

The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America Study Guide

The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America by Louis Menand

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Plot Summary

The Metaphysical Club discusses how the American thought processes in law, science, philosophy and religion were changed by four people. This way of thinking lasted until the beginning of the Cold War. The book is divided into five parts plus a prologue and epilogue. The prologue prepares the reader and gives a short history that led to this new way of thinking. Each of the first four parts focuses on one of the people attributed to the creation of "pragmatism." The final part gives a revealing look at the decline of pragmatic thinking and the beginning of Cold War thinking. The Epilogue ends each person's story.

The Preface introduces the reader to the four main characters of the book: Oliver Wendell Holmes, William James, Charles S. Peirce and John Dewey. It gives a brief overview of thinking during the time of the Civil War. It gives the beginning of how these four men fashioned their beliefs because of the discoveries of the times.

Part 1 is an analysis of the life of Oliver Wendell Holmes. It gives detailed background into his life and the decisions he makes that will influence his career until his death. Part 2 is an analysis of the life of William James. It discusses his mental problems, his feelings of inadequacy and how even with obstacles placed in his path by his father, he became one of the most revered philosophers and thinkers in the years after the Civil War. Part 3 introduces Charles S. Peirce. It shows his brilliance and his faults. It explains how both of these factors destroyed him academically and physically, and how he died in almost complete obscurity with no credibility. Part 4 gives us the story of the youngest of this group, John Dewey. It shows how each of the other people influenced Dewey and put him on the path to achieving the goals of his mentors. Part 5 discusses the achievements of each of these men. It explains how these achievements influenced all facets of society from the Civil War until the beginning of the Cold War, when fear took over rational thought. The Epilogue closes the story of each of the men. It tells of their final days and their continued belief in the pragmatism to which they had devoted their lives.



Preface

Preface Summary

The Congress of the years of the Civil War was more active than any other time in history. It allowed the federal government to become a progressive leader, socially and economically. It was during this time that the federal government instituted national taxation, national currency, public universities and completed the transcontinental railroad.

The Republican Party dominated the houses and was the champion of business. For the thirty years following the war, the federal government protected, and at times, promoted industrial capitalism, which introduced society to a new modern life.

The Civil War had caused the beliefs of the previous times to be discredited. It gave the American Experiment of democracy validity. The war ended slavery and changed the views of the intellectual north. The next fifty years was the creation of a "new American culture."

There were four men that had more to do with this creation than any other men living during that time. They built their beliefs by disproving and integrating some the new discoveries of the time. They were Oliver Wendell Holmes, William James, Charles S. Peirce and John Dewey. Their careers touched one another and even influenced one another at times. They respected one another, even when they did not agree. Their ideals and beliefs helped to change many facets of society, including education, democracy, justice, tolerance, politics, religion, and liberty.

Preface Analysis

The author uses his narrative to give this background as a starting point to help the reader understand the timeframe of this occurrence. It is needed to help understand the dramatic changes these four men made to ideological, social and religious thought.



Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 1

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 1 Summary

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. was an officer in the Union Army and was known to many as Captain Holmes for the remainder of his life. Later in his life, he often used military metaphors in his daily conversations, as well as in his opinions and dissents.

The Civil War started when he was only 20 years old. He was wounded a total of three times during the war. His first wound was received at his first battle at Ball's Bluff. He was shot through the chest. His second wound was received at the Battle of Antietam. He was shot in the neck while behind enemy lines. His company left him there for dead, but eventually someone found him and got him help. For the remainder of his life, on the anniversary of the battle he would drink a glass of wine in observance. His third wound was received right before the battle of Chancellorsville, when he was shot in the foot. He had been drawn to the war by his beliefs. However, during the war he questioned those beliefs and eventually lost those beliefs. The war helped him learn that all ideas have limits.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 1 Analysis

The author gives quick overview of Oliver Wendell Holmes and the experiences he encountered which led him to help change the beliefs of the entire nation.



Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 2

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 2 Summary

During the Civil War, the popular opinion in the North was to save the Union and abolish slavery. It was not so much that the North was against slavery, but they did not want slavery to expand into the new territory to the North and West. They wanted to remain in those few southern states in which it was already prevalent. The reason they did not want the slaves freed was that they believed that if the South seceded from the Union it would be an economic disaster, and that freed slaves would lower wages. They hoped slavery would just eventually go away.

The abolitionists viewed the Unionists as greedy and self-serving. The Unionists viewed the Abolitionists as creating a situation in which the South would secede. These conflicting views caused a war in the North before the Civil War ever started.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. was a Unionist. The family had been in New England since the time of the Puritans. Dr. Holmes thought of himself as an intellectual from a good family. He had tried law right after college, but changed to medicine. While practicing medicine, he published the germ theory that was considered a landmark paper at the time. He worked as a professor at Harvard Medical School and eventually became the Dean.

Many people in the area believed he was one of the greatest talkers of the time. This was because he tended to follow his own instincts and prevailing ideals. However, when there was a conflict between the two, he would follow public consensus, as was proven during his time as Dean of the Harvard Medical School.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 2 Analysis

Louis Menand explains the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. to give the reader an idea of the man who sculpted the Holmes family. By understanding the elements and thoughts of his father, the reader can better understand why he had certain beliefs at the age he entered the war. Without this background information, the thoughts and beliefs that made Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. famous would not be completely understood.



Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 3

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 3 Summary

In the Mid-19th Century, Boston was the financial center for all cotton products. It had more spindles than all of the eleven states of the South put together. These financiers of Boston did not want to antagonize the South. They were more in line with appeasement.

Daniel Webster helped pass the Compromise of 1850. The Compromise set regulations for the expansion of slavery into the new territories, and reinforced the fugitive slave laws, giving federal marshals and magistrates the power to return runaway slaves and overriding state and local liberty laws. The federal government taking over the enforcement of the fugitive slave laws angered many Northerners mainly because many saw it as a violation of the rights of the white northerners.

Many Northerners did not have a problem with slavery, but they did not feel it was their problem to police all black people in the north in case they were fugitive slaves. They believed that was a problem of the South.

Henry Dana and Charles Sumner were two well-known lawyers who represented slaves in court and fought for the end of slavery because they believed it was immoral. These two men did have one group of friends and those were the Adamses: John Quincy Adams, John Adams and Charles Adams. Dana, Sumner and Charles Adams were Conscious Whigs. They wanted to use the governmental system to stop the spread of slavery to the new territories, and stop the political blackmail of the South.

Abolitionists did not believe in systems. Therefore, they did not use the government to stop the slavery. They believed in politics and were technically triumphant in their endeavors. They wanted conversion of the political system and held great contempt for ordinary politics.

Abolitionism arose from an evangelical revival known as the Second Great Awakening that swept through New England in the early 1800s. This revival also created temperance, social reforms, women's rights and other religions. Its leader was William Lloyd Garrison. He stated, "The Constitution was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He also believed that no true abolitionist would hold political office.

George Ticknor was the epitome of the Boston intellectual group. He was a Harvard professor and the son of a wealthy merchant. His views were Unitarian and followed those of his peers and family. Unitarianism was rampant in Boston and at Harvard. It was founded on the innate goodness of a person. Although many Unitarians opposed



slavery, the Harvard professors were conservative and believed in the "sanctity of property."

There were actually two separate thoughts revolving around anti-slavery. One believed that slavery was evil; however, they did not believe the races were equal. The other believed in total equality of all races, religions and beliefs, and that they deserved the protection of the laws.

Wendell Phillips was associated with the Abolitionists, including Garrison. Phillips believed that all races and women were equal and spent his life defending that view.

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. was prejudiced, something he had learned from his father, a supporter of Daniel Webster. He often attacked abolitionists and preached the superiority of white people. Some of his statements reported in newspapers distressed his friends, including Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 3 Analysis

This is the world Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. associated with during his early adult life. He saw the two sides fighting, believing they were each right and the other wrong. He knew people who had been beaten for standing up for their beliefs, and lived with a Harvard professor. The explanation of the different facets shows that even among people of the Union there was dissent. The reader is seeing how these events in his early life set the stage for his original beliefs and then the questioning of those beliefs.



Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 4

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 4 Summary

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a friend of the Holmes.' After Emerson's death, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. wrote a book about him in 1884. It seemed only right. Holmes had worked with Emerson with the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* and with organizing business details at the Saturday club. The fact that Holmes wrote a book about Emerson was strange to many of their friends. The two men had opposing views on many levels.

Holmes explained to Emerson that the papers had taken his statements out of context. This statement was technically true. He had not come right out and called abolitionists traitors, but he had insinuated the fact. Emerson was relieved because he was an abolitionist. He had not taken to abolitionism easily, because he detested systems and thought of abolitionism as a system. He was suspicious of social activism and viewed Wendell Phillips as a puppet of the abolitionists. He was so suspicious of systems, including religious systems, that he was not invited to speak at Harvard for 30 years after he gave a speech in 1838 renouncing Christianity for personal revelation.

Emerson tried to keep away from the slavery issue, but the abolitionists wanted him on their side. His distrust of the South rose after the murder of Lovejoy, and his affiliation with abolitionism grew. When he discussed the Lovejoy murder in speeches, he kept the focus on freedom of speech instead of slavery. However, he did not hold back when discussing the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law.

The two men remained friends throughout their lifetimes even though they did not agree on certain issues. However, Holmes, Sr.'s esteem for Emerson seemed heartfelt, especially when he gave his son, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. a 5-volume set of Emerson's writing for his birthday.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Politics of Slavery, Section 4 Analysis

This section gives you a more in depth look at the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. It is here to help the reader understand the environment and influences in Holmes' life. His father was discriminatory and yet he held respect for Emerson. The conflicting views throughout his life probably were helpful in developing his thoughtful nature.



Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 1

Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 1 Summary

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. was only 17 years old when he entered Harvard as a freshman. He received Emerson's writing for his birthday and nine months later published an essay in the *Harvard Magazine* touting Emerson. He felt the inspiration he got from Emerson would help him achieve great things in his life.

Within two years, Holmes held the position of Editor for the *Harvard Magazine* and changed the tone of the magazine to support abolitionism, women's admission to Harvard and reform of the curriculum. Dr. Holmes received a letter from the President of Harvard regarding the radical changes in the magazine since young Holmes took over.

Holmes lived the best of both worlds. He was social and extroverted like his father when it was time to play. However, when work was necessary, Holmes emulated Emerson in his need for solitude. He had scientific views of the world around him that coincided with his religious beliefs, unlike many of his friends, who believed science and religion could not coexist.

In January of 1861, Richard Hallowell hired Holmes as a bodyguard for Wendell Phillips. Phillips needed a bodyguard because of the political upheaval created by the war and abolitionism. Phillips' messages that caused the most problem among the Northerners were to let the South secede. The North did not need the South.

To the North the war was about the balance of power; to the South it was about slavery. However, with the South throwing its political weight around, many Northerners began to dislike slavery. Things did not get any better after the caning of Charles Sumner on the Senate floor. This caused many Northern Senators to no longer feel any sympathy for the South, and turn antislavery.

The turning point for many civilians included the Dred Scott case, Bloody Kansas, and the execution of John Brown. Blood was being spilled and society did not like it. To end it they took sides, and many Northerners sided with antislavery.

In 1860, the fears of the North were realized with the secession of the South. The South cancelled orders from all the Northern manufacturers, which caused wages to be cut and civic unrest.

In April 14, 1861, Fort Sumter surrendered to the Confederate Army. Within twenty-four hours, President Abraham Lincoln had made a call for volunteers for the Union Army. Holmes left Harvard on April 25, 1861 to enlist and fight in the war. Harvard penalized him for leaving early, but did eventually allow him to take his exams. He graduated on July 17, 1861 with his class.



Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 1 Analysis

The author shows the Northern people rallying around the abolitionists when they start to feel that the South is pushing slavery on them. Holmes had been inspired by Emerson and took up the abolitionists' banner. He was sure these people were right and wanted to help as much as he could. The social unrest of the time is foreshadowing the coming of a new age of thinking and belief.



Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 2

Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 2 Summary

Holmes joined the Army. He felt it was his duty to fight for what he believed. He thought of the war as "a heroic adventure." However, he changed his mind after his very first battle, which was the battle at Ball's Bluff.

The Union army was all but brought to the slaughtering block. The unstable leadership and incorrect information led to bad decisions. The leader of the Army at that time was General George B. McClellan, who had his own agenda.

Holmes led a company in the Twentieth Massachusetts and after being wounded discovered that 38 of his soldiers had died in battle. This battle and his time in the hospitals made him reevaluate his convictions. He chose not to change his ideals, and discovered that knowing he had done his duty was enough of a religion for him.

Holmes eventually destroyed all diary entries except for the entry about his first battle and the months from May to July 1864. Many of the letters received from him or sent to him were destroyed as well. There is no indication of his thoughts during the war or why he joined the army, other than he felt it was his duty. However, he did acknowledge that he learned much from the war.

Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 2 Analysis

The author describes the battle of Ball's Bluff and the way that battle helped Holmes reevaluate his life. It sets the stage for the man who will emerge from the war and be a major contributor to pragmatism, even though he does not know it yet.

The description of senators with no military experience helps the reader understand that the leadership of the army was based on political influence, not on experience. Many of the colonels were as inexperienced as the young men they led to battle.

The destruction of diaries and much of his correspondence shows the reader that Holmes had views during the war he never wanted anyone else to know about afterwards. It is insinuated that he must have changed his views about many things like abolitionism and religion. Many of his beliefs in later years stem from this environment.



Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 3

Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 3 Summary

Lincoln was President and had goals for the outcome of this war. Unfortunately, many of the military men did not follow his agenda. The 20th Massachusetts held a conglomeration of beliefs, and they were eventually considered a lost cause to abolitionists.

There was a faction in the 20th Massachusetts that disliked the abolitionists and thought the war was their fault and a mistake. Their leader was Henry "Little" Abbott. He would become very important to Holmes.

After being sent home to recuperate from his neck wound, Holmes was to rejoin the 20th Massachusetts. Abbott was returning at the same time. The two men spent the next week of travel time, getting to know one another. Abbott thought of Holmes as "a student rather than a man of action."

Shortly after his return, Holmes wrote to his sister. He said the Army was "tired" and talked of "defeat," and followed with hopes for "intervention." This is the first chance to see the war inside of Holmes. He had become disheartened with the war, and did not believe they can achieve their goals.

Many of the Union soldiers called their orders "suicide missions" and felt that their friends and family were dying because of "mismanagement and political meddling."

This view was more accepted when Lincoln dismissed General McClellan. These were the views of people like Abbott, who were referred to as copperheads.

December 13, 1862, was the battle at Fredericksburg. There were approximately 13,000 Union casualties and dead. There were approximately 5,000 Confederate casualties and dead. No ground was won or lost. The 20th Massachusetts lost 48 men in that battle. Holmes was not there, and would shortly go on leave for dysentery.

This battle and Abbott's heroic leadership in a "certain and useless death" mission made Holmes view the war in a new way, as "a waste of humanity." From this point on, Holmes judged men by their individual success, not the success of the causes they were working toward.

Shortly after Holmes again rejoined his company, there was a new regiment created, the 54th Massachusetts. Governor John Andrew announced that the regiment would consist of black volunteers led by Robert Gould Shaw. Pen Hallowell, who had been with Holmes since Harvard, applied and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 54th Massachusetts. He asked Holmes to apply and Holmes declined for unknown reasons.



May 1863, Holmes was shot in the foot during "Second Fredericksburg" and was sent home to recuperate. He returned to the 20th Massachusetts in January 1864, but did not stay there long. He was transferred from the front, but he was far from out of danger. He felt the final months of his commission were the worst.

Part 1, Chapter 2 The Abolitionist, Section 3 Analysis

The reader sees Henry Abbott had an effect on Holmes. Holmes was already battling within himself and Abbott is giving him new ideas and views to consider on top of his own battle. With the loss of more men with each battle, his views more closely resembled those of Abbott. However, the war was not over and he had more experiences to deal with before his final decision can be made.



Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 1

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 1 Summary

The North won because Grant was not afraid to fight and would constantly look for battles. Holmes was transferred because the 20th Massachusetts did not have enough soldiers to accommodate more officers. He was now assigned to the staff of General Horatio G. Wright.

In April 1864, an article in the *North American Review* made him rethink his exhaustion with the war. It compared the Civil War with the Crusades. An article in *The Atlantic Monthly* called the Northern soldiers weak. Many Union Soldiers read it and used it to rally themselves for the cause. Holmes did too.

These articles and other events after the Battle at Gettysburg caused the outlook of the Union Army to change. To each soldier, the war became more of a crusade and they stepped up to take on the crusade and win for their views.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 1 Analysis

The mood of the book changes as the weary soldiers hear a rallying cry from the articles. They take the articles to heart and get to business. The reader knows that the end of the war is not far off, and these articles seem to be a spark that was needed to end the war.

Holmes uses these articles for himself. He wants to believe in something again, but he cannot return to his previous belief system. This is a way for him to have something to fight for and finish his time in the Army.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 2

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 2 Summary

Lee met Grant and attacked. The Battle of the Wilderness had begun. It was one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War. The Union Army lost about 3000 soldiers a day. However, Grant refused to back down and eventually made it to Spotsylvania.

During this battle, Abbott was shot and killed. Holmes was devastated and tired. He was honored that Abbott considered him a friend. His death sealed the views of Holmes regarding the use of character and job performance when judging a man. In the 40 days of the battle, approximately 60,000 soldiers were killed.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 2 Analysis

Holmes has to deal with losses in this section that outweigh any other. Abbott was dear to him, as the reader knows, and his death and the carnage of the Battle of the Wilderness have taken their toll on Holmes. The reader sees Holmes has grown, but is unsure of how much, and in what direction.



Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 3

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 3 Summary

Within a few weeks, Holmes had been released from his commission, and he returned home. He left for London to talk with Emerson about a career in philosophy, but so much had changed in him, after he spoke with Emerson, he knew it was not for him. He would still be a philosopher. He would not generalize but specialize. He entered Harvard Law School.

Holmes wrote a review called "Primitive Notions in Modern Law" twelve years after law school. He sent the article to Emerson to see if he liked what Holmes was saying. From that, Holmes became the Emerson of professionalism, a philosophy he called "jobbism." It was based on the premise that if one does his job correctly and with honor, no matter what the job is one should be fulfilled. He stated this theme in all of his speeches and it was used as a basis for everything he did.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 3 Analysis

The truth of Holmes' reevaluation of his belief system comes to light when he rejects the postwar Boston views. The reader has seen him mature from a young man wanting to please and gain freedom for others, into a man that wants to find self-satisfaction in his own life, by the deeds he does and the goals he achieves. He seems to have taken a view that since he cannot save the world, he must save himself.



Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 4

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 4 Summary

Holmes cherished his Civil War experiences for the rest of his life. These experiences had led him to decide that imposing a belief on other people would always lead to violence. He had fought for what he thought was right, and even when he realized he just held a different opinion he continued to fight. He thought each person in society had these tendencies.

He sat on the Supreme Court for approximately sixteen years and continuously changed his views. He believed that right and wrong were influenced by circumstances surrounding the action. He used this belief to decide the outcomes of trials he heard. The ideals of democracy and capitalism were also prevalent in his decisions. He heartily defended freedom of speech and economic reform. He believed that although he may not agree with a person's reasoning, they should have a chance to try to gain approval before being pushed aside.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 4 Analysis

This section gives light to how drastically the views of Holmes had changed during the Civil War. He went from believing in the individual to believing in society. It is shown that he believed some must fail for society to grow and adapt to the world around them. It gives the reader an idea of the views that would stay with Holmes the rest of his life, and affect all aspects of his life. The reader understands that he held his Civil War experiences near to his heart to keep him focused on how society worked and how his ideals from the Civil War had changed him for the better.



Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 5

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 5 Summary

Because of the war, Holmes developed a new view of the world. This view could not consider Boston to be the center of intellectual thinking, as his father had believed. Boston was only a city in the United States and the world. It had no real reason for being considered the center of thought. He felt that imposing the partial views of Boston on others in America was wrong. As he grew older, he continued to live in a solitary fashion, and enjoyed his solitude.

Part 1, Chapter 3 The Wilderness, Section 5 Analysis

The author finishes this section by giving the reader the views of the older, more experienced Holmes. He explains how Holmes uses his newfound ideals to create and influence his life, and his old age.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 1

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 1 Summary

William James spent his life changing his mind. He would want to be a scientist and then an artist, and bounce back again to science. When the Civil War began, he spent 90 days with the Newport Artillery Company, but spent the rest of the war studying medicine at Harvard. This was to be the only educational program he ever completed. He never practiced medicine; instead, he taught physiology, then experimental psychology, and finally philosophy.

His family was of wealthy Irish descent on both sides. William and his father, Henry James Sr., did not have similar views and did not get along. Many people thought that the main reason William and Henry did not enlist was because their father would not let them. He viewed the two oldest sons as more talented than his other children, and viewed William as the most talented of all.

William was ashamed that he did not participate in the Civil War as most of his peers did. In fact, as the 54th Massachusetts marched through town, William hid and watched Charles Lowell lead his company to the next battle. William looked up to Charles and wished he were more like him.

William worked for two years trying to decide if he should enlist in the Army, or stay in school. This indecisiveness stayed with him throughout his life. His jumping from one career to another for 15 years shows this indecisiveness very well. He spent two years courting Alice Howe Gibbons and only asked her to marry him because she was leaving for Canada. In addition, in 1903, he started trying to decide if he should retire, which he finally did in 1907, four years later.

Even though he created havoc in his life with the inability to make and stick to a decision, everyone liked him. He showed them how he could take this weakness and make it strength when he created pragmatism.

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is introduced to the next person who was instrumental in changing the thoughts and views of America after the Civil War. The reader meets William James and the reader is told of his quirks and challenges. It also describes how he uses these weaknesses as strengths to build his life and career. He has problems with his father, Henry James, Sr., but everyone likes him. The reader may assume that his

indecisiveness is the result of his father indulging every whim for education and artistic training William desires. This section gives the reader the basis with which to understand William James.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 2

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 2 Summary

The James' were from Irish descendants on both sides. William James, the grandfather, came to America at 18 and made his fortune. He was considered the second wealthiest man in New York. Henry James Sr. was from his third wife and was a prodigal son. Henry James Sr. rebelled against everything his father believed in. He dropped out of school, ran up large bills on his father's credit for cigars and clothes and just did as he pleased, until he was born-again with the Great Second Awakening.

There were two events in Henry Sr.'s life that changed him. The first was that he had most of his right leg amputated because of an accident. The other was the fact that his father had disinherited him to a point. Henry Sr. sued the estate two times before the will was voided in 1836 and he was given his share. During the court cases, Henry gambled and traveled. He did everything his father abhorred, which is why he originally received less than any of his other 10 siblings. However, it was during this time that Henry Sr. discovered the Second Great Awakening and changed his ways to the other extreme. Henry Sr. learned two things from the Second Great Awakening: a love of religious impulse and a hatred of religious institutions.

Henry Sr. enrolled in the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835. However, his education there did not last long. He went to England in 1837 and was introduced to Sandemanism. It was a rebellion against the corruption of the Protestant and Presbyterian churches, which he thought believed that actions were more important than faith.

He returned to England again, and joined a group called the Scottish Baptists; however, in 1839, he returned to New York City. He became part of a religion called "Primitive Christians" and married Mary Walsh. She was Presbyterian, and before Henry Sr. would marry her, she had to resign membership to her family's church.

William was born in 1842, and Henry Jr. was born in 1843. Before the birth of Henry Jr., he traveled to London. He had a nervous breakdown in 1844; from what he described, he saw a shape that seemed dangerous. He went to a spa to recuperate and discovered that what he had seen was called a "vastation" in the Swedenborg belief.

Henry Sr. took to Swedenborgism and returned to New York City and his family. He spent the rest of his life touting Swedenborgian ideals, and attacking the New Swedenborgian church for not teaching the truth and institutionalizing Swedenborgism.

His relationship with Emerson was uncharacteristic. He was impulsive and Emerson was solitary. Emerson introduced Henry Sr. to the Transcendentalist Movement, but Henry Sr. was not welcomed with open arms.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 3

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 3 Summary

The reader gets an overview of the life of William James' father, Henry James Sr. By doing this, the author shows how Henry Sr. rebelled against his own father, his father's religion and took to Swedenborgism. Henry Sr. was given to excesses in his youth, which almost caused him to lose everything. It should be noted that Henry Sr. changed his mind continually when something came along that coincided with his views better. He seems to have taken a little bit of several religions to come up with his final belief system. His radical religious beliefs were bound to have an effect on his children. This section also explains that Emerson was a good friend of the James.' The two men both disliked institutionalization and systems. However, that is about as far as their agreements went, even though their respect for one another went much further.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 4

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 4 Summary

Henry wrote many newspaper columns and books, many of which were published because of a donation to the newspaper or because Henry Sr. self-published. He preached free love and stated there was no room for morality. These statements were used later to promote promiscuity, and Henry Sr. had to explain them in a better way. He stated that prior to marriage, free love is not a problem, but after marriage, the man should only rely on his wife's virtues. His religious beliefs made women and blacks inferior to white males. He refused to become an abolitionist because they viewed slavery as an institution.

Henry Sr. was a Platonist and believed in the invisible and visible worlds of Swedenborgism. The only issue he had with Swedenborgism was the belief in the individual, which Henry Sr. believed was a sin. He also believed in universalism, and hated sectarianism. He disliked the Jewish religions because of their moral law, and touted that Catholicism was only superstition. He believed that the democratization of the Protestant religion was needed, and based his Swedenborgist beliefs on this view.

William disliked and disagreed with many of his father's ideals, but he was an extreme Protestant as well. This religious view showed up in his creation of "pragmatism," which he explains to be the "disestablishmentarian impulse in American culture."

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 4 Analysis

Louis Menand uses this section to give the reader a basic understanding of the kind of man William James' father was. By having this background, the reader had a better understanding of why William acted as he did.

William was raised in a strict anti-institutionalized religious home, where women and blacks were considered inferior, other religions were viewed as superstitions and moral law was unnecessary. Even from an early age, William did not seem to agree with many of his father's views and his creation of "pragmatism" represents these disagreeing views. However, this does not mean that William was not very religious. In fact, in spite of his upbringing he was extremely religious and he felt that his "pragmatism" helped science and religion come together instead of being separate. This was the main reason for his development of "pragmatic" thought. It seems to be the one ideal he never changed his mind about during his life.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 5

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 5 Summary

Swedenborg was a religious leader who created his religion after hallucinating in a tavern, after which he claimed to have direct verbal contact with God. Prior to this experience, he was considered a well-known man of science and was a mining engineer expert.

Swedenborgism was a liberal religion that was harmonious with the scientific thought of the day. Emerson enjoyed learning about Swedenborgism and was a follower for a short time. However, Swedenborgism quickly picked up many of the attributes of another system called Mesmerism. The Swedenborgians in the United States tried to keep Mesmerism out of Swedenborgism, but to get new members and retain old ones, Mesmerism soon integrated with Swedenborgism. In fact, hypnotism, psychic healing, and spiritualism all integrated with American Swedenborgism.

Spiritualism grew in believers after the Fox sisters became known for communicating with the dead spirits of people. It is not unbelievable that Swedenborgism quickly took hold of spiritualism. Even though a team of professors proved the Fox sisters were creating a hoax, many people still believed, and Margaret Fox continued to "communicate with the spirits" until 1893. She helped meld psychic phenomena, religion and science. The confusion that emerged was exactly what William James believed in his later years. He tried every drug and every experience to prove the existence of the invisible or spirit realm. However, even though he tried hard to prove this theory, he was never able to gain substantial proof before his death.

Henry James Sr., however, attacked the Fox sisters and every thing to do with spiritualism, stating that spirits should not be played with because they were dangerous. He never said they did not exist. In fact, he believed they were real and if called upon would do more harm than good.

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 5 Analysis

The author gives the reader a little background of Swedenborgism, as well as an account of the relationship between Swedenborgism and other religious trends of the time. It is helpful for the reader to understand the fact that Swedenborgism began with a drunken man hallucinating. We can assume that if he had not been an expert mining

engineer and well-accomplished man of science, no one would have believed him. However, because of his notoriety, he was believed almost instantly.

This is the religion of Henry James Sr.; however, he never believed in the spiritualism that many people used in Swedenborgism. He acknowledged the spirits, but viewed them as bad. The reader realizes that William James uses his father's views as a reason to believe in Spiritualism. The Fox sisters are used to emphasize the fact that people will believe what they want, no matter who says they are wrong. These believers included William James, and the reader is told that he unsuccessfully tried to prove this phenomenon was real for many years.



Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 6

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 6 Summary

Henry Sr. viewed education as he did everything, with a distrust of institutions. Therefore, he continually moved his family around Europe and northeastern America. Many of the moves can be attributed to William's urges to learn something new; however, William always felt that he was at a disadvantage because he had no true and formal education.

Henry Jr. took the moving in stride and although often embarrassed was also grateful that he had been allowed to follow his passions regarding his education.

Wilky and Bob did not feel that they were worthwhile. They believed themselves to be inferior to William and Henry Jr. and therefore, did not take much of their education.

Alice, the only daughter, was not allowed to have any education, because Henry Sr. believed it was a waste of time to educate an inferior female. Alice always felt that this was a disservice to her and always felt stupid.

William, however he felt about his education, ended up teaching both philosophy and psychology at Harvard, even though he had no formal education in either. He looked at problems differently because he had no premise to follow or basic set of rules in which to adhere. He was open to any and all solutions, and the ideas were always his alone.

Part 2, Chapter 4 The Man of Two Minds, Section 6 Analysis

The reader learns that none of the James children had a formal education. The whims of William and Henry Jr. dictated where they family would live, and how they would be educated. Each child had their own view of the situation, but the two younger boys and the daughter knew they were not as special as William and Henry Jr. were. Henry Jr. loved the fact he had no formal education, and William always felt as if he were at a disadvantage.

The reader now understands what a great accomplishment it was for William James to create pragmatism. He had no formal training in philosophy and yet his ideas were the backbone of American thought from the end of the Civil War until the beginning of the Cold War. It is hard to comprehend, in today's world, that someone without an education can do such stupendous things. It was the same at that time. He did extraordinary things.



Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 1

Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 1 Summary

Louis Agassiz was a protégé of two of the leading scientific minds in Europe before the age of twenty-five. One was the French Paleontologist, George Cuvier. The other was the Prussian Naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt.

When Cuvier died, he left his studies to Agassiz. These studies included a fish fossil collection that Agassiz used to his advantage and quickly surpassed Cuvier's expertise. However, this was not his true claim to fame. The discovery that made him known the world over was the discovery of the Ice Age.

By 1845, Agassiz was in debt and his scientific publishing house was losing money steadily. His wife left him, but finances were only one of her reasons. Because of these problems, Agassiz went to von Humboldt for help. Von Humboldt received a grant to study natural history in the United States. Von Humboldt gave this assignment to Agassiz, but he knew he would need to supplement his income while he was in America. He turned to another friend to schedule a series of lectures. He would use these lectures as an introduction of himself to the American science community.

He arrived in Boston during the winter of 1846 and gave his series of lectures. The response was overwhelming even from outside the scientific community. Agassiz could convey a topic to both people in the field of science and to people within the general community. Many of the non-scientists of Boston thoroughly enjoyed the lectures.

Prior to Agassiz' arrival, Harvard had been discussing the creation of a scientific school. When the whole community of Boston enjoyed his lectures, Harvard decided to ask him to stay. However, before they could offer a professorship to him, they needed the school. They went to Abbot Lawrence and asked for a donation for the school and a guarantee for Agassiz' salary. Lawrence obliged, and Harvard began building the Lawrence Scientific School. They offered the job to Agassiz in the summer of 1847, but Agassiz did not accept until the fall of 1847, with a start date set for the spring of 1848. Agassiz came to Harvard as many American students were going to Europe to study science. Harvard Board of Directors knew that having Agassiz would keep the students at their school.

Agassiz' wife died in the same year he began teaching for Harvard, and by 1850, he had remarried into a prominent Boston family. His second wife was Elizabeth Cabot Cary. Elizabeth opened a school in their home to help pay for Agassiz' research projects.

Agassiz taught through observation and hands on experiences. His methodology was comparative, since he viewed science as a relationship between facts and not numbers.



Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is now introduced to another influential person in William James' life, Louis Agassiz. He is an extremely intelligent man who is greatly respected by experts in the field of science and lay people of the community. This section gives the reader the knowledge of Agassiz' past and how he came to Harvard. This knowledge is essential, because it will help the reader understand how Agassiz views the world around him.



Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 2

Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 2 Summary

Louis Agassiz met Samuel George Morton when he arrived in the United States. Morton had done research on the human skull and created a racial hierarchy of sorts. His information was unreliable because he could not go to the site of excavation himself. Morton relied on others to get skulls and information about the skull. He never considered the size of the body or the gender of the person, and he skewed any findings with his own assumptions. However, his works were considered the authority on the subject.

Two origin theories stood out beyond the rest in the 19th Century. One was monogenism, which was based on the assumption that all people originate from the same source. Racial attributes are due to the degeneration of the species. Such an attribute could be climate, which can increase degeneration or decrease degeneration. The other theory was polygenism, which was upon the idea that races originate from separate sources. Any racial attributes were evident from the beginning of the species, and there was no degeneration factor with any species. This belief also held the view that humans were not just different, but that each race was a different species.

Morton used the polygenistic view when looking at the black Egyptian skulls. He felt that he had proven the black people had always been slaves, and that their skull sizes had not changed since the beginning of the race.

Agassiz' view of black people went right along with Morton's view. He found black people disgusting. During one of the series of lectures, he stated that black people and white people came from different sources. However, by the time he reached South Carolina, Morton's influence had changed his view, and he now stated that black people "were physiologically and anatomically a different species." Agassiz took hold of Morton's views because they coincided with his personal beliefs of natural history. Another view of Agassiz was that not only were the races different species, but that there was continually the same number of people within a species, and the population never fluctuated. He explained fossils as the remnants of previous ages. Each age is followed by a destructive time, such as the Ice Age. In the 19th Century, he felt the human species were the highest of the order.

Agassiz used empirical data to prove that species were ranked by evidence that was found in developing embryos. This theory of recapitulation is based on the biogenetic law that "the development of the individual organism" runs through the "evolutionary history of the entire group."

With his own beliefs firmly stated, Agassiz used Morton's findings to show that black people were lowest ranking of the human species, and that white people were the highest ranking of the human species. He gave a speech in 1850 to the American



Association for the Advancement of Science in which he explained that humans were different from other species because of their connection with the Creator, but that each human species was different in every way.

Josiah Nott was a physician from Montgomery, Alabama. He did not agree with slavery, but he feared the black people. He feared the interbreeding of races would create extinction for humans, because any children from such a union would be sterile. He used Morton's findings to push his own ideas to the forefront of nineteenth century thought.

Nott eventually collaborated with George Gliddon, who was responsible for sending the Egyptian skulls to Morton. Upon Morton's death, they used his works as authoritative and proven fact regarding racial science.

Agassiz was given a tour of plantations and was allowed to interview slaves during a visit to Charleston in 1850. He believed that after his short trip, he could give the name of the tribe to which each slave belonged in Africa just by his or her facial features.

In 1854, Nott and Gliddon published a two-book set entitled *Types of Mankind* which was based on their own research and the research of Morton. It asserted the supremacy of the white race, and that slavery was natural for blacks, as extinction was natural for Native Americans. Agassiz contributed an essay to these books. He expanded that same essay several years later when Nott and Gliddon published *Indigenous Races of the Earth*.

Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 2 Analysis

This section gives the reader an idea of the thoughts regarding races in the years prior to the Civil War. Many of the men of pragmatism were youths in this era. It shows how people used scientific research to get the answers they wanted. Science of this fashion was not true science. It was all based on the assumptions and beliefs of the sciences, and many published their answers in a way that was acceptable to the public or raised public awareness of a situation.

The reader is being introduced to not only the beliefs and ideas of the great men before the Civil War; the reader is getting information about the leaders in science that will be replaced with pragmatism, and the thinkers of the age after the Civil War.



Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 3

Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 3 Summary

Polygenism was not liked very much in the South. Many Southerners and Northerners found a problem with it because it seemed to contradict Genesis and the story of creation.

However, not all Southerners thought this way. Others used the theory of polygenism as a way to explain that the phrase in the United States Constitution, "all men" did not include black people, because the Constitution was written to protect a particular species of man, meaning Caucasian men.

A physician by the name of Samuel Cartwright helped integrate polygenism in the South by linking it to Christianity. He explained that God created animals and people, and that the black people were in the same category as the other animals. Agassiz put his brand of approval on this theory when he stated that the Bible did not give the history of two separate creations, and therefore, creation is only meant to explain Caucasians. Agassiz went further to explain that the races were never intended to interact with one another.

However, many people that did not believe this theory used it against Agassiz. They stated that if black people and white people were not to interact, then Caucasians should never have left Europe to interact with Native Americans. Still others stated that the climate in parts of Europe is the same as the climate in the United States and yet, the people on the two continents developed differently. Agassiz had no rebuttal.

In 1863, President Lincoln enacted The Emancipation Proclamation. He created the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission to write policies for dealing with the new freed black population. It was headed by Samuel Gridley Howe, who wrote to Agassiz for his input about the different races, mainly the interbreeding of the races.

Agassiz adamantly stated that the races should not interbreed, because the human race would become extinct if they did. Howe did not believe this completely, and questioned Agassiz about the Mulatto race, which came from the interbreeding of races. The race was flourishing, and Howe wanted an explanation. Agassiz responded that interbreeding would lower the quality of life. Howe's final report was that blacks should be politically equal, but that they should not be integrated and interbreeding should not be tolerated. He created the segregated society that would exist in the United States for almost 100 years.

Part 2, Chapter 5 Agassiz, Section 3 Analysis

The reader is informed that polygenism is not widely respected or believed; however, it is the basis used for segregation in the United States. The reader also comes to realize

in this section that Agassiz will have a lasting effect on the people in the United States. The reader knows that Agassiz' findings are irrelevant and unscientific, but in his time he was a leader to the scientific world and his views were thought to be authoritative. The author has set the reader up for how Agassiz will influence the young William James.



Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 1

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 1 Summary

In 1861, William James was introduced to Louis Agassiz while attending lectures Agassiz was giving on the "methods of study in Natural History." He liked Agassiz' presentation so much, that the following year, he changed his course of study from Chemistry to Natural History and Biology. By 1864, however, he had changed his mind again, and enrolled in Harvard Medical School.

Agassiz planned a research trip to Brazil in 1865 to find proof that the Ice Age went down into South America. He recruited students for the yearlong expedition, and William James signed up immediately. The official name of the Expedition was the Thayer Expedition and it was to research the Ice Age in South America, counter the Confederate influence in South America and open the market for trade. The expedition lasted a total of sixteen months.

Though many believed in Agassiz' work, others believed this expedition was a complete farce. Agassiz wanted to disprove Charles Darwin, and of course, found the evidence he went to retrieve.

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 1 Analysis

The reader see James identify with Agassiz, which changes his course of study. He is excited to go on this expedition and work with Agassiz. He seems to idolize him, and wants to learn as much as possible from Agassiz. The expedition was not purely research. It was biased in several areas. The agenda for the expedition was determined by Agassiz and the government. Agassiz was the perfect man to send; he was a charmer and could fulfill the government's need to woo the South Americans. He also wanted to disprove one of his peers, Charles Darwin. The reader will see this research project swayed from the beginning because of this hypothesis. Agassiz will be sure to find the evidence he needs, even if it is a stretch.



Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 2

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 2 Summary

Charles Darwin's book, *On the Origin of Species*, was published in 1859. He had discovered the process of natural selection in 1838 and had theorized on the mutability of a species by 1844. However, not once throughout the whole book is the word "evolution" found. This is because the book was not about evolution, but it focused on taking supernatural intelligence out of the equation.

Many people believed that evolution was a tool used by God. These evolutionists followed either Jean Baptist Lamarck's theory of "progressive adaptation," or Herbert Spencer's theory of "mind and behavior."

Darwin's theory was based on the fact that all animals and people evolve to survive, and this change was natural, generated by chance and was blind to other influences around the animal. He had created a whole new way of thinking about the human race. His theory uses generalizations about each species to give the common characteristics of the species.

Darwin believed that his theory of "natural selection" was the process in which the better and more needed characteristics of a species were chosen to pass on to the next generation for the survival of the species. Darwin disliked the word selection, because he believed the adaptation was never the same. The only consistency in this process was the will to survive. The most convincing evidence of Darwin's theory was the "geographical distribution of species." He theorized that each species all over the world originated with a single pair of the species.

Agassiz was an opponent of evolution even before Darwin appeared in the field. Evolution was totally against his way of thinking. One of Agassiz' colleagues was Asa Gray, who was also a correspondent of Darwin. Gray held beliefs similar to Darwin and often debated with Agassiz on different views of Darwinism. Gray understood the new way scientific thought was progressing and used relations and numbers to get evidence. Agassiz did not understand and used ideas and terms as explanations.

Gray wanted to integrate parts of Agassiz' theory with Darwin's theory. He believed that through "natural selection" species evolved by variations that were given to the species by God. This theory kept religion in the equation of evolution.

However, because he refused to bend in his convictions regarding evolution and polygenism, Agassiz lost many of his supporters at Harvard. In fact, even Gray stopped talking to him after an extremely bad argument between the two men. Everyone needed the Thayer Expedition. It would get Agassiz away from Harvard and let him try to prove Darwin wrong. The ship was named the Colorado and set sail on March 29, 1865 for



Brazil. As the expedition pasted the Virginia coast, they all could see the black smoke from Richmond as evidence of the last battle of the Civil War.

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 2 Analysis

Agassiz is being pushed out of the field by the new thoughts in science. He refuses to bend and refuses even to consider any theory but his own. Although many people still believe in Agassiz, more and more are turning away. Evolution and "natural selection" are taking the place of monogenism and polygenism. Those still in the old school are being left behind.

This is the situation James is dealing with as he is chosen to go on the expedition with Agassiz. The reader can see that Agassiz is trying everything to hold on to his prominent position in the field of science. He believes this expedition will be his chance to prove Darwin wrong and regain his status.



Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 3

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 3 Summary

At the beginning of the expedition, James was more interested in Agassiz than in anything else. He liked the intelligence of Agassiz and found it hard to dislike him. However, within a week his view of Agassiz had changed. He wrote to his sister and told her that Agassiz was "a politician and so self-seeking and illiberal to others that it sadly diminishes one's respect for him." Before the end of the expedition, James would change his mind several more times.

For James, the Brazil expedition was his Civil War. He was told to make barrels and collect fish and alligator eggs to take back to Harvard. He found everything exciting for the first few days, but then monotony took over, as did boredom. He even contracted a form of smallpox that put him in bed over two weeks. He compared this to being injured in the Civil War.

Agassiz had severed ties with clergymen when he theorized separate creations and sided with polygenism; however, his feud with Darwin had many clerics returning to him. One such clergyman was on the expedition. His name was Alonzo Potter. He and Agassiz spent much of the trip to Brazil discussing the evidence needed to disprove "transmutation."

Agassiz wanted the fish James collected to answer the question Darwin had raised with his research of flora. He wanted to prove that the fish were only in Brazil because God put them there. He asked for alligator eggs to study the recapitulation of alligators. However, he really wanted proof of the Ice Age touching South America. He did find one piece of evidence, but he could not find any furrows and scratches that are common in areas of glacial activity. He even wrote a letter to Benjamin Peirce stating that he had not found any real evidence of the Ice Age in South America.

Another project of the expedition was to photograph as many people as possible. Agassiz wanted to use the photographs in the same way that Morton used skulls, to type each species. During one photo session with three pureblood Indian women, James mentioned that the women were refined and yet two of them got fully undressed at Agassiz' request and allowed the men to take liberties with them.

Agassiz faced a new problem in Brazil that he had been trying to avoid in the United States for years. In 1865, there were more half-breeds in Brazil than pure bloodlines, and they were all considered equal. The half-breeds were not sterile and were even as intelligent as the pure bloodlines. Agassiz did not want to have to explain this.

Elizabeth Agassiz tried to explain it by keeping a journal of the expedition. In the journal, it is stated that the half-breeds are intelligent; however, this is compared to the



intelligence of the Brazilian Indian, who is lower ranking than the Caucasian race. Therefore, the decrease in intelligence was not as dramatic as some would believe.

James saw the same people that Elizabeth Agassiz saw, but he viewed them differently. He believed Elizabeth Agassiz put a romantic spin on everything she saw in the world. James saw the ordinary person underneath the exotic exterior. The people he met in Brazil were "refined and gentlemanly" and this included the peasants. This experience made James reconsider his beliefs. He began looking at race and circumstance differently.

When the expedition was over and they had all returned, Agassiz began giving lectures about findings in Brazil. He stated that he had found evidence that the Ice Age had gone into South America and published brochures to send to science colleagues explaining his evidence. Unfortunately, this did not help Agassiz as much as he had hoped. His next step was to publish Elizabeth's journal with his annotations in the margins. He created this for those outside the field of science in hopes to gain support. The journal represented his last argument against the integration and social equality of races. He also added an appendix to the journal outlining his "racial typology."

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 3 Analysis

The reader realizes in this section that Agassiz is losing his battle. The expedition truly yields nothing useful, at least nothing that can disprove Darwin. However, it does prove that interbreeding can be done successfully, and intelligence is adaptable to the new generations. This is not what Agassiz wants to prove, and therefore he uses his wife's views, which are completely nonscientific, to explain why it seems these half-bred people have gained intelligence.

However, William James has concluded from this experience that the effects of race and circumstances depend on the person's adaptability. The reader is told that James sees beyond the exterior to the person, and assesses what that person could be capable of in the future. This is one of the first signs of the new way science will change social thinking, and that James will be a part of it.



Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 4

Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 4 Summary

William James' view was very similar to Darwinism and he spent most of his adult life attacking those people he felt misunderstood Darwin. James never considered himself a follower of Darwin's theory of natural selection and evolutionism. Where James differed was the fact that he did not take Darwin's theory as the absolute truth. It was a foundation just like evolution, but it was not authoritative.

James believed society and science were independent of one another. He did not think of Agassiz as a true scientist, because Agassiz used his own beliefs as the starting point for research instead of an objective hypothesis. However, he did acknowledge that science was an activity that was created by the "tastes, values and hope" of the scientist. The difference was that true scientists did not try to find only the evidence to prove their beliefs. They acknowledged when their beliefs were proven wrong. He believed that there was always more solutions to a project than one person could create and this created the pluralism of science.

Eventually, many of the scientists from the previous era of monogenism and polygenism had to give way to Darwinism. Because of this, they redesigned their beliefs and convictions to show how Darwinism proved their assumptions. Nott published a book and cited Darwinism as the reason for the supremacy of white people and the inferiority of black people. Agassiz, too, published a book. There was no speculation on multiple creations, but he remained adamant about the intermixing of races.

James had decided that humans were "gifted with the capacity to make choices incompatible with the survival of the fittest." This was the lesson he got from reading Darwin's book, *On the Origins of Species*. When James reviewed Darwin's book, *The Variations of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*, he was also asked to review an anthropological essay by a well-known monogenist, Armand de Quatrefages. James had no love for anthropology. He felt it was unscientific and used this review to state his belief that there was a hierarchy between the human races, but science had very little, if anything, to do with the hierarchy and public opinion regarding races.

James held the belief that scientific and religious beliefs were merely the tools with which a person depends to make decisions, and since each person's beliefs are different, the decisions are partial to the person. Therefore, he viewed the Civil War as the result of actions and choices of many people made with the intelligence they received from their belief in science and religion.

In 1897, William James gave a speech during the dedication ceremony of a monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, the leader of the 54th Massachusetts. His speech was incredible, but it was not about Colonel Shaw. He had written the speech to his brother Wilky, who had died in 1883.



Part 2, Chapter 6 Brazil, Section 4 Analysis

The author uses this last section of part 2 to show how William James' views and beliefs have finally begun to take shape. We can see that he is ready to take the next step and introduce a new thought process to the world. It comes from the convictions he has decided are worth keeping. He does not change them, but will expand upon them to help create the idea of pragmatism.



Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 1

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 1 Summary

Charles Sanders Peirce studied chemistry at the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. His father was a professor at Harvard, but unlike many sons, Charles never tried to get from under his father's shadow. His work was always an expansion of his father's. He viewed his destiny as taking his father's work to the next level. This would prove to be an impossible task, and his failure would be disastrous.

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is introduced to Charles Peirce, who helped influence pragmatic thinking. The author has given the reader an overview of what Charles' life must have been like, and he has also told the reader that Charles fails. It prepares the reader to understand why Charles stayed in his father's shadow and why he failed when the other three men who influenced pragmatic thinking excelled.



Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 2

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 2 Summary

Harvard students, many of which feared taking his classes, knew Benjamin Peirce as Professor Peirce. However, he had earned this right. He taught that math was not just a scientific language. He viewed math as the purest language of thought.

Benjamin lobbied the president and the Board of Directors of Harvard to create the Lawrence Scientific School, and to have a position offered to Louis Agassiz. He and Agassiz were colleagues, peers and friends for the rest of their lives.

Agassiz and Peirce, along with two other men of American science, not only took control of organizations, but also changed them to be more elite. They lobbied Congress to create a National Academy of Science to ensure the scientists were reviewed by their peers and not others who did not understand.

Benjamin Peirce was well known and widely connected. His son Charles would enjoy the pleasure of these connections for a while as an adult.

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 2 Analysis

The reader is given the world of Charles Peirce's father. This was a man who was quiet and brilliant. He expected more from his students, and even more from himself. Math came to him easily, and yet he realized that it was not as easy for his students. He tried to help them understand. Sometimes it worked and sometimes it did not. However, he spent the majority of his adult life trying to prove that logic and statistics could be used to predict outcomes. The reader learns that he believes the universe can be known through statistics. This is the man whom Charles Peirce must succeed.



Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 3

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 3 Summary

Charles Sanders Peirce was his father's prodigy. He was the second child out of four boys and one girl. He had an incredible aptitude for math and science. By the age of 11, he had written the history of chemistry. By the age of 12, he had his own lab. However, by the time he entered Harvard, he was not challenged and became bored quickly, resulting in the rank of 79th in his class at graduation in 1859.

One of his main problems was that fact he had been prescribed opium for a facial neuralgia that turned into an addiction. He was a womanizer and often had violent fits of rage.

Charles' father was pro-slavery but was not a Unionist, and Charles shared his father's views. He did not want to go to war, so Benjamin got an appointment for Charles with the Coast Survey of Maine, Louisiana and Mississippi. After one year, he enrolled in the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. By July 1861, he was hired as an assistant computer with the Coast Survey and he retained the position for 30 years.

In 1862, Charles married Harriet Melusina Fay. She was a feminist and disliked immigration and Irish Americans. She created a society of married women who demanded that their husbands pay for their housekeeping services.

In 1864, the head of the Coast Survey had a stroke and died three years later in 1867. Upon his death, the National Science Academy fell into chaos, but the Coast Survey grew. Benjamin Peirce took over as Superintendent of the Coast Survey and held the position until 1874. Charles became very close to his father in those years at the Coast Survey. They even collaborated on the Robinson v. Mandell case as expert witnesses. This publicity gave them both notoriety and the public became aware of their theories regarding probability.

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 3 Analysis

The reader learns a little more about Charles Peirce. He seems to have lived in his father's shadow his entire young adult life. He works with his father and it becomes apparent that many expect him to exceed his father and create something new. However, it is obvious that Charles cannot stay in his father's shadow and that his drug addiction may cause problems. His marriage to Harriet Melusina Fay does not seem very compatible either. From the little the reader knows about Charles, there are many obstacles he must clear before he can be his own person.



Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 4

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 4 Summary

The Robinson v. Mandell case was also called the Howland Case and dealt with the disposition of wealth made in whaling.

The Civil War did not interfere with New England's textile industry, but it did destroy the whaling business. New Bedford was the main port for many whalers. They would get their expeditions underwritten by "agencies" that were, more often than not, run by Quakers. New Bedford was not only the wealthiest community in Massachusetts, but it was the wealthiest community in the United States, and the wealthiest underwriting agency was the firm of Isaac Howland, Jr.

Howland had diversified his income and had it streaming in from several ventures. When his whaling firm was successful and established, he decided to include partners. He brought in Gideon Howland and Thomas Mandell in 1819, and eventually brought in Edward Mott Robinson in 1833.

In 1834, Isaac Howland Jr. died, followed in 1847 by Gideon Howland. The remaining partners closed the underwriting agency in 1862, due to the ease at which petroleum and kerosene could be made. The whaling industry just was not very profitable after that. In 1863 Sylvia Ann Howland died, and was followed two years later by Edward Robinson. The sole heir was Hetty Robinson. She was the heir-in-law to Sylvia Ann Howland and the daughter of Edward Robinson.

Hetty sued the estate, claiming that all but \$100,000 of her Aunt's money should have been given to her immediately. To prove this claim, she produced a second page of a will that was to have been signed by her aunt, Sylvia Ann Howland.

The defense called the second page a forgery and contracted Benjamin and Charles Peirce to evaluate the signature and prove Sylvia Ann Howland did not sign it.

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 4 Analysis

The reader is finding out that Benjamin and Charles worked well together and became, in a sense, famous because of this case. The author uses this experience in the Peirces' careers to show how their work was creating a new way of finding the answers to any question. They were on the edge of a new way of thinking, and the reader knows that this will eventually lead to a portion of the pragmatic thinking that will begin to influence philosophical thinking shortly after the Civil War.



Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 5

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 5 Summary

The estate won on a technicality, so the testimonies of the Peirces were moot. However, they had proved that the signature was not real. It had been forged. They had used statistics to prove this point.

Hetty had married Edward Green and moved to London before the case was finished. Many believe she left to avoid being convicted of fraud. When she and Edward finally returned to New York City, they took the money that had been slowly accumulating in Hetty's account and invested it in Wall Street. Hetty died in 1916 at the age of eighty-two. She was worth approximately 200 million dollars at that time. The remainder of Sylvia Ann Howland's money reverted to the heirs of Gideon Howland upon her death.

The testimonies of Benjamin and Charles scared the next generation of people in the United States. They had proven that any answer could be figured out with the use of statistics. It was a new law of science that many were not ready to accept.

Part 3, Chapter 7 The Peirces, Section 5 Analysis

This is a climax in Charles Peirce's life. He has helped his father prove that the use of statistics could answer many questions that seemed to have no answer. They used numbers to prove the validity of a signature. This upset the scientific world as much as it did the general public.

The author uses this to show how far Charles had come and where he was likely to go next. It is obvious that Benjamin allows Charles to ride his coattails.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 1

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 1 Summary

The law of errors was based on a combination of the theory of probability and statistics. They were originally combined in 1800 through the science of Astronomy. The use of the law of errors will lead to findings that have a bell shape. This means that since there is no unknown variable, the measurement is likely to be between the two extremes.

This led to the method of least squares, which is the equation that uses the mathematical computation of the mean of the discrepancies to find the true location of a fixed object. However, this equation became much more tedious if the object was not fixed in one location.

Carl Friedrich Gauss, who created the method, solved this problem in 1795. Adrien Marie Legendre published the method in 1805, but Pierre Simon Laplace got the credit. He was an incredible scientist and had a career in France during some very politically turbulent years. In 1773, he was elected to the Academie Royale de Sciences and remained there until his death in 1827.

Laplace published two works. One was a five volume series on Astronomy and the other was a work on probability theory. He actually wrote two versions of his book on probability theory; one was for scientists and the other was for the general public. Writing a book of science for the public made him extremely successful.

Two things influenced Laplace's probability theory. One was that he was "detailed about the probabilistic nature of statistical calculations." This meant that you would never know the actuality, only the probability of the answer to a greater or lesser degree. The second influence was that probability theory was not limited. All possibilities that can vary will vary within identifiable limits called probable error. Laplace took statistics from numbers to people and created social mechanics.

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 1 Analysis

The author gives the reader a quick background of the people who had an influence on Benjamin Pierce and led to Charles Peirce's interest in statistics. The author introduces Laplace. He explains the influences of outside factors on Laplace and his theory. The reader also gets insight in to the use of how probability theory could be used on the population.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 2

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 2 Summary

Benjamin Pierce believed in the theory proposed by Laplace. He helped check facts and data while in Harvard, when his professors were translating Laplace's astronomy series into English.

Benjamin's studies led him to write a paper in which he called Neptune's discovery "a happy accident." However, he was not the only person to make the discovery. A British mathematician and a British astronomer also made the discovery. The Royal Astronomical Society had asked Benjamin not to publish his findings but he did not listen and published them anyway. His calculations proved to be incorrect.

In 1952, he published another paper on the use of outliers. He rejected their use in observations when they were at either extreme from the average observation. This became known as "Pierce's Criterion" and was proven incorrect.

"Pierce's Criterion" was based on the method of least squares. Benjamin used this method daily in his research work. His son Charles would also use this method for his research work for the Coast Survey. It led to him being considered one of the best meteorologists of the day.

The reason many people feared these mathematical laws was that they thought the Law of Errors meant human activity and decision-making could be diminished to a set of numbers and outcomes could be predicted.

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 2 Analysis

This section shows that Charles' father, Benjamin Pierce was not infallible. However, this did not stop him from being one of the most respected mathematicians and astronomers of the mid 19th Century. It also appears to the reader that Charles will have the same notoriety from the faulty mathematical rules he and his father follow.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 3

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 3 Summary

There were two men during the mid-19th Century that led to a change in the beliefs about society and race. They were Adolph Quetlet and Henry Thomas Buckle. They each pushed statistics into descriptions of societal factors.

Quetlet was a believer in the Law of Errors and probability theory. When he was only in his twenties, he not only talked the Belgian government into building an observatory, but also into sending him to Paris to get training in its use. He studied under Joseph Fourier in Paris and returned to Belgium with the title of Royal Astronomer.

In 1835, he published a two-volume set regarding crime. He used probability theory to define and explain crimes and why they occurred. In the set, he made two major generalizations. One was that society was responsible for crime, not the individual. The second was that each nation has its own "average man" representative and they differ.

In 1844, he published his finding about the average Scottish man. It was a further study into his earlier generalization. His findings were controversial, because he stated that if you change the environment of the average man, he would change to adapt to his environment.

Quetlet used the method of least squares to create the societal average man and in all his research on races. He used societal factors to explain the human race, instead of biological. He also found that races truly did not vary as much as was previously believed. He created an understanding and belief in the unity of different races.

French and English loved Quetlet's work; however, the Germans were unsure whether or not to trust his findings.

Buckle believed in Quetlet and wanted to prove him right. He published a book called *The History of Civilization in England* in 1857. It was based on a statistical point of view to prove the superiority of European nations. However, at the age of 40 he died and never completed his research. What he did do, however, was create a debate among educated scientists regarding human free will.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 3 Analysis

Lois Menand uses this section to show that this debate was all over the world, and not just in the United States. There were people from every country trying to prove their race was superior, that the races were not different, and many other hypotheses. This is just a quick overview of two people that helped the creation of pragmatism in an indirect way.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 4

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 4 Summary

Charles Peirce founded the conversation society called the Metaphysical Club in 1872 in Cambridge to help him try to finish the work in which he devoted his life. He wanted to define the law of randomness. He did not believe, as Darwin, that randomness was a "fact of nature." He also did not believe, as Laplace did, that all human activity could be reduced and predicted by numbers. He wanted the pieces to fit together nicely with belief in God.

This club, established with Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., William James and several others, was Peirce's wall to bounce ideas off and ensure he was on the right path.

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Law of Errors, Section 4 Analysis

The reader now knows that Peirce is one of the founders of the Metaphysical Club and that the members of this club will help create the theory of "Pragmatism." This is the beginning of a new way of thinking that will blossom in a very short time.



Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 1

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 1 Summary

Charles Peirce wrote about the Metaphysical Club approximately thirty-five years after it was to have taken place. Oliver Wendell Holmes, William James and Peirce, along with several of their friends, started the club.

James and Peirce had become friends while both were attending the Lawrence Scientific School. James never truly understood all of what Peirce or his father would discuss, but he did understand some things.

Holmes and James became best friends after the war. Holmes was a talker like his father and swept the women off their feet. James was always a little behind in thinking and women.

The Metaphysical Club was destined to be short lived, especially when Holmes and other members started getting married.

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 1 Analysis

The author gives the reader a background of how these intellectuals first got together. The reader can see that William James was at the center and was sort of the catalyst that brought these men together.



Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 2

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 2 Summary

One of the main players in the Metaphysical Club was Chauncey Wright. He was considered a type of "local Socrates." He remained unmarried his entire life. His only published works were book reviews, but he was known for the way he could retain information.

Wright had a full time job with the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac. He completed the work in three months and talked to people the remaining nine months.

Wright considered himself a positivist. He believed positivism was the difference between facts, that were part of science, and values, that were part of metaphysics. He did not believe that metaphysical thought should be attached to science in any way. It was different from science. However, he did not believe in religion either. He viewed religion as a hindrance to the freedom of thought.

Wright did not believe in evolution completely, because to him there were no such things as higher orders and lower orders to a species. There were just differences within the species, but the differences did not make one better than the other.

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 2 Analysis

The reader is introduced to another person that will influence the creation of pragmatism. Wright is a well-regarded man in Cambridge, and many people look up to him. The reader is told that he can assimilate information better than anyone else can, and this is given in the example of his job. This man will help James, Holmes and Peirce to find their way in philosophy.



Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 3

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 3 Summary

Wright was part of the group that called themselves the "Septem." They lasted only three years and broke apart due to members getting married.

By 1863, Wright was in a deep depression and drinking heavily. Ephraim Gurney and Charles Eliot Norton tried to help Wright beat the depression. Gurney got the "Septem" started again, and Norton asked Wright for a contribution to the *North American Review*. However, in 1868, Norton went to Europe, Gurney married, and Wright started drinking again.

He never completely got over this second bout of drinking and depression. He gave up his job at the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac. Two of his friends, Eldridge Cutler and Charles Salter, tried to bring him out of the depression and started a new club. However, both Cutler and Salter died in 1870 and the club died with them.

The clubs of the time allowed the convergence of men and minds. They functioned similar to how the universities of today function. All club members, not matter what club, knew members of the other clubs. The Metaphysical Club included, and everyone knew, Chauncey Wright.

During this time, Holmes updated the *Commentaries on American Law*, was given the job of editor for the *American Law Review*, and married. He agreed with many of Wright's ideals of positivism. He also believed that philosophy and logic have little influence in the decisions made by humans. He called his philosophy "bettabiliarianism."

James, too, was a bit of a bettabiliarian; however, he did believe people had free will. He did not agree with many of Wright's ideals and conclusions about the world and the universe. He had made conclusions of his own many years prior regarding the world and the universe that he was unwilling to give up on. In 1869, James had a bout with deep depression, not long after he completed Harvard Medical School.

James only felt worse when his physical problems would get in his way and would add to his depression. However, James read an essay by a French philosopher and gained insight into two things. One was there is nothing that is certain. You just have to deal with the situations that are given to you. The second is that results, not logic create beliefs.



James would often use his reviews to try to explain why Wright's ideals were incorrect. Wright had even called him on this several times. It was from these debates that James came up with his pragmatic philosophy.

In 1857, Charles Peirce met Wright and they would discuss philosophy on a daily basis from the time they met. Peirce agreed with Wright, mainly because Wright's ideas were similar to Laplace's ideas.

Another player by the name of Nicholas St. John Green studied under Wright before attending Harvard. He believed that laws were tools used by judges to set guidelines for criminal actions. However, these laws were not actual and definitive.

In 1872, the same year it started, the Metaphysical Club disbanded. Wright went to Europe, Holmes got married and Peirce was in Washington D.C. with his job at the Coast Survey.

Peirce had wanted to write a book about logic, but the manuscript was never finished. His argument stated that belief was not an individual thing. It was a creation of society. He borrowed the word "pragmatism" from Kant as the name of this belief.

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 3 Analysis

The reader watches as "pragmatism" is born. James and Peirce have begun the process and now seem to be ready to share it with the world. The reader may be wondering about how Peirce fits in with this, since we are told that his book on logic does not ever get finished. What the reader does know is that "pragmatism" has been born.



Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 4

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 4 Summary

By 1869, higher education was no longer focusing on theology. It was moving toward science. The Metaphysical Club ended when Harvard reformed.

Charles William Eliot became the President of Harvard and wanted James to work at the school. He created a series of lectures that would be used to start James' Harvard career. Holmes, Wright and James all gave lectures during this series, but many students avoided James' lectures because of their dullness.

Wright was asked to teach a mathematical physics class. It was dropped in 1875, after being offered for one year. In September of 1875, Wright suffered two strokes and died at the age of 45.

St. John Green decided to quit Harvard Law School in 1873 due to the increased teaching of legal formalism with Eliot's appointment as Harvard's President. He was given a job at Boston University as acting dean. In September of 1876, he died of an overdose at the age of 46.

Charles Eliot was one of the main reasons Peirce went to Washington D.C. to work in the Coast Survey office there. Peirce had been the assistant to the Director of the Harvard Observatory when the Director died. Eliot would not even consider Peirce for the position of Director. In fact, Eliot banned Peirce from Harvard, which was still in effect 25 years later, when Peirce was scheduled to give a series of lectures. They had to be relocated to private homes.



Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 5

Part 3, Chapter 9 The Metaphysical Club, Section 5 Summary

The reader is shown that everything is changing around the time of the Metaphysical Club. Higher education is changing and the new President of Harvard is throwing his weight around, just because he can. The actions of Eliot are a foreshadowing of what is to come for James and Peirce. James seems to be elevated and Peirce shot down. With the death of St. John Green and Wright, it is uncertain how the pragmatic philosophy will change and survive.

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 1

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 1 Summary

John Dewey was a Vermont Transcendentalist. He had been born in 1859 in Burlington. Although many considered him a liberal, he did not believe in individualism and free markets. He wanted solidarity and was very close to being a socialist in his views.

His father, Archibald Dewey, was a shopkeeper who had dreams that one of his sons would grow up to be a mechanic. His mother, Lucina Dewey, demanded piety of all her children. Dewey never had a problem with his parents, but he was glad to get away from them and entered the University of Vermont. He graduated in 1879 and went to teach high school in Pennsylvania. Eventually he moved back to Burlington to study privately in preparation for graduate school. In 1882, he enrolled at Johns Hopkins University.

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is thrown ten years forward into the late 19th Century with the introduction of John Dewey. He has a completely different background than Holmes, Peirce and James. The reader may be wondering how he will fit into this group and help take pragmatism to the next level.



Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 2

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 2 Summary

Dartmouth University was the brainchild of a minister by the name of Eleazer Wheelock. He went to England to get patrons to help him build a school for Native Americans. In 1769, he received the money and a land grant from the government. However, the land grant and incorporation of the school was attached to the stipulation that it would be run by a Board of Trustees. With this stipulation, the English financiers lost all control and the school was open to the white male population. A second school was opened for Native Americans, separate from the college.

Eleazer Wheelock died in 1779. Upon his death, his son, John Wheelock, became President of the university. Wheelock believed the university was a family business and did not like to deal with the Board of Trustees. He fought with them constantly, until they finally fired him. He went to the New Hampshire Legislature and asked to have the charter of Dartmouth University changed.

The legislature changed the charter and instituted a 21 person Board of Trustees, which included the original twelve. However, those twelve were eventually voted off the Board and replaced by people backing Wheelock. The new Board of Trustees fired the five professors on the faculty and hired new professors.

The faculty that had been fired refused to give up. They continued teaching in private homes, and they were governed by the original Board of Trustees. With Dartmouth University changing, many of the students left to study with the original faculty.

By 1817, there was a Dartmouth University and a Dartmouth College. The original faculty and Board of Trustees operated the college. Wheelock and his trustees ran the university. The government's interference in this situation changed it from a legal dispute to an ideological dispute.

Dartmouth College sued the University for their charter and property. The suit went to the New Hampshire Superior Court. However, the ruling was in favor of the university. The college refused to drop the issue, took the case to the Supreme Court and was represented by Daniel Webster.

Webster's argument was that Dartmouth College was a private corporation, funded by an individual at the beginning, and that this individual had requested a governmental grant to help him disperse of his charity more easily. The Supreme Court decided for Dartmouth College in 1819, and issued an opinion that stated judges and legislators hearing this case had acted incorrectly.

With this ruling, Wheelock lost his university and control went back to the original 12 Board of Trustee members. Dartmouth University was closed down for good.

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 2 Analysis

The reader is given a history about the change in thought with the example of Dartmouth College. The tide is turning in the late 1700s and early 1800s to focus more on the principles of law established by Jefferson regarding the public and less on the individual. This helps the reader understand the times in which Holmes, James, Peirce and Dewey have been living.



Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 3

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 3 Summary

James Marsh, the first Vermont Transcendentalist, was attending Dartmouth College when John Wheelock took it away from the Board of Trustees. March graduated from the College while it gave classes in private homes in 1817.

Marsh's view of Dartmouth University was that it was operating on the philosophy of John Locke. Locke held two main beliefs. One was that the mind is empty until it has started to experience life situations. The second was "liberal Individualism," which is that the government is created by individuals and that its sole purpose is to protect those individuals.

Marsh disliked these views. He believed societies were created by individuals who lacked self-realization. There can be no individual without society. Marsh also was religious and Locke did not accommodate religion at all. Marsh spent most of this life searching for a philosophy that integrated with "evangelical Christianity."

In this search, Marsh found Samuel Taylor Coleridge and in 1829, Marsh published Coleridge's book in English. He wrote an introduction that explained that Coleridge had integrated religion and philosophy.

Coleridge's philosophy came from misunderstanding Kant's philosophy and integrating the philosophy of Schelling. This created a philosophy that "was the ideal of organic unity, metaphysics and transcendent unity." It was what Marsh was looking for in a philosophy.

Marsh wrote the introduction at the age of 35 while he was the president of the University of Vermont. He changed the curriculum of the University of Vermont while he was president. He wanted the curriculum to follow a more "Coleridgian" way of thinking. He viewed the new curriculum as "all that is taught in the institution, forms but one ample course, the several parts of which may be acquired in any number and to any extent that the purposes of the individual may require." These changes were called "organicism," and seemed to be very successful.

Marsh gave up the Presidency to John Wheeler and returned to being the chair of the philosophy department and teaching philosophy. He died in 1842 of tuberculosis. Upon his death, Joseph Torrey replaced him in the philosophy department.

Torrey and Wheeler had been friends of Marsh at Dartmouth College. When Marsh installed these two friends in the University of Vermont he knew that his vision would live on in his "Burlington philosophy." Burlington philosophy was Vermont transcendentalism, which is a conservative transcendentalism that focuses on preserving institutions and systems.



Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 3 Analysis

The author is giving the reader insight into a second type of transcendentalism that was making its way through New England. This form was conservative and wanted to retain systems and institutions, where the other form disliked systems and was more liberal. The author is using this to show how the thinking of the time was multifaceted. It was a period of intellectual upheaval and meditation. It was part of the basis of the thinking that was taught to Holmes, Peirce, James, and Dewey.



Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 4

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 4 Summary

The Vermont transcendentalists' political views were the minority at the time. Vermont mainly consisted of abolitionists and is proven when 34,000 of its 37,000 eligible men enlisted in the Army for the Civil War.

John Dewey's mother was a social activist and worked closely with Sarah Paine Torrey. She was the daughter of Joseph Torrey. She was married to Henry Torrey. He graduated from the University of Vermont in 1858 and took the position of head of the philosophy department in 1867. He had no formal training in philosophy, so in the primary years in the position, he learned all he could about philosophy. He was in this position when John Dewey attended the University of Vermont.

Dewey actually grew interested in philosophy because of a biology lesson regarding Huxley's description of the human body. He associated it with the Burlington philosophy, which was no longer embraced as it had been years ago. Dewey not only agreed with the philosophy, but also took it and made it his own. When he quit his teaching position in Pennsylvania, he returned to Burlington to attend private studies with Henry Torrey. Torrey helped Dewey get into Johns Hopkins, but could not help him get his scholarship. Dewey ended up asking a relative for the money.

Part 4, Chapter 10 Burlington, Section 4 Analysis

The reader now understands how the Vermont transcendentalism is associated with pragmatic philosophy. It is the basis of Dewey's philosophy, which will take pragmatism to the highest level, before falling to the wayside in the light of the Cold War.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 1

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 1 Summary

The President of Harvard had changed the curriculum to be completely elective undergraduate studies. He also created the requirement that any student enrolling in one of the Harvard Professional Schools needed to have an undergraduate degree. However, Harvard still did not offer a graduate program, and many young men went to Europe to get their post-graduate degrees. This void was filled with the creation of Johns Hopkins University.

Johns Hopkins University was created with a grant from the estate of a Baltimorean. He left \$7 million to establish a university in his name. Johns Hopkins University became the first graduate level university in the United States. It was the center of advanced learning in the fields of research and doctoral science degrees.

Daniel Coit Gillman was the first President and created the curriculum of the university. He based the school on the operating philosophy of German universities, which were established for "pure learning and complete "academic freedom" based in nationalism and the individual development of each student.

By 1880, Johns Hopkins University had approximately 100 students in the graduate program, but still did not have a philosophy department in 1882. The University faculty and students had already produced more research findings to the scientific community than all the other universities and colleges in the United States for the previous twenty years.

The inauguration speech of the University was given by Huxley. His speech made people assume that Johns Hopkins University was only about science and had no room for religion. Gillman did not want people to assume that about the University. Therefore, he decided to find a philosophy professor that would blend science with religion. The other problem was that philosophy was in great danger of falling under religion with the science of psychology growing. Gillman had to be careful, but wanted to be prepared.

He tried to get faculty to come to Johns Hopkins from Harvard and several other universities and colleges. One of the faculty members at Harvard that Gillman wanted was William James. He tried to persuade James to come to Johns Hopkins from 1875 until 1881. In that time, James told Gillman of three other men who would be wonderful in the field of philosophy. They were George Sylvester Morris, G. Stanley Hall, and Charles Peirce.

Gillman gave them each a part-time, temporary position lecturing at Johns Hopkins University. He did this for two reasons. One was that Gillman wanted to see who was the best fit for Johns Hopkins University. The other reason was to see if philosophy survived its redefinition and remained in the field of science.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is given the background of the university that created the Dewey of pragmatism. The reader needs this knowledge to understand the forces at work behind the creation of a philosophy department at Johns Hopkins University. It may also be assumed that because Johns Hopkins University created this department, it helped in the process of redefining philosophy.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 2

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 2 Summary

John Dewey began his studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1882 and studied under Morris. Morris had turned to Hegelian philosophy in 1880 as he was trying to reconcile faith and science in his own mind. Dewey had studied Kant and Coleridge previously, and Hegelian philosophy just completed what Kant started. It created a guide for all aspects of life. This was exactly what Dewey had been looking for earlier in his studies and career.

Morris and Dewey became great friends while Dewey was at the university. He was Morris' star pupil and even was allowed to teach several undergraduate courses during his fourth year at Johns Hopkins University.

Morris had found Hegelian philosophy through studying the philosophical ideas of Thomas Hill Green in 1880. Early in his career, he had studied with Hume at the Union Theological College in New York City. Morris believed that Hume had ruined his life and made him question his faith. Morris went to Germany and studied with Friedrich Adolph Trendelenburg. Even with all of his studying in the United States and abroad, he was unable to obtain a position teaching at a university. He eventually became a private tutor until he was offered a job at the University of Michigan. During his part-time position at Johns Hopkins University, he also remained at the University of Michigan, spending one semester a year at each institution.

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 2 Analysis

Louis Menand gives the reader a background of the professor who influenced Dewey the most during his time at Johns Hopkins University. The reader knows that Morris has been affected by philosophy and is focused on bringing faith back into his life and wants it to integrate with his philosophical views. He is just the man Dewey needs to complete his own philosophical beliefs.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 3

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 3 Summary

G. Stanley Hall had a very similar education to Morris. The two men met while attending the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He followed Morris to Germany, but instead of trying to find a job immediately, he went to Harvard and studied with William James about the New Psychology. He was the student to receive a PhD in Psychology from Harvard. He did find employment, and talked his employer into sending him back to Germany to study more about the New Psychology. Upon his return, he was the most knowledgeable man in the United States regarding psychology. He gave lectures to educators focusing on the educational system in Germany created by Francis Parker. His lectures were very successful, but he would not have employment with a university until 1883, when he taught his first graduate class at Johns Hopkins University.

Dewey took Hall's classes because he liked the way Hall used physiological psychology with physics and metaphysics. This philosophy also went well with Dewey's views.

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 3 Analysis

The reader is introduced to another influential professor. G. Stanley Hall believed similarly to Morris, but added psychology to the mix of philosophy and religion. This was another ingredient Dewey needed to start his way into the realm of pragmatism.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 4

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 4 Summary

Charles Peirce taught a yearlong logic class in the fall of 1883 and the spring of 1884. Dewey had decided against taking the class since it conflicted with a class he wanted to take with Morris.

However, Dewey did receive the basics of the class. When Peirce arrived, he announced that he would be reviving the Metaphysical Club for faculty and graduate students. Of course, Dewey joined the club.

At one of the meetings, Peirce read a paper titled *Design and Chance*. This paper explained that the law of causation was created by chance not a cause. It explained that society, nature, time and such ideas as people know them are created by good habits. Although a cause will sometimes have a outcome that deviates from the norm, it is usually followed by a habit. After the meeting, Dewey was sure that this was the premise for the yearlong logic class and was glad he had not taken the class.

Gillman brought Peirce to Johns Hopkins University with hesitation. There were things in Peirce's personal life that could create a problem at the University. Gillman hired Peirce hoping nothing would become public knowledge.

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 4 Analysis

The final influence is added in this section. Charles Peirce gives insight into areas Dewey had not considered. Peirce is one of the other philosophers that helped create pragmatism, but Dewey did not study with him. However, they did interact during the Metaphysical Club meetings. This is where Dewey gets what he needs from Peirce to finalize his own philosophy and start creating his contribution to pragmatism.



Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 5

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 5 Summary

Peirce's past caught up with him and he was fired from Johns Hopkins University in January 1884, just nine days after giving his paper of *Design and Chance* to the Metaphysical Club. Gillman fired him for damage control reasons. Peirce would not have been the appropriate person to bring philosophy and religion together after his personal problems surfaced.

In fact, Gillman fired all part-time philosophy faculty. He did offer a full-time position of professor of psychology and pedagogy to Hall. Hall accepted and Johns Hopkins University had a connection between psychology and religion, but still did not have a philosophy professor.

Morris returned to the University of Michigan, and Dewey followed. Dewey eventually graduated and started teaching at the University of Michigan, and became chair of the department upon Morris' death.

Hall worked at Johns Hopkins University until 1888. During this time, he discredited any candidate Gillman had for the philosophy position. Hall wanted no competition. Johns Hopkins University finally hired a philosophy professor in 1910.

Part 4, Chapter 11 Baltimore, Section 5 Analysis

This section closes the Johns Hopkins University story regarding Dewey and philosophy. The reader knows that Peirce is still falling from grace and unable to keep jobs, Morris returned to the University of Michigan and Hall received an appointment at the University.

Although Hall and Peirce gave Dewey a little insight, Dewey stayed with Morris. He was the main sphere of influence at this point in Dewey's life. The reader knows that Dewey will use the final teachings of Morris to get the philosophical ideas to expand pragmatism.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 1

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 1 Summary

Dewey left the University of Michigan at the age of thirty-five to become the Philosophy Department Chair at the University of Chicago. His students loved his lectures and found them exciting. He, however, was quiet and unpretentious, and lacked a true personality. Everyone enjoyed his classes, but he was not first choice for the University of Chicago. He was the sixth person in line for the position. He agreed to the appointment and salary and when he found the first year's salary was going to be less, he explained that he would only teach in the fall. During the spring semester, he sent his wife and two of his children to Europe, the youngest child to his grandparents and he went to Chicago to get set up. He arrived in Chicago during the Pullman Strike.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 1 Analysis

Dewey has left the University of Michigan and Morris' shadow. He has taken a wife, and has children and is ready to start making his philosophy known. He is ready to make the decisions as to what he will do. He is now in charge.

The reader sees a new Dewey emerging and knows the ideas that he will present will coincide with the pragmatism of Peirce, Holmes, and James, and will take it a step further and into the 20th Century.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 2

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 2 Summary

Due to the Pullman Strike, Dewey had a bit of trouble getting into Chicago. However, he did eventually get in and settled. During this time, he met many of his colleagues and faculty at the University of Chicago. Many of them held the firm beliefs of the Chicago upper class and Dewey did not fit in very well.

The upper classes sided with Pullman in the strike. He had built a town for his employees. He owned everything there. The United States was going through a depression and many employers were cutting wages and working with their employees to keep them from being laid off. Pullman, however, was not working with his employees. He owned everything in the town. He cut their wages, but did not reduce the rent for his houses, or the products sold in his stores. This is what set off the strike. He refused to make any concessions to his employees.

The organizer of the American Railroad Union was arrested for creating and organizing the strike. He paid bail and was released. He was arrested a second time, but refused to pay bail and stayed in jail. Because of the problems caused by the strike, his efforts to revive the union upon his release from jail were unsuccessful.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 2 Analysis

This overview of Chicago is used to help the reader understand the world that Dewey was moving into by taking the appointment at the University of Chicago. He did not fit in from the start. It is obvious to the reader that his move to this university will be problematic.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 3

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 3 Summary

Many people in higher education believed that the Pullman Strike started "the social organism thinking" about the different aspects of society. This was shown with a change in views of the professional class from social Darwinism to social welfare.

Sociology was growing into a scientific field of its own. Dewey brought George Herbert Mead, a sociology professor, with him to University of Chicago. There were several others, along with Mead, that challenged and revised Dewey's view of society.

The first President of the University of Chicago was William Rainey Harper, and just like Gillman, he went to other universities and colleges to get his faculty. He did not agree with the attitude after the end of laissez-faire, but he did acknowledge it with the creation of a sociology department. However, professors in this department had to be careful about what they said. If Harper did not like something they said during a lecture or elsewhere, he would fire them. He did not want his sociology professors to be outspoken on the subject.

Many of the sociologists fired from the University of Chicago and other universities and colleges were leading academic forces in the early 20th Century. Academic sociologists were also helped by the practicing social scientists that helped them to see the truth about the people of society.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 3 Analysis

There is a new way of thinking. Sociology is coming into its own and growing in acceptance. However, not all people agree with this view. The reader is given the first examples of professors being fired for their beliefs and views. It is foreshadowing a change. Before the advent of sociology, professors would have not had a problem for being fired for their views. They might not agree with the decision but they accepted it. The growth of sociology and new views in philosophy, it seems, will enable people to challenge the old way of doing things.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 4

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 4 Summary

Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr created Hull House in the poorest section of Chicago. They initially started the house as a philanthropic venture, but soon realized that instead of doing things for the people, they needed to help the people do things for themselves. Florence Kelley joined the two women and worked very hard to keep Hull House open to the public.

Jane Addams was a good friend of Dewey, and made him look at society from a different perspective. They did not always agree with one another, but they always understood one another.

Addams had written an article about the Pullman Strike. She compared Pullman and the workers to Shakespeare's characters King Lear and Ophelia. However, because publishers and periodicals believed that she was criticizing Pullman, no one would publish the article.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 4 Analysis

Sociology was a new science, and those in the educational fields did not get to experience first hand how sociology worked. The author is giving the reader an idea about the practical side of sociology by introducing Jane Addams. The author makes sure that the reader understands there was a difference between the practice of sociology and academic sociology. Those in academia relied heavily on those on the practical side to give research information and findings. However, even with many people becoming interested in sociology, society in general was not interested in it at all.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 5

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 5 Summary

Dewey started the laboratory school because he felt that the Chicago public schools had a negative effect on children. His school started out with sixteen students and two teachers. Within two years, the school had 140 students enrolled, 23 teachers on staff, and 10 graduate teaching assistants.

Instead of running the school as was the norm of the time, the students were taught by example and the learning of everyday tasks. Cooking classes were often used for science classes; field trips explored geography. The student experienced the knowledge to learn the correct answers. Dewey believed his school was a laboratory of philosophy, and it operated on the premise of "unity of knowledge."

During the same time as the creation of the Laboratory School, many physiological psychologists were studying the human reflex and trying to define human attention. Many people ran studies and published findings. Others ran studies and proved the original studies wrong. Dewey had learned from watching his students that the reflex was created by the stimulus and response. This was the same as others had discovered, but the Dewey version was different. He explained how the two were dependent on one another and they could not be separated. They existed for the other. This was at a time, when the majority of physiological psychologists were trying to define them separately.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 5 Analysis

The reader realizes that Dewey is ahead of his time in this section. He has a completely different view of most everything. The reader already knows that he is in the minority on many issues in Chicago. This could be a foreshadowing of a greater problem caused by his views and actions, as many university faculty members are discovering at this time. Dewey, however, can stand behind the fact that what he starts not only does well, but grows and seems to become the forefront of the field. The Laboratory school grew by 15% within the first two years. This shows that his views may be extreme, but they work better than anybody expects. This, too, may cause problems later on.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 6

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 6 Summary

Rockefeller had created the University of Chicago and stayed out of all areas except the financial area. This was mainly because Harper never stayed within the budget Rockefeller set for the University. Because of Harper's spending, Dewey had to fight to get anything for the philosophy department, including making the Laboratory School tuition-based. Dewey felt the laboratory should be funded like other laboratories on campus, but Harper would not allow it.

However, when Colonel Parker and his patron, Anita McCormick Blaine, offered to bring their elementary school and teacher-training program to the University of Chicago in 1901, Harper agreed. Before everything was settled in 1902, Colonel Parker died, and his programs almost did not make it to the University.

Dewey offered to combine the Parker elementary and the Laboratory School to keep the patron. Dewey was given the title of Academic Director of the Elementary and University programs. With this title, he was able to appoint his wife the principal of the Laboratory school.

The faculty of Parker's elementary did not like Dewey's wife being principal and complained to Ms. Blaine. Ms. Blaine went to Mr. Harper and the two discussed things until they were able to come to an agreement. Dewey was never consulted and when the new stipulations came to his attention, both he and his wife resigned.

Harper begged Dewey to stay, but to no avail. Dewey had already contacted Columbia University and was due to be there by May 1904.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Chicago, Section 6 Analysis

Dewey encounters a problem with the agreements made by the president of the University of Chicago. The president makes an agreement to bring another school to the University of Chicago that will compete with the Laboratory School. He makes an agreement with the patron of the other school to dismiss Dewey's wife, after which, Dewey and his wife both resign.

The whole experience at the University of Chicago was not a good one for Dewey. He was not helped by the University financially for his experiments and was never backed by the president. The best decision he made was to leave.

The reader now sees how Dewey will function in the pragmatic philosophy. He has taken the views of Holmes, James, and Peirce, put them into practice, and proved they work within his Laboratory School.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 1

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 1 Summary

Holmes and James went their separate ways after their marriages. They remained civil but their views had changed and their opinions were so different that they were never good friends again.

Holmes was ambitious and his greatest achievement was his lecture series on "The Common Law," which he gave before he was forty years old. The series was based on the premise that the legal system used common laws first and principles second when deciding the outcome of court cases.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 1 Analysis

The reader is told about Holmes and James going their separate ways early in their adult years. Even though they were originally going in the same direction, life experiences had changed that and had changed their views of each other. Holmes followed the path of the law and changed many attitudes about how justice was served by the courts.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 2

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 2 Summary

In the series of "Common Law" lectures, Holmes put forth the theory that judges use their experience to rule on cases, and then find precedents to explain their decisions. These experiences were based on the normal beliefs of society at the time and therefore, they would change as society changed. This is how Holmes believed the system worked.

The Dean of the Harvard Law School went to the lectures and decided to push to get Holmes an appointment at the law school. He and many of the faculty of the law school fought with the administration and raised the money for Holmes. The administration offered a position to Holmes, and he accepted. However, his time at Harvard was short lived. During his first semester teaching at Harvard, he was offered a seat on the Massachusetts Supreme Court and accepted. This did not go over well with his Harvard colleagues, but that did not bother Holmes. Holmes had many outstanding qualities and major flaws. This selfishness was just one of them.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 2 Analysis

The reader sees Holmes growing in fame because of his perception of how the legal system works. He is wanted by law schools and the judicial system. It becomes apparent to the reader that to Holmes the judicial system and courts are more important to him when he accepts the seat on the Massachusetts Supreme Court with no regard for his colleagues at Harvard. The reader is shown that Holmes looks out for only himself.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 3

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 3 Summary

William James created pragmatism and gave it to the public for Charles Peirce. He had based the philosophy on ideas Peirce had years ago. However, Peirce did not like James' version of pragmatism, or where Dewey was taking it, and tried to create his own philosophy called "pragmaticism." It never succeeded.

However, during this time, Charles Peirce was just starting his downward spiral. Three years after he was fired from Johns Hopkins University, he bought a farm with his new wife Juliette. The happiness would not last long, because in 1891, he was also fired from the Coast Survey. They had finally found out about his personal problems, and did not want the scandal of his life in their agency.

Soon, Peirce and his wife were in New York hiding from creditors. Peirce's brother sent Peirce a copy of a book he had written. Peirce contacted his brother and told him of the situation he was in and asked for help.

Peirce's brother did help by setting up a series of lectures in Cambridge and sending the payment for the lectures to Peirce's wife. The money from the lectures allowed them to pay the creditors and return to their farm in Pennsylvania.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 3 Analysis

The reader is told that James gave pragmatism to the public but the idea originally came from Peirce. This makes the reader wonder why Peirce did not give it to the public, but the author gives us that information shortly afterward.

Peirce was ruined academically when he was fired from Johns Hopkins University. He could not get anything to the public in his name. James gave Peirce some credit for this because of the problems Peirce was having at the time.

Peirce's brother was also trying to help, but the scandal of Peirce's personal life seems to have taken hold and destroyed Peirce's credibility.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 4

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 4 Summary

James spent many years of his life trying to figure out why people made certain decisions, why they believed in some things and not other things. This is what he meant by pragmatism, the philosophy of decision-making.

He wanted to explain how people thought of God in relation to everything else they thought or believed. After years of reflection on the subject, James decided that some beliefs were instinctive and were not created just by experiences or the outside world. People have beliefs because the object has been shown to hold some value and with experiences regarding this object, people begin to believe.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 4 Analysis

The author now explains what exactly pragmatism is and how James used it to integrate science and religion. This is just the beginning of understanding the decision-making process in humans. This was the first philosophy regarding this process.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 5

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 5 Summary

James was scheduled to lecture at the University of Edinburgh in 1900; however, shortly before the appointed time, James became very ill and depressed. He was unable to give the lecture until 1902. However, during this illness, James read Dewey's textbook and found it to be based on Hegel too much.

In 1903, James published "The Varieties of Religious Experiences." It was then that several people told James about Dewey and the Laboratory School. They told James the school was based on pragmatism. James had to find out for himself, so he wrote to Dewey and asked him to help with a speech at an educational convention where James was going to speak.

James went to Chicago in 1904 and spoke with Dewey more about his new way of thinking regarding education and human decision-making. This was the year Dewey left Chicago. He believed mind and reality were abstract and a single process. Humans use their ideas to cope in their environment. When a British writer wrote about Dewey and pragmatism, Dewey used the statement made by the writer to prove pragmatism.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatisms, Section 5 Analysis

The reader sees James and Dewey come together: the father of pragmatism is working with the man who will take pragmatism into the next century. They have completely different backgrounds. Yet, they have arrived at the same end regarding the process of decision-making in humans.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 6

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 6 Summary

Charles Peirce's brother had dedicated his book, *The Will to Believe* to Peirce. Peirce liked the dedication but did not like the book. It was "individualistic in nature and value." These ideas were important to James, but not to Peirce.

Peirce reviewed Dewey's *Studies of Logical Theory* and was completely "disgusted." He wrote Dewey personally, but never sent the letter. However, his anonymous review of the book for the *Nation* was extremely harsh.

Peirce did not follow Dewey and James. His belief was that the universe was constantly evolving and trying to reach the absolute truth. As the universe draws closer to the absolute law, the beliefs of humans become reality. He also believed that humans get their ideas of right and wrong from other humans, even though they cannot explain why they know the person is right or wrong. They just know.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 6 Analysis

The reader sees that Peirce has his own ideas about the decision-making process, and they are on a completely different plane than James or Dewey. He was the person who inspired James, but their paths separated. James wanted to use pragmatism to keep God in the equation with science through explaining the decision-making process. Peirce used the idea of good habits to explain decision-making, but God did not enter, nor was he excluded from the picture. He just was not mentioned in Peirce's ideas.

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 7

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 7 Summary

Pragmatism states "people are the agents of their own destinies." It was used by "reformers, misfits, and geniuses" to get God back into the human equation. It was against systems but was not individualistic in thought. It did not favor laissez-faire even though it came from statistics originally. It was used by many to change the way people viewed the different races and helped redefine philosophy to keep a place in science.

There are two problems within the philosophy of pragmatism. One is that it does not take into account the interests of a person. The other problem is that human wants can cause people to change their decision-making process.



Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 8

Part 5, Chapter 13 Pragmatism, Section 8 Summary

The author gives the reader a breakdown of the differences between the pragmatism of Peirce and the pragmatism of Dewey and James. They all started at the same place, but Dewey and James' pragmatism was widely accepted by scholars and laypeople.

The author explains exactly what pragmatism is and the problems associated with it.



Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 1

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 1 Summary

James inspired two men to come up with the idea of "cultural pluralism." During a lecture series, James explained pluralism. It was the idea that the universe is made up of many different species, and objects. It was not received well, since it refused to let one philosophy explain everything.

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 1 Analysis

The reader learns that the thoughts of James were used in psychology and sociology as well as philosophy.



Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 2

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 2 Summary

In 1908, Anthony Bentley published the book *The Process of Government*. However, the book was fairly obscure because Bentley had no university affiliation. He had only worked at university for one year. However, his book was based on the theories of James and Dewey. He used it to explain how groups redefine themselves and their interests constantly. Bentley's book allowed American society to gain knowledge about the influx of immigrants to the United States. Bentley and Dewey eventually wrote a book together in 1949, called "Knowing the Known."

Social Darwinism began to show up in many societies in the United States in the early 20th Century. The belief in the superiority of the white race was prevalent. Many believed in social Darwinism and therefore believed that inferior races could benefit from the white race, while others believed the other races would cause the United States to have a lower standard of living.

Franz Boas helped shed light on this issue of constant debate. He studied the offspring of immigrants. He compared the offspring born in the United States to the siblings that were born before they moved to the United States. He discovered that even first generation children born in the United States were different from their brothers and sisters who were born in their native countries. He showed that the American culture was influencing these other races from the day they set foot on American soil. He also discovered that the changes were more drastic the longer the mother had been in the United States.

Boas' discoveries debunked the work of Agassiz, Morton, Nott and Gliddon. He provided the results to the government to help with the decisions they were making regarding immigration. However, the government did not take into consideration Boas' findings and implemented stringent immigration laws.

Immigration numbers were reduced dramatically by the beginning of World War I in 1914. However, the immigrants already in this country were discriminated against even more because of the war. Within a year of the start of World War I, the Ku Klux Klan was growing in numbers. The main difference this time was that they included Catholics, Jews and all immigrants with black people. They believed in the purity of the white race and did not want any other "race" to integrate with the white race.

Peirce's first wife, Melusina Fay Peirce, created a new political party, in 1918, called the "Hereditary Americans." She described this new party in an essay called "New York: A Symphonic Study."

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 2 Analysis

The reader sees the old views trying to resurface with the start of the war. However, the author explains that there were people such as Bentley and Boas trying to change these views. Nevertheless, it is obvious that pragmatism is losing ground and is not being considered by many people in society at this time.



Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 3

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 3 Summary

Horace Kallen was born in Germany and moved with his family to the United States when he was five years old. He worked at Harvard as a teaching assistant and in 1907, he received a fellowship to study at Oxford.

Kallen had been raised a Jew, but gave up his religion to be an American. An English professor at Harvard explained to him that being a Jew was being an American. Kallen regained his religion and came up with a dual identity theory.

Alain Locke was a black student at Harvard. He did not associate with blacks because he did not want to accept he was black. He had been an extraordinary student in predominantly white schools throughout his education. Kallen, who thought Locke would be interested in his dual identity theory, befriended him.

Locke received a fellowship to study at Oxford. He and Kallen went together; however, it became apparent that his race was going to be an issue. Kallen tried to make Locke feel better and tried to get others to accept Locke, but it was not going to happen. Although the non-white, British colonial students accepted Locke, he left Oxford without a degree and traveled to Germany to study at the University of Berlin.

When he returned to the United States, he got an appointment at Howard University. He also had revised his personal beliefs and knew that he could not ignore race. It just was not possible.

After Locke's death, Kallen claimed that he and Locke had come up with the philosophy of cultural pluralism. However, their definitions of cultural pluralism are different and Locke always claimed his post-graduate life experiences led to his belief in cultural pluralism.

Kallen's theory was published in an essay called, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot" in 1915. In the essay, he claimed that the Declaration of Independence was in need of updating because of the new races within the United States. He also stated that ethnicity was not something one could change. Nature gave the person their ethnicity. Because ethnicity is from nature, people should be happy in their place determined by their ethnicity. They should not strive to go further than nature intended. He claimed his theory was a guideline and that there were repercussions if people did not use it, including the loss of all ethnicity, and violence.

This was the same idea W.E.B. DuBois had eighteen years earlier. He had called his theory "double consciousness" and used this theory to explain what it was like to be a black person and an American.



Locke's cultural pluralism was a completely different theory about ethnicity and society. He explained how a race's failures were due to society, not biology. He also believed that complete integration of races was needed to improve each race. He wanted people to take pride in their race, and the accomplishments of their ethnic backgrounds and how compared to other races, and balanced society.

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 3 Analysis

Kallen and Locke are two pragmatists of the early 20th Century. Their views are different, but they are still talking about how humans decide about the abilities of races, and whether these races should integrate. It also introduces the new thought of cultural pluralism. This is a time when many people were American, but also had roots in other countries. This was the theory and philosophy that would replace pragmatism.



Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 4

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 4 Summary

Kallen was known as a pragmatist by 1915. He was asked by James to prepare two manuscripts for publication. These books became some of the most read and influential books about pragmatism.

Where James agreed with Kallen, Dewey agreed with Locke. Dewey believed in the integration of race to create unforeseeable possibilities for all races. He had to change Kallen's theory to fit his views of cultural pluralism and did not acknowledge this new theory of his until 1916.

Randolph Bourne became a political radical and believed his purpose in life was to find the problems in other people's theories and philosophies. He studied under Dewey, and he was influenced by James and the research finding of Boas.

Bourne was a pragmatist and read Kallen's essays on cultural pluralism. He wrote his own essay titled, "Trans-National America," which he published in 1916. It explained that races were not inferior, but their cultures were inferior. He used Dewey, James, Kallen and Locke, as well as some of his own ideas to create his theory.

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 4 Analysis

It is obvious that pragmatism is still around, but it is evolving into cultural pluralism. James and Dewey see this and decide to change as well. They still value their pragmatism, but are willing to try to include cultural pluralism into pragmatism. The reader also sees several new people emerging to take the place of James and Dewey. They are the people who will take cultural pluralism and leave pragmatism behind.

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 5

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 5 Summary

Kallen used the phrase "cultural pluralism" in a book in 1924. However, this new theory seemed to foster prejudice and discrimination, because of the need to define cultures, which defined races. Another problem was that when cultures define themselves, the cultures eventually evolve and need to be redefined. This redefinition will lead to other cultures needed to redefine themselves and make changes. It was a never-ending cycle to keep each culture distinct from other cultures. Dewey believed that this prejudice and discrimination was just an evolutionary phase society needed to complete before it could get to the "new societal whole."

Part 5, Chapter 14 Pluralisms, Section 5 Analysis

Cultural pluralism has taken hold and created a whole new set of problems within society. However, the reader assumes that Dewey may be right. This is just the next step to the integration of all cultures into American society.



Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 1

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 1 Summary

Dewey and Holmes always focused on the rights of society instead of the individual. It was this thinking that helped create the thoughts on individualism of the 20th Century. To these two men, freedom was only given if there was a chance it could be taken away, and that an individual could not have a right or a freedom unless society as a whole had that same right or freedom first. This was the basis of their theories.

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 1 Analysis

The author explains why Dewey and Holmes did not focus on individualism, but on society as a whole. They believed that unless a freedom or right was given by another, it was not a freedom.



Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 2

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 2 Summary

Dewey, Arthur Lovejoy, and J. McKeen Cattell created the American Association of University Professors in 1915 as an equivalent to the American Bar Association or the American Medical Association. It was never intended to become a professional guild or union. However, after operating for two years and having thirty-one investigations of wrongful termination, a union is exactly what it became.

They sold this organization to the public, stating that it protected university and college professors from termination due to political or personal thoughts differing from the university or college president or board of trustees. The public loved it.

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 2 Analysis

Most every person in the academic field had been terminated or knew someone who had been terminated because they said something the establishment did not like. The reader has seen this throughout the book. The professors are now working together to protect themselves and their freedom of speech through this association.



Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 3

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 3 Summary

University presidents or board of trustees did not accept the creation of the American Association of University Professors. They still gave warnings and fired faculty they deemed were not expressing the views the college wanted to teach.

This became worse with the start of World War 1. Cattell was fired from Columbia University because he sent a personal letter to his senator on his own time. Dewey fought for him because as a citizen it was his right to send the letter. Others were fired when the university believed they were teaching views that were unpatriotic. When this happened, many faculty members would resign in protest.

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 3 Analysis

The reader is shown that even with the creation of the American Association of University Professors, these men did not have job security. They lived by the whims of the president and board of trustees.



Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 4

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 4 Summary

Many of the universities of the time were using the law enacted by Congress. This law was originally called the "Espionage Act." However, in May 1918, Congress amended the law and made it the "Espionage and Sedition Act." Now universities had legal grounds to dismiss faculty.

The fourteenth amendment was created by the government to include black people and protect them after the Civil War; however, many courts changed the definition and used it to protect businesses and actually cause excessive discrimination of blacks.

The first three cases heard by the United States Supreme Court in regards to the Espionage and Sedition Act all sided with the government. In fact, Holmes wrote the opinions for the cases.

A judge by the name of Learned Hand, tried to follow Holmes' decisions. From this, he created a formula that used Holmes' "reasonable man" theory. He eventually met Holmes while traveling by train. The two men discussed the opinions of the three Espionage and Sedition Act cases. Hand told Holmes that he did not agree with his decision and explained his formula to Holmes. Holmes could not agree with the formula, but his opinion did change. When the case of *Abrams v. United States* came before the court, Holmes sided with Abrams. This case changed the fourteenth amendment to include free speech and by 1925, this included freedom of political speech as well.

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 4 Analysis

This section explains to the reader how the fourteenth amendment was misused for many years by the judicial system. It shows that Holmes was a major player in redefining how the judicial system uses the fourteenth amendment and how freedom of speech became protected under this amendment.



Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 5

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 5 Summary

Holmes did not believe that he was a pragmatist, even though he held many of the same beliefs.

The authority of heredity characterizes pre-modern societies, but modern societies are led by nature and the procedures and theories that led to modernity.

Part 5, Chapter 15 Freedoms, Section 5 Analysis

The reader sees that the modern 20th Century has left pragmatism behind and is using new theories to recreate itself for the new century.

Part 5, Epilogue

Part 5, Epilogue Summary

James died in 1910. His brother stayed near him for six weeks after James' death. James had asked him to do this to see if they could communicate after death. James never communicated with his brother during this time.

Peirce was found almost dead in 1907 and James cared for him until he was somewhat healthy again. Peirce used morphine daily because of the pain caused by the cancer that ravaged his body. He continued to write until his death, but never contributed anything valuable. He died in 1914, leaving his wife, Juliette, to survive him. She stayed at their farm and lived as a recluse until her death in 1934.

Holmes thought of his later years as the happiest part of his life. He sat on the Supreme Court for 34 years, serving as Chief Justice before retiring in 1932. He died in 1935.

Dewey wrote his book "Experience Nature" when he was 64. In 1930, he retired from Columbia University. His wife Alice died in 1927, and in 1946, he remarried. He was 87 years old and his new wife was 42. They adopted children, but in 1951, Dewey fell and broke his hip while playing with his sons. He never recovered and died in 1952.

Part 5, Epilogue Analysis

With the end of pragmatism, the author uses this section to complete the story for each of the founding fathers of pragmatic thought.



Characters

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

He had been an officer in the Union army with a strong build and standing 6'3," and he had a soldiery look from the beginning. His father's cousin was Wendell Phillips. He had been 20 years old when the Civil War started and even though he was wounded three times, he served his entire commission. His father taught him prejudice and he had been an avid supporter of Daniel Webster. He believed that the white race was naturally superior and stated this many times. When the *New York Tribune* and the *Boston Advertiser*, printed these statements, many of Holmes' colleagues were very distressed with these statements.

William James

The oldest of Henry James Sr.'s children and the most talented, artistically and intellectually. He was very indecisive and used this weakness to his advantage with the creation of "pragmatism." He never went to war, although he did sign up for 90 days with the Newport Artillery Company. He spent two years deciding this, and then was embarrassed that he did not do more. Although he did not fight, nor did his brother Henry Jr., two of the other brothers, Wilky and Bob, did fight in the Civil War, in black regiments. He married Alice Howe Gibbens after two years of courting and only because she was leaving for Canada. They ended up having six children, and even though his indecisiveness was dealt with on a daily basis, they all loved him.

Charles S. Pierce

He was born in 1839 and was the second of five children. He grew up with some of the best scientific minds in Harvard faculty coming to the family house often. He was a mathematician from an early age and became his father's prodigy. By the age of 11, he had written the history of chemistry, and by 12, he had his own lab to use. He attended Harvard, but found it boring and unchallenging. He eventually graduated in 1859 and ranked 79th in his class. His father got him a job with the Coast Survey of Maine, Louisiana, and Mississippi, which was led by one of his friends. Charles returned to Harvard in 1860 and enrolled in the Lawrence Scientific School. By July 1861, he was hired on as an assistant computer with the Coast Survey, and kept the position for the next 30 years. At one point, he was prescribed opium for a facial neuralgia, which turned into an opium addiction. In his later years, he also used ether, morphine and cocaine.



John Dewey

Was born in 1859 in Burlington, Vermont into a family considered Vermont Transcendentalists. His family was social activists and abolitionists. He never had problems with his parents but was glad to leave them to go to college at the University of Vermont. After graduation in 1879, he took a job teaching in Pennsylvania, which he gave up to study privately and eventually enroll at Johns Hopkins University.

Dewey had been influenced at the University of Vermont about how a school curriculum should be constructed. All items were interdependent with one another and would eventually create a whole. Although, this thought was slowly being disregarded, Dewey took this philosophy as his own and used it as the basis for his educational philosophy.

Henry "Little" Abbott

He entered Harvard at 14 years old. He graduated in 1860, a year before Holmes. He did not want to enlist, but felt obligated when two of his other brothers enlisted. He was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the 20th Massachusetts. He did not believe in the abolitionist cause even after the enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation. He did not believe people would adhere to this blatant disrespect of the Constitution. He disliked the "political generals" in the Army as well.

Josiah Abbott

Father of Henry "Little" Abbott. He was a Boston judge and taught his son well. He fought against the Emancipation Proclamation. He and his family did not like Dr. Holmes because he was a Republican. Josiah thought Dr. Holmes a fool who was morally and physically corrupt.

Louis Agassiz

He was born in 1807 in Switzerland and gained notoriety from hard work and high energy. He always had a way of being in the right place at the right time and received many promotions because of this. By the age of 25, he was the student of two of the best scientific minds in Europe, the French Paleontologist, George Cuvier and the Prussian naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt.

When Cuvier died, he left his collection of fish fossils to Agassiz, who used this collection to publish essays on the subject and surpass Cuvier as an expert. However, it was his discovery of the Ice Age that made him world renown.

He came to America on a grant from the Prussian King, through Von Humboldt to study Natural History. He also gave a series of lectures to the Boston Community, which prompted Harvard to accelerate their Science School, with a healthy donation from



Abbot Lawrence. Agassiz was exactly what Harvard needed to keep students from going to Europe to study science. Agassiz accepted in the fall of 1847 and began teaching in the spring of 1848. His teaching at Harvard begins the era of "scientific professionalism," which made science separate from theology and politics.

His wife died in 1848 and by 1850, Agassiz had married Elizabeth Cabot Cary and into a wealthy Boston family. His three children eventually came to America and married into similar families. His second wife opened a school in their home to help finance research projects for Agassiz.

Agassiz taught by observation first and then hands-on experiences. He demanded a comparative method, because he viewed science as a relation of facts not numbers.

Anthony Bentley

He was born in 1870, and lived in Illinois with his family. He graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1892. Upon graduation, he went to Germany to study, but returned to the United States to receive his PhD from Johns Hopkins University in 1895. He worked as a sociology professor at the University of Chicago, but his class was dropped after one year. He was reclusive after that and did not work at another university until 50 years later when he spent a year at Columbia University.

Instead of working for academia, he became a reporter and editor for Chicago newspapers, but he was still busy in his academic field. He began writing "The Process of Government" in 1896. Twelve years later, it was published. His book revolved around the Chicago based theory of functionalism as an explanation for the United States government. Eventually, he and Dewey worked and published a book titled, "Knowing the Known."

Franz Boas

He was born to a Jewish family in Germany and moved to the United States as an adult. He wanted to leave Germany because of the anti-Semitism. Before he left Germany for the United States, he had received his PhD from the University of Kiel, in 1881. He spent the rest of his life trying to prove that races were not inferior, their societies and cultures were inferior. With the right influence, the different races could reach higher intellect and cultural norms.

Henry Thomas Buckle

Was a follower of Adolph Quetlet. He brought reiterated what Quetlet had stated before in that society was responsible for the outcome of its citizens. Vice was a societal problem, not an individual problem. He also went on to show how marriage rates were associated with wage rates. The higher the wages the more marriages took place. He died by the time he was 40 years of age, his life's work incomplete.



Henry Dana

Thought of himself as a political conservative. On several occasions, he risked his life by representing fugitive slaves and those helping them in court. He was attacked in the street occasionally and socially ostracized by all of his colleagues.

Charles Darwin

Published the book *On the Origin of Species*. This work laid the groundwork for modern evolutionary theory. However, Darwin's theory was not a theory of evolution, but of "natural selection," and many people of the 19th Century did not agree with his theory.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Preferred to be alone, and worked through his thoughts during lectures. This created either very good or very bad lectures, depending on the person listening. He wanted people to think for themselves, and not follow what society dictated. In fact, he was banned from speaking at Harvard for 30 years because he told his audience to ignore religious belief and fulfill themselves through self-realization. He eventually was aligned with the abolitionists, but was never comfortable with their system, even though they preached they had no system. He was a past Unitarian and still kept many of their views. He believed in "self culture" to bring about social improvement. In 1851, during a speech, Emerson stated, "The last year has forced us all into politics and made it a paramount duty to seek what is often a duty to shun." Until the end, he believed in self-realization over society.

Harriet Melusina Fay

The first wife of Charles Pierce. She was a feminist and believed that the Holy Ghost represented the feminine of the Trinity. She established the Cooperative Housekeeping Society after her marriage to Charles. The members of this society demanded that their husbands pay them to do housework. She publicly hated immigration and Irish Americans.

William Lloyd Garrison

He was the leader of the Boston abolitionists. He printed his views on the front page of his newspaper the *Liberator*, and he normally burned a copy of the Declaration of Independence during his speeches. He believed that the Declaration of Independence stated that citizens of the America have a natural right to resist the government when their conscience told them the government was wrong.



Daniel Coit Gillman

He was the program developer and first president of Johns Hopkins University. He helped philosophy redefine itself as a science by keeping it on the curriculum at the university. He also helped keep God and religion in the field of science, when many were trying to separate the two ideas.

George Gliddon

He sent the Egyptian skulls to Morton, and collaborated with Josiah Nott.

Norwood Penrose Hallowell

Holmes' best friend at Harvard.

Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr.

Father of Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. and a man many people believed was the most convincing and knowledgeable conversationalist at the time. His cousin was Wendell Phillips. He believed that Boston was the new Greece, "the thinking center of the continent, and therefore the planet." He took sides against the Calvinists and rationalists. He held faith in good breeding, because of the wonderful breeding that had produced him. He had a way of trying to follow his instincts over the prevailing beliefs, and made many decisions that he later had to change. However, the current ideals usually won out if there was a conflict between instinct and social ideologies.

Samuel Gridley Howe

He was an abolitionist and one of John Brown's "secret six." He headed the American Freedman's Inquiry Commission, which was charged with the creation of the policies and law pertaining to the large new black population of the United States.

Henry James Sr.

Henry James Sr. was the second surviving child of his father's third wife. He was also the most rebellious of the 11 children. He gambled, drank and ran up his father's credit. His father gave him a paltry sum to live on after his death. Henry Sr. successfully sued the courts and had the will voided. The court then dispersed the estate equally between the children.

Henry Sr. disliked anything remotely Calvinistic. He did not like the institutionalization of religion and bounced through several before finding Swedenborgism and having the views of this religion coincide with his own personal views. He spent the rest of his life



representing what he felt were the true teachings of the Swedenborgian founder and attacking the Americanized, and institutionalized Swedenborgian church.

He married Mary Walsh and made her give up her Presbyterianism. She had five children for him, four boys and a girl. Unfortunately, Henry Sr. did not believe women should be educated and did a great disservice to his daughter. In his opinion, women were to be subservient to men, and blacks were just inferior in every possible way.

He died in 1882 holding onto his Swedenborgian beliefs until the end. He split his estate between his children. Wilky was left out of the will, because he had used his portion for his farm, and Bob was given a decreased amount, because of his partnership with the farm.

Henry James Jr.

Second son of Henry James Sr., and brother of William James.

Alice James

Sister of William James

Bob James

Younger brother of William James who fought in the Civil War. He bought a farm with his brother Wilky, but left when increased discrimination and falling prices showed him an uncertain future.

Wilky James

Younger brother of William James who fought in the Civil War. He and his brother Bob bought a plantation after the war and used freed blacks as labor. However, as prices dropped and discrimination increased, Bob left the farm, but Wilky stayed for six more years. He eventually left the farm and became a clerk in Milwaukee. Unfortunately, his wounds caused him to become crippled in his later years and he died in 1883.

Horace Kallen

He was a friend to Alain Locke and attended Oxford with him. He was a Jewish American, and fought within himself to identify himself as such. Thanks to a professor at Harvard, he was able to integrate the two identities, which led to his theory of dual identity. He claimed that he and Locke had discussed this theory, but their theories were different. Kallen believed races needed to stay separate; Locke did not believe the same.



Pierre Simon Laplace

He is the scientist credited with the development of the method of least squares. He was actually the third scientist to use this method, but he was the first that was prominent enough to get the method to the scientific world credibly. In 1773, he was elected to the Academie Royale de Sciences. He published only two major works in his lifetime. One was a five-volume work on Astronomy and the other was a work on probability theory. However, he also created the probability theory book for the general public, which made him very successful.

The basis for his astronomical theories was Newtonian Principles, mainly celestial mechanics. He also created the Nebular Hypothesis, which people believed meant that he was saying the universe was evolving, even though he was not. However, the evolutionists of his day seized upon it as authoritative as of his death in 1827.

Alain LeRoy Locke

He was a black man, whose parents were teachers in Pennsylvania. He was an extraordinary student in predominately white schools. He graduated from Harvard, and received a fellowship to study at Oxford. However, he did not stay at Oxford very long due to the discrimination he was subjected to there. He left and went to Germany to complete his studies and returned to the United States. He spent most of his early years ignoring the fact he was black, but after graduating, he realized that it was impossible to ignore. From experiences, he created his own dual identity theory, which was based on the integration of races for each race to excel.

James Marsh

He was the first Vermont Transcendentalist. He viewed education as interdependent. The field was related to other fields and the knowledge gained by each would create a more intellectual understanding of the whole. He put this to work at the University of Vermont. This curriculum is what influenced Dewey to later create the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago.

General George B. McClellan

He assumed command of the Army shortly after the battle at Bull Run. He did not like Abraham Lincoln and called him a "well meaning baboon." He also did not agree with the Republican Party. He was conceited and would ignore commands and battles he felt would not look favorable on him. Therefore, he only fought battles he knew he could win and allowed only a few that looked badly for his reports to Washington.



Samuel George Morton

He was the most well-known and famous anthropologist in the 19th Century. He held two medical degrees, one of which was from the University of Pennsylvania and the other from the University of Edinburgh. His analysis of fossils brought back from the Lewis and Clark expedition made him famous. However, his true passion was studying human skulls.

He would have people send him skulls from all over the world. He was unable to go himself and therefore relied on the information he received with the skull. By the time he met Agassiz, he had over 600 skulls in his collection, and he had published two books regarding his findings in Native American skulls and Egyptian skulls. He believed that by using skulls he could rank each of the human races. Although his work was based on his own assumptions and unreliable information, his findings were regarded highly and his published works were widely read.

Josiah Nott

He worked in Montgomery, Alabama as a physician. However, he was also one of the leading and most respected polygenists in the South during the 19th Century. He feared the interbreeding of races would lead to the extinction of all human species. He found a partner in George Gliddon.

Benjamin Pierce

His father sold their shipping business and took a job as a librarian at Harvard in 1826. Benjamin graduated from Harvard three years later and took a job at an experimental secondary school based upon the German gymnasium school. He returned to teach at Harvard in 1831. By 1833, he was a professor of Math and Natural Philosophy. By 1842, he had become the first Perkins Professor of Astronomy and Math, a position that he held until his death in 1880. He was the first internationally renowned mathematician in the United States.

Benjamin Pierce, along with Louis Agassiz, Alexander Dallas Bache, and Charles Henry Davis, helped advance science in America. These men took control and changed the Association of American Geologists into the American Association for the Advancement of Science. They changed membership requirements to ensure only the best scientists could join. They also persuaded the United States Congress to create the National Academy of Sciences.

Wendell Phillips

His father was the mayor of Boston and a wealthy lawyer who did much business with the cotton industry merchants. He was the cousin of Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. Phillips



was a lawyer, but he quit in 1837 because of his disbelief of the outcome of a case. During a meeting, the Attorney General of Massachusetts defended the murderers because they were white and the victim was black. He actually compared the murderers to patriots. Phillips believed that all races were equal and spoke out against the Attorney General. His career as a reformer began at this time.

George Pullman

Created the Pullman Palace Car Company and furnished many of the cars for the railroads. He created a town for his employees outside of Chicago where his factory was located. He owned everything in the town, including the theater, bank, stores and all the houses. He took the rent for the houses out of the wages, before he paid the employees. However, when the depression of the early 1890s hit the United States, Pullman cut wages, but did not reduce any rent or living costs for his town. Many people criticized the workers and at least one person went to jail for helping to organize the Pullman Strike. However, in the end, the Supreme Court ordered the town to become public and said that it could not be owned by a business. This decision was made exactly one year after Pullman's death from a heart attack in 1897.

Adolph Quetlet

Was a Belgian mathematician who talked the Belgian government into building a conservatory for him. The government sent him to Paris to study and upon his return, gave him the title of Royal Astronomer. He spent his life trying to show how the use of the theory of probability, method of least squares, and the law of errors could explain crime and race issues. He published books of his finding that included a finding that the average man was created by the society in which he lived and environmental changes would change the average man. His findings also concluded that the different races were not as different as others had proposed.

Nicholas St. John Green

He studied under Wright, and he was accepted to Harvard Law School. He had many essays published and his topic of preference was "legal formalism." He had a true distaste for this concept. He believed that laws were only to be used as tools, such as guidelines, to explain and punish the criminal act. They were not definitive and complete.

Charles Sumner

He was a peer, and friend of Henry Dana. His colleagues ostracized him because he spoke out against his fellow citizens for accepting and accommodating Southern slavery.



George Ticknor

He is a perfect representation of an average individual of the prewar Boston establishment. He is representative of coinciding interests of academics, business, and legality. He was the educated son of a Boston merchant. He taught at Harvard. His family and the Unitarianism of his peers and employer dictated his views on slavery.

Daniel Webster

He was considered a hero in the financial center of Boston. His 7th of March speech helped the enactment of the Compromise of 1850.

Chauncey Wright

Came from a family that had lived in Northampton since the 17th Century. He was a student of Benjamin Pierce when he studied at Harvard. He graduated from Harvard in 1852. He worked at the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac. He completed the full year's work in three months. His way of retaining and assimilating knowledge was incredible. He remained unmarried and only published book reviews. However, he was well respected for his knowledge and philosophical views. He fought depression and alcoholism most of his adult life. He died in 1875 when he suffered two strokes.



Objects/Places

Boston

Boston is a city in Massachusetts from which most of the pragmatic thinkers came.

Ball's Bluff

Colonel Edward Baker chose a rocky cliff for the site of his first assault. Col. Baker was a Senator from Oregon and had no previous military experience, which became obvious after the horrific battle was over. Approximately 1700 soldiers went into the battle, and only 800 came out of it alive.

Cambridge

A city in Massachusetts where Harvard is located, and was the original starting point for three of the founding fathers of pragmatism.

Copperheads

Northerners who opposed the war and sympathized with the South.

Columbia University

The university where Dewey went to work when he left the University of Chicago. This is the place where he finalized his theory of pragmatism and started incorporating the new theory of dual identity into his pragmatic views.

Germany

The European country where many of the young men of the United States went to complete their studies and receive their graduate degrees.

Harvard

A college in Boston that was one of the best in the country. It was the leader in many areas of philosophy, medicine, law, and science.



Hull House

The first true social work center in Chicago. Dewey became friends with Jane Addams, one of the women who founded the house. He used her practical data for his academic work.

Johns Hopkins University

The first university to offer graduate degrees in the United States.

Massachusetts Supreme Court

Holmes left Harvard for an appointment to this court. He would eventually leave here to sit on the United States Supreme Court.

Second Great Awakening

It began in New England at the turn of the 19th Century. A Protestant revivalism mixed anti-institutionalism, folklore, Christianity, and superstition together. It created a democratized, non-hierarchical religion based on American culture, and protestant spiritualism. It was the last supernatural trend before science took over as the main way of thinking and pushed religion into the background.

United States Supreme Court

The highest court in the United States. Holmes sat on this court for 34 years before he retired in 1932.

University of Chicago

The University where Dewey began his studies on the human mind and where he began to form his pragmatic views. He left this university and went to Columbia University where he finalized his theory.

Themes

Science and Religion

During the 19th Century, religion was the basis for everything. Harvard College started as a religiously based school and all the curriculum was focused around religion. However, as science began to grow and become more complex, religion started being pushed to the side. Those in philosophy wanted to show science and religion could be integrated without damaging the dogma or findings of the two fields of study.

This belief set off many debates. These debates were only increased with the theories of evolution, natural selection, monogenism and polygenism. Many seemed to try to debunk the religious theories or prove religious theories differently than previously believed. The believers in science wanted to prove that nature was the force behind all creatures and humans, and that races were biologically, physiologically, and intellectually different.

Many scientists of the time used research to substantiate their theories and beliefs. Agassiz believed that the races were never meant to deal with one another. However, this proved that the Europeans should never have come to the United States. He changed his theory slightly to incorporate why the Europeans were right in coming to America, even though an indigenous people already occupied this land.

Religion tried to stay afloat during this time. There were scientists that worked very hard to keep religion tied to science, even if it was in a non-direct way. This was the job of many of the philosophers of the time. They created theories to link religion and science. However, this almost backfired when philosophy found itself being replaced and being pushed in to the field of religion.

Philosophy, Psychology, and Sociology

Philosophy was the original study of the mind. However, when science began pushing it into religion, many philosophers changed the definition of philosophy. The end results were the creation of psychology, sociology, and a redefinition of philosophy.

Psychologists immediately started saying that psychology was the true science of the mind. They used laboratories to conduct research and published finding from the research. It used in the scientific experiments to prove how the mind of humans and animals worked. It did not use logic in the sense of thinking. It used scientific logic with numbers to explain how the mind worked.

Sociology was another science that used poor houses and places like Hull House to run experiments on society, mainly the poor of society. Those in academics did not do the practical part of the research. They used the research of philanthropy to gain insight and



publish findings. They were also some of the first social workers to try to help the poor of the United States learn to help themselves.

Philosophers also began using experiments too. Dewey created the Laboratory School to prove how children learn. Others had tried similar experiments at the university level. However, many philosophers were also working to prove that religion still held a place within society and that it was needed by people. They worked to prove that the belief in religion was needed to the human psyche.

Evolution and Pragmatism

Theories of evolution began before Darwin, but Darwin put the ideas out to the public. He was not truly an evolutionist, but he did believe in the natural selection. Nature decided what was best for each species and mutated the species to have what was needed. He used his finding of flora and finches to come up with this theory. To him, Nature was religion. Nature decided what species were needed. It also decided what attributes were necessary for each species. Evolution helped many of the scientists theorize that the races were in different stages of evolution or that they were each a completely different species. The theory also did not give any credence to the thoughts and beliefs of the societies. Nature was the only decider.

Pragmatism was completely based on how people come to conclusions; how they make decisions. This was the theory that people make decisions depending on their environments. They use their belief and environments to adapt to the ever-changing world around them. God is the force that changes the world, as are the decisions made by the people he created. Religion is a major part of pragmatism. It also helped prove the races were the same species, but not all pragmatists believed the races should integrate. Pragmatism evolved into a theory of decision-making and dual identity that was needed in the 20th Century.



Style

Point of View

The author uses third person narrative to tell the story of each main character. By doing this, the reader can see the influences and experiences that led to the development of each characters theories and beliefs.

Not all of the four main characters can be viewed, or thought of themselves, as pragmatists. Two of the four did not agree with pragmatism, but their beliefs were similar and were based on pragmatic beliefs. The author shows in each section how the four characters interacted with one another and developed their beliefs. Three had been friends for many years. This friendship can be seen and is used by the author to show the strengths and weaknesses of each.

With the use of the third person narrative, it becomes obvious to the reader that without the insight into the interactions, arguments and educational and familial influences pragmatism may never have been conceptualized.

Setting

The book is set from the mid 1800s to the early 1900s. The views of each period are explained in detail to show how the characters were influenced by society. The Civil War was a major part of this narrative. It was a key in the development of the theories three of the four men would adopt in their later years.

The stories are set in the United States and Europe, mainly Germany and France. By explaining, the European influence on the United States helps the reader to understand how society functioned at the time.

With the explanation of the anti-Slavery, Unionist and abolitionist views, the reader gains insight into the normal thoughts of society at large regarding black people and immigrants.

The author uses this time of social unrest to show how his characters flourished and helped to create the modern and post-modern society of the United States.

Language and Meaning

The language that is used by the author is very straightforward. When there are scientific or religious terms, he defines them. He explains the developments in the field of science in such detail it is hard not to understand. He explains how statistics helped

pave the way to pragmatism with the inception of statistics to prove human behavior. This development also led to the branching off of philosophy from the field of psychology and sociology.

The meaning of this book is to explain some of the reasons why the United States is as we know it today. Without the explanations of many parts of the history surrounding the Civil War and early American views of immigration, the meaning of the book would be nothing. It is based on the beliefs of society in the late 19th Century. Using this knowledge, the reader gets an exact view of many influences within the society of the United States and the influences from abroad.

Structure

The Preface is used to give a basic background of the characters. It sets the reader up for the story that explains how the period influenced those people in the educational field of higher learning and how society evolved.

The book has four parts that are broken down into sections to give the reader an easy way of looking at the life and accomplishments of each character. The first section usually consists of the background and education of the character. The subsequent sections lead up to the character's final realized theory of pragmatism, or a theory based on many pragmatic elements. The fifth part shows the end of pragmatism, starting with the new ideas coming to surface and finally with a new theory, dual identity.

The Epilogue is used to bring the story of each character to a close. The author closed the story of pragmatism in the fifth part. The characters, however, also need closure. This chapter has no sections, and simply explains the final years of each prominent character that the author used in his explanation of pragmatism and modern America.



Quotes

"The war alone did not make America modern, but the war marks the birth of modern America." Preface, pg ix

"They all believed that ideas are not 'out there' waiting to be discovered, but are tools - like forks and knives and microchips - that people devise to cope with the world in which they find themselves." Preface, pg xi

"But Delany concluded that the antislavery activists were more offended by the notion of Southerners presuming to send their agents into Northern cities to retrieve their 'property' than they were by discrimination against any black man already in their midst. And he was not wrong." Part 1, Chapter 1, Section 2, pg 9

"If the American Union cannot be maintained, except by immolating human freedom on the altar of tyranny, then let the American Union be consumed by a living thunderbolt, and no tear be shed over its ashes." Part 1, Chapter 1, Section 3, pg 14

"We went to bed one night old fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs & waked up stark mad Abolitionists." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 1, pg 27

"Chief Justice Roger B. Taney remarked, had regarded blacks as 'a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.'" Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 1, pg 28

"Brown gave the abolitionists a taste of blood, and they found it thrilling." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 1, pg 29

"The whole population, men, women, and children seem t be in the streets with Union favours and flags□ Civil War is freely accepted everywhere□ by all as inevitable, by all as the least of the evils among which we are permitted to choose, anarchy being the obvious, and perhaps the only alternative." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 1, pg 31

"Revolutions do not follow precedents nor furnish them." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 1, pg 33

"'I always wanted to have a memorandum of this experience □,' as he put it, 'so novel at the time to all & especially so to me from the novelty of the service of my youth.'" Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 2, pg 37

"If there is a worse place than Hell, I am in it." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 3, pg 43

"I firmly believe that □the men who ordered the crossing of the river are responsible to God for murder." Part 1, Chapter 2, Section 3 pg 41



"The North had the bigger Army, but the South, for the most part, defended, and in most battles the advantage is with the defense." Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 1, pg 49

"Only when you have worked alone □ when you have felt around you a black gulf of solitude more isolating than that which surrounds the dying man, and in hope and in despair have trusted your own unshaken will □ then only will you have achieved." Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 3, pg 60

"The lesson Holmes took from the war can be put in a sentence. It is that certitude leads to violence." Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 4, pg 61

"'Man is like any other organism, shaping himself to his environment so wholly that after he has taken the shape if you try to change it you alter his life.' Holmes told Einstein." Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 4, pg 63

"Homes had grown up in a highly cultivated homogeneous world, a world of which he was, in many ways, the consummate product: idealistic, artistic, and socially committed. And then he had watched that world bleed to death at Fredericksburg and Antietam, in a war that learning and brilliance had been powerless to prevent." Part 1, Chapter 3, Section 5, pg 69

"The lesson of his career is that since everything we do we do out of some interest, we had better be clear about what our interests are." Part 2, Chapter 5, Section 1, pg 101

"'Time,' as he put it, 'does not alter organized beings.'" Part 2, Chapter 5, Section 1, pg 106

"Evolution is simply the incidental by-product of material struggle, not it goal." Part 2, Chapter 5, Section 2, pg 123

"Its fitness was generally appreciated before its rightness was generally established." Part 2, Chapter 6, Section 4, pg 140

"The war was just a part of the struggle for existence, a means by which the species moved ahead." Part 2, Chapter 6, Section 4, pg 143

"Statistics conquered uncertainty by embracing it." Part 3, Chapter 8, Section 1, pg 182

"Statistics has already thrown more light on the study of human nature than all the sciences put together." Part 3, Chapter 8, Section 3, pg 191

"I believe we can bet on the behavior of the universe in its contract with us. We bet we can know what it will be. That leaves a loophole for freewill - in the miraculous sense - the creation of a new atom of force, although I don't in the least believe it." Part 3, Chapter 9, Section 3, pg 217



"Hence, belief is not merely impression which the mind receives passively from the contemplation of facts external to it, but an active habit involving an exertion of will."
Part 3, Chapter 9, Section 3, pg 226

"Human reason is not confounded by the content of the Christian consciousness, but is strengthened, illuminated, satisfied, nay, completed by it." Part 4, Chapter 11, Section 2, pg 265

"As the mind unifies the impressions of the nervous system, so the 'inner being' of the world unifies phenomena." Part 4, Chapter 11, Section 3, pg 270

"The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience." Part 5, Chapter 13, Section 2, pg 341

"Pragmatism is an account of the way people think - the way they come up with ideas, form beliefs, and reach decisions." Part 5, Chapter 13, Section 4, pg 351

"Pragmatism explains everything about ideas except why a person would be willing to die for one." Part 5, Chapter 13, Section 7, 375

"Individual freedoms are manufactured to achieve group ends." Part 5, Chapter 15, Section 1, pg 409

"Coercion is natural; freedom is artificial." Part 5, Chapter 15, Section 1, pg 409

"Academic freedom and the freedom of speech are quintessentially modern principles."
Part 5, Chapter 15, Section 5, pg 431



Topics for Discussion

Explain what Agassiz meant when he said, "They will mexicanize the country." Who were they and why did he have this view?

What did Darwin ascertain from the study of flora in Eastern Asia and North America? Why was it controversial?

What were Buckle's four influences on the human species and why were they important to 19th Century sociology and physiology?

What was Oliver Wendell Holmes' contribution to the theory of pragmatism?

How did James try to help Pierce by introducing the theory of pragmatism, and why did it not work?

How did Dewey take pragmatism to the next step, which paved the way for the new theory of dual identity?

What was the difference between Kant and Hegel and how did they influence pragmatic thought?

What were the findings from the Laboratory School, and why were these findings important to science?

What role did Darwin, Laplace, and Lamarck play in the pragmatic theory?

What is the difference between Swedenborgism and Mesmerism? How do you think they influenced William James?

What is the method of least squares? Why is it important to pragmatic theory?

How did the new sciences of psychology and sociology influence philosophy? How did they help philosophy redefine itself?