmer's Alliance, and the People's Party, otherwise known as the Populists. Ignatius Donnelly's famous preamble to the

party's first national platform was: "A vast conspiracy against mankind" is in progress, and "if not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destructive of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism." In rural areas, the stage was being set for William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech and his campaign for the presidency, in which the business and working classes were pitted against each other, and business won. Things were bad enough, but when foreign investors withdrew their investments, the American economy almost totally collapsed. A million workers who had had jobs in 1892 now found themselves out of work. Many people attended the fair because they were unemployed or underemployed and were looking for an escape into the delusion that prosperity was just around the corner. But the depression did not ease until 1896 and was not officially ended until two years later.

American citizens who were not deluded by the fair were desperate, and their desperation showed itself in a number of zany schemes. For example, Jacob Coxey rose out of obscurity by advocating a large-scale federal public works program along with government-planned inflation that would allow "cheap" money to circulate and make the paying off of debts easier. The president ignored Coxey, and Congress showed no interest in passing his "Good Roads and Non-Interest-Bearing Bond" bills, and so Coxey formed an army of the unemployed and marched on Washington. Jack London joined the big parade of Coxey's army. Following a banner on which was emblazoned a portrait of Christ and the motto "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men, He Hath Risen, but Death to Interest on Bonds," Coxey's "Army of Peace" marched. The few who finally arrived in Washington drifted about aimlessly and were promptly arrested for walking on the grass. Nonetheless, the idea took hold, and soon Fry's army and Kelley's army were on the move, streams of tramps that formed a growing river of the discontented unemployed.

A simple arithmetic formula was exhibited in the depression of the 1890s. Financial panic plus unemployment plus reductions in wages plus the decline of working conditions equaled the rise of unions and

the onset of strikes. In fact, a strike in Chicago at the McCormick Harvester Company lighted the torch that often appeared in the 1890s. To protest the harassment of the McCormick strikers, union leaders called for a demonstration in Chicago's Haymarket Square. When the police tried to disperse the crowds, the protesters rioted. A bomb was thrown that killed seven policemen and injured dozens of others. The police responded by firing on the mob, killing four. A frightened city administration demanded justice, and the judiciary complied by sentencing seven demonstrators to death.

Other unions arose and other strikes followed. Andrew Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick decided to break the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers at the Homestead plant in Pennsylvania. The police rounded up eight suspects. Frick hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to open the plant to nonunion workers. A furious battle broke out between the Pinkertons and the strikers, and men on both sides were killed. Finally, the governor of Pennsylvania sent the entire state militia to Homestead and broke the strike.

War between capital and labor was declared. The next battle took place in the town of Pullman, Illinois, where George M. Pullman had established a company town for the production of railroad sleeping and passenger cars. Although Pullman saw himself as the benevolent lord of his town, he charged high rents and high prices in the company stores, and the workers were convinced that he wanted to be not their steward but their master. In the first year of the depression of 1893, when railroads were failing and Pullman's profits declining, he cut wages drastically while maintaining the same high costs for rent and food. The result was inevitable. The Pullman employees struck and enlisted the American Railway Union and its president, Eugene V. Debs, to support them by refusing to service Pullman's cars. Debs agreed. Instantly, railroad workers went on strike in twenty-seven states and territories. Pullman appealed to the governor of Illinois, J. P. Altgeld, to follow Pennsylvania's example by sending in the militia, but he refused. Astonished (but not stymied) the railroad barons persuaded a reluctant President Grover Cleveland to send in federal

troops to restore interstate commerce. Debs was arrested; the strike was crushed; and the workers returned to their jobs and homes in Pullman, seething impotently.

America had gone to great expense to reeducate this young idealist philosopher, John Dewey. Leaving Ann Arbor to move to Chicago at the beginning of the strike, Dewey got on one of the last trains to run for weeks to come. Because he read the papers, he knew about the panic, the depression, urban poverty, agrarian unrest, exploitation of workers, child labor, social disorder, clash of classes, and industrial strikes elsewhere. But the Pullman strike was distinctly "his": the occasion for another part of his education and an extension of his identity. In the 1880s there was plenty of thought but no action, and in the 1890s, there was plenty of action but almost no thought. It would be up to men like Dewey to put thought and action together and thus create something solid from the chaos they encountered.

EVELYN DEWEY

Dewey's education had numerous sources. He and Alice produced six children, and from each, in a different way, he learned something. Evelyn Riggs, named after Alice's grandmother, was born in Minneapolis in 1889. Just as John had visited Fred's school and observed him to be so happy and placid, he later went to five-year-old Evelyn's but got just the opposite impression. "Poor Evelyn," he wrote to Alice, her class was "playing with cubes, to find out about the edges & surfaces," and he could see in her expression of "complete boredom" an "inner perplexity as to why they were doing all these unreal things to find out what she [already] knew."

But when they moved, Evelyn did not have the distress that Fred experienced. She easily progressed through school, even though Alice took her and her siblings to Europe more than once. When the family moved from Chicago to New York in 1904, she began attending Horace Mann High School in New York City and graduated in 1906.

At the age of eighteen she was admitted to Smith College, and she graduated in 1911.

At first her training at Smith and the general atmosphere of the Dewey household inclined Evelyn to become a social worker in New York City, where massive immigration and poverty were rife and social workers were greatly needed. She was an independent person and lived in her own apartment at 66 Montague Street in Brooklyn from 1918 to 1919 and then, in 1920, moved to 135 East 56th Street in Manhattan. In the early 1920s she taught at the Lincoln School, associated with Columbia Teachers College. She was on the governing council of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. For a while she worked as an advertising copywriter at the most famous of the early agencies, J. Walter Thompson. She succeeded at everything she tried. Max Eastman said of Evelyn that early in her life, she developed a "poised and sagely humorous good sense." She assisted her father on several of his educational investigations during this time and then started to write articles and books on education herself. In 1914 Dewey sent her to the Gary, Indiana, schools "to get some material for me regarding modern illustrations of educational principles."

She and her father collaborated on *Schools of To-Morrow* (1915). Evelyn did all the field research, visiting schools and interviewing parents, teachers, administrators, and students; and she wrote most of the book's sections involving observation. She visited and observed the best—or sometimes simply the best-known—experimental schools in the nation, showing how they applied various educational theories, by Rousseau, Herbart, Froebel, Pestalozzi—and Dewey. These included Mrs. Johnson's school in Fairhope, Alabama; Public School 45 in Indianapolis; the Parker School in Chicago; and William Wirt's Gary, Indiana, school system. Evelyn and her father examined experimental schools and used the data to imagine how to reconstruct public education. "We have tried to show," the two Deweys wrote in the book's preface, "What actually happens when schools start out to put into practice . . . some of the theories that have been pointed to as the soundest and best ever since Plato." Most of the schools that Evelyn chose