

John Dewey and Hubbards, Nova Scotia

The Man, the Myths, and the Misinformation

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Hubbards “is as quiet & restful a place as can be anywhere & while it is not specifically wild or rugged it has a peaceful charm—the long arm of the sea running in, & the green farms & wooded hills all about.”

—John Dewey [1927.07.27 (05437)]¹

Introduction

Since the appearance of George Dykhuizen’s *The Life and Mind of John Dewey*, students of Dewey have known that he spent many summers at Sawlor Lake in Hubbards, Nova Scotia, Canada. His first visit to Hubbards, at the invitation of his son Fred, followed immediately the death of Alice Dewey in 1927, his wife of over forty years. Hubbards became known not only as Dewey’s preferred summer vacation destination in his later years but also as a place where he did much writing, including completing *The Quest for Certainty* and *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (Dykhuizen 1973, 233). Likewise, Dykhuizen’s story of Dewey’s marriage to Estelle Roberta Lowitz Grant on December 11, 1946 and their adoption of “two small Belgian children, brother and sister, made orphans by the war [World War II]” became a part of the Dewey folklore (313–314). By publishing a number of photographs, Dykhuizen’s book also helped plant visual images of Dewey chopping wood, holding a chipmunk, and typing at the lake’s edge and on the veranda in front of his Sawlor cabin in the minds of generations of Dewey scholars. Finally, Dykhuizen reported that Dewey continued to spend summers at Sawlor Lake until he died in 1952 (233).

Much has been learned about Dewey’s experiences in Nova Scotia in the time since Dykhuizen’s work was published in 1973. We are now better able to separate Dewey from some of the myths and misinformation that surround his time in Hubbards. Our purpose is to provide a more precise and complete pic-

ture of Dewey's time in Hubbards than Dykhuizen and others have done thus far. This goal is pursued by means of discussing Dewey's experiences as they relate to the death of Alice (A Tragic Death), the vacation of Fred and Elizabeth Dewey (A Newfoundland Holiday), the first summer in Hubbards (A New Beginning), the life of Dewey in the Hubbards area (Life on the South Shore), the confusion of two Robert W. Norwoods (A Confusion of Identities), the marriage of John and Roberta (A New Wife), the adoption of Lewis and Shirley Hume (The Nova Scotia Adoptions), the scholarly works developed at Sawlor Lake (A Period of Production), and the evolution of his philosophy (A Time of Reflection).

A Tragic Death

By July 14, 1927, the day that Alice died, John Dewey had entered what is sometimes considered the third phase of his life (1925–1952) and had completed most of his career as a professor at the University of Michigan (1884–1888; 1889–1894), the University of Minnesota (1888–1889), the University of Chicago (1894–1904), and Columbia University (1905–1930). He had given numerous addresses, written dozens of articles and essays, and published highly respected works, including “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology” (1896), “My Pedagogic Creed” (1897), *The School and Society* (1899), *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902), *Ethics* (1908), *How We Think* (1910), *Democracy and Education* (1916), *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920), *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922), *Experience and Nature* (1925), and *The Public and Its Problems* (1927). For these and other activities and accomplishments, he was widely regarded as the leading educational thinker and American philosopher of his time. But in the fall of 1926 and the spring of 1927, his focus dramatically shifted from professional to personal matters. The extended illness and, ultimately, death of Harriet Alice Chipman Dewey (1858–1927) was his constant and primary concern during this academic year. Her death not only was a great personal and family loss but marked, too, the end of the many significant intellectual discussions. So, he lost a spouse, a friend, and intellectual mentor at once. Thus, he was a physically weary, mentally drained, and emotionally discouraged nearly sixty-eight-year-old on the day Alice died.

Alice's death, while not totally unexpected, was surprisingly quick in the summer of 1927. In 1924, she had become ill when she and John were invited by the Turkish government to help guide the country's educational reform. Never fully recovering from what Evelyn reported as her mother's “uremic poisoning and malaria” [1924.09.10? (06805)], Alice's health was further compromised in 1926 when she experienced a heart attack in Mexico City. Later that year it became clear that there was little if any hope of her regaining her health [1927.07.27 (04942)]. In fact, her health was so poor that Dewey took a leave of ab-

sence from Columbia University in the spring 1927 to attend to her (Martin 2002, 337–344). Martin notes the events immediately prior to her death:

On July 4 she suffered a minor stroke, caused by worsening arteriosclerosis and hypertension. After this little time remained before her death. Her physician visited her for the last time on July 13, and then, on the morning of the fourteenth, she died peacefully of a cerebral thrombosis. (344)

A Newfoundland Holiday

Although Alice's death was not unforeseen, the exact time was. The extended family members were attempting to go about their responsibilities and lives as much as they could. Fred (1887–1967) and Elizabeth Braley Dewey, for example, were taking a family vacation in Nova Scotia and in Newfoundland, which at the time was under British trusteeship. They went first to Halifax and then to Hubbards, as they had done the year before. From the Gainsborough Hotel, Fred [1927.06.14 (05499)] wrote Alice on June 14, one month before her death, telling her of the family's arrival in Hubbards.

On July 11, Elizabeth wrote to John and Alice of their camping and fishing trip in western Newfoundland,² describing their cultivated immunity to “dirt & bugs,” the plentiful salmon, the challenges of canoeing, the “gorgeous” camp site on a cliff overlooking the falls of the Humber, and the “glorious weather” [1927.07.18 (05600)]. After a few more days, she said they would return to the Afton Farm House, Tompkins, Little River, Newfoundland, to prepare for their return to Nova Scotia. Their plans with J. F. Tompkins, the proprietor of the Afton Farm House, were to leave for Hubbards on July 21 [1927.07.11 (05511)].

When Fred and Elizabeth learned of Alice's death on July 15, Fred immediately sent a telegram from Deer Lake conveying his grief and telling his father that it would not be possible for the family to arrive in New York before late Monday (probably July 18). Consequently, he thought it best if the funeral were carried out before that date unless his father felt otherwise. He encouraged his father and his sister, Evelyn, to join his family in Hubbards as soon as possible after the funeral [1927.07.15 (05526)]. Additional communication indicates Fred was relieved to learn that his father would be joining them in Hubbards for a time of recuperation. He told his father that he would meet him at the Halifax harbor and hoped that he would enjoy his stay with the family in Hubbards [1927.07.18 (05600)].

A New Beginning

Letters reveal that Fred's concern that Dewey might not enjoy Hubbards was misplaced: his family, his new friends around Sawlor Lake, and his interactions in the community helped make it from the beginning a much loved place for his

summer vacations and work. On July 23, Dewey was a passenger on the RMS *Nerissa*, operated by the Red Cross Line, headed for Halifax [1927.07.22 (02859)] and eventually Hubbards, where he planned to spend only a few weeks [1927.07.22 (02859)]. He and Jane (1900–1975), his daughter, arrived in Halifax and, later in the day, Hubbards on July 25. For approximately the next forty-five days, Dewey lived in a rented cabin with Fred, Elizabeth, and Ann (their young daughter) as well as his daughter Jane. Later, Lucy Dewey, another daughter, and Alston, Jane's husband, visited [1927.07.27 (05437)]. The Dewey families usually ate breakfast in their cabin or cabins but had lunches and dinners at a nearby hotel, probably The Gainsborough [1927.07.27 (05437)]. Dewey wrote a number of letters during this time, largely to express his thanks to the friends who shared his grief of the loss of Alice. His depression was evident in a letter to George Herbert and Helen Castle Mead when he confessed that he had no right to complain about being left alone, but that Alice had been his life and his memories of their time together would remain with him for the few years he had left [1927.07.27 (05437)].

Some letters forwarded to Dewey at Hubbards were focused on professional matters. For example, he responded to Scudder Klyce to explain his objections to organized religion [1927.07.27 (04803)], to Kirby Page to outline his plans to write articles [1927.07.27 (05650)], and to Sidney Hook to confess his inability to work because he was yielding to the temptations of Hubbards [1927.08.27 (05710)]. By the time Dewey and Fred's family—Fred himself had to return to New York in early August since he was a partner in a new firm, Dewey, Bacon, and Company—left Hubbards for New York, he pronounced himself “much rested” [1927.08.16 (02860)]. Indeed, he appeared to some to be a new person in the fall of 1927 as he returned to an active social life as well as to his normal professorial responsibilities (Martin, 369–370).

Dewey learned experientially—or, we might say, relearned personally—in the summer of 1927 what he had declared approximately a decade earlier in *Democracy and Education*: “conscious life is a continual beginning afresh” (MW 9: 370). The “peaceful charm,” “the green farms,” the “wooded hills,” and “the long arm of the sea” of Hubbards and St. Margaret's Bay as well as the affection of his family and friends had a healing effect on him [1927.07.27 (05437)]. Friends helped bring him a “sense of the abiding Good,” and the charm and peace of the area made it a delightful place to rest [1927.08.14 (04903)]. This fresh start began a phase of life that lasted approximately twenty-five years, roughly the years of his *Later Works*, 1925 to 1952. He returned to lecturing widely and to teaching at Columbia University—as a full-time professor until he retired in 1930 and as an active, fully salaried professor emeritus until 1940 [1930.03.03 (06396)], (Ryan 1995, 156). He was also a prolific writer during this period. Arguably, his philosophical writings reached their zenith as he completed a plethora of publications, and the educational works he finished during this phase of his life were obviously more important than some interpreters suggest.

Alice's death, then, signaled both an ending and a beginning for Dewey not only as a person but also, in many ways, as a professional. One aspect of this new beginning we can term his Nova Scotia experiences (1927–1949).

Life on the South Shore

Dewey's 1927 visit to Nova Scotia was probably his first. On this visit, it is unclear whether he traveled much in the area or stayed close to Hubbards. On later trips to Nova Scotia, he clearly made visits to other communities, primarily on the South Shore, e.g., Peggy's Cove, Fox Point, Mill Cove, Bayswater, Blandford, Easter Chester, and Chester. These later trips to Hubbards usually started either from New York or Boston and included traveling by boat, train, or car. When he left from Boston, he often traveled to Yarmouth by boat and from Yarmouth to Hubbards by train or he took a train from Boston to Halifax and then to Hubbards. He was also familiar with transportation from Saint John, New Brunswick via ferries to Digby, Nova Scotia. He mentioned Kentville, too, perhaps indicating that he or family members traveled in the Annapolis Valley before going to Hubbards. The summer before Dewey and Roberta Grant married in 1946, they spent time in Halifax and Hubbards before taking their first scenic tour of Cape Breton [1946.08.15 (13150)]. His last verifiable trip to the province was in 1949. Including 1927 and 1949, he visited Nova Scotia at least sixteen summers from 1927–1949. These visits may be roughly divided into two periods: 1927–1936 with visits in 1927, 1929–1933, and 1935–1936, and 1937–1949 with visits in 1937–1939, 1941, and 1946–1949. The former period started with the death of Alice and his visit to Hubbards to stay with his son Fred and family. The later period began when Roberta Lowitz made her first trip to Hubbards and signaled the beginning of another phase of life for him. Visits usually lasted from as little as a few weeks to two months or more.

He does not appear to have visited Hubbards during the summers of 1928, when he traveled extensively in Europe from May until September (Levine 2001), or 1934, when he spent most of his time in South Africa [1935.07.22 (09290)]. In 1940, he spent much of the summer with his daughters and their families in Colorado, Missouri, and New Jersey, and in 1942–1945 he was involved in various writing and speaking engagements as well as visiting family and friends (Levine 2001). Apparently, after the summer of 1941 he stopped visiting Hubbards until World War II ended. In 1942, he expressed his regret to Amy Lillie that he could not get back to Hubbards but gave no reason for such in his brief letter (Dewey 1942). He and Roberta took a five- or six-day cruise on the SS *York* to Halifax in 1949, but it is not clear that they visited Hubbards [1949.06.11 (09473)]. He may have returned briefly to Hubbards in the summer of 1950, but this seems unlikely considering his poor health and the time he spent in New Alexandria, Pennsylvania [1950.06.25 (12143)], [(1950.09.15 (13517))]. After his death, Roberta Dewey returned to Nova Scotia for a number of years

until the late 1950s and, perhaps, into the 1960s [1959.07.09 (14502)], [1963.07.29 (18558)].

While Dewey initially stayed in a rented or a friend's cottage at Sawlor Lake [1930.06.25 (03046)], later he purchased property of his own. Actually, he acquired property on several occasions from different people. Ryan (335) states that he had "a house at Hubbards ever since the sale of his Long Island farm at the end of the 1920s," but that date is probably a little early. Records indicate that he considered buying property in 1930 from a Hubbards acquaintance named Nell [1930.08.08? (05825)], (Dewey 1930), but officially purchased property for the first time in 1932 and as late as 1943. First, he bought property, including a cottage, from Amy Morris Lillie, a New York City teacher, for the sum of one Canadian dollar in 1932 according to official documents. His letters indicate that he actually started paying Lillie for the property in 1931, \$150 in October (Dewey 1931a) and \$350 in November (Dewey 1931b). Lillie had purchased the property in 1926 from Ethel MacKeen Norwood and Robert Winkworth Norwood. The property was at the western boundary of land belonging to Clara J. Ludholz. She and her husband, Edward, a teacher from Overbrook, Pennsylvania, a Philadelphia suburb, were Dewey's neighbors and sold him some of their property in 1943 [1943.08.12 (09943)]. A. W. and Helen M. Shatford, Hubbards business leaders, sold Dewey property that was between his land and John Stuart Romig's for sixty dollars, probably in 1937 [1937.12.14(10252)]. Dewey also purchased property from John and Louisa Linton Romig, close Sawlor Lake friends, in 1939. The property purchased from the Romigs had been purchased by them in 1927 from Ross W. and Mildred B. Fishburn [1939.08.22 (06884)]. Each of these purchases appears to have been of land adjoining Dewey's initially purchased property. He also explored buying—and may have owned—property at Fox Point (Shatford 2003) and in East Chester [1952.06.03 (16045)].

Although people speak and write of "the Dewey cottage," he in fact owned two cottages at Sawlor Lake on the same piece of property, at least in the late 1940s [1951.08.15 (12770)]. The main one was his residence and included two bedrooms and a combined living, dining, and kitchen area. He usually slept in the front bedroom, which faced Sawlor Lake, and worked there when the weather did not permit his typing on the long deck that ran from the cottage to the lake. Usually, he sat in a cane-back birch chair that he moved or had moved from the cottage to the veranda to the lakeside, depending upon his preference for the day. The smaller cabin was used when there was an overflow of family members and visitors. In addition, there was the typical outhouse behind the main cottage (MacLean 2001; MacLean 2003a). The smaller, one-room cabin may be the one of which Dewey spoke when he said that Roberta Lowitz Grant had one next to his. But it appears that she usually stayed with him [1946.07.06 (10322)].

Along with Ethel and Robert Winkworth Norwood, John and Louise Romig, Clara and Edward Ludholz, and Amy Lillie, Dewey appears to have made up much of the nucleus of the south Sawlor Lake summer community during the first phase (1927–1936) of his visits. Hugh and Nancy Mandeville, who owned a cottage next to the Norwoods (Kaiser, 2001), should be added to this core, too [1973.02.22 (16398)]. Naturally, the community evolved somewhat through the entire time Dewey was in Hubbards, but several of these families seem to have been relatively permanent. These individuals—and perhaps others—no doubt made up what Dewey called “the old regulars” [1933.07.29? (05187)] and were obviously a part of a larger group that he designated “the Hubbards colony” (Dewey 1930). Others who appear in Dewey’s letters and were probably members of the Hubbards colony include Flicker and her sister, Kathryn—probably Kathryn Bird Clark, wife of Grover Clark [1932.08.27? (05188)]—Tom Boyd [1938.08.11 (05346)], the Riddells [1930.10.07 (04271)], the Thayers and Grossets [1935.07.10,11 (05193)], and the Gates and the Holdends [1937.08.08 (05331)]. But the coming and going of people makes it nearly impossible to identify precisely the exact members of the original group that welcomed Dewey to Sawlor Lake in 1927 and the evolving group that was there on his last visit in either 1948 or 1949.

The typical activities of the Sawlor Lake summer community included, among other events, cocktail and sailboat parties [1933.08.11? (05190)], [1937.08.28 (05334)], but Dewey also mentions his playing rummy, poker, and croquet as well as swimming, sailing, canoeing, and going on picnics. Of course, he spent a great deal of time with his children—Sabino, Evelyn, Lucy, Fred, and Jane, their spouses, and their children. Jane and Fido, her dog, may have spent more time with him than others [1939.08.27 (06085)]. Dewey himself, of course, was an assiduous reader and writer as well as an engaged vacationer. The social bonds developed at Sawlor Lake by visitors, especially those from Philadelphia and New York, became relatively tight. So when they returned to the States they had an excuse, if they needed one, to get together to have a Hubbards party [1930.10.07 (04271)]. In his later years in Hubbards, Dewey appears to have engaged in similar activities, except considerable time was spent with Roberta and, proportionately, more time may have been given to reading and writing and less given to recreational activities (MacLean 2001). His time with Lewis or John, Jr. and, later, Shirley or Adrienne was obvious, too, in his final years in Nova Scotia [1947.08.20 (07251)].

Others who played ordinary but important roles in the life of the Sawlor Lake and Hubbards summer community included many local people. Maudie MacLean, for example, cooked for Louise and John Romig for approximately twenty years and assisted others, including Dewey, by doing household tasks [1973.02.22 (16398)]. Originally from England, she moved to Nova Scotia after her marriage to James MacLean (MacLean 2003b). Others, of course, interacted with Dewey, selling merchandise, doing repairs, and providing services. Three

such people were Russell L. MacLean, Mabel Robinson, and Creighton Dauphinee. Russell MacLean, a teenager in the late 1940s, worked for John and Roberta for three summers, cooking and doing household chores (MacLean 2001); Mabel Robinson, a local hairdresser, did Roberta's hair on Saturday afternoons (Robinson 2003); and Creighton Dauphinee, a telephone company employee, did carpentry work for people, including, perhaps, building Dewey's well known chair (MacLean 2003c). Another person who was involved in the Sawlor Lake community for a number of years was probably from New York and may have worked there for Dewey. Mrs. Parker, or "Parky" as Dewey sometimes called her, served as Dewey's housekeeper and general assistant. One incident involving her is rather remarkable given that Dewey was in his middle seventies. During a swim one day, she nearly drowned and might have died had Dewey not gone to her rescue and pulled her to safety [1935.07.26 (05196)].

So life on the South Shore was characterized largely by engaging in exploratory, social, recreational, commonplace, and, for Dewey, scholarly engagements. Only occasionally does it appear that he deviated from this routine for a visit to Halifax to lecture at a civic club meeting or to visit others, such as J. W. Fraser, a member of the House of Assembly, about educational issues [1941.08.21? (09755)]. He probably visited other areas and individuals on rare occasions, such as the North Shore and the Pugwash vicinity because of friends, e.g., Cyrus Eaton (Shatford 2003). Many people who lived on the South Shore were aware of Dewey's presence at Sawlor Lake and his celebrity status. A smaller number of people met and interacted with him. An even smaller set of people were acquainted with some of his views, even to the degree that they were able to identify points of disagreement with him (Stone 2001).

A Confusion of Identities

Dewey's summer activities in Nova Scotia mostly involved a small number of people for obvious reasons: he was on vacation and lived and interacted primarily with people around Sawlor Lake, Hubbards, and, to a lesser degree, in nearby communities on the South Shore. Two people with whom he interacted more than most were Robert Winkworth Norwood (1874–1932) and Robert William Norwood (1905–1985), the nephew of the former Norwood. Robert Winkworth Norwood, a well-known Anglican and Episcopal rector, and Robert William Norwood, a famous photographer, are unfortunately but understandably collapsed into one person in some existing records, including footnotes in *The Correspondence of John Dewey: The Electronic Edition* [1939.12.19 (07940)].

Robert Winkworth Norwood (1874–1932) was, during Dewey's early Nova Scotia days, the rector of St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York (1925–1932). He was born in New Ross, Nova Scotia, to Joseph and Edith Harding Norwood and served as a rector in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and Pennsylvania before going to New York. He was a poet, an outspoken liberal

minister, and an opponent of a variety of injustices. His collections of poetry (*The Piper and the Reed*, *His Lady of the Sonnets*, and *Mother and Son*), his poetic dramas (*The Witch of Endor* and *The Man of Kerioth*), and his dramatic monologue (*The Modernist*) made him famous in literary circles. His creedless sermons and political stances made him both famous and infamous in certain religious and social settings (Percival 1948, 158–167).

Robert Winkworth and his wife, Ethel McKeen Norwood, spent many summers in Hubbards, where they owned two properties, a rather large log cabin named Bobolink at Sawlor Lake and a house named Tedhome on the Conrad Branch Road in Hubbards. Bobolink, named after a rare bird, was a very short distance from Dewey's cottages. Dewey purchased his property in 1932, the year that Robert died. Tedhome was named after the Norwoods' son, Robert or "Ted," who earlier had a tragic accident while he was working as a guide for a hunting and fishing lodge on Lake Rossignal in Queens County, Nova Scotia (Norwood 2002; Norwood 2003). The Norwoods were known for entertaining friends, including Dewey, in their Sawlor Lake cabin and their Conrad Branch Road home (Harnish and Norwood 2001). In the Norwood homes, informal conversations appear to have evolved into more formal question and answer periods at times [1929.10.21 (06187)]. The small but intellectually interested group of vacationers on the south end of Sawlor Lake, then, appears to have been influenced to visit and return to the area originally by Robert Winkworth Norwood. Nova Scotians, particularly Haligonians, and other tourists, of course, also found the Hubbards area and Sawlor Lake a desirable place for vacations ([1938.08.11 (05346)]; Harnish and Norwood 2001).

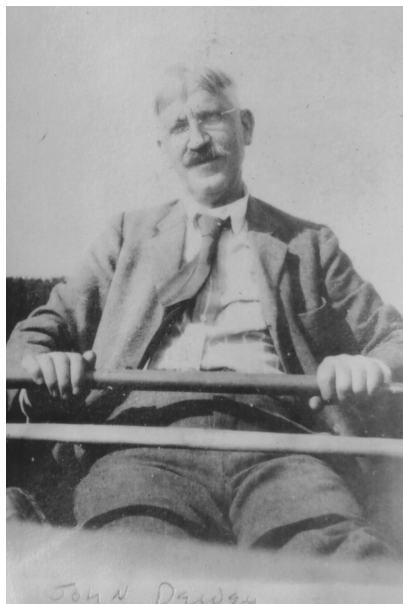
Robert William Norwood (1905–1985), a nephew of Robert Winkworth Norwood, also played an important role in Dewey's life, albeit in a different way. Robert William Norwood, the son of Edmund and Stella Keans Norwood, was born in Hubbards, where his father practiced medicine. In 1925, he was asked by his uncle Robert Winkworth Norwood to go to New York to live with the family and escort his two daughters around the city since it was new to them. Bobby, then nineteen, accepted the invitation and went to live with the Robert Winkworth Norwood family. He spent the next two months escorting his two cousins around the city, attending the theatre, movies, and museums as well as sightseeing (Campbell 1985, 1–5).

While in New York, Bobby obtained an interview and a job with a well-known photographer of celebrities, Edward Steichen, who also worked for *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*. Bobby at first engaged in an assortment of activities, but he gradually learned photography from Steichen. In 1930, he returned to Nova Scotia and became well-known for his talents, working as a freelance photographer as well as on the staff of the *Halifax Chronicle* and, later, the *Herald and Mail*. His assignments and freelance work took him to photograph ordinary activities, events, sites, and people around the province, including Liverpool, New Glasgow, Hubbards, and Halifax (Campbell 1–5). Some of his photographs of Dewey

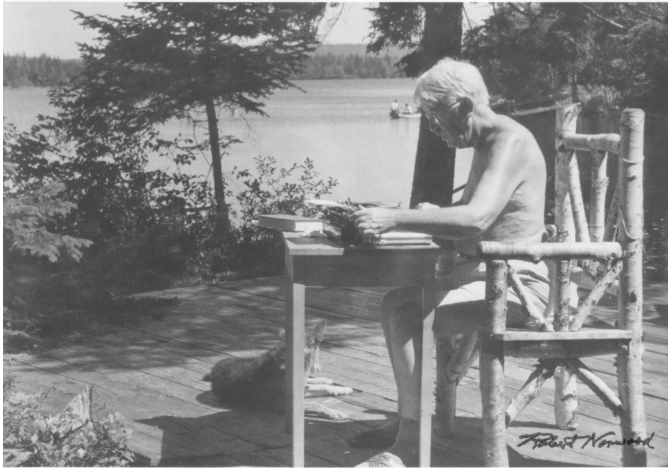
at Sawlor Lake—including shots of Dewey sitting in his favorite cane-back chair typing on the deck at the lake and on the veranda near the cabin—later graced the covers and pages of books about Dewey.

The exact dating of Norwood's photographs is challenging. Dewey mentions Bobby Norwood taking some very good pictures of him in 1939 [1939.09.01 (06887)] and asks that he be given credit for a photograph that would be used in the *Philosophical Review* [1939.12.19 (07940)]. A photograph in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia is dated simply the 1930s. In this upper body shot, Dewey is dressed in a jacket, tie, and shirt. He looks younger in this photo than he does in many other extant Norwood shots. The Norwood photographs in the Morris Library, Southern Illinois University,³ usually show Dewey dressed casually and, if they are dated, have dates of 1943, 1944, or 1945. But since there is no other evidence to indicate Dewey was in Nova Scotia during these years, they appear to be misdated. Perhaps they were taken in the late 1930s, 1941, or, more probably, the late 1940s. Alternatively, if appropriately dated, the photographs provide grounds for believing that Dewey was in Hubbards during these war years.

Photographs of Dewey swimming and boating in Sawlor Lake, chopping a log on his property, and holding a chipmunk near the lake depict Dewey in ways no other professional photographer has perhaps done. Overall, Norwood captures the ordinary Dewey—swimming, boating, working, playing, and writing—just as he was noted for capturing the events in the everyday lives of others throughout the province. Norwood's philosophy of taking photographs of "people unselfconsciously carrying on their everyday activities" provides a professional photographer's insight into the ordinary Dewey, doing chores, enjoying wildlife, pursuing amusements, and typing manuscripts (Campbell 1–5). Complementary to this depiction of Dewey are the observations of Russell MacLean, a teenager who worked for the Deweys in the late 1940s, that John and Roberta lived as ordinary people even though they were famous (MacLean 2001). Norwood also took photographs of Jane Dewey (formally posing and simply walking near the main cabin) and Roberta Dewey (swimming with John) at Sawlor Lake. In addition, one of his photographs shows an unidentified couple canoeing on the lake and reveals the famous or infamous—to locals and summer residents—crudely constructed "modesty chute" that Dewey had built. Dewey probably did



not call it a modesty chute but a “runway” that was needed because of neighbors [1935.07.20 (05195)]. Reportedly, Dewey had the wooden, open-ended chute built so that he and others could enter it, undress, and then walk into the lake before bathing or swimming in what he called his bathtub. The chute, however, did not salvage his New England reputation for modesty. Between swimming and bathing in the lake, Dewey and other summer residents earned the reputation of being “skinny dippers” (Burchell 2001; Harnish and Norwood 2001).



A New Wife

After Alice died in 1927, Dewey remained unmarried until December 11, 1946, when he married Estelle Roberta Lowitz Grant (1904–1970), a longtime friend and companion for several years before their marriage. The foundation for their relationship was laid in Pennsylvania, where at nineteen, John became a teacher and assistant principal for two years (1879–1881) at Oil City High School immediately after graduating from the University of Vermont. There he met the future father of Roberta, Joshua Lowitz, who lived a short distance away in Pittsburgh. Many years later, in 1930, she may have called upon Dewey for the first time when she visited him in New York. Dewey also attended a party in her home in Pittsburgh in 1931 [1931.10.23 (06525)]. Her varied career included working for the *Pittsburgh Press* and organizing travel clubs for the Pittsburgh schools. As a journalist, she also accepted a number of special assignments, such as representing the *Jamaica Standard* at the 1939 World’s Fair in New York (Martin 467–470).

In 1936, Roberta moved to New York with the idea of obtaining a position as a teacher. Consequently, she asked Dewey for his assistance, and he wrote her a letter of reference indicating that she had developed a new way of teaching geography that would also enhance the learning of reading and English in the upper elementary grades [1936.11.22 (06468)]. A few weeks before Christmas,

Roberta invited Dewey for dinner, but he declined, indicating that he was too busy but might be able to see her immediately after Christmas. What happened next may be in some measure interpreted in the light of Martin's categorical overstatement, which in context is a reference to Dewey's romantic attachment to Anzia Yezierska Levitas, a colleague in 1918–1919: "Dewey remained a rational philosopher until a flicker of love shimmered on the horizon" (290). Beginning with that December 26, 1936 dinner, Dewey appears to have fallen very much in love with Roberta. He was 77 and she was 33 at the time (Dykhuizen 313). The difference in age may have troubled Roberta at the time and apparently did when she and John eventually married at the ages of 87 and 43 (Martin 470).

In the approximately three years between their meeting in 1936 and Roberta's 1939 marriage to Robert Grant in early September, she and John had a rather atypical romantic relationship. During this time, Dewey and Grant both attempted to secure Roberta's affections, wrote her regularly, and saw her as often as their and her schedules allowed. Roberta informed both of them that they were competitors, and later she told Grant that she would marry him [1937.05.02 (06630)]. Records indicate that there were many letters from both Dewey and Grant to Lowitz from 1937 to 1939, when the latter two were married after a long delay. The delay in setting a date for the Grant-Lowitz marriage resulted in part from several matters, including Grant's extensive business travel in Europe, Africa, and the western United States and an automobile accident in which he and Dorothy, his daughter by his first marriage, were seriously injured. The marriage of Grant and Lowitz ended after thirteen or fourteen months when he died in November or December 1940 (Martin 469). After Grant's death, Roberta and John became companions again, and they married in 1946. While some family members and friends were unhappy with Dewey's second marriage, Dykhuizen is correct when he notes that people were impressed with her "wholehearted devotion to her husband and his obvious delight in her companionship" (314). Among other things, she was noted for purchasing whatever items were needed for daily affairs and ensuring that his research materials, books, typewriter, manuscripts, and workspace were undisturbed (MacLean 2001).

The first time John and Roberta were in Hubbards was the summer of 1937. He left from Boston for Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, and she traveled from New York to Yarmouth. By coincidence, Roberta was on the same boat from New York to Yarmouth with Louise Romig—whom Dewey probably first met in Chicago [1973.02.22 (16398)]—and her niece. The four of them, including Dewey, took a train together from Yarmouth to Hubbards. Dewey had earlier described to Roberta the train ride from Yarmouth to Hubbards as "a stupid ride, of seven or eight hours at the rate of 20 miles an hour, and about as much progress sideways as forwards" [1937.06.13 (06646)]. As usual, Maudie MacLean had the cottage ready for occupancy with the "fire [wood] laid and the clock wound up" [1937.07.16 (05329)]. Jane Dewey joined John and Roberta later in the summer [1937.08.08 (05331)] and the three of them explored the areas around Fox Point,

Mill Cove, and Blandford so much that Dewey concluded that they were “better known on that road than any summer visitors who have ever come here.” That road is probably a reference to Highway 329, which leads from Hubbards to Fox Point, Mill Cove, Northwest Cove, Aspotogan, Baywater, Blandford, Deep Cove, and East River. Roberta, or Robbie or Robin as Dewey often referred to her, and Jane each purchased a lot on Fox Point, both evidently with water frontage [1937.08.21 (05332)]. He and Jane kept up their reputation for travel after Roberta returned to New York as they kept exploring and had the only picnic that summer at Owls Head [1937.09.07 (05333)].

The Nova Scotia Adoptions

One of the frequently told stories about John and Roberta Dewey concerns their interest in adopting Lewis Robert (born August 31, 1942 in Halifax) and Shirley Marion Hume (born February 20, 1940 in East Chester).⁴ The appeal of this story stems partially from the fact that at the time the adoption of Lewis Robert Hume was initiated by Roberta in 1946, she was 42 and Dewey was 86. But the story is absorbing for other reasons, including the purported facts of the adoption given by Dykhuizen:

Distressed at reports of the plight of children in post-war Europe, Dewey and Roberta shortly after their marriage adopted two small Belgian children, brother and sister, made orphans by the war. First adopted was a boy, John; a year later, his older sister, Adrienne, was found and adopted. (314)

Dykhuizen’s account of the adoptions became the standard interpretation for approximately twenty years and continues in publications.⁵ Unfortunately, much of his interpretation is not based upon facts. The children were not orphans, nor refugees, nor Belgian. Nor did World War II directly influence them. Moreover, the boy was not originally named John Jr. and his sister, later renamed Adrienne, was not located in Europe a year after her brother was. This story has survived as long as it has because only recently was Dykhuizen’s explanation challenged by supplementary historical research. Evidence indicates that Roberta Dewey constructed the story (Martin, 472).

What light do the records throw on the way Lewis Robert and Shirley Marion Hume became members of the Dewey household? Rockefeller (1991, 544), breaking only partially with the Dykhuizen interpretation of the adoption, inches closer to what actually happened when he identifies Lewis as “a four-year old Canadian boy” but errs when he adds that Roberta had already adopted him before her marriage to John. Dewey himself notes in 1948 that Lewis was “a native of Nova Scotia and resident of Halifax where . . . his father resides and works, his name being George Robert Hume” [1948.04.28 (10730)]. He indicates that Roberta was “increasingly taken” with the four-year old Lewis after she saw him, and that he had spent some days and nights with her in her cabin. Lewis,

according to Dewey's letter, was living with an aunt in East Chester when Roberta first noticed him. Their time together increased her interest in Lewis, resulted in her learning about his background, and led her to attempt to adopt him in 1946. Dewey reports that Lewis's father signed a notarized paper, probably on August 22, 1946 but perhaps on the 29th, stating that he consented to Roberta's adopting his son and to her taking him to live in New York [1948.04.28 (10730)]. Lewis started living with Roberta in the fall of 1946 in New York. The paper signed by George R. Hume in Halifax did not sufficiently settle the matter, for Dewey pursued the adoption of Lewis and Shirley in New York in April 1948. Since the details of the 1948 adoptions indicate that both Nova Scotia and New York officials were involved in approving them, the initial effort by Roberta to adopt Lewis in 1946 may not have met either provincial or state requirements [1948.04.28 (10731)].

Before Dewey pursued the adoptions of Lewis and Shirley in 1948, he and Roberta had married—on December 11, 1946, shortly before they went to Florida for part of that winter. Martin (470) interprets their marriage as a matter of convenience, implying that it was a way of solving the adoption difficulties Roberta faced. If he is correct, it seems odd that Dewey waited until 1948 to initiate or, possibly, revive the adoption process. Moreover, Dewey's unquestioned love for Roberta seems at least a partially plausible explanation for his decision to marry her. Whatever the reasons for the marriage, in the spring of 1948 Dewey wrote a letter to Charles J. Burchell, an attorney in New York, indicating that Roberta's interest in Lewis was kindled in the summer of 1946 when she saw him walking on the road in Hubbards. According to Dewey, Lewis's father was unable to take care of him and thought he would have better circumstances and opportunities if Roberta adopted him. George Robert Hume, Lewis and Shirley's father, had worked at the Halifax Shipyards as a machinist's helper (*City Directories* 1946). Later, he may have served in a branch of the military, for a person of identical name is listed as the vice president of the Canadian Legion, Eastern Passage Branch, near Dartmouth (*City Directories* 1950). Muriel Gladys Crouse Hume, the mother of Lewis and Shirley (*City Directories* 1946), was 16 when she married George, then 22, in Chester in 1938. George and Muriel lived in Canaan, East Chester, and Chester before they moved to Halifax, where they separated in 1943. Five years later, George petitioned for a divorce in 1948 and it was finalized in 1950. When Dewey wrote his attorney about the adoptions in 1948 [1948.04.28 (10730)], Muriel was working as a waitress in Halifax and George was a laborer in Ottawa, Ontario. George Hume's November 1948 petition for a divorce indicates that both Lewis and Shirley had already been adopted but does not mention that John and Roberta adopted them. Records do not indicate whether Muriel Hume was involved in the adoption process or decision, but she was aware of the adoptions (Nova Scotia Archives & Records Management, 2001).

By the time Dewey wrote his attorney, Lewis's name had been changed to John, Jr.⁶ and he was attending a "sub-primary school" in New York at the Harry Emerson Fosdick Church [1948.04.28 (10730)]. Shirley Hume is mentioned in a separate letter by Dewey the same day to ensure her adoption, too. In August 1947, George R. Hume and Roberta had the appropriate papers notarized to allow Shirley to live with the Deweys for a trial year to ensure that the arrangement would be mutually satisfying before finalizing the adoption in 1948. During that year, Shirley attended the Bamford-Nightingale School for Girls in New York [1948.04.28 (10731)].

Roberta and John's love for children and enjoyment of them was obvious. John and Alice had shared the same love for children and had six of their own: Evelyn, Fred, Gordon, Jane, Lucy, and Morris. And John and Alice, in 1905 after the death of Gordon, also brought a young Italian boy, Piro Levis (Martin 550), later renamed Sabino, into their family. According to Martin, Sabino became a much-loved member of the Dewey family without ever being legally adopted (235). Dewey was obviously delighted to have both John, Jr. and Adrienne around him. "Dewey once again found himself working amid noisy, curious children (who called him 'Grandpa'), a situation he had always found to favor an appreciation of the richest possibilities of human experience," Westbrook (1991, 536) comments.

A Period of Production

Many of Dewey's later writings were initiated, revised, or completed in Hubbards at Sawlor Lake. Given his work ethic and overall productivity, this is not a surprise. He wrote extensively during the last three decades of his life and published what now constitutes most of *The Later Works* (all of volumes 4–16 and parts of volume 3 and 17) from 1928 to 1952. A few of the better known philosophical works published during these years are *Individualism, Old and New* (1930), *Ethics* (revised 1932), *A Common Faith* (1934), *Art as Experience* (1934), *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935), *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938), *Freedom and Culture* (1939), *Theory of Valuation* (1939), *Experience and Nature* (revised 1949), and *Knowing and the Known* (1949). Some of his most important essays, monographs, and books on education were also written during this phase. In addition to dozens of important essays on educational themes (such as those published in *The Educational Frontier*), his books and monographs include *The Sources of a Science of Education* (1929), *Construction and Criticism* (1930), *The Way Out of Educational Confusion* (1931), *American Education Past and Future* (1931), *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process* (revised 1933), *Education and the Social Order* (1934), and *Experience and Education* (1938). So it is easy to see why Martin concludes that the 1930s were a time of renewed interest in education for Dewey (439).

What, however, do we know about Dewey's writing projects in Hubbards and the influence of the environment and people upon his thinking? Dykhuizen (233) appears correct when he states that Dewey did some of his most important thinking and writing, including *The Quest for Certainty* and *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* at Hubbards. *The Quest for Certainty* emerged as a book in 1928 after Dewey extensively rewrote the Gifford Lectures that he had prepared for the University of Edinburgh (Martin 362, 369). Roberta notes that Dewey wrote most of *Logic* at Sawlor Lake [1959.07.09 (14502)]. She describes his domestic and writing habits as follows:

Each year as soon as we arrived, he would chop wood, build a fire in the fireplace, and perform the other chores a pioneering life requires. After a swim each morning, in the lake immediately in front of the cottage, (the lake is our bathtub), he would continue on his *Logic*. [1959.07.09 (14502)]

Dewey, if reports are correct, considered *Logic* his "chief work" and the best account of his "life's work" (Martin 425). If time devoted to a project is an indicator of the importance of a work to its author, Dewey no doubt highly valued the volume, given that he started on a chapter in *Logic* as early as 1927 [1927.08.27 (05710)] and finished the volume in 1938 after approximately ten years of work [1938.09.04 (06759)].

Two other volumes that he worked faithfully on in Hubbards are *How We Think* (revised 1933) and *Art as Experience* (1934). When he completed his revisions of the former work, which was first published in 1910, he claimed that he felt "highly virtuous" for his accomplishment [1932.08.27? (05188)]. The latter book, perhaps, was started in his mind in the summer of 1930, when he devoted considerable time to reading in the field of aesthetics [1930.09.07 (09279)]. Three summers later, in 1933, he completed writing his lectures on art in preparation for his Harvard lectures and sent Albert Barnes a copy of the outline he would use [1933.09.05 (04314)]. Those lectures, of course, were later revised and published as *Art as Experience*.

Martin describes what may have been a somewhat typical summer's writing agenda for Dewey, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. He spent much of July and August 1939 in Hubbards and worked on several projects. Martin remarks:

He had been preoccupied with preparing and commenting on a volume of selections from the writings of Thomas Jefferson and composing his own contribution to the first volume of Paul Schilpp's "Library of Living Philosophers," devoted to Dewey's work . . . as well as helping Jane, Evelyn, and Lucy prepare a fifteen-thousand-word personal narrative for the book. Finally, he was still working on *Freedom and Culture* (1939), which had to be completed by the end of September. (437)

Dewey did not complete *Freedom and Culture* before leaving Hubbards in the summer of 1939, but he did write five of the seven chapters by the time he left for New York. The pressure to complete the book early in the fall was basically because it was to be published in time for his eightieth birthday celebration on October 20 [1939.09.01 (06887)].

On some occasions, then, Dewey prepared lectures in Hubbards that were later turned into a book (*Art as Experience*). At other times, he polished previously developed lectures into a book (*Quest for Certainty*). On still other occasions, he outlined plans for works, corrected page proofs, crafted introductions to books, and wrote articles and reviews. After Dewey completed his writing, it was customary for him to have a professional typist in New York retype his manuscripts and provide him with at least one carbon copy. So the finishing touches on many of his manuscripts were done wherever he was at the time, e.g., Hubbards, New York, Key West, or New Alexandria. Obviously, Dewey did not work on all of his articles, reviews, and books in Hubbards. For instance, he does not appear to have done any work on *Experience and Education* in Hubbards. He probably started the work in New York [1937.12.29 (08854)] and completed it in Key West, Florida, where he often vacationed during winters [1938.03.30 (07896)].

Nearly to the end of his life, Dewey worked sporadically on essays and a volume “that would summarize his own development, reflect on Western thought, and start the work to be done by others in consolidating the new stage of history” (Martin 481). Martin says he may have started this work as early as 1941, but if this is the work that Dewey mentions in 1942 as starting and stalling [1942.04.** (09815)], he may have begun as early as 1939. The title would have been *Naturalism* if it had been published. In the summer of 1949, Dewey is said to have almost completed the work in Hubbards before he returned to New York. Unfortunately, as the story goes, the manuscript was taken out of the car and into Dewey’s apartment building but never made it to John and Roberta’s apartment (Martin, 482). This story is, at least in part, problematic, for letters indicate that John and Roberta’s cruise that summer on the SS *York* to Halifax began on June 11, 1949 and that they returned to New York on June 18, 1949. Shortly thereafter, on June 24, they headed for Maple Lodge, New Alexandria, Pennsylvania. The belief that Dewey completed the almost-immediately-lost manuscript entitled *Naturalism* in Nova Scotia in 1949 therefore appears highly questionable, at least as far as the completion year is concerned. If it was finished in Hubbards, it may have been during the summer of 1948, probably Dewey’s final working summer holiday in Hubbards. Conversely, if Dewey wrote in the summer of 1949 in Hubbards, his time would have been limited to a few days. Whatever occurred in the summer of 1949, it was most likely his last summer in Nova Scotia, because of his itinerary and health in the summers of 1950 and 1951 and his death in 1952. If he visited at all in 1950 or 1951, it is unlikely that

there was time for any productive work. He died of pneumonia on June 1, 1952 after an extensive period of failing health [1950.06.25 (12143)], [1951.08.03 (14092)].

A Time of Reflection

Previously, we raised the question, What do we know about Dewey's writing projects in Hubbards and the influence of the environment and people upon his thinking? We have addressed the first part of this question. Now we turn to the subject of the influence of the environment on his thinking. As we begin, we should note that the question, while appearing simple, requires a rather complex answer. A nuanced answer is required because the potential influences on Dewey are immense, especially when influence is understood as any condition that provides a stimulus for the growth of a person. Clearly, the influence of the human and the material environments of the South Shore was considerable when Dewey was there. The human influence from 1927 to 1949 alone included his two families, i.e., his and Alice's children, their spouses, and children and Roberta and their children. Others who affected his life included the old regulars and the Hubbards colony, a number of whom became and remained close friends with him. Still others who interacted with him were the residents of and visitors to the South Shore. In a variety of ways, he learned from these constantly changing and overlapping groups and communities. In addition, he was no doubt influenced by the historical, cultural, and natural environment of the region. The possibility of his being immunized against the largely small-town and rural maritime communities scattered along the Atlantic Ocean is inconceivable. The bays, lakes, and harbors, along with their historical and natural resources and pleasures, were a regular part of Dewey's life for approximately twenty summers. With his keen mind and eye, there is little doubt that he learned from these and other features and qualities of the area.

Given the way Dewey lived and reflected, we can reasonably expect to find some connections, even if limited, between the events of his daily life and the intellectual problems with which he was grappling. What he wrote about was what he was thinking about, and what he thought about was what he was learning on a regular basis: he did not simply walk out of his Sawlor Lake cottage, sit in his cane-back chair on the deck, open his books, and begin reading and thinking as he started typing. His experiential background and foreground, which merged from experiences in New York, Florida, Pennsylvania, and other places, blended with his Hubbards experiences as he lived, thought, and wrote there. On the other hand, we may be expecting too much if we anticipate finding richly informed, deep, and broad strands of thought in his writings that emerged and flourished around Sawlor Lake. A couple of years in Hubbards spanning from 1927 to 1949 may not have been sufficiently intense to extensively influence his philosophy. Moreover, Dewey is known for showing "little sense of self" in his

academic writings (MW 12: xvi). Caution is merited, then, in approaching the question of the influence of the South Shore upon Dewey's thinking, especially the type of thinking that would appear in his writings.

While caution is merited, it is conceivable, even probable, that his life on the South Shore affected him in notable ways. We think, for instance, that the topics of the religious, friendship, community, and aesthetics form a gestalt that warrants investigation. Before pursuing this gestalt, however, we mention two other overlapping ways that Dewey was influenced by the greater Hubbards environment: the utilization of nautical terminology and coastal illustrations.

Although Dewey's use of nautical language and examples was undoubtedly influenced by his New York and Florida environments, there are textual examples of the probable impact of the South Shore on his writing. For instance, prior to his Hubbards experiences, Dewey did not employ the term *anchor* in his writings although his coauthor, James H. Tufts, used the word twice in each edition of their book *Ethics* (1908, revised 1932). Even after he started visiting Nova Scotia, Dewey seldom used the word, perhaps because he believed that it might imply more than his philosophy allowed. Nevertheless, he does use the term in 1942 when he saw freedom being threatened by the world war. He saw the need of a large anchor: "The freedom of mind that justifies faith that it is the sheet anchor of other freedoms is something to be developed" (LW 15:182). In 1948, he titled an essay "How to Anchor Liberalism" and argued for the need to cooperatively establish "tests and criteria" by which proposals and policies regarding liberalism, freedom, and democracy could be judged (LW 15: 248ff). In this context, he complains that the efforts of semanticists are futile and little more than "trying to keep back an oceanic tide with a mop" (LW 15: 248). It may have been the rising tide of the Atlantic Ocean at Peggy's Cove or other communities on the South Shore that stimulated him to think about the futility of certain efforts.

Conversely, there is little reason to wonder about the origin of a coastal illustration in *Art as Experience*, where Dewey wrote that "an experience of thinking" moves from premises and propositions to conclusions, much as a storm advances a series of waves. From his cottage deck or in his front bedroom at Sawlor Lake, he probably wrote:

The experience, like that of watching a storm reach its height and gradually subside, is one of continuous movement of subject-matters. Like the ocean in the storm, there are a series of waves; suggestions reaching out and being broken in a clash, or being carried onwards by a cooperative wave. If a conclusion is reached, it is that of a movement of anticipation and cumulation, one that finally comes to completion. A "conclusion" is no separate and independent thing; it is the consummation of a movement. (LW 10: 44–45)

In *How We Think*, Dewey created one of his most powerful images of the teacher—and by implication the student—and of her or his responsibilities. He

compares the teacher to a helmsman or navigator after mentioning that she or he is “a guide and director”: “he steers the boat, but the energy that propels it must come from those who are learning” (LW 8: 140). Overall, more than half of his nautical expressions appear after his first visit to Hubbards.

When we raised the question of environmental influences, we observed that the topics of the religious, friendship, community, and aesthetics form a gestalt that is worth exploring. Our hypothesis is that a variety of experiences probably worked together in subtle ways to influence his thinking on these overlapping themes. Beginning with his view of the religious is appropriate. For decades before going to Hubbards, Dewey had been criticized for being hesitant to discuss religion in depth. Needless to say, he had intermittently discussed the potential and actual negative impact of dogmatic religion on democratic life. But this did not satisfy many scholars. His reasons for not writing more on the subject are several, including the wish to focus on what he considered more productive ways to advance his democratic philosophy of life. We may also hypothesize that he was hesitant to criticize his own painful religious heritage, especially the faith of his mother and youth. His distaste for introspection may also have been a factor. Whatever the reasons for his reluctance, his arrival in Hubbards seems to signal a new openness to the topic. His openness can be understood as an accumulation of pre-Hubbards and Hubbards experiences.

His readiness to discuss religion was not an instantaneous but evolutionary development that may have reached both a strategic stage and setting the summer Alice died. The philosopher E. A. Burt, his former colleague at Columbia University, wrote Dewey shortly after Alice's death to express his regrets and added, “It is only recently that I made the discovery that though you are rightly critical of existing tendencies in religion, you are a profoundly religious man. May the sense of the pervading presence of the good, that breathes through your writings to the appreciative reader, be especially real to you at this time” [1927.08.07 (05672)]. Dewey's acknowledgment of Burt's condolences included a response to “the pervading presence of the good” phrase: “Our friends have been very kind & have brought the sense of the abiding Good very close” [1927.08.14 (04903)]. Dewey's exact words are significant. He did not say that his family had brought a sense of the abiding Good, but that friends, no doubt including his family, had. Those friends—the old regulars, the Hubbards colony and, in all probability, others, including his family—influenced him to feel close to the Good. In *A Common Faith*, he moved from calling such occasions religious experiences to saying they were experiences that had a “religious phase,” “religious quality,” and “religious elements” (LW 9: 4–9).

The degree to which Robert Winkworth Norwood, the informal magnet of the Hubbards regulars and colony, influenced Dewey's openness on religious matters is debatable, although he was one of the kind friends who helped bring the sense of the abiding Good in the summer of 1927. Unquestionably, Norwood's and Dewey's paths crossed and interests overlapped. He studied philoso-

phy at Columbia University and was a noted proponent of justice. He hosted social and intellectual discussions in his two Hubbards homes. Dewey taught at Columbia when Norwood was a student there, joined him at Sawlor Lake as one of “the old regulars,” and attended his parties and interacted with him and his guests. Their cabins were only a matter of yards from each other, and they were known to socialize at Hubbards parties in New York. Norwood was comfortable and candid about his religious views and conceivably influenced Dewey in the same direction.

In addition to Dewey’s growing openness to a range of religious questions, another shift seems to have been nurtured at Sawlor Lake. Friendship begins to take a more prominent place in his thought. Dewey said it was his friends who brought “the sense of the abiding Good very close.” The lakeside setting and the scenery might have helped to give his experience a religious quality but, of course, he did not mention this. His seemingly casual statement in his letter expresses incipiently what he wrote seven years later in *A Common Faith* about “the divine”—his preferred term for God—arousing emotions regarding “a union of ideal ends” in such values as “art . . . knowledge . . . effort . . . rest . . . education . . . fellowship . . . friendship . . . love . . . growth” (LW 9: 35). His appreciation for friendship is manifested in his revised chapters in *Ethics* (1932), *A Common Faith* (1934), and *Art as Experience* (1934). In *Ethics*, he goes beyond affirming the notion’s importance for personal, societal, and international reasons to discussing the ups and downs of personal relationships. In *Art as Experience*, he connects the challenges of personal growth to friendships, communities, and education (LW 10: 339).

In *Art as Experience*, we learn more about his theory of the religious and its connections to art and aesthetics: “A work of art elicits and accentuates this quality of being a whole and of belonging to the larger, all-inclusive, whole which is the universe” (LW 10: 199). The religious feeling that is often a part of aesthetic perception introduces us to “a world beyond this world which is nevertheless the deeper reality of the world in which we live in our ordinary experiences” (LW 10: 199), and then our everyday “acts of social intercourse are works of art” (LW 10: 69). Or, as he says later:

Every intense experience of friendship and affection completes itself artistically. The sense of communion generated by a work of art may take on a definitely religious quality. The union of men with one another is the source of the rites that from the time of archaic man to the present have commemorated the crises of birth, death, and marriage. Art is the extension of the power of rites and ceremonies to unite men, through a shared celebration, to all incidents and scenes of life. This office is the reward and seal of art. That art weds man and nature is a familiar fact. Art also renders men aware of their union with one another in origin and destiny. (LW 10: 275)

Dewey produced a series of works on religious topics during his Hubbards years, including *The Quest for Certainty* (1929), originally a set of lectures on natural theology, in which he argues for a religious faith that is attached to “the possibilities of nature and associated living,” devoted to “the ideal,” and pursued by means of “the actual” and a religious attitude that is allied “to acceptance of the ideally good as the to-be-realized possibilities of existence” (LW 4: 244–245). His autobiographical essay “From Absolutism to Experimentalism” (1930) describes his pilgrimage from an evangelical to a naturalistic orientation. In the essay, he provides another reason for not wishing to do philosophy with religious problems, namely that inquiry too easily deteriorates into “the alleged but factitious needs of some special set of convictions” (LW 5: 153).

In *A Common Faith* (1934), Dewey maintains that the term *God*, the religious, and faith need to be separated from belief in a personal God, the supernatural, and organized religion. Instead, a humanistic religious faith and attitude based upon an experimentalist approach to knowing should be encouraged. He elaborates on the religious quality: it is inherent in “natural experience” (LW 9: 20), “significant moments of living,” and “periods of darkness and despair” (LW 9: 11). God refers to “the unity of all ideal ends arousing us to desire and action” (LW 9: 29). The outcome of faith is “the unification of the self through allegiance to inclusive ideal ends” (LW 9: 23). As we experience the religious and the unification of our selves, we are better able to guide our “impulses toward affection, compassion, and justice, and equality and freedom” (LW 9: 54).

Conclusion

Our research on Dewey’s Nova Scotia experiences is informative in at least four ways. First, a number of claims about Dewey and Nova Scotia can now be substantially revised or rejected. For example, the long-standing story about the adoption of two small Belgian children is substantially but not completely apocryphal. The mythology surrounding their nationality appears to have been an intentional fabrication. The recent claim that Fred and Elizabeth Dewey were in Nova Scotia when Alice Dewey died is also incorrect. The inaccuracy of this assertion was apparently an incomplete or inaccurate reading of records. The conflation of Robert Winkworth Norwood and Robert William Norwood into one person was an unfortunate mistake, but one that is entirely understandable. While statements about Dewey’s last visit to Nova Scotia occurring in 1952 are inaccurate, they stem from having partial records and have not appreciably affected our interpretation of him and his experiences in Hubbards. His lost manuscript titled *Naturalism* was, perhaps, completed in 1948 in Hubbards, not 1949.

The second value of the study is that we understand more about Dewey’s Nova Scotia experiences. In many ways, he emerges as an ordinary person, whether in Robert William Norwood’s photographs, Russell MacLean’s memo-

ries, or the accounts of him we find in his letters. We learn of the ordinary man who is depressed as he entered his Nova Scotia experiences; his revitalization, happiness, and frustrations during the time; and we note his health problems and increasing fragility. He enjoyed the everyday activities of someone on holiday on the South Shore, his friendships and relationships with his Sawlor Lake neighbors and in the Hubbards community, the beginnings of a life with a new companion and wife, and the expansion of his family to include two new children. We see an intellectually vigorous thinker who continued to read, think, and write as only an extraordinary philosopher could do. We obtain deeper insights into the ordinary John Dewey, literal and figurative pictures that add to our knowledge of him as a person and philosopher. This portrait of Dewey's ordinary affairs, associations, and work style also clarifies why he was the great thinker and philosopher he was: he was constantly reading, thinking, and writing even during many of his vacations. Life was not segregated into work and leisure for him; they commingled and informed one another.

Third, we gain insight into the environmental influences upon Dewey's thinking and writing. His interactions with family, friends, neighbors, residents, and visitors challenged and informed his thinking and writing. We learn of Robert Winkworth Norwood's return to his native Nova Scotia for summer holidays and the impact this decision had upon his friends, including Dewey. Dewey's colorful language and range of subject matter expanded to more fully embrace the topics of the religious, friendship, community, and aesthetics. Reflecting on his personal experiences and readings before and during his Hubbards experiences helped him write some of his most significant works. The titles of a few of works—*The Quest for Certainty*, *Ethics*, *Art as Experience*, *Freedom and Culture*, *How We Think*—indicate the importance of his Hubbards visits. Although the fact of the influence on Dewey is clear, its degree and depth are not; they do, however, seem to be in proportion to the time he spent on the South Shore.

A final value of this study is the uncovering of future research opportunities. Dewey says that "the first requisite of fruitful research" is that it calls up "as many problems" as it settles (EW 1: 69). Of the many unanswered questions, we mention two that seem important. First, a comparative study of the writings of Dewey and Norwood may help clarify not only the similarities of their thought but also the influence each had on the other. Second, further study of Adrienne and John Dewey, Jr. is warranted. Biographers have done considerable research on the biological children of John and Alice and their Italian son, Sabino. Little research, however, has been done on the lives of John and Roberta's children. Knowledge of their experiences growing up in the Dewey household and their later lives will add to our understanding of the entire Dewey family. In pursuing this research, we can enhance our understanding of one of Hubbards's noteworthy summer families and one of philosophy's greatest thinkers.

Notes

As in the case of others, our efforts have been based in part on the work of other Dewey scholars. In particular, we are thankful for the pioneer Hubbards, Nova Scotia studies of George Dykhuizen; the recent work of Jo Ann Boydston, Steven Rockefeller, Alan Ryan, and Robert Westbrook; and, especially, the latest research of Jay Martin. They have provided insights that have greatly enhanced our own endeavors. We are also indebted to Mount Saint Vincent University for introducing the authors to one another and for providing opportunities for discussions that led to this project. In particular, we appreciate the roles played by William Hare and Andrew Manning in facilitating our meeting. The authors also wish to extend a word of appreciation to the staffs of the A. W. Shatford Memorial Library and the Hubbards Heritage Society, Hubbards, Nova Scotia; the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Special Collections, the Morris Library and The Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois; and the people of Hubbards, Nova Scotia, especially Roy Harnish, Verna Shatford, Thomas Burchell, Carmen Stone, Lem Kaiser, and Mabel Robinson for their support for this research project. In addition, we want to acknowledge the invaluable research and interpretive debt that we owe Edmund Norwood and Russell L. MacLean, both of Hubbards, Nova Scotia. Their time, understanding, photographs, thoughts, and contacts have been immeasurably helpful from the beginning to the completion of this undertaking. Likewise, we would like to thank Michael J. B. Jackson, Montreal, Quebec and Vancouver, British Columbia, for his editorial and conceptual suggestions on an earlier draft of this manuscript. Finally, a word of thanks is due Xiaoming Lui, Texas Tech University, for her suggestions and bibliographical assistance throughout the process. Our indebtedness to these individuals is immense.

1. This reference style follows the one developed by the staff of The Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University. The first information or date, (07.27.1927), indicates that the letter was written on July 27, 1927. The later information or number, (05437), is an example of the letter numbering system that was developed by the staff.

2. Martin's statement that Fred and Elizabeth Dewey were in Nova Scotia when Alice Dewey died appears to be based upon an incomplete reading of relevant correspondence. See *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, p. 345.

3. The observations in this section are based upon examining the photography collections at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

4. Dewey's letters suggest that Lewis was born on August 31, 1942 in Halifax [1948.04.28 (10730)], and Shirley was born on February 20, 1940 in East Chester [1948.04.28 (10731)]. The divorce petition indicates that George and Muriel were living in Halifax at the time Lewis was born but states that they were living in Canaan at the time Shirley was born. This seeming discrepancy may not be an actual one, as Canaan is just a short distance from East Chester and may have been the actual birth place.

5. For insight into the origin of Dykhuizen's information, see Martin's *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, pp. 470–472, 484.

6. Martin's statement that Lewis was renamed John, Jr. after the 1948 adoption appears inconsistent with Dewey's letter to Charles J. Burchell, his New York attorney. He was called John or Johnny by Roberta and Dewey prior to the adoption in an effort to

make him feel more a part of the family [1948.04.28 (10730)]. See Martin's *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*, p. 470.

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