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THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY
OF
THOMAS DAVIDSON

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the University of Cincinnati, by
Charles Bradley Lindsley, M.S., A.M., June 1926.

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THOMAS DAVIDSON

- 1840 Born, Oct. 25, parish of Old Deer, Drinies near Fetterangus, Scotland
Attended girl's school village of Fetterangus
- 1850? Sent to parish school of Old Deer
Became monitor of parish school of Old Deer
- 1856 Went to King's College, University of Aberdeen
- 1860 Graduated from King's College
- 1860 Taught three months in boy's school, Northamptonshire
- 1860 Rector of Grammar School, Aberdeen; clerk of the session of Old Machar parish (3 years)
- 1863 Removed to England; taught classics at Tunbridge Wells, later at Military School at Wimbledon
- 1866 Went to Canada; taught in Collegiate Institute, London, Ont.
- 1867 Went to St. Louis; taught; became editor of Western Educational Review; principal of Branch High School
- 1873 Went to Boston; tutor in Boston families; examiner, Harvard University
- 1877-83 Travelled widely in Africa, England, Greece, Italy
- 1883 Founded the Fellowship of the New Life, London, Eng. Helped found Aristotelian Society of London
- 1884 Returned to America; founded American branch of the Fellowship of the New Life; lectured before the Concord Summer School of Philosophy
- 1888 Gathered group of friends Farmington, Conn., to study literature, philosophy, sociology, and religion
- 1889 ('91?) Farmington group merged in school at Keene, N.Y., in the Adirondacks, -a summer school of philosophy
- 1898 Associated with People's Institute and Educational Alliance of N.Y. Founded Breadwinner's College Engaged on what was to be his greatest work, a history of the interaction of Grecian, Christian, Hebrew, and Arabic thought before the revival of learning
- 1900 Died, Sept. 14

10Ja27

PART I THE MAN

The kind of philosophy which one chooses depends upon the kind of man one is. For a philosophical system is not a dead bit of furniture which one can take to one's self or dispose of as one pleases; but it is endowed with a soul by the soul of the man who has it.--Fichte.

At the time of his death, Sept. 14, 1900, a writer in the London Spectator referred to Thomas Davidson as one of the twelve most learned men of the age. This in itself was no small tribute, yet Davidson's chief claim to recognition depends not upon his erudition, great and far-reaching though it was, but rather upon the profundity of his thought, which, combined with a rare power of clear and vivid expression, enabled him to bring a vital message to humanity.

By accident of birth, Davidson was a Scotchman, and the formative years of his youth and early manhood were spent in that land which has produced so many of the world's thinkers whose names are writ large on the pages of history. The later years of his life were passed in America where he contributed much through his educational and philosophical teachings. The years intervening between these two long periods were years of wandering in many countries of the globe. Davidson is therefore more than a Scotchman, more than an American. Through the universality of his thought, through his searching analyses, keen interpretations, and vivid expositions of all the philosophies--ancient, medie-

val, modern--he becomes cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world.

Davidson's early surroundings were of the humblest. William James says¹ that there was with him to the end a certain physical rusticity which always suggested his farm-boy origin. He was born Oct. 25, 1840, in the parish of Old Deer, near Fetterangus, Scotland. His father and grandfather dying when Davidson was a young boy, the mother was left to support the family. She performed not only the duties of the household but also the heavy manual tasks of the farm. Like so many other Scotch women his mother was deeply religious and earnestly strove to make of Thomas and his younger brother upright, pious, God-fearing men. We have no way of gauging the effect of this early home training, but it was undoubtedly great.

He was first sent to a girl's school in the village of Fetterangus and when about ten attended the parish school of Old Deer. The master of the school soon recognized the unusual ability of the youngster and the latent possibilities which needed only opportunity and encouragement to make of him a scholar. Even when but a boy, he was appointed assistant teacher and was later taken into the home of the master where he was taught Greek, Latin, French, and mathematics by the master and his wife. Apparently even thus early in life his great aptitude for mastering languages was manifested.

¹ McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 3.

In 1856, at the age of 16, he left the parish school at Old Deer in order to try the competitive examinations for admission to King's College, Aberdeen. He ranked sixth in this examination and for this reason was granted a small money scholarship for the four years of his college work at King's.

During his college career he took many honors in philosophy, logic, and the humanities, particularly in Greek. Even at this time there was manifested that tendency which was to become so pronounced during his maturer years,- the gathering together of kindred souls to discuss all the problems of the universe,- philosophy, politics, literature. He read widely, was gifted with a prodigious memory, his critical and analytical^{powers} were keenly developed, and throughout his life he was an original thinker, a rebel against external authority, and an individualist to the last degree.

Davidson himself claimed that he owed much to the thoroughness and the rigid discipline both moral and intellectual, of the Scotch university. This is no doubt true, but it is perhaps equally true that this was the only period in his life in which he submitted to such discipline, and he soon became a harsh critic of the educational systems of his time. His chief reasons for this were that they checked the growth of individualism¹, that they had become static and unprogressive, that they refused to depart from an outgrown medievalism, and

¹ i.e., independent thinking.

that the fixed routine which they followed was fatal to all real growth, freedom, and development.

Possibly this lack of sympathy with the academic systems of his day was the primal force which prevented Davidson from allying himself with any of the accepted educational institutions of his native Scotland, although his profound scholarship, his ability to gather and assimilate all knowledge, his genius for imparting this knowledge to others, eminently fitted him for a university chair, particularly in the field of philosophy.

Refusing to bow down to the authority of the university or to accept the restrictions which a formal academic life would necessarily impose, he spent the years immediately following his graduation from Aberdeen with no fixed purpose and apparently with no definite idea as to his future field of activity. The date of his graduation, 1860, we can perhaps take as the real beginning of his "wandering", a pilgrimage which was to end only with his death 40 years afterwards.

Immediately after his graduation from Aberdeen, Davidson taught for the brief period of three months in a boys' school in Northamptonshire. From here he returned to Aberdeen to become session clerk of the parish and rector of the grammar school. Here he remained for three years, but the routine work connected with the keeping of records and the filing of statistics pertaining to marriages, births, and deaths tortured his free and independent spirit, and in 1863

he left Aberdeen to take up teaching of the classics at Tunbridge Wells, England, and in the military school at Wimbledon. But here, also, he became dissatisfied. His school work was uninspiring and failed to progress satisfactorily, and he decided to try his fortunes in the New World. He removed to Canada, his first work there being in the Collegiate Institute in London, Ontario. The following year, 1867, he went to Saint Louis where he secured a position in the public schools of that city, soon becoming principal of the Branch High School. He thus became affiliated with the public schools of this country. More important than this, however, from the standpoint of its effect upon his later life, was the close friendship which he formed with Wm. T. Harris, at the time Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, and with others of that group of thinkers who gave public utterance to their philosophic beliefs through their publication of the Journal of Speculative Philosophy, at that time the only organ devoted to metaphysics printed in the English language. Davidson was also at one time the chief editor of the Western Educational Review which was published at St. Louis and this period, with its close association with many kindred souls, the constant challenge of keen and inquiring minds, and with the opportunity for thought and self-expression, must be regarded as an important epoch in his life. A brief list of some of the articles which appeared over the name of Davidson in the Journal of Speculative Phil-

osophy will indicate, even from the bare titles, something of the wide range of interests of the man. Among these articles we find

The Niobe Group
Letter on the Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas
Leibnitz on Platonic Enthusiasm
Sentences of Porphyry the Philosopher
Trendelenburg on Hegel's System
Fragments of Parmenides
Grammar of Dionysius Thrax
Bonaventura's The Soul's Progress to God

In 1873 he left St. Louis for Boston where he tutored in a number of prominent Boston families and also dis some lecturing. Here, too, as in St. Louis, he sought out a group of sympathetic and congenial spirits, united by the common bond of philosophy. Speaking of this period, William James, in an intimate article entitled "A Knight-Errant of the Intellectual Life",¹ refers to a little club which met twice a month at Davidson's rooms in Temple Street, Boston. Prof. James in this article speaks of the deep and sympathetic friendship which soon sprang up between himself and Davidson. Their common form of greeting after long absences was, to quote Prof. James, "Ha! you old thief! Ha! you old blackguard!" These were, as Prof. James says, "Pure 'contrast-effects' of affection and familiarity passing beyond their bounds." Again, to quote Prof. James with reference to the philosophical club,

"We never worked out harmonious conclusions. Davidson used to crack the whip of Aristotle over us; and I remember that, whatever topic was formally announced for the day, we invariably wound up with a quarrel about

¹ McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 5.

Space and Space-perception."¹

During this period, through the influence of
✓ Longfellow, Davidson was appointed as examiner in Harvard
University. Prof. James tells how he himself tried to
secure for Davidson an appointment on the faculty of Harvard.
Davidson's qualifications, according to Prof. James, were
that he was

"a kind of Socrates, a devotee of truth and lover
of youth, ready to sit up to any hour and drink beer and
talk with anyone, lavish of learning and counsel, a con-
tagious example of how lightly and humanly a burden of
erudition might be borne upon a pair of shoulders. In
faculty-business he might not run well in harness, but as
an inspiration and ferment of character, as an example of
the ranges of combination of scholarship with manhood
that are possible, his influence on the students would be
priceless." ²

Davidson, however, at the critical hour, spoiled
all these well-laid plans by hurling a bitter attack against
the methods of the Harvard Greek department. Prof. James,
although feeling that method and organization are important
in a university, thought that Harvard had missed a great
opportunity.

A few undisciplinables like T.D. may be infinitely
more precious than a faculty-full of orderly routinists...
As things fell out, he became more and more unconventional,
and even developed a sort of antipathy to all regular
academic life. It subdued individuality, he thought, and
made for Philistinism.... I well remember one dark night
in the Adirondacks, after a good dinner at a neighbor's,
the eloquence with which, as we trudged down-hill to his
own quarters with a lantern, he denounced me for the musty
and mouldy and generally ignoble academicism of my charact-
er. Never before or since, I fancy, has the air of the
Adirondack wilderness vibrated more repugnantly to a vocable

¹
² McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 5.
Ibid., p. 6.

than it did that night to the word 'academicism'.¹

From 1877 to 1884, most of Davidson's time was passed in Greece and Italy, the early part of this period being spent in walking tours through Greece and in association with Dr. Schlieman, who at that time was engaged in making his Grecian archaeological excavations. It was through these agencies that Davidson received his intimate and far-reaching knowledge of ancient Hellenic civilization and culture which later became crystallized in his books on Greek education.

During his travels in Italy, he made an exhaustive study of the Catholic church with particular attention to the scholastic philosophical systems of Dante and Rosmini. He was peculiarly favored in making these researches through the kindly offices extended to him by the Princess Carolyne of Sayn-Wittgenstein and Cardinal Hohenlohe, the latter offering to him an apartment in his palace. The pope, learning of his interest in Thomas Aquinas, invited him to the Vatican and proposed to him that he should remain in Rome and collaborate with his scholars in the preparation of a new edition of St. Thomas.

He spent more than a year in Domodossola, Piedmont, where is located the novitiate of the Institute of Charity founded by Rosmini, during which time he wrote his book, "The Philosophical System of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati", which was published in London in 1882. During this same period, he wrote

¹McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 6.

a series of essays, chiefly archaeological in content, entitled "The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays"¹. In the first of these essays, which gives the title to the collection, Davidson attempts to prove that the frieze does not represent the Panathenaic procession, or some ceremony connected with it, as is believed by most archaeologists, but rather the Dream of Pericles, representing a "great, genial, humane purpose, which, had it become an event, would have, in all likelihood, changed the whole history of the world, and hastened the march of civilization by 2000 years."² Here, as in all of Davidson's work, whether in lectures, articles, books, or letters, we find as the dominating concern, the welfare of humanity, the uplift of society, and the freeing of the individual soul.

In 1883, while living in Capri, he prepared his translation of Rosmini's "Anthropology" and the following year published in London a three-volume translation of Rosmini's "Psychology". This was clearly the period of Rosminian influence in Davidson's life.

During the last few years of his life, Davidson was engaged in preparing material for what was to have been his greatest contribution to learning, a complete history of Medievalism, in which he intended to trace the interaction of Greek, Hebrew, Christian, and Arabic thought prior to the

¹ London, 1882
² The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays.
London, 1882.

revival of learning.¹ An incident connected with this monumental work will show the thoroughness with which he attacked every problem and his method of surmounting all obstacles. Finding in the course of his philosophical investigations that he needed a more thorough knowledge of Arabic than he was able to obtain from books alone, he temporarily abandoned all other work, went to Cairo, lived among the Arabs, and thus learned to speak their language.²

Davidson was a frequent visitor to England, and during one of these visits, with the cooperation of a group of young men who had been attracted by his teachings in America, founded in London, 1882, The Fellowship of the New Life. This fellowship or society, like all other similar organizations in which he was interested, was for the purpose of encouraging men to live "the higher life". In this case, however, his English disciples soon abandoned the higher-life idea and became saturated with socialistic theories which, impregnated with Marxian ideas originating in Germany, were beginning to sweep over England. With the adoption of socialistic doctrines, Davidson withdrew from the Fellowship. The Fabian Society of England developed from this organization. Davidson also helped in the foundation of the Aristotelian Society of London, 1883. This society remained truer to its original ideals and Davidson continued his connection with it until his death.

¹ McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 10.

² International Journal of Ethics, XI, p. 441.

In 1884 he returned to America and founded in New York a branch of the Fellowship of the New Life. He also lectured before the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. Perhaps our truest conception of the significance of these societies in which Davidson was so intensely interested, and of the ideas and ideals which he sought to incorporate in them, can be obtained from a letter which he wrote regarding the Fellowship of the New Life which he founded in New York. This letter in part is as follows:

"The way to begin the New Life, I believe, is to forget oneself, one's sorrows, one's annoyances; to count oneself happy if he can have the approval of a good conscience and the sense of having furthered the good. The New Life, as I conceive it, is....a desire to lay aside all prejudice and to know the absolute truth, a wide, sweet sympathy, recoiling at no sin, no suffering, no hardness of heart, but only at selfishness and meanness and lying, a firm resolution as to the best, as far as that is known in the spirit of love. Such a life, I know is worth living. It is a life in which all wounds soon heal, and all scars are but brands of victory--legal tender for future blessedness. ✓

But the New Life is, in its outward form, more than this. It is an association for the cultivation of true insight, boundless sympathy, and devoted helpfulness. It is the absence of these that makes the old life so blind, so dreary and lonely and unblest. Every human being ought to be a providence to every other, ready, as far as his powers go, to solve every dark problem, sympathizing with every joy and every sorrow, however deep and agonizing, and satisfy every need....We are so selfish that we allow our neighbor to suffer, when we have the means to help him....I have only a clear insight as to what is necessary and a desire to do the best I can. I see that, if ever life is to be again wholesome and inspiring, we must have a new social order and a new education; an order in which each shall feel the burden of all, and all of each; an education which shall aim at producing perfect characters, rich in insight, in love, in energy, scorning selfishness, impurity, and wrong."

In 1888 he gathered about him a group of friends in Farmington, Conn., for the purpose of studying literature, sociology, philosophy, and religion. This experiment did not prove wholly successful, and in 1889 or thereabouts this group was merged in a school which he established in the Keene Valley on East Hill in the Adirondacks. He called this place 'Glenmore' and the community became known as the 'Summer School of the Culture Sciences'. This venture was perhaps the most successful of the many in which at various times he had been interested, and here probably were passed the happiest years of his life. The location was beautiful, the cottages in which the community lived were simple in design, but artistic, and were so placed as to harmonize with the mountain surroundings.

From early in April each year until late in November, Davidson was surrounded by associates and friends to whom he lectured chiefly on philosophic subjects. He was a born teacher. He was not particularly successful in the conventional and restricted environment of the regulation classroom, but in the free atmosphere of Glenmore he was without an equal. He had an almost unlimited capacity for friendship, -friendships restricted to people of no one age or race or creed. He formed them with equal ease with old and young, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile. And yet his friendship for a man did not prevent him from making the harshest of criticisms. He had no hesitation in contradicting and

correcting the statements of others. He had supreme confidence in the correctness of his own views and was not at all reluctant about giving them expression. He was, however, a man of great geniality and sociability, a man capable of great enthusiasms, and an all around "good fellow". He was optimistic and took little thought for the future. If he secured by teaching or lecturing enough to satisfy the immediate needs of life, he was fully satisfied. This was the doctrine which he both practiced and preached. He was a friend to all in need, sympathizing with them not only because of their lack of material things, but even more because of the absence from their lives of those moral, mental, spiritual factors which are so essential for making life rich, full, and worth living. These were the factors which he sought in his own life, and these were the elements which he endeavored to introduce into the lives of those with whom he came in daily contact. We find this thought constantly recurring in his letters. In one written about the Fellowship of the New Life he says:

"Creeds are nothing, life is everything....You can do more by presenting to the world the example of noble social relations than by enumerating any set of principles. Know all you can, love all you can, do all you can---that is the whole duty of man....Be friends, in the truest sense, each to the other. There is nothing in the world like friendship, when it is deep and real....The divine.... is a republic of self-existent spirits, each seeking the realization of its ideas through love, through intimacy with all the rest, and finding its heaven in such intimacy.¹

¹ The Education of the Wage Earner, Ginn & Co.

In 1898, about two years before his death, Davidson became associated with the People's Institute of New York City. Under its auspices and without remuneration ✓ of any sort, he conducted a series of lectures which brought him into close touch with young people, particularly young men, of the wage-earning class. These lectures were delivered on East Broadway and through them he became deeply impressed by the problems with which the young working man was confronted. This interest took concrete form in a night class which he organized among young men of the East Side. Many of these young men had become deeply dissatisfied with existing conditions and institutions. Davidson, however, in proposing this night class, assured them that he had no sympathy for their many grievances, that he held no brief for labor, that the real trouble was too deep to be cured by the many proposed panaceas and remedies offered as cures for the many social and industrial evils of life.

Davidson saw with prophetic vision that mere readjustments of conditions could never solve the problems of life, but that the real solution depended upon deepening and enriching life itself, a thing not of outward circumstances but of the spirit. With this broad vision, his first classes ✓ were in history and sociology. And here we must remember that Davidson was never at any period of his life a socialist. ✓ History and sociology to Davidson meant culture, and through

this instrument, he taught his classes to know humanity and to know themselves.

Davidson himself gives a definite statement regarding the results which he hoped to accomplish with this particular group of young people:

"Following the course of lectures on 'Problems which the XIX century presents to the XX', I came to know the character, aspirations, and needs of the young people I undertook to instruct. I saw that they were both able and earnest but carried away by superficial teaching of a socialistic or anarchistic sort greatly to their own detriment and to the detriment of society. My first object therefore...was to induce the members to study and think out the great problems of sociology and culture in accordance with the historic method and so to impart to their minds a healthy attitude towards society: to do away with the vengeful sense of personal or class wrongs, and to arouse faith in individual effort and manly and womanly self-dependence. I desired to give them such an outlook upon life as would lift their lives out of narrowness and sordidness and give them ideal aims. Finally, I wished to train them in the use of correct English, both written and spoken. My method consisted in gaining their confidence and in making them do as much as possible. I also tried to impart impetus and give direction. In spite of a little distrust on their part at first I soon gained their confidence and even their affection while they performed the tasks set them with a will and perseverance that were really admirable."¹

✓ Thus Davidson made the cultural studies the basis of his scheme of education even for the laboring classes. But stenography went hand in hand with Greek and philosophy. His classes were taught to earn a livelihood, but more than this were taught to take a wider view of life and to secure a clearer and more accurate conception of the meaning of society, the history of its evolution and its organization. In all

¹ Outlook, Vol. 66, pp. 301-2.

of his writings growth through evolution is emphasized. Education itself is but conscious and directed evolution. He believed that the individual was the fundamental unit of society, and constantly preached the gospel of moral freedom and self-determination, not making of these forces which should be obstructive to society, but which should help society in its further development. He believed that the ideal society should be made up of flexible groups having considerable freedom in organization, and in matters of religion, ethics, and morality. These groups should be built around qualified individual leaders. The communities which he himself organized, particularly the Glenmore School for the Culture Sciences, illustrate well the ideals which he had in mind.

Herein probably lies the explanation of his refusal to enter any of the ordinary fields of educational activity and his definite choice of a free, wandering life. His wandering was not only from to land, but from group to group, from society to society, and from philosophy to philosophy. This life offered to him a greater opportunity than any formal academic position could have done for reaching his fellow men, -for instilling in them a desire for knowledge that would lead them into a richer, fuller, and more useful life.

William James, in summarizing the real significance of Davidson's life, aside from his books and articles, says that it lay in the example which he set of how, even in our modern, complex, social system, a man "may still be a knight-

errant of the intellectual life, and preserve full freedom in the midst of sociability. Extreme as was his need of friends, and faithful as he was to them, he yet lived mainly in reliance on his private inspiration."¹

In one of his letters, written to his East Side class, he gives a series of twenty maxims in which he sums up his whole philosophy of life. No dissertation can give a clearer exposition of the character of the real man than do these twenty rules, and for this reason they are given here in full:

1. Rely upon your own energies, and do not wait for, or depend upon other people.
2. Cling with all your might to your own highest ideals, and do not be led astray by such vulgar aims as wealth, position, popularity. Be yourself.
3. Your worth consists in what you are, and not in what you have. What you are will show in what you do.
4. Never fret, repine, or envy. Do not make yourself unhappy by comparing your circumstances with those of more fortunate people, but make the most of the opportunities you have. Employ profitably every moment.

¹ Professor James, commenting further upon Davidson's sociability, warmth of heart, and capacity for friendship, says that he used to wonder why he had never married. His explanation is given here, since it throws further light upon the character of this remarkable man.

"Two years before his death he told me the reason-- an unhappy love-affair in Scotland. Twice in later life, he said, temptation had come to him, and he had had to make his decision. When he had come to the point, he had felt each time that the tie with the dead girl was prohibitive. 'When two persons have known each other as we did', he said, 'neither can ever fully belong to a stranger. So it wouldn't do.' 'It wouldn't do, it wouldn't do!' he repeated, as we lay on the hillside, in a tone so musically tender that it chimes in my ear as I write his confession." (McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 11)

5. Associate with the noblest people you can find; read the best books; live with the mighty. But learn to be happy alone.

6. Do not believe that all greatness and heroism are in the past. Learn to discover princes, prophets, heroes, and saints among the people about you. Be assured they are there.

7. Be on earth what good people hope to be in heaven.

8. Cultivate ideal friendships, and gather into an intimate circle all your acquaintances who are hungering for truth and right. Remember that heaven itself can be nothing but the intimacy of pure and noble souls.

9. Do not shrink from any useful or kindly act, however hard or repellent it may be. The worth of acts is measured by the spirit in which they are performed.

10. If the world despise you because you do not follow its ways, pay no heed to it. But be sure your way is right.

11. If a thousand plans fail, be not disheartened. As long as your purposes are right, you have not failed.

12. Examine yourself every night, and see whether you have progressed in knowledge, sympathy, and helpfulness during the day. Count every day a loss in which no progress has been made.

13. Seek enjoyment in energy, not in dalliance. Our worth is measured solely by what we do.

14. Let not your goodness be professional; let it be the simple, natural outcome of your character. Therefore cultivate character.

15. If you do wrong, say so, and make what atonement you can. That is true nobleness. Have no moral debts.

16. When in doubt how to act, ask yourself, What does nobility command? Be on good terms with yourself.

17. Look for no reward for goodness but goodness itself. Remember heaven and hell are utterly immoral institutions, if they are meant as reward and punishment.

18. Give whatever countenance and help you can to every movement and institution that is working for good. Be not sectarian.

19. Wear no placards, within or without. Be human fully.

20. Never be satisfied until you have understood the meaning of the world, and the purpose of our own life, and have reduced your world to a rational cosmos.

Davidson's own life fully exemplified all his teachings. Two additional quotations will show how love for humanity dominated his entire life to the exclusion of narrowness and selfishness and personal ambition:

"There is no reason why this world should not be a paradise, and life full of joy and certain hope. And why are things so bad? Simply because we devote our attention to our little selves, and not to our large selves. My little self is this creature bounded and burdened by a body; my large self is the whole universe, or, for practical purposes, the whole of mankind. If every human being sought his good in the good of all, how blessed the world would be!...That would be far better than preaching universal leveling."¹

"The aim of man's life is man's perfection, and perfection consists in perfect insight, perfect love, and perfect freedom...There is no duty more incumbent upon any human being than to know, unless it is the duty of loving with divine love everything known, in proportion to its worth, and sternly refusing to be guided by personal feelings and inclinations."²

¹ The Education of the Wage Earner, Ginn & Co. Quoted in Current Literature, Vol. 39, p. 90.

² Intellectual Piety, a Lay Sermon. Quoted in International Journal of Ethics, Vol. XI, p.446.

PART II HIS PHILOSOPHY

Even a superficial study of Davidson's life will show clearly that he was not a follower of beaten trails. He has been called an "Intellectual Free-Lance" and this title is peculiarly appropriate. He was a slave of no tradition, an implicit believer in no creed, a blind follower of no school of philosophy. He did not follow, permanently at least, any leader in the realms of philosophic thought. Even if reason had indicated a clearly defined philosophic trail, Davidson was so constituted mentally that he would probably have found difficulty in forcing himself to follow it for any considerable distance, for Davidson was an exceedingly poor follower. Yet, in spite of all this, he had the faculty of becoming completely absorbed in whatever line of intellectual activity he might be pursuing. Accepting without question no system of philosophy, he investigated all systems. He explored to the outermost corner every field of knowledge having to do with humanity and human culture, and in every case became completely absorbed in the subject under investigation, losing temporarily his own identity and living wholly that period or that philosophy which he might at the time be exploring. Thus, at different times, we find him buried in the classic philosophy of Aristotle, the religious philosophy of the Hebrews, the mazes of oriental philosophy, the more materialistic German philosophy, and the philosophy of the early Italians, particularly that of Rosmini. He exemplifies,

indeed, to a marked degree, the whole spirit of philosophy. This spirit is freedom, and from this freedom ^{results} the many different schools of philosophy and the greatly diversified lines of individual opinions and beliefs. Each individual selects his own philosophy, or rather in each individual's soul there develops such a philosophy as best expresses his own feelings and beliefs and affords him the greatest satisfaction in answer to his questions as to the ^{whence,} the why, and the whither of being.

In any attempt to decide just what were Davidson's fundamental philosophical doctrines, ^{is} ~~is~~ so far as they concern education, we must keep in mind his wandering spirit, which, flitting from philosophy to philosophy, accepted, discarded, absorbed what was best, and passed on. We must also eliminate such doctrines as claimed his attention but temporarily, and also such doctrines as may have been promulgated merely for the sake of provoking discussion. These eliminations narrow our field considerably, yet there is left a residue, made up of a relatively few, but extremely important, fundamental principles, which we are safe in assuming received the full approval and acceptance of his own mature and final judgment. Of special importance, in arriving at a decision, will be those principles which persist without essential change throughout his various writings covering a period of more than a quarter of a century. These principles, if they fit together so as to form a complete, well-rounded unity, we may accept as his educational philosophy.

In this search for what Davidson held to be the philosophical foundations of education, our task is somewhat simplified because of an address which he prepared shortly before his death for delivery at the New School of Methods at Hingham, Mass., but which he never got to deliver. It proved to be his farewell message to the world and was entitled "Education as World-Building". It was published for the first time in the Educational Review, November, 1900, and has within recent months appeared in book form from the Harvard University Press with an Introduction by Dr. Ernest Moore, President of the Southern Branch of the University of California at Los Angeles. This address is, indeed, largely a restatement, in masterly and summary fashion, of doctrines which had been maturing in his mind for many years and which he had defended in his earlier writings.

In the address just referred to Davidson tells us that "In dealing with the question of education, the three important questions are: (1) What is the being to be educated? (2) Wherein does education consist? (3) What is the result aimed at in education?"¹ And the answers to these questions do indeed indicate what one's philosophy of education is. What, therefore, are his answers to these questions as found in this address and his other writings?

1. What is the being to be educated?

¹ Education as World-Building, Educational Review, Nov., 1900.

Rejecting various other answers which have been given to this question by mythology and metaphysics, Davidson holds that we can best express what we are, originally, i.e., at the outset of our earthly experience, by saying, "I am a feeling." This view we find reiterated in many other places, and it is clear that he clung to a conclusion which seems to have been confirmed by his study of Rosmini,¹ if, indeed, he

¹ There is no conclusive proof to indicate that Davidson did not arrive at this conclusion independent of Rosmini's influence, yet the indirect evidence to the contrary is strong. Contributing to such indirect proof may be mentioned: (1) Rosmini advanced his theory years before Davidson's time, his New Essay having been completed in 1828, and his Philosophical System produced in 1845. (2) The appearance of this doctrine in Davidson's writings came after the period of greatest Rosminian influence (i.e., his sojourn in Italy and his translations of Rosmini's Philosophical System, 1882, his Anthropology, 1883, and his Psychology, 1884.) (3) Frequent direct quotations from Rosmini. (4) Passages in Davidson's writings closely paralleling passages in Rosmini.

The following are a few quotations from Rosmini which are reflected in the writings of Davidson. "The Ego which reflects upon itself, finds that, at bottom, it is a feeling that constitutes the sentient and intelligent subject." (New Essay, section 719). "The first rudiments of all human cognitions are feeling and intuited being. What I mean by 'first rudiments' is that which in every human cognition is found to be of such a kind that it is not deduced from any previous notion by way of reasoning, but is given directly by nature." (Psychology, section 12) "The feeling given by nature is not deduced or deducible by means of reasoning from any previous cognition. On the contrary, it is not even cognition, but becomes matter for cognition only when the understanding....seizes it by means of its intellective act and makes it its object" (Ibid., section 13) "Feeling is subjective in its nature." (Ibid.) "Body and matter are but the term of feeling. Such is the only notion that men can have of them. They can have no other unless they play with their imagination. Now, the term feeling requires a sentient principle, which

did not arrive at this conclusion from such study. In his History of Education, p. 1, he quotes Rosmini with approval:

Feeling is primitive datum. The question, therefore, is not how feeling arises, but how it is modified and how it gives birth to sensation. (New Essay, section 717)

must be altogether simple, since otherwise it would not be a term. The question, therefore, is to catch the notion of the body and matter at the moment when man acquires it, before he has been able to alter it with his imagination; and the question thus put is soon answered, because we see at once that wherever there is feeling, there is an essentially simple soul." (Ibid., section 495) "We can understand how the subject, man, intellectually perceives himself, admitting that the self is only a substance-feeling. Just as he perceives any other feeling, so he perceives that feeling which he dominates himself." (Ibid., section 75) "...the feeling which he perceives in this instance is himself." (Ibid.) "Every judgment whereby I affirm that a particular real being exists, may be reduced to this form: there is a feeling; therefore there exists a being." (Philosophical System, p. 60) "Feeling, therefore, is that which constitutes the reality of beings." (Ibid., p. 62) "In the primitive synthesis, the feeling may be considered as the subject, and the being as the predicate." (Ibid., p. 137) "To affirm being is to recognize the identity between feeling and the essence of being." (Ibid.) "The essence of being...is found realized in feeling." (Ibid., p. 62) "We must distinguish between the existence of a feeling in us and the attention we pay to it. We may very well experience a sensation or a feeling, without reflecting on it or being conscious of it...Although this feeling (the fundamental feeling) exists, it must be very difficult now to recognize and seize it, since we are not in the habit of attending to anything in us, except when we feel a change....Although change is necessary in order to enlist our attention, it is not necessary, in order that we may feel." (Philosophical System, p. 289) "Feeling is a reality distinct from the essence which renders it cognizable." (Ibid., p. 114) "There must be, therefore, a first and stable feeling, wherein consists the substance of the soul, and this is what we have called the fundamental feeling." (psychology, section 91) References such as these, showing that in the philosophy of Rosmini, man in the beginning is but "feeling" wholly unmodified by experience, might be multiplied indefinitely.

Davidson himself says relative to the fundamental nature of man:

Each has only to ask himself, what do I know myself to be? And if he answer honestly he will, I think, say: "I am a feeling, or sensibility, modified, in innumerable ways, by influences which I do not originate."When first stated, this answer is apt to call forth this question: "Are you not rather something which feels, subject of feeling, a feeling substance?" There is here a fatal trap, laid for us by our habit of referring actions to things, in the material world. We may reply in this way: "Does this something, subject, or substance enter into feeling? If it does, then it is feeling; if it does not, then I know nothing about it, and the assumption of it necessarily leads to absolute agnosticism. Hence all I know of myself is, that I am a feeling."¹

He also expresses the same thought in pointing out a fallacy in Rousseau's pedagogy wherein reason is perfected by means of feeling:

This completely inverts the order of fact. Feeling is primitive; reason merely makes the distinctions in feeling. The world itself is only a complex of feelings distinguished and analyzed by reason, itself inherent in feeling.²

Feeling is primary; ideas, or differentiations in feeling, are secondary--exactly the opposite of what Herbart believed.³

It is essential in formulating our Davidsonian definition of 'feeling' as the original substance of man, to recognize it as being a simple substance, incapable of reduction to more elemental, constituent parts. In mathematical terms it is already reduced to its lowest terms; in chemical language it is amorphous, formless, unorganized, uncrystallized. ✓

¹ Education as World-Building.

² Rousseau, note, p. 158.

³ Ibid., p. 243.

From its very nature we can find no simpler words in which to express or define it, for "feeling is primary". We can perhaps gain, however, a clearer notion of the fundamental nature of feeling by going with Davidson a step farther. Feeling, in his philosophy, is not merely the elemental substance of man, but also of the entire universe, both organic and inorganic.

With our present habit of confining feeling to the animal world, and making it include a certain amount of memory or consciousness, we find it hard to regard the inanimate mineral world, and even the animate vegetable world, as due to the interaction of feelings...and, unless we are to attribute the introduction of life to a miracle, and acknowledge the bankruptcy of science, we must regard the very lowest forms of matter as, to a certain extent, alive and sentient. One thing is obvious: except in so far as they are feelings, we can never know anything about them. And what could they be in or for themselves, that is, apart from our knowledge of them, if they were not feelings? If this reasoning be correct, then the entire evolution of the world, from lowest to highest, is simply the external aspect of the education of substantial feelings.¹

Davidson comments on the fact that in the long chain of evolution a number of links are missing, but expresses the hope that these someday may be discovered. Quoting Huxley, he says:

If there is one thing clear about the progress of modern science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems....to the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordination of the ultimate particles of matter.²

Davidson criticizes Huxley for using the term "particles":

But such particles do not come within the reach of experience, and, if they did, they could only be groups of feelings. Hence, the ultimate elements of matter are feelings. Let us, then, substitute 'feelings' for 'particles'

¹ History of Education, p. 5.

² Ibid., p. 6.

in the quotation, and we at once do away with the possibility of agnosticism....Even social phenomena are the result of the interaction of the components of society, of men (who are merely substantial feelings highly differentiated...), with one another and with the remaining universe of substantial feelings of all grades. In other words, all the world that we know, or can know, consists of primitive substantial feelings....Who can realize the feelings and desires of those primal elements which build up an oak or a vine?...No one can well doubt that a monkey, a dog, a rabbit, a tadpole, or an amoeba eats, drinks, and moves in consequence of feelings similar to ours when we do the same.¹

This same doctrine of the sentience of the lowest forms of matter is found in various of his other writings:

Matter itself, so far as we could know it, would have to be groups of feelings.²

If we abstract from matter what is plainly feeling, e.g. shape, color, hardness, impenetrability, there is nothing left. Matter is a group of feelings.³

The fact that the peculiar doctrine of Davidson advanced in the preceding quotations, (that even the ultimate elements of inanimate matter consist of feelings), finds so close a parallel in the philosophy of Rosmini, presents almost incontrovertible evidence that Davidson found the basis for much of his own philosophy in the teachings of the Italian philosopher. A few selected quotations will show the marked resemblance.

In this chapter we shall put forward the hypothesis that there is sense bound up with all the primitive elements of matter, and inquire whether such an hypothesis would carry fatal consequences...On the other hand, we do not see any argument that proves it absurd, and we hold

¹History of Education, p. 7.

²International Journal of Ethics, X, p. 30.

³Rousseau, p. 92, note 1.

that those persons are wrong who, making arbitrary additions to it, have tried to use it in favor of materialism or of pantheism.

And, in the first place, it is evident that materialism can in no way be legitimately ~~be~~ deduced from it, if we merely consider that, if every material element has a feeling joined to it, the extended element can only be the term of this feeling, and that this feeling, on the other hand, requires a simple principle as its essential constituent.

In the second place, we must not confound the hypothesis which attributes feeling to the primitive elements of matter with the hypothesis of an Anima Mundi, as conceived by the ancients. Even this latter hypothesis however erroneous, does not necessarily lead to pantheism, so long as we grant that this soul is created. But the hypothesis of the animation of the primitive elements means, moreover, that there are many souls, that souls are as numerous as the separate elements or groups of elements....

In the third place, corporeal feeling is altogether distinct from intelligence; it is blind.¹

A further resemblance between the doctrines of Rosmini and Davidson relative to feeling is afforded by the similarity of arguments by which they avoid acceptance of the doctrines of agnosticism, materialism, and pantheism, although they both present the principle of animation of matter.²

Rousseau also preaches that all life consists in feeling. "To live is not to breathe; it is to act, to use our organs, our senses, our faculties, and all the parts of

¹ Rosmini's Psychology, Vol. I, sections 501, 502, 504, 505.

² Supplementing preceding quotations, see more complete statements in the History of Education, pages 2-10, and the general index of Rosmini's Psychology.

us that give us the feeling of our existence." The fallacy in Rousseau's argument is not that life is feeling, but that life not only begins in feeling, but ends in feeling.¹

Since, then, life does not end in feeling, there must be some agency by which feeling is modified. This agency is experience, as a result of which, the sensations which I feel are referred to their exciting causes. This reference is the work of intelligence by which I postulate the existence of essences, beings, or what not. It is thus that I create an objective world of things necessary to account for the sensations which I feel in the experiences which I undergo. With this process education, in the broad sense, has already begun. In his Education as World-Building his opening sentence, to which he appends a foot-note indicating his agreement with Aristotle on this point, reads:

The fundamental difference between the lower animals and man lies in this, that, whereas the former live in a world of sensations, the latter lives in a world of things; or, to put it otherwise, whereas the former merely group and respond to their sensations, the latter goes further and refers the groups to unexperienced beings, or things, which he strives to hold

¹ This is another of Rousseau's cardinal errors. He makes life consist in feeling, but forgets that all the distinctness, variety, and wealth of feeling are due to intellectual categories. Without these, feeling, if it were anything, would be, at best, but a vague, meaningless stirring.....The truth is, that the man who lives most, is he who most completely translates feeling (which includes sensation and desire) into thought and will, and thus rises above animality and instinct. Feeling is but seed-life. (Rousseau, p. 103, note 2)

by means of symbols, visible or audible.

And again in the Rousseau, page 91:

A rapid glance at the world as we know it, suffices to show us that it is composed of clusters of feelings, distinguished, grouped, and generalized into things, by what we call the categories of thought. Matter, force, love, hate, self, are feelings differentiated by time, space, relation, and the like. If, now, we follow the course of evolution...we shall see that it is a progress in feeling from indistinction to distinction, from unconsciousness to consciousness, and, finally, to self-consciousness, which appears to be the ultimate distinctness. To this last, man alone, so far as we know, has attained, and even he has not attained to it completely.

The same thought with emphasis on the differentiating powers of the human animal is found in the History of Education, page 16:

In emerging from the brute state, then, man found himself a thinking, loving, willing being, in a world of concrete things or beings, grasped by means of symbols and available as instruments of satisfaction. In other words, he found himself a symbol-making, aim-setting, tool-using, animal. The symbol-making power which gave him his present, real world enabled him to project into the future a more satisfactory, ideal world: his aim-setting faculty, love, turned this into an object of aspiration; his tool-making gift made him employ the present world as a means for realizing it.

But all these faculties or powers develop only through the agency of experience and "my world is nothing but myself or soul--the feeling that I am--modified and articulated....One group of such articulations is the body, a system of subordinate feelings, by which the soul carries out further articulations and produces its world" and he proceeds to show that so long as feeling and desire continue in their original, undeveloped state, so long will the soul

which they create remain likewise in a primitive or brute condition. For, he continues,

It is only when, under the pressure of complicated and unmanageable experience, they give birth to intelligence and will, themselves remaining in the form of love, that the soul emerges from this condition and begins to have a world of things, with language to designate them by.¹

Davidson further characterizes man's upward struggle in the early stages of his intellectual development, by saying that he

Placed behind his sensations fantastic essences or causes--first demons or gods, then ideas--which he proceeded to endow with attributes by no means necessary to account for these groups. The result was first mythology, then metaphysics of the Greek sort. Intelligence reached the scientific stage when it endowed its hypothetical essences with only those attributes which the groups of phenomena united by them demanded for their explanation?²

We thus find that a being to be intelligent, must, according to the philosophy of Davidson, through the agency of experience, go beyond the limits of a sensory world, place essences or causes behind his sensations, and by means of these essences, define, classify, and interpret that sensory world of which he is a part. This process of placing something behind, or under, our sensations, Davidson calls by various names: "hypothesis", "hypostasis", or "supposition". To the resultant of this process he gives the terms "essence", "substance", "subject", "idea", "reality", "cause", "thing-in-itself". These essences thus become objective, and, he continues,

¹ History of Education, p. 14.

² Education as World-Building.

It is interesting to reflect that the only non-felt, the only objective, element in our world is that which we, by our own act posit, as independent of, and external to, our feeling.¹

Davidson proceeds to show that these essences can never be fully known, that to a greater or lesser extent they must always be hypothecated. Thus, if this cause or essence be an individual, one cannot know this individual as a subject, cannot enter into his emotions or feel his pains, since the only being one can really know as subject is one's self, and that all other individuals must remain largely hypothetical. Davidson expresses no regret for this limitation of the human individual. On the contrary, we find this very circumscription playing an important role in his philosophy of life. If one individual could fully interpret another individual, if one being could fully penetrate another being, or become incorporated with that being, man's individuality would be destroyed. Herein, therefore, lies the basis of man's independence, or in the words of Davidson, "The guarantee of my eternal individuality."

In a further effort to make his meaning clear Davidson transposes the question, "What is the being to be educated?" into "What is the human subject or soul?" and then develops an answer to this profound question by showing the consequences of experience. In so doing he defines himself as feeling or sensibility, fundamentally, this feeling being constantly shaped and influenced in infinite ways by the various forces which lie outside himself and which

^L Education as World-Building.

he did not originate. The changes which these impacts from without produce are grouped, these groups constituting the individual's world. Davidson here italicizes in the statement: "My world, for I know no other. I am the sentient unity of a sensible world."

We must bear in mind that our ordinary experience of the material world consists of two elements which are readily enough distinguishable though not, in reality, separable--an element made up of sensations, and an element by which these sensations are combined and converted into an objective, tangible world of things. If either of these elements were different, our material world would be different from what it is; and if the latter element were entirely different, we should no longer have what we call an external world at all--a world of sensible things existing in time and space.¹

✓ Since man is a sentient being, he must experience sensations of different types, some being agreeable and some not; hence arises a striving for those sensations which produce satisfaction,-which "feel good", we might say. Every intelligent being, therefore, faces the problem as to the means which he must employ in classifying, arranging, and interpreting his sensations, and, following such analysis, their transformation into things. This active force behind feeling, or perhaps permeating feeling, is desire. Man is, therefore, feeling actuated or driven by desire. As Davidson in Education as World-Building says

This brings out the fact that there is, in the feeling which I am, an element not yet described, an element which reacts upon sensation and is, therefore, active. This we may call desire. It is an effort after

¹ Faith as a Faculty.

satisfaction, that is the largest possible amount and variety of feeling.

The principle upon which every world is organized is some form of desire, need, or longing; and the same is true of the principle upon which the component materials are selected. Every world is a means of satisfying desire, and derives all the significance it possesses from such desire,

We must conceive it (the universe) as an infinitely multitudinous complex of desiderant feelings.¹

He further states that the conscious world depends for its material upon that which is furnished by ^{the} sensuous or feeling side of the soul. The organization of this material, however, is due to the desiderant side. "Feeling stores material; desire organizes it." Frequent use is made by Davidson in his various writings of the term "desiderant feeling" or "sentient desire" to characterize and differentiate man.

If, now, we ask how, out of primitive desiderant feelings, the various types of animal life--microbes, mollusks, whales, men--have arisen, we readily find an intelligible answer....As we have already seen, the primitive desiderant feelings, whose interaction evolves the world and explains it, have two aspects--a passive (feeling) and an active (desire).²

Now, since, as we have seen, being is feeling, or desiderant feeling, it follows that that which has (or, rather, is) more, and more highly differentiated, feeling and desire, is higher than that which has less. And we may perhaps set it down that the body of every living being fairly represents the amount and articulation of its desiderant feeling.....Soul is the fundamental, substantial feeling and desire, of which all other feelings and desires, and, ultimately, the known world itself, are determinations or articulations.³

¹ Education as World-Building.

² History of Education, p. 10.

³ Ibid., p. 14.

It (the evolution of the world) must be interpreted in terms of experience, that is, at bottom, of feeling, including desire...for since the world of experience...consists of nothing but feelings grouped and classified, there is every reason for interpreting it in terms of feeling...If we assume feeling, including desire, as the stuff of the world, we have no difficulty in explaining evolution upon known principles. There can, in the last analysis, be no intelligible active principle but desire...The world is made up of a multitude of what we may call "substantial feelings"¹...each through desire, modifying, and being modified by, all the rest.²

Instead of saying...that the world starts with an inscrutable God, inscrutable atoms, or an inscrutable ether, not one of which can identify itself with our intelligence and so be known, our theory says that the world consists of a multitude of sentient individuals or atoms, whose unity is their sentience, and that these are essentially related to each other through desire. Sentience and desire are two aspects of the same fundamental fact. There is no desire without sentience and no sentience without desire...³

It will be observed that the principle upon which every world is organized is some form of desire, need, or longing...Every world is a means of satisfying desire and derives all the significance it possesses from such desire.⁴

✓ We have thus far in our discussion seen two aspects of the human soul, feeling or the sentient aspect, and desire or the conative aspect. Through the mutual interactions of these two elements, the human soul, in the phraseology of Davidson, is in the beginning a sentient desire, or desiderant feeling. The process, however, does

¹ A Rosminian term; see Psychology, Vol. III, section 1021.

² History of Education, p. 3.

³ American Democracy as a Religion, International Journal of Ethics, X, p. 30.

not end here, for the sentient aspect, or the soul gradually becomes organized, and through this process of organization develops into intelligence, while the desiderant, or connative, aspect, working in harmony with intelligence, becomes will.¹

As soon as things are thought and symbolized, then desire, taking the form of will, relates itself to them as means, or instruments, of satisfaction--the only possible end.²

But, as Davidson, proceeds to show, intelligence and will are not the only attributes of the human soul, for the process referred to in the quotations above can never reach perfection, and however carefully we organize our world, there will remain a certain disharmony due to a "residuum of unintelligent, unvolitional (instinctive) desire"³ which does not become fully incorporated with intelligence. The part which this residue (appetites, passions, emotions) plays in education may better be considered elsewhere. Here it is necessary merely to call attention to the

¹ Davidson points out the disagreement of Rousseau with this idea: "He did not see that this process coincides with the gradual unfolding of reason and will, as they differentiate and particularize themselves out of that vague affection, or desiderant feeling, which constitutes the undeveloped soul. He did not see that even the first differentiation in the 'fundamental feeling' involves consciousness and therefore reason, and the first movement in obedience to one feeling, rather than another, the first stirring of selective conscience, or will." Rousseau, p. 213.

² History of Education, p. 15.

³ Education as World-Building.

presence of this third constituent element of the human soul and to point out that Davidson prefers to call this more or less undigested residuum¹ "affection", "sympathy", or "love".²

Elsewhere we find this same tri-unity, as Davidson occasionally calls it, referred to as "thought, affection, or will"³, and again,

A tri-unity of intelligence, affection, will; and it is on the scale of this tri-unity that all human worth, whether in individuals, nations, or epochs, is measured.⁴

2. Wherein does education consist?

Accepting the foregoing as a correct sketch of the natural history of a human being as evolved from a primitive datum of feeling into a being having intelligence and will, the general character of education as process is quite definitely foreshadowed. It consists in a process of world-building, and he proceeds to show⁵ that the only world which we can possibly conceive or experience is that world which materializes through the interactions and differentia-

¹ Emotion is that residue of primitive desiderant feeling (pleasure and pain) which has not been differentiated by perceptive or active organs, but which naturally connects itself with the feelings particularized by these, after they are formed. Rousseau, p. 158, note 2.

² Education as World-Building.

³ Rousseau, p. 4.

⁴ Education of the Greek People, p. 29.

⁵ History of Education, p. 7.

tions of primitive feelings. The deliberate or reflective part of this process is what we call education.

We have seen that the permanent feeling, which I am, is modified in manifold ways, and that these modifications, when grouped and articulated, are what I call my world.¹

He warns us, however, against thinking of our world as one thing and ourselves as another thing, for, as he proceeds to show, this dualism does not exist, since the two are, in reality, one, and we should, therefore, avoid putting the one in opposition to the other. The world which we create is our feeling, this feeling being wholly subjective until our groups of feelings become transformed into things through placing behind them "hypothetical essences" or causes.² Elsewhere³ he makes the statement that the sum of all the modifications produced in any substantial feeling by all other feelings constitutes its world, and the sum of the modifications of all feelings is the world.³

If we adopt this view of the constitution of the world, a view accordant with all experience, we see that all evolution is, in a sense, education. It is the gradual internal differentiation of substantial feelings, their transformation or articulation, through mutual desire and interaction, into worlds. Education, in the widest sense, may be defined as the upbuilding of a world in feeling or in consciousness.⁴

The reason why we group our sensations and

¹ Education as World-Building.

² Ibid.,

³ History of Education, p. 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

transform them into a world of things, according to Davidson, is to be found in the increase of satisfaction thus made possible. "...the world is purely a means of satisfaction. What else could it be? That is why we create it." Experience thus becomes

...Easily surveyable and graspable. Ease in grasping we call pleasure, difficulty in grasping, pain. In grouping our feelings, therefore, we are merely seeking pleasure and shunning pain. Moreover, in placing permanent hypothetical essences behind groups of sensation, we are merely determining for future use sources of satisfaction.¹

He (Rousseau) did not see that the gradual differentiation of feeling into perceptions and volitions is the gradual creation of a world of beings in thought and will, that things and persons are distinguished through an effort to group feelings and satisfactions by referring them to particular common³ and that, apart from this process, there would be no consciousness, and no world, at all.²

Intelligence is simply the grouping of feelings and the referring of them, as so grouped, to origins, or subjects, or things... Since subjects, or things, can never be matters of experience, but are, so to speak, hypotheses, to group experience for use as means, they can be realized only through symbols or conventions... All words originally designated things, that is hypothetical agents, uniting and causing certain groups of experiences.³

As an illustration of how we group and organize experience he points to the number system, with its units, tens, hundreds, thousands, etc., grouped by us for "practical purposes", in order that we may "conveniently and easily grasp them". It is thus that "we create the world by association or grouping."

¹ Education as World-Building.

² Rousseau, p. 213.

³ History of Education, p. 15.

Sensations that are similar we put together and name with an adjective; different sensations that repeatedly come together, we unite by means of an essence, and name with a noun. In this way we obtain an adjective world and a noun world, or, as we sometimes say, an abstract world and a concrete world; and conscious experience consists of judgment, in which elements of the former are identified with aspects of the latter; for example: The horse is white. When we think that the abstract is derived from the concrete, we think the exact opposite of the truth; the concrete is built up out of abstract by grouping and hypostasizing. Sensations that occur separately we group by means of time; sensations that occur together, by means of space. The two combined give us the group, behind which we may place an essence, substance, or cause. Thus the world is built up by means of time, space, and cause, out of sensations grouped by desire for the sake of satisfaction. With so much promised, we can easily see that education consists in enabling a human being to construct a certain kind of world.¹

Man, as we have seen, in building up a world through, and for, intelligence and will, does so by grouping his feelings or experiences into things, or objects, through concepts, or ideas, which he fixes and holds by means of symbols.²

That Davidson is indebted to Rosmini for his thesis that education consists in a process of world-building, is quite definitely indicated by his own interpretation of Rosminian educational philosophy:

In the process of experience, the 'fundamental feeling', which constitutes the subjective aspect of the soul, is modified, and, at the same time, the indefinite object, being, is determined. In this way there gradually arises in the soul a world of feeling, referred to being, as substance and cause.... Since all reality is feeling, and all ideality God Unrealized, morality consists in so ordering our feelings that they shall gradually define God for us.... However strange and medieval this spiritual

¹ Education as World-Building.

² History of Education, p. 19.

mysticism may seem, it enabled Rosmini to work out a scheme for the orderly development of a divine world in the consciousness of the child.¹

3. What is the result aimed at in education?

Since education is a process of world-building, and each individual is determined by the kind of world which he creates, the question arises, are some worlds better than others? Wherein do they differ? What kind of world is best? To such questions Davidson replies that each individual will build up some kind of world, the process being to a great extent unconscious and effortless, and resulting in many different types. The world of the pickpocket differs in every essential respect from that of the philosopher, scientist, artist, or statesman. The pickpocket's world can be built without the foundation of formal education; the world of the philosopher, scientist, artist, or statesman cannot. The satisfactions afforded by the former world will be small in extent, few in number, and brief in duration, while those of the latter will be deep, numerous, and lasting. Man, being fundamentally a sentient desire, his nature must necessarily demand rich and varied satisfaction. From this hypothesis, fully consistent with all ^{of} Davidson's philosophy, the conclusion immediately follows that "the aim of education must be to enable him to construct a world capable of yielding such satisfaction."

¹ Rousseau, p. 241.

In the Rousseau we find this same idea, somewhat differently expressed, that satisfaction is the end of education:

When we ask what we know the soul to be, we can only answer: A sentient desire, or desiderant feeling, which, through its own effort after satisfaction, gradually differentiates itself into a world, or, what is the same thing, gradually learns to refer its satisfactions to a world of things in time and space....The world that we know, whether material or spiritual, is entirely made up of feeling differentiated by ideas. The end of education, therefore, can be none other than the complete satisfaction of feeling, by an ever-increasing harmonious, that is, unitary differentiation of it into a world of sources of satisfaction.¹

To a very large extent, each human being creates his own world; and since his moral life greatly depends upon the world he creates and has to live in, it plainly becomes the function of education to aid him to live a life of the noblest kind. If it be asked how education can exert an influence upon the creation of individual worlds, the answer is that, since every man's world is composed of those elements to which his attention is chiefly directed, and by those processes which are most habitual...education may greatly influence the creative process for good by directing the child's attention from the first to the nobler impressions, and habituating him to those processes of mind which are best calculated to arrange these into an orderly, or perhaps we may say at once a rational, world.²

He (Rousseau) failed to understand the true nature of education, which is simply the effort to enable children, from the moment they begin to use reason and will, that is, to distinguish one feeling and attraction from another, so to classify and group these feelings and attractions that an orderly, self-consistent, and rational world, with a hierarchy of well-defined attractions, shall gradually shape itself in their minds, and make a rational and moral world possible for them.³

Out of original character, instruction, and experience every human being builds up his own moral world, an ideal order of things which imparts to his actions whatever rationality and aim they may possess. Upon

¹ Rousseau, p. 243.

² Education of the Greek People, p. 13.

³ Rousseau, p. 214.

the world thus created everything in his life depends, his optimism or pessimism, his happiness or misery.¹

Each human being has his own world, built up through his own faculties. His sensuous world is built up through sense and its forms; his intelligible world through understanding and its form; his moral world through faith and its form--justice.²

Summary.

The being to be educated, beginning as mere feeling as primitive datum, becomes, through experience and reactions to it, a more or less intelligent being governed by desire transformed into will. This evolutionary process, consisting as it does, in a more or less conscious and voluntary differentiation of primitive feelings and the grouping of them into an organized world is education. No two individuals will build the same kind of world, each putting into his world such elements as he himself deems desirable and which afford him satisfaction. Education is then, fundamentally, that process by which an individual is enabled to secure the greatest possible satisfaction. The educational problem, therefore, now takes on this form: What kind of a world will yield the highest satisfaction and how shall it be built up?

¹Prolegomena to In Memoriam, Introduction, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 23.

PART III CONSEQUENCES OF HIS PHILOSOPHY FOR EDUCATION

Having postulated the foregoing philosophical doctrines with regard to the nature of the human individual, of the educational process, and of the aim of education, respectively, Davidson proceeds to show their consequences, - their educational implications and applications. He does this first by laying down and defending three different theses as follows:

First. The aim of all education, as of all life, is the evolution of the social individual in knowledge, sympathy, and will.

It has already been shown that, in Davidson's analysis, there are three more or less distinct, though closely related, aspects of the human soul; first, intelligence, which develops through the agency of experience from the sentient aspect; second, will, which is the outgrowth of the desiderant aspect working in co-ordination with intelligence; third, a residue of instinctive desire consisting of appetites, passions, and emotions. These last Davidson prefers to call sympathy or love. The first two of these aspects, Davidson, using the Greek terminology, classifies as rational, the last irrational. Between these diverse aspects there is constant warfare and it is the ethical problem of education to discover how, from this warfare, ultimate harmony may result. It goes without saying that the appetites, passions, and emotions, must be controlled,

regulated, and directed. Sympathy and love, which play so large a part in the philosophy of Davidson, must not be so inhibited as to lose their instinctive element and their spontaneity, but must, nevertheless, in every case be made subject to reason. If, therefore, this third component of the soul be made rational and not left uncontrolled and undirected, no disharmony results, and the soul becomes "a tri-unity of intelligence, sympathy, and will." Intelligence is that element of the soul which enables it to learn, to see, to acquire, to extend its boundaries. The soul, regarded as sympathy, supplements the soul as intelligence, and interprets and deepens those things which through the intelligence have been acquired. The soul, regarded as will, makes such modifications in its world as shall enable it to reach a high degree of satisfaction.

Let us here observe that every change in the soul means a change in its world. Increase of knowledge is increase of world; increase of sympathy is increase of lovable objects, or of aspects in objects already loved; increase of will is increase of changes in the world. If, now, the soul from its very nature demands the highest satisfaction, this must mean, for the developed soul, satisfaction of intelligence, of sympathy, and of will; and education must mean instruction and practice in the method of reaching such threefold satisfaction. Moreover, since the most important part of the world of each individual soul is a society of souls assumed to be like itself, and since its satisfaction is entirely dependent upon its world, it follows that it is only as a social being that any soul can find the highest satisfaction, or requires education. It is needless to add that, since all education is education for life, life and education have the same end.¹

¹ Education as World-Building.

That intellect and education are not synonymous is constantly emphasized by Davidson. He develops this idea somewhat at length in "Intellectual Piety, A Lay Sermon":

By intellect as distinct from reason, I mean the primitive faculty which grasps the essential ideal unity of the universe, which makes it possible for us to transform our groups of sensations into things, and to look at these as something distinct from, and independent of ourselves--to look at them as something objective. I have said that this faculty is the source of all freedom, a fact, indeed, which follows directly from its being the moral faculty. But observe that intellect is not by itself sufficient to insure freedom...Mere intellectual comprehension is absolutely cold and inactive. It is possible to conceive of a being gifted with perfect intelligence, and yet remaining entirely inactive from want of any motion or action.

Davidson in his first thesis states that education is the evolution of the social individual. We are perhaps justified in placing the emphasis upon social, for he himself later says that "When...I use the word 'individual', I mean, of course, 'social individual', there being no other." It is, therefore, in man as a social individual that the affection, sympathy, love aspect of the soul must function.

Even now philosophy is able to tell us that all evolution is a matter of association for the satisfaction of desire, that the universe is essentially social; that the evolution of sentient individuals into an ever richer world depends upon the ever widening and deepening relations to other sentient individuals.¹

It is all one continuous process, producing ever more complete and independent individuals, through ever deepening and widening social relations.²

¹ History of Education, p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 10.

If we wish to know where an individual stands in the scale of worth, we have only to find out how much intelligence, how much love, sympathy, or affection, how much will he possesses, and how harmoniously these are blended. And the same thing is true of nations and of epochs. God himself can mean to us nothing more, and nothing less, than the complete and harmonious realization of intelligence, love, and will; for these are the constituent elements of true being, of which He is the plenitude.¹

Man does not lose, but gain, freedom by association, and the more extensive the association the greater the freedom....Where there is no social order, there are no rights at all....Rights imply duties, and both imply mutuality, which involves association.²

That man is a social being and that, only as such, can he attain to the highest satisfaction, is the antithesis of Rousseau's doctrine. Even a cursory examination of his writings, particularly of the Emile, will vindicate Davidson's opinion expressed in his preface to the Rousseau that modern, romantic, unsocial education originated with Rousseau. He speaks with approval of Rousseau's reference to the gradual development of a world in the consciousness of the child, but criticizes him for his failure to follow up this idea to its logical conclusion:

Had he pursued this thought. and not been led astray by his own personal feelings, he would have told us that education is nothing more or less than the formation, in the child's consciousness, of a rational world, that is, of a world in which every object and act has its true distinguishing relations for intellect, and its true distinguishing value for affection.³

As Davidson points out, his second thesis follows directly from his first:

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 29.

² Rousseau, p. 89.

³ Ibid., p. 107, note 2.

Second. The evolution of the individual is the evolution of an ordered world in his consciousness.

If we accept the theses that all education is a process of world building, and that the aim of such education is the evolution of the social individual, we must also accept the conclusion that the evolution of the individual and the development of an ordered, harmonious world in his consciousness are synonymous. World-building is conditioned by experience. Until there is experience there can be no world-building, and conversely, as soon as there is experience such experience necessarily becomes incorporated in the individual's world-structure. World-building is a function not only of human beings but of everything which has life, man being the better world-builder, as Davidson points out,¹ only because his equipment, his organization, is better. Even the child when it comes into the world is already equipped for world-building, and through the agencies of society the burden is further lightened.

In all stages of civilization the human being 'comes into the world', not as a naked soul, or sensibility, but with an organized body, and with its feelings and desire correspondingly organized in the form of senses and spontaneities. It is the function of education to train these, so that he may attain the greatest possible satisfaction or harmony. This harmony, the essential condition of evolution, is two-fold, harmony among his faculties and harmony with his environments, subhuman and human.²

¹ Education as World-Building.

² History of Education, p. 18.

It is readily seen that all worlds will not be equally well-ordered or of equal depth and richness, these being dependent upon two conditions,-the variety and extent of experience, and the ability to classify and arrange such experience. Here we are again brought into the realm of desiderant feeling, for upon the keenness of the senses depends the number and variety of experiences, and upon the desire, their classification. If, then, the sensory side of man's soul be limited, its products will be few in number and undiversified in nature, and his world will consist of but few and simple elements. If desiderant feeling, the organizing power, be weak, the soul will remain in a chaotic condition, its elements will be unorganized and unclassified, and its world will be lacking in depth and richness and power and true satisfaction will be unattainable. Satisfaction, therefore, depends upon the variety and complexity of the elements which enter into our world structure, and this variety and complexity can come only through a wide and varied experience, properly ordered and classified. That satisfaction depends primarily upon the richness of its sources is constantly reiterated by Davidson:

This satisfaction will be greater in proportion as the sources are more numerous and richer. Hence, every soul will be consulting for its own satisfaction by doing its best to satisfy every other soul and to make it as rich as possible....On this view of the soul, and on this alone, will it be possible to erect an intelligible and coherent structure of education, intellectual, affectional,

and moral.¹

If his world is rational, inspiring hope and courage...his life, whatever may befall, is a blessed unity. If, on the contrary, his world fails to disclose any purpose, any reason why one course of action should be preferred to another, anything worthy of supreme love and devotion, life is fragmentary, feeble, and, when temperament fails, miserable. Success in life, in the deepest sense, depends upon his power to build up and sustain an aimful and consistent moral world.²

Each human being has his own world, built up through his own faculties. His sensuous world is built up through sense and its forms; his intelligible world through understanding and its form; his moral world through faith and its form--justice.³

Davidson devotes considerable space to an analysis of the different types of world which different individuals will organize. He points out that worlds may differ in content, mode of organization, or both. The wigwam world is the world of a savage and is organized to satisfy immediate physical need; the palace world is the world of a prince and is based upon ambition to command; the temple world is the world of culture and is based upon beauty and harmony; the cathedral world is the world of the saint and has its foundation in love for a Supreme Being. These worlds differ not only in content but in organization, the underlying principle, in the philosophy of Davidson, being some form of "desire, need, or longing". Life becomes a failure to a man when "the world into which he has organized himself no longer affords him

¹ Rousseau, p. 243.

² Prolegomena to In Memoriam, Introduction, p. 1.

³ Ibid., p. 23.

satisfaction....The pessimist proclaims himself a failure in world-building; that is all."¹

Man, in organizing his world, cannot do so entirely as a free and independent soul, for the elements which enter it may belong equally, or even more, to the world of some other individual. It is through this mutual dependence that we become social, moral individuals.

If we try to form in our minds a picture of the universe, as a whole, we must conceive it as an infinitely multitudinous complex of desiderant feelings, mutually causing experience in each other, and each, out of this experience, building up its own world in such a way that it is in large measure dependent upon all the rest. It is obvious that the soul which can relate itself in the most varied and harmonious ways to the largest number of other souls and their worlds, will have the most complete satisfaction or blessedness.²

Davidson concludes the argument in defence of his second thesis with a quotation from Aristotle that human good is "an actualization of the soul in accordance with worth".³

Third. Ethical life depends upon the completeness and harmony of the world evolved in the individual consciousness.

In the opening sentence defending his third thesis, Davidson states that most educators are agreed that ethical life is the ultimate end of education and that "ethical life is a life in harmony either with environment or with that which controls environment. Moral life, then, consists in harmony with environment, and this demands the organiza-

¹ Education as World-Building.

² Ibid.

³ Nicomachean Ethics, Book I, paragraph 7.

tion of an inner world to make it possible."¹

What is the meaning of "moral life" and in what way must the individual's world be organized in order that a moral life may result?

We are undoubtedly justified in the assumption that the whole question of morality or moral emotion presupposes the power of choice. We cannot conceive of a being as either moral or immoral if this power be denied. Man is not the blind victim of fate or destiny, and in this power of choice consists his divinity. Man's world has two aspects--an outer world visible to all through its outward manifestations of deeds and actions, and an inner world built up, not upon objective consciousness, but by means of introspective thought, and by a more or less conscious and deliberate development of the consciousness of self. At first this power exists in a very undeveloped state and its further growth depends primarily upon education through experience. If we accept this assumption that man in building up a moral world does so through the exercise of the power of choice in selecting those elements which he wishes to incorporate in his world structure, we presuppose that these elements have different values to the individual in question. Choice results from this inequality of values. Man will choose, either wisely or unwisely, such elements for his world structure as

¹ Education as World-Building.

he feels will contribute most to his satisfaction. Man could hardly do wrong if he had the ability to weigh everything in his world at its correct value and acted accordingly. He would be under such circumstances a wholly moral being.

If no one thing had more value for it (a being gifted with perfect intelligence) than another, it would certainly not choose one in preference to another, and, therefore, would not be free in any important sense. What turns intellect into a spring of action and freedom is not its power of distinguishing things, but its power of seeing that things have different values, that one thing is better than another, and therefore to be preferred to another...When the spirit accomodates itself to the things it beholds in exact proportion to their ideal value, it is perfectly free; for it is determining itself in accordance with the laws of being.¹

Since, in Davidson's philosophy, man is fundamentally natural desire or "desiderant feeling", natural desire in itself is not and cannot be sin. If morality be regarded as the result of a correct placing of values, sin may be regarded as the result of misplaced values, or of wrong evaluations resulting from wrongly directed special desires, or, as Davidson expresses it, "from a wrong distribution of affection."

Now choice, the basis of all moral action, depends upon intellectual appreciation. An error in intellectual appreciation is a moral error. The criminality of the greatest of crimes is wholly due to the intellectual act that preceded it, and vanishes when that act can be shown

¹ Intellectual Piety, A Lay Sermon.

to have been pious....Nothing is more familiar than the fact that knowledge of the right does not insure the performance, that mere knowledge has but a limited moral force. Now intellectual appreciation differs from knowledge in this, that it is knowledge armed with moral efficiency, knowledge which commands respect and submission.¹

He further emphasizes the unique and distinctive nature of moral action by showing that ^{it} is deliberate as opposed to instinctive or mechanical action.

Moral action is distinguished from all other kinds of action by this, that it is action based upon conscious choice. We refuse the attribute 'moral' to all mechanical and instinctive action, for no other reason than because it is unaccompanied by choice. Even in the case of human beings we make moral responsibility co-extensive with power to choose; and we call a man who acts from uncontrollable impulse, passion, or instinct, insane.²

Davidson, however, does not stop with a completely moral life. He presents various stages or levels of morality:

There are as many worlds as there are men. Some are small but well-ordered; some small and ill-ordered. Some again are rigidly bounded; others are continually expanding. The small well-ordered world gives us the ordinary respectable citizen, who conforms to the current morality, offends no one, attends to his family, and his business....Such men form the stable element of society... The small, ill-ordered world gives us the burdens of society, the parasites and ordinary criminals, the men and women who are in destitution...Such a world is poor, fragmentary, and confused; the values and emphases are all misplaced...The large well-ordered world gives us the saints, heroes, and benefactors of society, the thinkers, statesmen, and reformers, the introducers of ideals, the founders of institutions. The large ill-ordered world gives us the great reprobates and criminals...The rigidly bounded world gives us the narrow conservative...The

¹ Intellectual Piety, A Lay Sermon.

² Ibid.

continually expanding world gives us the liberal, the reformer.¹

Thus we see that man may be moral even though he may have but a small, restricted world, but his morality will likewise fail to reach the highest levels. For a high morality there must be a large world embracing many and varied interests, while for perfect morality the individual's world would need to embrace the entire universe. Davidson in commenting on the fact that, in his philosophy, moral life is dependent upon the kind of world organized in the individual soul, forsees the objection which may be advanced that this dependence is contrary to the exercise of free will, the attribute which is the essential characteristic of morality. It is true, he says, that man's inner world determines his outward action, but man's inner world is not something which has been given to him complete in all its details, but instead is built up and determined by man himself. This invalidates the doctrine of determinism, for man and his world being a single entity, the motives which his world originates come not from without, but from within himself, and man being determined by his motives, is determined by himself.

Elsewhere² we find the argument summarized as fol-

¹ Education as World-Building.

² History of Education, p. 257.

lows, and with this we may conclude this division of our thesis:

The aim of education is, as we have seen, world-building, the construction, in the child's consciousness of such a world as shall furnish him with motives to live an enlightened, kindly, helpful, and noble social life, a life not stagnant, but ever advancing... Little attempt has been made to realize the unitary world of evolution, revealed by science and interpreted by philosophy. And yet that is the supreme task of education... The first condition of all truly moral, reason-guided life, is a true world-view (Weltanschauung); for reason is nothing but the order of the world, and moral life is a life in accordance with that order.

The Place of Habit in Education

As we have seen in our analysis of Davidson's philosophy, the material from which man's world is built is furnished by the feeling or sensuous attribute of his nature, this feeling being organized by desire. Yet the child is not made up solely of undetermined desiderant feeling, but, due to some heritage of the past, of feeling which has already received a certain impetus and direction. Such predetermination and direction is heredity. Davidson, however, does not overestimate the moulding power of heredity. He proceeds to show that since desire depends upon feeling, the child's desires can be shaped to a great extent by means of the objects which are presented to it. An originally strong tendency or desire may be weakened or wholly atrophied merely by withholding from it such objects as would keep it alive or strengthen it. And, conversely, a weak tendency or desire may become of great power by permitting it to have frequent gratifications. By withholding the undesirable object and presenting the desirable object, it is possible, to a great extent, to minimize the influence of heredity and gradually to provide the appropriate materials from which an organized and rational world can be constructed. Facility or ease in performing a certain action comes through repeated exercise. An act which is at first exceedingly difficult, by continued

repetition becomes easy, and many acts which at first require great attention and concentration finally become almost, if not entirely, automatic. This continued repetition of an action develops into habit, which, says Davidson, "May thus be regarded as the chief agent of all evolution", for all the human faculties, even the senses and the organs of the body, are the outgrowth of habit.

The importance which Davidson attaches to the power of habit as a vital force in education, is shown by his statement,

Since native desires are regulated and harmonized by habit, and since the world is built up by desires, it follows that if we would build up a harmonious world we can do so only by the establishment of habits. With a view to this, the teacher must clearly understand three things: (1) just what sort of a world he wishes to create in the child's mind; (2) in what order its objects must be presented in order to be appropriated and fitted into the world; (3) what is to be the hierarchy of values in that world.¹

His argument in support of each of these points is, briefly, as follows:

1. The fundamental essential in building up a well-organized and moral world is that the elements of which it is made up shall be fully understood. Correct evaluations cannot be made of such elements unless their nature and their relationships are fully known. This demands a world view and a full understanding of the entire process of evolution, not evolution as a description of

¹ Education as World-Building.

facts, but evolution in the broader sense as providing a logical explanation of all the facts of the universe. Evolution is the great forward movement operating in the various stages of development--astronomical, mineral, vegetable, animal, human, institutional--and this mighty drama must be presented to the mind of the child. "In the future the philosophy of existence will be simply the history of evolution....It is the world, as revealed in evolution, that must form the basis of the moral world of every soul."¹

2. With regard to the order in which experiences shall be presented to the child he gives two guiding principles. First, we should present only those things which are fundamental: for the first experiences of the child condition to a great extent all later experiences. Second, we should present only such of these fundamental things as will arouse interest and can, therefore, be easily assimilated. "Since desire is that which both appropriates and constructs, it is obvious that as far as is safe the desires of the child should be gratified in the presentation of experience." The most important factor, however, is the order in which these sundry elements are presented. As an illustration of this, he suggests that sensations of touch should be stimulated at the same time as sensations of sight,

¹ Education as World-Building.

in order that the soul may be able to combine these into concrete things, such as rattles or dolls.

3. There can be no such thing as a well-ordered, i.e., moral world, without a hierarchy of values. Mere knowledge or intellectual development does not guarantee a moral world. A moral world depends upon the correct placing of values and "it is the supreme function of education to establish these values". The value of an experience should be directly proportional to the power which it has in enlarging and deepening our world, in order that true, permanent satisfaction may result and a correct placing of values will insure full consideration for the satisfactions of all other individuals. Thus one "becomes an ethical being."

All the foregoing is diametrically opposed to the doctrine of Rousseau who teaches that everything should be done in accordance with Nature and that all habits must be avoided. "The only habit which a child should be allowed to contract is the habit of contracting none." But, says Davidson,

Even in a 'state of Nature', children learn habits from the very first. Indeed, it may be safely said that all evolution, whether in Nature or Culture, is due to the acquisition of habits. Habit is merely the incarnation and organization of experience and action, by which both become easier and richer, and leave room for advance. It is the economy of energy....Had Rousseau said that, while education is the acquisition of habits that create

a world of harmony between the individual and his fellow-beings, conscious and unconscious, and, therefore, the very condition of life and progress, yet the individual should be careful not to allow any habit to master him, when it proves prejudicial to such life or progress, he would have uttered a great and fruitful truth. But his whole vision was dimmed by the false notion that the normal man is the natural man, and the latter a solitary savage, obedient to his momentary instincts and caprices. Such a man never did, or could, exist.¹

But all moral growth is a slow process. Man does not develop spontaneously into an ethical being, and habit alone is insufficient to insure the attainment of an ethical ideal, while mere instruction will also leave man far short of this desideratum. An additional factor must enter, -discipline.

The Place of Discipline in Education

But all this requires discipline, not merely instruction; and discipline is the greatest desideratum in education at the present day.²

Davison points out that the child cannot be expected to correctly evaluate the elements which enter into the world of the adult individual, yet in his own smaller and more limited world he should see that everything has its individual value, the whole being so organized as to form a harmonious whole in which the separate elements may be easily examined and compared. He should be taught to

¹ Rousseau, p. 108, note 1.

² Education as World-Building.

devote time and attention to things in proportion as they have value at each particular stage in his career. Those things which promise great future satisfaction should be preferred to those which yield satisfaction only in the immediate present. If the child be led to weigh each thing by means of the scale of spiritual value, it will gradually begin to see and appreciate the principle of moral behavior. It will then "do consciously and voluntarily what it has previously done in obedience to authority, and from example, or habituation. Then and thus it attains independent morality, and becomes a truly rational and free agent. Then only it can create a truly moral world for itself."¹ This moral world can result only when complete moral freedom has been attained. Such a process of direction and training is, in Davidson's interpretation of the term, "discipline". Instruction and discipline are in no sense synonymous. Instruction has to do with the intellect, discipline with the will. When a child does willingly what he has been taught to do, even though it may not be pleasing to him, he "subjects himself to discipline". Davidson teaches neither that the child should be allowed to reject unpleasant forms of instruction nor that he should arbitrarily be made to accept instruction in which he can see no good. Instead of either of these equally irrational methods, we would in full conformity with his educational philosophy, teach the child

¹ Education as World-Building.

to recognize in the thing taught its real value, and through this process make the instruction interesting to the child and hence of vital value. He emphasizes the theory that instruction and discipline are closely related, each supporting and strengthening the other. According to Davidson this failure to distinguish between discipline and instruction is the chief defect in the American educational system. True instruction is given only when the young are made to recognize the true values of the elements which are made part of their worlds.

The problem of modern education, therefore, resolves itself into this:

How to construct in the soul of the child such a world that it shall find therein complete and harmonious exercise for all its faculties, intellectual, affectional, volitional. With a view to this it becomes necessary to study the powers of the child, the processes by which knowledge is acquired, arranged, and stored up, the methods by which the affections are heartily elicited and trained to distribute themselves in accordance with the worth of things for moral ends, the discipline by which the will is rendered autonomous and placed beyond the influence of passion and appetite... Only when such knowledge is attained and applied is it possible fully to realize that education which we have called human, which places the soul in the triple relation of knowledge, love, and will to all that exists.¹

The closing words of his address Education as World-Building are these:

¹ History of Education, p. 232.

With our present feeble, sentimental tendencies, which make us seek a child's immediate enjoyment rather than its eternal well-being, we have a prejudice against discipline, against everything that makes a child sacrifice present pleasure to future good. Let us hope that this condition of things will soon pass away, and that discipline, so necessary to the construction of a moral world, may be restored to its rightful position in education. For

'Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to work that each tomorrow
Finds us farther than today.'

PART IV COMMENT AND CRITICISM

In thus bringing together an account of Thomas Davidson's life, in connection with an exposition of his writings upon the subject of education, the meaning of education, as he understood it, is made perfectly clear. There is a remarkable agreement between what the man said and what he did. Of no other educator in all history can it be more truly said that he practiced what he preached. He was a living epistle of what he taught in such matchless lucidity and consistency of statement, so that we cannot remain in doubt.

Incidentally we have uncovered some of the more important sources of influence which gave shape to the philosophical foundations of education as he formulated them. This by-product of our research, indeed, is one of the most interesting and important outcomes of this thesis. These sources of influence may be summed up as follows:

1. His postulate with regard to the nature of the human individual was, without question, derived from his study of Rosminian philosophy, as we have seen.

2. The character of the educational program as set forth in his world-building concept is based upon the theory of evolution as interpreted by him. It is but a restatement, in other terms, of the theory that the world of each individual is a microcosm within the macrocosm, a

theory which has been maintained by various philosophical thinkers in all ages.

3. The aim of education is the same as that postulated by Aristotle and many others. It is clear that he was in full sympathy with most of Aristotle's contentions, as a reading of his book on Aristotle and the Ancient Educational Ideals shows. Instead of placing happiness as the goal of life and hence of education, as Aristotle does, Davidson prefers satisfaction, which is a kindred but in some respects a better term. Note, also, that with Aristotle friendship was "the greatest thing in the world", while with Davidson it is love. Aristotle said that "without friends no one would choose to live, although he possessed all other blessings", while Davidson wrote

The only law, the law of Love. Love! yes, the whole secret is in that one word. By adding love to the conception of the God of his people.... Jesus accomplished what had baffled all the wisdom of the Greek sages. In vain have the advocates of an indeterminate, self-evolving first principle... striven to bring back the old world with its class distinctions and institutional ethics: in vain have they sought to sink the individual God and man of reality in the universal ideas of thought. The Law of Love, which is the ground of individuality, as well as of true society, has bidden, and will bid them defiance.¹

The divine.... is a republic of self-existent spirits, each seeking the realization of its ideas through

¹ Aristotle and the Ancient Educational Ideals, pp. 234-5.

love, through intimacy with all the rest, and finding its heaven in such intimacy.¹

Prof. James, commenting on the consistency of Davidson, says

We all say and think that we believe this sort of thing; but Davidson believed it really and actively, and that made all the difference.²

A comparison of Davidson with other educational philosophers, ancient, medieval, and modern, shows that he does not belong to any particular school, and enough has already been said to show how futile would be the attempt to classify Davidson. He is in a class by himself. His cosmopolitanism and comprehensiveness make him such. Other men have formulated philosophies applicable to a particular time, a particular race, or a particular country, but the philosophy of Davidson applies to all humanity. Plato lived and labored for Athens, and his educational teachings were focused upon the social and moral conditions of that city. Even in Athens his philosophy was not for the common citizen but rather for the select and limited group occupying the highest stratum of society. In his system the whole of the governing power rests in the hands of the philosophers. The soldiers merely carry out their commands, the workers being practically slaves. Plato apparently

¹ McClure's Magazine, XXV, p. 9.

² Ibid., p. 9.

failed to recognize the nature of the human elements from which he hoped to shape his ideal State. Human individuals cannot be moved like pawns for man is a social animal and his associations and relationships with other men result in social institutions. Social institutions and the deep underlying forces by which they are brought into existence cannot be ignored. Davidson, on the contrary, in all his writings emphasizes the fact that man thinks and acts only as a member of the social group and we find human institutions, therefore, playing a dominant role in all his philosophical teachings, nor do we find his doctrines colored, as in the case of Plato, by either personal or class prejudices.

Undoubtedly Aristotle is the closest prototype of Davidson. While Plato sought to reach ultimate truth by bringing all man's faculties into harmonious unity within himself, Aristotle went further and sought truth not in the narrow circle of man's own soul but by bringing man's soul into harmony with the outer world. This is in full accord with the philosophy of Davidson. Aristotle also teaches that man is not merely a civic being, but that he is made up of two distinct elements, one the civic, the other the superhuman or the divine. For the full development of this higher part all the other elements, even the State itself are but instruments. We find this doctrine accurately re-

lected in the writings of Davidson. There are other characteristics common to these two philosophers, yet even the vision of Aristotle, far reaching though it was, lacked the universality of that of the 19th century teacher. Various reasons may account for this. Aristotle, though he spent nearly thirty years of his life in Athens, was born a Macedonian and remained throughout his life Macedonian in sympathy. His life was greatly influenced by Philip and Alexander and his faith was fixed rather in the monarchic government of Macedonia than in the oligarchic government of Greece. Though he believed that the welfare of the state was dependent upon a sound and reasonable social structure, he lacked the prophetic insight to understand the future trend of thought and culture. Among his erroneous doctrines may be mentioned his belief in chattel slavery, his belief in the inferiority of those peoples which the Greeks called "barbarians", his advocacy of the murder of weak and deformed children, his refusal to grant any political power to the industrial classes, his theory that such classes were wholly lacking in virtue, his inability to recognize the leavening power of humanitarian instincts, and his making happiness a thing dependent solely upon the intellect. The things above enumerated have to do with his political and social beliefs. His philosophy, as such, is subject to no such criticism, and Davidson

himself paid it high tribute:

However narrow Aristotle's political ideal may have been, and however far behind the demands of the time, his science and philosophy were in the highest degree cosmopolitan. In this respect they stood alone and without rivals....It may be safely said that from his day to ours no institution claiming to be cosmopolitan or catholic has succeeded in establishing and maintaining itself without the aid of his thought, and that of all the educational influences that have come to the world from Greece that of Aristotle is the strongest.¹

In passing it may be interesting to note that Aristotle, like Davidson, liked to gather around him a select group of serious minded, earnest students, and form them into a little community for the purpose of considering the deeper spiritual things of life. In this we are strongly reminded of the Farmington group, the Glenmore experiment, the Fellowship of the New Life, and the like.

We might with more or less profit continue our study into the days of medieval education and compare Davidson with Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. We should find many resemblances with one outstanding difference: the philosophy of each of these medieval teachers was strictly limited in its scope and based upon a particular religious belief. Davidson's philosophy embraced all religions. Protestant himself, he organized a class of Jews among workmen

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 167.

of the East Side in New York, and during his sojourn in Italy was invited by the pope to assist in the preparation of a new edition of St. Thomas Aquinas. In a letter written to this East Side class we find in six short words what we may well consider the motto which characterizes his entire life: "Creeds are nothing, life is everything."

As a contributing factor to Davidson's world-view in philosophy, or perhaps we should rather say as the factor which made this world-view possible, we must keep in mind his seemingly unlimited capacity for mastering languages. He spoke French, Italian, and German so fluently that in conversation with a Frenchman, an Italian, or a German, he was immediately regarded as a compatriot. He was a devoted lover of poetry and in these languages could recite it by the hour. He could also speak Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, and had a considerable knowledge of nearly all European tongues including Russian and Scandinavian.

In our brief, panoramic sweep we can consider but a few of the more modern philosophers with merely a comment here and there regarding likenesses and differences. In the emphasis which he places upon the value of habit and of experience he reminds one of Locke. Locke presents as the aims of education virtue, wisdom, breeding, learning,

which under different names we find also in Davidsonian philosophy. With Locke, however, these aims are to a very considerable extent qualified and conditioned in such a way as to make them function primarily in the breeding of an English gentleman. His education is based upon discipline rather than upon a true method of instruction which will make original thinkers and furnish such training as will lead to ultimate independence.

With Rousseau we find Davidson, on most points, in utter disagreement. He calls him illogical, superficial, capricious, sensuous, selfish and unsocial. He praises him for his efforts to lead men from the blind pathway of tradition and convention into a richer, freer life of moral freedom and self-determination. He also comments with approval upon his intense love of nature and upon his gospel of a calm and placid natural life. Such praise as he gives, however, has much to qualify it. Speaking of his scheme of education as a whole,

It judges itself. Indeed it would hardly have justified the attention here given to it, were it not for the sensation which its glittering paradoxes and sentimental appeals caused, and unhappily, still cause, in the world. Rousseau took no forward step in education. What is true in his scheme is due, mostly, to Locke; what is his own is false and misleading. "Ignorance is bliss." The sober truth is, he understood almost nothing either of the methods or of the aims of education, and it was only his insidious, dogmatic, and sentimental style that made him popular with people who knew as little as he did.¹

¹ History of Education, p. 218.

Inasmuch as various educators from the time of Rousseau down to the present have taught that the child should be allowed to ^{exercise} as great a degree as possible the power of self-expression, that its nature should be allowed to develop freely, and other theories of like nature, it will be well to consider briefly Davidson's attitude toward this whole general subject. In his introductory chapter of The Education of the Greek People he calls attention to two distinct senses in which the term "nature" is used, stating that these are often confused in discussions relative to education. He himself carefully distinguishes between the two. The first, which he designates as "original nature" he characterizes as "the character or type with which a thing starts on its separate career, and which without any effort on the part of the thing, but solely with the aid of natural forces, determines that career."¹ Contrasted with this "original nature" is man's ideal nature. This represents the highest plane to which an individual may attain through a series of voluntary acts which may have their origin either within or without the individual in question. Man is the only being capable of originating within himself acts by which he can be raised beyond the limits of his original nature to his ideal nature. The two are not synonymous, nor are they even supplementary, for often they are diametric-

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 1.

ally opposed so that frequently the original nature must be suppressed in order that the ideal nature may properly develop.

Nothing could be more prejudicial to the best interests of education than any attempt to evoke indiscriminately the tendencies of the child's original nature. Hence all the popular talk about developing the child's "spontaneity" is little more than sentimental cant, likely enough to do incalculable mischief.¹

Education must rather be made up of those forces by means of which man is enabled to rise superior to a life fundamentally instinctive and sensuous to a life which is moral and whose foundation is reason. This demands the full development and education of all man's powers--physical as well as mental. His intellect, his affections, and his volitions must be so developed as will enable him to regulate and control the lower faculties and by this process develop or create a rational world which shall enable him to live a life of satisfaction. If this is not done then the world which the individual builds will be based primarily upon instincts, passion, and caprice, resulting in a world unorganized and irrational. To prevent the formation of such a world, the intelligence and will of the child must be developed from the earliest possible moment. The original nature of the child consisting^{of} fickleness and instability to a large degree, must be modified, and this can best be done by cultivating pro-

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 3.

longed attention to separate or related impressions.

It is not too much to say that prolonged attention, accompanied with action, being the first exercise of will on the part of the child, is the prime condition of all intellectual and moral progress.¹

As the child gains in the power to weigh values and make wise choices, his will increases in strength, and he becomes more and more capable of directing his own actions. Through this process he becomes a moral being, and the world which he builds will rest upon a moral foundation.

With Kant Davidson had much in common. Kant believed that progress depended more upon right living than upon mere knowledge and intellectual attainments. Davidson summarizes Kant's educational message to the world as follows:

Let each soul build up within itself a coherent and rational world, so that it can lead a free, moral, natural life in the society of other souls. This is not, indeed, Kant's formulation of it; but this is what he meant....It is often wise to accept a man's principles, and ignore the conclusion which his timidity drew from them. If we do this with Kant, we shall find that his message is clear and strong. It is needless to say that, unless the ultimate in being be identical with the ultimate in knowledge, there is no possible escape from scepticism, or dogmatism, which is but disingenuous scepticism. Could Kant have seen that feeling is the ultimate both in being and in thought, the true thing-in-itself, all his difficulties would have vanished, and the fundamental conditions of moral life would have become something more than postulates for him. Even his categorical imperative would have been unnecessary, because he would have found the source of all moral authority in the human breast.²

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 16.

² History of Education, pp. 222-3.

In many respects there is a rather close agreement between the theories of Herbart and Davidson. The theory of interest of the latter may be defined as a feeling of value, - just what Herbart said it was, and it is obvious that Davidson would approve of the use of the word "feeling" in this connection. Herbart defines interest as a "species of mental activity which must be created by instruction but which has no place in mere knowledge as such." Herbart was not a believer in formal discipline, but would secure through varied interests the advantages which the advocates of formal discipline claim for it.

Motivation is important in Davidson's scheme of education, but with him it should always rest upon values for satisfaction, the future being taken into account. For motives which have as their objects immediate satisfaction he has no sympathy whatever. With him it is important that the child should learn early to act with reference to the future. Power gained in doing this, indeed, is the resource by which we maintain our freedom and emancipate ourselves from circumstances. The extent of this power is the measure of our moral efficiency, and with him, as with many of the keenest thinkers of all time, virtue consists in the ability and willingness to pursue a reasonable, i.e., defensible course of action. Both these men believed that the soul in the beginning consists of an unorganized "something"; in

the philosophy of Davidson this something is feeling; in the philosophy of Herbart, substance, with the power of resistance as its sole attribute at the outset. Herein lies their fundamental difference. With the former "feeling is primitive datum" and hence precedes all experience or ideas, while in the theory of the latter feelings are merely differentiations between ideas, and are, therefore, preceded by ideas. They are again in accord in teaching that the end of education is moral life and that such^a life can be realized only through many sided interests all moulded into a harmonious, rational world.

While taking strong exception to Froebel's marked tendency to mysticism and pantheism, and deploring certain mistakes of his "weaker followers", he calls Froebel "the prince of educators."

He was the first to see, and to state clearly, that education is conscious evolution, and to draw the practical conclusions from this insight...He saw distinctly that all upward evolution is due to continuous self-activity, under the proper stimuli, or with reference to the proper objects, and that such activity, evoked in an orderly way, and continually progressing, is true blessedness.¹ He insists, therefore, that the child shall be self-active in the acquisition, and

¹ Aristotle (Eth. Nicom. Bks I, X) maintained that man's happiness and perfection consisted in the actualization or energy (ἐνέργεια) of his highest and distinctive faculty, viz., reason, a view which was largely responsible for the medieval exaltation of contemplation as against practice. Froebel holds that they consist in the progressive and harmonious actualization of all man's faculties, in the evolution of the entire human being.

assimilation, as well as in the expression, of knowledge; moreover, that knowledge which does not go through all these three processes is vain and fruitless. This view, it need not be said, is diametrically opposed to the medieval one, which held that human nature, being corrupt, needed to be suppressed and replaced. Froebelism is humanism, pure and simple. But, though Froebel insisted that education is the development of human nature, he was far from holding, as some of his followers seem inclined to do, that it is the unregulated manifestation of human "spontaneities". This would be unculture. No one believed more completely in regulation and discipline than Froebel; only he maintained that they should be applied with full understanding of the present condition and future ideals of their subjects, which means that they should be applied gently and rationally. He saw, what few people see, that, though children are born with what are called evil tendencies, these may be starved into inaction, while good tendencies, though weak, may be nourished into complete energy, by having their proper 'good' supplied to them in the proper degree and at the proper time.¹

In two foot notes, in which he comments upon Froebel's doctrine, Davidson holds that no tendency ever shows itself until it has received some sort of satisfaction. He marvels that Froebel should have maintained that children are naturally good, but explains this by saying that it is a mere shred of Rousselean sentimentality, of a piece with his (Froebel's) mysticism. Over against this position Davidson holds that nothing is naturally either good or bad, and that both are moral and acquired attributes. With respect to certain other details of Froebelian pedagogy Davidson is not in sympathy, "But these are mere spots in the sun, and the fact remains that all future education must be built upon the foundation laid by Froebel." ²

¹ History of Education, pp. 236-7.

² Ibid., p. 239.

As we have seen in preceding pages Davidson was much influenced by Rosmini. We have also seen that he was in full sympathy with the most essential features of Herbartian pedagogics. Consequently we are not surprised to find him sum up his discussion of the educational philosophers of the nineteenth century by saying:

Herbart, Froebel, Rosmini--by these three men the foundations of modern education for rational liberty were securely laid. Each had his defects; each paid his tribute to an unvanquished past; but the defects are such as time and experience are certain to remove, as the tribute to the past ceases to be paid. We can now clearly see, and all true educators do see, that education is conscious evolution of the entire human being through ever closer relations, intellectual, affectional and ethical, to the entire universe, human and subhuman.¹

A cursory study suggests certain likenesses between Davidson and Herbert Spencer. Davidson, as we have seen, argues that all education is for world-building, the purpose being to secure ultimate satisfaction, satisfaction meaning here that which results from a moral existence and an established hierarchy of values. Impulse, passion, and caprice must yield to reason, selfish gratifications and temporary pleasures being subordinated in order that future satisfaction may result. In Spencer's philosophy, on the contrary, we find that little foundation is laid for the formation of ideas of obligation, duty, or moral right and wrong. Man is merely regarded as the composite of his feelings, impressions, and instincts,

¹ History of Education, p. 243.

and nervous impulses are much more potent factors than feelings of duty and obligation.

Both Spencer and Davidson are evolutionists. The former refers to evolution as a "change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations". Here we have evolution based apparently upon a rigid, invariable law of causation. Evolution as presented by Davidson is that of a constructive idealist and lacks the mechanistic character with which it is endowed by Spencer. "All evolution is, in a sense, education. It is the gradual internal differentiation of substantial feelings, their transformation or articulation, through mutual desire and interaction, into worlds."¹

In the philosophy of Spencer, man chooses the good not because of any moral principle involved but because he desires to escape the unpleasant consequences of choosing otherwise.

It is only by an experimentally gained knowledge of the natural consequences, that men and women are checked when they go wrong.²

The truly instinctive and salutary consequences are not those inflicted by parents when they take upon themselves to be Nature's Proxies, but they are those inflicted by Nature herself.³

¹ History of Education, p. 5.

² Education, Herbert Spencer, p. 185.

³ Ibid., p. 191.

From the brief comparisons which we have made with educators of the past we are justified in saying that Davidson thought and wrote not for any particular time or place or people. He thought of education in terms of a life which is at least relatively independent of the accidents of time, place, birth, occupation, and the like, and wished all to share in this life as far as educational opportunity could make this possible. He was the friend of all and sympathized with all points of view. With marvelous facility he could go from a study of Dante and the Vita Nuova and organize the Fellowship of the New Life. It is even probable that he hoped for peace and harmony among philosophers, theologians, and scientists, as is shown by his interest in Catholic philosophy and the character of the ambitious undertaking which was cut short by his untimely death.

Perhaps the most common characterization of Davidson, among those who are most familiar with him, is that he was an individualist. William James calls him "individualist à outrance" and refers to the "intense individualism which he taught by word and deed".¹ His friend Charles M. Bakewell says of him: "Mr. Davidson was a born dissenter who could not and would not fit into any niche."² There are scores of places in the writings of Davidson where he refers to individualism as a factor in race evolution.

¹ McClure's Magazine, XXV, pp. 3, 7.

² International Journal of Ethics, p. 442.

If we have conscientious scruples against the term "individualist" we might call him a "constructive individualist", or refer to him as an apostle of the gospel of self-determination or an advocate of the doctrine of moral freedom. Certainly, however far we search we can find in his writings nothing destructive in principle or subversive of the highest good of society. If we fail to recognize this fact, we have failed utterly in our interpretation of his teachings. He himself cautions us that

Man is not born free; for freedom and slavery are terms that have no meaning except in a social order. Animal caprice is not freedom. Man does not lose, but gain, freedom by association, and the more extensive the association the greater the freedom.¹

The scope of this paper will not permit an analysis of this aspect of Davidsonian philosophy but several representative quotations will be given which will perhaps prove suggestive. Davidson in quoting Hegel that "Human history is a progress in the consciousness of freedom", states that there are two stages in this progress, first, in freedom from nature; second, in freedom from institutions.

Such freedom by no means implies that either nature or institutions are discredited or rendered superfluous, but merely that man has come to assume to them an attitude of mastership, and no longer one of thralldom. Through institutions man freed himself from nature; and now he is gradually freeing himself from institutions, by coming to see that they are the embodiment of his own rationality.....In this way he rises above both natural and human laws, and, in the plenitude of moral freedom, becomes a law to himself.

¹ Rousseau, p. 89.

What we call modern, as distinguished from ancient and medieval civilization is mainly the result of the latter process--the liberation from institutions.¹

Two spirits divide and rule the civilized world of today. The one, the spirit of reaction, seeks to subordinate the individual to institutions, conceived of as superhuman or even of supernatural origin, trying to persuade him that the means of his salvation lie outside of himself, in the form of divine grace.... that, in the process of evolution, he is the clay and not the potter. The other the spirit of progress, seeks to raise the individual to perfect freedom by showing him that, as spirit and person, he is at once necessarily particular and universal, and....the creator of all institutions, these being simply so many expressions of the relations of his particularity to his universality.....Briefly, the spirit of reaction is the spirit of superstition, the spirit of progress the spirit of truth.²

Thus men free themselves from servitude to nature by subjecting themselves to conventional institutions. ✓ In the barbarian stage of culture these are all-powerful, and the individual is entirely submerged in the nation, which is the moral personality....As men ascend above barbarism, their progress is marked by a gradual emancipation from institutions, or a gradual development of individualism. Institutions do not, indeed, disappear, any more than did nature when they arose; but man now slowly becomes master of them, and rises to self-direction under institutions, that is, to true, moral freedom.Recognizing himself to be an original source of action and not a mere puppet in the hands of higher powers, he claims personal immortality, and builds himself splendid ideals of eternal existence.³

The rehabilitation of Reason, as a human faculty capable of attaining truth, and as the tribunal before which everything claiming to be truth had to show its credentials, and the rehabilitation of Nature, as a revelation of truth to Reason, meant the rehabilitation of science and free philosophy.....Such is, in brief, the program of modern education, whose purpose is to enable the individual to live according to truth understood and recognized by himself, and so, dispensing with authority, to live freely.⁴

¹ International Journal of Ethics, VII, p. 242.

² Ibid. p. 394.

³ History of Education, p. 76.

⁴ Ibid., p. 178.

In all the above references we see Davidson as the foe of any institution which might in any way hamper the individual in his struggle upward toward moral freedom. In this respect he is, indeed, a radical individualist, and yet there is a sense in which he is just the opposite. This comes out in his Aristotle where he states and defends the contribution of Socrates to human thought:

And Socrates not only held that saving truth consisted of whole thoughts; he held also that all such thoughts were universally and necessarily true; that, while there might be many opinions about a thing, there could be but one truth, the same for all men, and therefore independent of any man. This was the exact opposite of what Protagoras the sophist had taught, the opposite of the gospel of individualism. Man is so far from being the measure of all things, that there is in all things a measure to which he must conform, if he is not to sink into error. This measure, this system of whole truths, implying an eternal mind to which it is present, and by which it is manifested in the world, is just what man arrives at, if he will but think out his thoughts in their completeness. In doing so, he at once learns the laws by which the universe is governed and finds a guide and a sanction for his own conduct--a sanction no longer external and imposed by the State, but eternal and imposed by the mind. A system like this involved a complete reversal of the old view of the relation between man and the State, and at the same time took the feet from under individualism. "It is true", said Socrates in effect, "that the individual, and not the State, is the source of all authority, the measure of all things; but he is so, not as an individual, but as endowed with the universal reason by which the world, including the State, is governed." This is the sum and substance of Socrates' teaching, this is what he believed to be true self-knowledge. This is the truth whose application to life begins a new epoch in human history, and separates the modern from the ancient world; this is the truth that, reiterated and vivified by Christianity, forms the very life of our life today.¹

¹ Aristotle and the Ancient Educational Ideals, pp. 109-10.

As to the role of habit and discipline in the scheme of education as a factor in modifying human behavior many comparisons might be made with theories of modern educators. We find Davidson in close agreement with William James as even a brief examination of their doctrines will show. A recent unsigned article in The Manchester Guardian Weekly (England) gives a clear summary of Prof. James' theory of habit and discipline:

William James pointed out that habit, far from being a weakness, could be a strength. His point was that the careful choice and practice of habits would make certain repetitions so easy to do that mind and hand did them automatically and were therefore freed from the labor of ordering and executing such actions, so that the mind could advance to matters of greater importance without encumbrance. And so also discipline, which is the creator of habit, achieves the same result, and in the same way, is a benefit and a saver so long as it is wise in direction and application. Discipline is, indeed, essential for any other freedom than the freedom of the anarchic mind. Without discipline the mind is chained to multitudes of small daily decisions, it becomes the food of vexation, and exists in instability perpetually deflected from one trivial purpose to another....But by discipline the mind is freed or capable of freeing itself from these perplexities and, having made for itself a moderately stable machinery of habit to stand on, can leave that part of existence to look after itself.....And thus can it assist in the real civilization of the race, for which duty one supposes education should be the fit and proper training.¹

As we have seen from our study of Davidson, the above paragraph applies with equal force to his philosophy in so far as it has to do with habit and discipline.

¹ The Liberation of Discipline, The Manchester Guardian Weekly, February 12, 1926.

With regard to the stuff which man is, whether feeling, thinking, or willing, fundamentally, (each has had its defenders) we can only say that it depends upon the stage at which we formulate our judgment. It might well happen that any one of these could become dominant, and Plato built his social psychology upon this possibility as a basis for his Republic, but there can scarcely be any doubt that we are "feeling" at the beginning.

In two paragraphs of a review of Laurence Buermer's book Aesthetic Experience, Leo Stein gives in The New Republic¹ what might in reality be considered a summarization of the chief principles of Davidson's philosophy of education:

We start with instincts which are impulsive tendencies that are completed only when the action works itself out in knowing, possessing, or transforming some object. Feelings accompany these processes, and these feelings are emotion. Instincts never operate singly and in isolation, and intelligence is shown when the instincts, instead of conflicting, are brought into accord, and by mutual adaptation achieve desirable ends. Such is the material which in an elaborated form constitutes the aesthetic experience.

A life that is restricted in the extreme is merely practical; with enlargement of interest expressive purpose develops; and the ultimate phase is when expression becomes of itself a sufficient interest. Then the aesthetic is no longer accidental, but has become the core of the activity. It is the goal of civilization so to organize the social structure and function that more and more of its total interests would enter into a whole on which one could look and

¹ March, 17, 1926.

say, as God did of the world He had created, that it was good. Such a totality of good substituting in a reciprocity of functional parts, and known as totality, would be the aesthetic ideal.

But given the "enlargement of interest", the "organization of the social structure", and the "reciprocity of functional parts" referred to above, Davidson would go even further. He would claim the attainment of the "aesthetic ideal" undoubtedly, but would also claim as the logical outgrowth of such a process the realization of ethical and moral life in the soul of the individual.

The concept of education as world-building does not call for any lengthy defense. This same process is constantly going on everywhere in daily life, whether in the home or the market place. As many different worlds will be built as there are individuals. Within recent months three men have died whose lives illustrate strikingly several types of world-builders. The first of them was a churchman, an ecclesiastic, whom we might have regarded as living in a narrow, isolated circle. Yet into the structure of his long life were builded so firmly the enduring elements of religion, patriotism, love for mankind, unselfishness, devotion to duty, belief in an ideal, that when the crisis came in his own life and in the life of his country, he rose to such heights that the world marveled, and several short years later at the bier of Cardinal Mercier, men of whatever faith, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew mourned

together.

Typical of the temple world of culture we may take the life of our late ex-president, Woodrow Wilson. In him we find combined various kinds of worlds. His life was constantly changing and expanding into broader fields of action and responsibility. Trained for the law, he deserted this for the less remunerative field of education, becoming in turn teacher, professor, and university president. As an author he is known for his keen thinking and his power of vivid and accurate expression. In politics he served as governor of his state and president of his country, but it is as a world statesman that he will be longest remembered. We might mention many character traits but two stand out preeminently,- an unswerving devotion to an ideal, and an inability to compromise. These made for him countless friends and countless enemies.

The third man died in what should have been his prime of life but his entire life was spent in combat with the forces of society. A certain unhealthy glamour has attached itself to his name, for many sympathized with him as being a mere puppet moved by the influences of an unfavorable social environment. Facts do not justify such a conclusion, for Gerald Chapman was gifted with superior intelligence, came of an honest, industrious family, and lived in an age rich in social and material opportunities. His world, however, was disorganized by crime and his

values misplaced and distorted by his peculiar unbalanced philosophy of life. His crimes against society ran the entire gamut from petty theft to murder until in the end his world structure was destroyed by the state hangman.

But world-building does not manifest itself only in the inner life of an individual. It functions wherever the possibility of choice is present. In fact we can hardly conceive of a situation where the world-building hypothesis does not enter to some extent. The situation may be simple or exceedingly complex. Suppose we are planning to build a new home. Our aim is to secure future satisfaction and there are, therefore, many factors to be considered. We must first determine upon the location with due regard for the neighborhood, accessibility to stores, street cars, schools, churches, dance halls, picture houses, or whatever objects or institutions may appeal to our peculiar and individual taste. The personality of one may find concrete expression in a twenty-room stone mansion, of another in a simple four room cottage or bungalow. There will be the same extreme diversity in the interior arrangement and equipment. The furnishings will vary in amount, in kind, and in arrangement. One house may be filled to overflowing with books, or flowers, or pictures, while another may have neither books, nor pictures, nor flowers, but instead a magnificent player piano with a music roll library complete to the latest fox trot.

Each house, whatever its character, be it large or small, richly furnished or scantily furnished, will reflect with remarkable fidelity the character of the individuals which inhabit it. Gilbert K. Chesterton in a recent novel says, "It is idle to analyze how a man's soul and social type will somehow soak into his surroundings." In other words, each element introduced into this house-world was selected because of the value attached thereto by the builder.

It is true that there is no objective standard for measuring or evaluating a philosophy of education, formulated and offered as such, but any one is at liberty to construct one, even following the questionnaire or statistical methods now in vogue for doing so. But when one has done so, it is quite obvious that all of the "gods" which would find their way into such a standard quite readily find a place in Davidson's scheme.

One test, for example which must be applied to all philosophies, is the extent to which there is a congruity of results which flow from the assumptions with which a philosophy sets out. Judged by this test the educational philosophy of Davidson is the most consistent and comprehensive foundation for education of any to be found.

Each civilization demands an educational system which best interprets that civilization and which promises to contribute most those things upon which the continuance of that particular civilization seems to depend. By whatever means or agency formulated and administered, it is inseparably linked to the religious, social, intellectual, and industrial beliefs and traditions of the state. It must, therefore, of necessity follow that the state or civilization will consciously ~~##~~^{and} deliberately develop such a system of education as best expresses its own theories and beliefs and inevitably there will be an intimate relationship between its philosophy, its sociological beliefs, and its educational doctrines. Herein, therefore, lies the origin of the well-known objectives for education, past and present, and Davidson's scheme is broad enough to include them all. Vitally interested in all that concerned human welfare, he would have found it impossible to construct an abstract system of philosophy or to develop a scheme of education which was merely formal or utilitarian. He visioned education as a vital force which would quicken the soul of each individual, broaden his horizon, deepen and enrich his world, and open before him a life of growing and expanding moral freedom. Such an education would leave no part of man's nature neglected--mental, moral, or physical. In his system he would include not only those things which would enable man to cope with

the affairs of daily life, provide a livelihood, and meet the unending vicissitudes^{of existence}, but he would add to it the cultural and humanizing studies,-languages, literature, history, and the study of the social structure and social institutions.

Greek education may be briefly characterized as an education based upon reason, rational living, and the harmonious development of all the powers of man. Much has already been said to indicate that these form an integral part of Davidson's scheme of educational philosophy. After briefly outlining a course of study beginning with language and the other "instruments of study" and ending with religion, he~~s~~ states that

"The cycle of studies, thus completed and closed by theology, constitutes an ordered whole, corresponding to the ordered whole of the universe, as far as it is known at any given moment, and is calculated to make him who pursues it a complete human being, harmonious inwardly and outwardly, being related by all his powers, physical and spiritual, to the universe in which he lives and moves and has his being.¹

If a house divided against itself cannot stand, so a living being whose nature is out of balance cannot progress--a fact of no small consequence to educators. Many living types have died out from mere inner disharmony or one-sided evolution. Man has risen above the brute condition simply because he has been able to hold the balance between feeling and action comparatively even, and his further advance will depend upon how far he is able to do this in the future.²

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 21.

² History of Education, p. 11.

Religion has been the dominating idea in many educational systems of the past, and in Davidson's philosophy we find it playing a prominent part, not a narrow sectarian religion belonging to a particular race or creed, but a religion broad as the universe itself.

In the sphere of morals and religion every means will be used to make the young man and young woman feel, see, and by action prove, that the world is God's home, mankind His family, and He the infinite, loving Father. Thus will arise that persistent attitude of love and worship which alone confers consecration and blessedness on life, which alone gives man the right to say that he is educated, that he has conquered his original nature, and risen to his ideal nature. A divine world will now have been created in the individual soul, and therein life will be truly aimful and blessed, because it is the life of God.¹

Greece not only perished herself, but she left an example by following which other nations have perished--yea, and other nations will yet perish, unless, warned by her fate, they make all education culminate in the culture of the spiritual sense which reveals God, and so place religion on the throne that belongs to her as the guide and inspiration of life.²

Writing to one of the members of the Breadwinners College, he says:³

It is a great satisfaction to be thoroughly convinced of one's immortality; and one may easily be so who thinks logically. I don't know what Weltschmerz is, and I have no fear of death, or of anything that may come after it.....I am sure that, if the conviction of immortality would make your life 'full of joy', I can procure for you that joy. It must be dreary to go through life feeling that it ends in a hole in the ground; that however noble a character one may have built up, with pain and sore toil, it all goes out like a blown candle.

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 27.

² Ibid., p. 229.

³ Editor's Notes, Education as World-Building, Harvard University Press, p. 57.

I am glad to say that I know that this view is not true; and I know that no great soul has ever held it.

And again in writing to the same class the same belief is definitely stated:

My aim has been to lead the class up to a true philosophy which should make it evident that death is but an incident in an eternal career. ✓

In most schemes of education vocational and cultural objectives are kept quite distinct, Davidson himself pointing out that "To a large extent, distinction of culture will coincide with difference in wealth." In his own scheme these aims are not kept separate, for as he points out, no one will profit more from the cultural aspects of education than the one who must earn his livelihood by vocational pursuits. Universal education must take two forms, ✓

(1) training with a view to earning a livelihood, and avoiding poverty, with all its evils, and (2) civic culture such as shall enable its recipients to do their duty as citizens, and not be mere "dumb, driven cattle" in the shambles of self-appointed owners.¹ ✓

Our scheme of public education will never be complete, will never even do its best work, until it supplements its present institutions by a whole system of evening training-schools and colleges for breadwinners, the former to impart such skill as shall enable them to give to society, by a reasonable amount of labor, an equivalent for a decent livelihood, the latter to open up for them the treasures of the great world of nature and culture, and enable them to perform their part as members of family, society, and state.²

As his own definite, concrete solution of the problem, he states that every village in the country should

¹ History of Education, p. 263.

² Ibid., p. 264

have a People's University which should consist of three parts,

(1) A Manual Training School and Polytechnic Institute, in which instruction should be given in all the arts; (2) a College, which, eschewing authority, sectarianism, and all the medieval rags and symbols.... shall impart a coherent scientific culture, laying special stress upon those sciences which relate to the history and constitution of society; (3) a Gymnasium, with baths, recreation-rooms, and rooms for lectures on hygienic and kindred subjects. For public lectures and plays, there should be a well-appointed theater.¹

Incidentally we see here the school as a community center, open both day and evening, with interests and activities appealing not only to the young but to the adult as well.

Physical education is not ignored in Davidson's comprehensive scheme of education. He has for this a somewhat complete program carefully arranged and adapted to the various periods of school life from kindergarten through the university.²

Finally we have as one of the most recently established objectives, and one which has received the endorsement of many modern educators, "education for democracy". This, likewise, secures ample recognition in the philosophy of Davidson. By giving men broad and comprehensive views of life, with the inspiration attached thereto,

¹ History of Education, p. 267.

² Education of the Greek People, pp. 22 et seq.

most of the problems of modern society will be solved.

Davidson comments with approval on the nature and spirit of education in the United States:

It is democratic; it is scientific, rapidly shaking off the fetters of authority and dogma; it is free from sectarian bias and confusion; above all, it educates for freedom, and not for subordination. It is the highest type, thus far, of human education.¹

He recognizes, of course, that our educational system is neither perfect nor complete, and points to some of the ways in which development must proceed:

But in this matter the nation, as represented by the states, has a duty, which calls upon it to educate all its citizens to such a degree that none of them shall become dependent paupers or discontented incapables, always a menace to society, and that all shall fully understand their duties and privileges as citizens, and be prepared to claim the latter while performing the former. Now, it is quite obvious that the states have not done their duty in this respect. There still exists, almost everywhere, a large amount of incapacity, poverty, and discontent, with all the forms of degradation and danger that follow from these; while large numbers of the population, knowing neither their duties nor their privileges, as citizens, become an easy prey to selfish politicians, who counsel them against their own best interests, and whom they furnish with power, most dangerous to society and to the nation. If the United States is to remain a democracy otherwise than in name, this state of things must cease, and nothing can make it cease but the education of the masses.²

The United States owes its high place among the nations today to the education of its people.....Education is the only thing that can do away with those internal evils that disturb the peace, and threaten the existence, of the nation--labor troubles, saloon politics, haunts of vice, slum-life and the like. These things

¹ History of Education, p. 253.

² Ibid., p. 263.

exist because a large body of our people, from want of education to open up to them the world of great movements, and noble interests and enjoyments, are condemned to narrow, sordid lives, and petty or vicious interests... We leave them ignorant of the true principles of social and economic life, and then we wonder that they are led astray by social and economic charlatans. We do not teach them the value of the vote, and then we are disgusted to find them selling it for a glass of whiskey. We do not cultivate them into moral independence, and then we condemn them because they are guided by low ones.....Until we have offered the people the attraction of high things, we have no right to complain that they are attracted by low things.¹

Davidson elsewhere points out that civilization is not static, that ~~##~~ it moves steadily forward, and that to keep pace with it there must be on the part of man a constantly increasing attention to the cultivation of the intelligence:

The cultivation that sufficed to enable a man to live rationally in the time of Homer, or Plato, or Caesar, or Alfred, or even of Washington, is altogether insufficient for the man of the present day....Every age demands an education of the intelligence suited to its own conditions. But it is not enough for a man to understand the conditions of rational life in his own time; he must likewise love these conditions, and hate whatever leads to life of an opposite kind. This is only another way of saying that he must love the good and hate the evil; for the good is simply what conduces to rational or moral life, and the evil merely what leads away from it.²

He then proceeds to bring the whole question to a sharp focus thereby providing education with an objective which will apply to all peoples and to all ages, and with this brief summarization we can properly bring our thesis to a close:

¹ History of Education, pp. 265 et seq.

² Education #of the Greek People, p. 8.

Indeed the whole aim of education is to develop intellectual reflection and will from the earliest possible moment in life, and apply them from the very first to the regulation of the lower faculties. In saying this, we are, of course, only saying, in other words, that the aim of education is to make men intelligent and moral beings, instead of beings living by sense and instinct, or wilfulness.¹

The aim of education is to lift the human being out of his "original nature" into his "ideal nature", which consists of intelligence, affection, and will, harmoniously working together for their own perfection; and we concluded that the best education is that which best accomplishes this object.²

¹ Education of the Greek People, p. 11.

² Ibid., p. 29.

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London, 1882. 396 pages.

Based on the Sistema Filosofico or résumé of Rosmini's system compiled by Rosmini for Cantù's *Storia Universale*, together with numerous parallel passages from the author's other works, and many explanations by Davidson. Also in the same volume *The Life of Antonio Rosmini*, a bibliography of his works, and an introduction.

2. The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays.
London, 1882; New York and Boston, 1886.

Four essays, the first three archaeological in subject. In the Parthenon Frieze, Davidson attempts to prove that the frieze does not represent the Panathenaic procession but the "Dream of Pericles", which, as he says, was a "great, genial, humane purpose, which, had it become an event, would have, in all likelihood, changed the whole history of the world, and hastened the march of civilization by 2000 years."

3. Rosmini's Anthropology, Translation of, 1883

4. Psychology of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati.
3 volumes; 1884; New Edition, London, 1886.

Translation of the Psicologia. The first two volumes treat of the nature of the human soul. The third volume contains "The Laws of Animality" and "A Critico-historical Sketch of the Opinions of Philosophers on the Nature of the Human Soul"

5. Scartazzini's Handbook to Dante, with Notes.
Boston, 1887

6. Prolegomena to In Memoriam with an index to the poem.

Boston, 1889. 177 pages.

Davidson regards the poem not only as the greatest English poem of the century, but as one of the great world-poems. In his introduction he states that his purpose in writing this essay is to bring home this same conviction to other persons. A complete analysis and index of the poem, together with many parallel passages are given.

7. Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals.

New York, 1892.

Davidson here gives a complete outline of ancient education leading up to Aristotle. The life, teaching, and philosophy of Aristotle are analyzed in detail. The entire system of Greek philosophy is covered and the intimate relationship between Greek politics, social life, and education is admirably treated. "The Seven Liberal Arts" is treated separately in an appendix.

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SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Part I. Herein is presented a more complete biography of Davidson than has before been prepared.

Part II. We find presented as the fundamental principle of Davidson's philosophy that man is feeling, feeling being primitive datum. Man, however, does not remain feeling, for feeling is constantly moulded by experience. Man as a sentient being has different types of sensations and these sensations must be arranged and classified, the active force behind feeling being desire. The sentient aspect of the soul through experience becomes organized into intelligence, the desiderant aspect into will. A third attribute of the soul, not fully incorporated with intelligence, is emotion.

The only world which the individual can know is that which develops from the interaction of primitive feelings, this being brought about by means of the intelligence and the will. Davidson calls this process world-building.

Part III. From Davidson's philosophy three important educational implications immediately follow: 1. The aim of all education is the evolution of the social individual, for only as a social individual can the highest satisfaction be attained. 2. The evolution of the individual is conditioned by the development of an orderly world in his consciousness.

3. Ethical or moral life depends upon the completeness and harmony of this world which the individual creates. Facility in world-building is largely dependent upon two factors, -habit and discipline. In the philosophy of Davidson these are absolutely necessary for the formation of a moral life.

Part IV. Davidson may not have felt that he, like Ulysses, was a part of all that he had met, but one gets the impression that all that he had met was a part of him. The chief sources of the influences which he has woven into such a marvelous synthesis have been shown. The philosophical foundations of his educational program are a compound of certain concepts of Aristotle and Rosmini and his own interpretations of evolution. His pedagogical principles, deduced from his philosophical postulates, are a coordination of Rosminian, Frobelian, and Herbartian doctrines, with such modifications as his more individualistic position make necessary. His deeply rooted belief in a divine element in man found support in both Aristotle and Christian theology, as well as in his own philosophical dialectic, and explains why he so insistently emphasizes the necessity of thought and action with constant reference to the future.

Finally it has been shown that, measured by whatever criteria we may choose to employ, the educational system

proposed by Davidson is complete in all respects. His system is based upon reason and rational living. In it he provides for both cultural and vocational objectives; religion and physical education have their place; finally, by giving high ideals, based upon broad and comprehensive ideas of life, he provides a true foundation for education for democracy.

To sum up Davidson's philosophy in a sentence:

Man, originally desiderant feeling, through intelligence and will is enabled to create a rational, harmonious world through which he is enabled to secure permanent satisfaction.

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