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THE CONTRIBUTION OF JOHN LOCKE
TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Present Study

To prove that John Locke was a Christian educator seems scarcely necessary in view of his well-known activity in the field of religion in his day. And yet the term, Christian educator, has come to have such specialized meaning as to make it worth while to consider the extent to which John Locke was active in this field. This, however, will not be the chief purpose of the present study. It will rather be to discover what has been the contribution to present-day leaders in the field of Christian education, and further to discover any phases of his philosophy, psychology and pedagogy which might be considered with profit by Christian educators today.

It will be seen from a review of Locke's life that he spent most of his life wandering from one profession to another yet exercising his great faculty for study and divulging the information gained in private tutoring, lecturing and the writing of books, treatises, letters and tracts. His interests were not confined to Christianity. A good many reasons for his having been side-tracked from the ministry are given. His friendship with the Earl of Shaftesbury is generally considered the immediate reason for his loss of the Studentship at Christ Church. The question of whether or not he would have entered the ministry eventually constitutes somewhat of a problem. The fact is that he did not do so. Would those particular activities in which he did actually engage give one the right to con-

sider him a Christian educator as the term is professionally understood today?

Soares, in the process of defining religious education, says: "The endeavor to find the meaning of religious education belongs practically to the present century."¹ Squires, however, says:

"The Christian Church has been a teaching institution from the beginning. What have two thousand years of Church history to say regarding the educational task of the Church? Naturally we turn for an answer first to the Founder of our religion. Jesus was the Great Teacher."²

There is a sense in which both of these statements are true. The Church has always recognized an educational task of its own. This, however, is the era of the Church School which had its incipency in the Sunday School movement. Today, there are departments of Religious Education or Christian Education in various types of schools, in colleges and universities. These departments have a specialized task and the term descriptive of them has specific meaning. In the technical sense, the term religious education or Christian education, as used today, refers to the process of teaching the laity in the schools connected with the churches, and the departments of Christian education which are the training schools for professional leaders in Church schools. One who teaches in such a department, who creates literature for the curricula of the Church school or of schools of Christian education, or who teaches in the Church school is considered a Christian educator.

In this special sense, John Locke cannot be considered

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1. Soares, Theodore Gerald; Religious Education, p. ix
2. Squires, Walter Albion: Educational Movements of Today, p. 129

a Christian educator. The first known Sunday School existed in his day¹, but there has been found no indication that he even knew of it. Joseph Alleine, an English Nonconformist divine, who was educated at Oxford where he became a fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi, and who was born two years after the birth of John Locke, was interestingly enough the founder of this Sunday School. Robert Raikes, who established his first Sunday School in 1780, is generally accepted to be the founder of the Sunday School movement because of his achievements in its early organization. Nevertheless, Father Joseph Alleine did conduct a Sunday School in connection with his parish activities in the seventeenth century. There is no special significance to his work in this field as it was not taken up by his contemporaries. It is of interest in this study only in so far as it serves to emphasize by contrast the fact that there was little or no consciousness of the educational task of the Church in John Locke's day.

In a possibly broader sense in which a member of the faculty of a theological seminary might be considered a Christian educator, John Locke did not qualify.

But the fact remains that to John Locke, those who labor in the field of Christian education may trace certain principles and methods which they accept and apply. To disclose what these are will be part of the task of this thesis. The other part of the task will be to bring to light John Locke's philosophy of Christian education which, it is believed, is implicit in his works; to discover

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1.Cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, vol. 1, p. 646, article: Alleine, Joseph; and vol.21, p. 566, article: Sunday Schools.

what application of it has been made to the system of Christian education; and to consider what further application of it may be made with good results.

B. The Importance of the Present Study

Emphasis will be laid upon the philosophy of Christian education believed to be implicit in John Locke's works for two reasons. In the first place, John Locke's greatest contribution is generally conceded to be in the field of philosophy and the greater proportion of his writings was concerned with Christianity, while he had at the same time notable influence as an educator. It is the opinion of the writer, therefore, that his preeminence in the fields of philosophy, education, and Christian thinking would cause him to conceive of a philosophy of Christian education which would be of great value in that profession today. In the second place, an adequate philosophy of Christian education has so infrequently been expressed as such¹ that to present John Locke's contribution from this point of view is thought to be more significant than to emphasize the materials and methods which Locke would use if he were a Christian educator.

C. The Method of Procedure

In the present study it will be important to make a presentation of John Locke, the man, and his relation to his day in order to relate his life to his philosophy, and his educational and Christian ideas.

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1. See Horne, Herman Harrell: The Philosophy of Christian Education.

Locke's philosophy and psychology are so interdependent that it appears logical to consider his views in these two respects together. These views, together with his ideas and activities as an educator, have definite bearing upon his philosophy of Christian education. There seems to be a consensus of opinion with regard to the educational views of John Locke.¹ This is of particular interest considering the variety of interpretation from which his philosophical and rational psychological opinions have suffered. In this study, therefore, there will be a methodical presentation from the original sources of Locke's philosophy and psychology, while his educational views will be presented as interpreted by representatives of the various schools of educational philosophy of the present day.

Before presenting the content of the philosophy of Christian education which was found by the writer to be implicit in John Locke's works, an attempt will be made to explain the term, philosophy of Christian education. Those views of Locke from which his philosophy of Christian education may be derived will then be examined. On the basis of the above mentioned definition and the views presented, John Locke's philosophy of Christian education will be described.

The final task of this study will be to make application of this philosophy. In order to do this adequately, the philosopher's own application of his point of view will be considered so far as it is possible to discover such application. In the

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1. Reference to histories of education by Gubberley, Graves, Monroe, et al, will indicate this.

same manner, the effect of this philosophy upon John Locke's day will be estimated. And, finally, the permanent ^{value} of John Locke's philosophy of Christian education, together with further applications which might be made of it, will be considered.

CHAPTER I

JOHN LOCKE, THE MAN

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JOHN LOCKE, THE MAN

A. Introduction

The following statement of Fraser concerning Locke might properly be made with some degree of accuracy about many persons, but there is a sense in which it is particularly characteristic of John Locke:

"What strikes one about Locke and his fortunes, besides the large place which he fills in the history of modern opinion - religious and political as well as metaphysical - is the difficulty of interpreting his philosophy without reading into it the history of the man and his surroundings, and also the abundance of imperfectly used materials for this purpose which exist."¹

Locke's life frequently was turned into a new channel by the apparent accident of a trivial event, a new friendship or some experience which he was called upon to share. His philosophy was profoundly affected by the fact that he gave himself freely in his many friendships, a large number of which were with men and women of renown in his day, many of whom were, by an interesting turn of fate, also his relatives or neighbors of his childhood home. Not the least of his attainments was the ability to write interesting letters. As a result, there is the "abundance of imperfectly used materials" to which Fraser refers.

Moreover, it would be possible to write several fairly complete and satisfactory accounts of John Locke's life, considering him in turn a member mainly of each of several professions -

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1. Fraser, Alexander Campbell, Locke, p. vi

a scholar, an educator, a philosopher, a physician, a politician. Perhaps there are other professions of which one might think. There were those who, early in his life, thought of the ministry as a career for him, but this he rejected. It may be that if there had been a field of Christian education in his day, Locke would have made very contributions to that field, as he did with profound interest to the fields of education and religion.

For the purposes of this present study, then, in view of the vast amount of material available, it seems best to consider Locke's life chiefly as it is related to his philosophical, educational and religious pursuits.

B. His Life

1. His Early Years

John Locke was born on August 29, 1632, at Wrington, Somersetshire, England, the home of his mother's brother, whom she was visiting at the time. Her own home was in the village of Beluton, Somersetshire. Here Locke spent his early years. His mother is thought to have died when he was quite young. At least, his father was responsible for the upbringing of himself and his younger brother, and Locke recalls his father quite frequently in connection with his ideas for the education of children. The father, also John Locke, was a country attorney. The wars, to which Lord King refers in the following, broke out when Locke was ten years old and were the cause of much disturbance in the Beluton home between John's tenth and fourteenth years:

"He (John Locke's father) was a captain in the Parliamen-

tary army during the Civil Wars, and his fortune suffered so considerably in those times, that he left a smaller estate to his son than he himself had inherited."¹

2. His Education

When Locke was fourteen years of age, his father discontinued tutoring his son at home and sent him to Westminster where he remained for six years.

One of Cromwell's opponents, Richard Busby, noted chiefly for his famous pupils and also for his Greek and Latin grammars and other texts, was the headmaster of Westminster at that time. According to Benjamin Rand,

"It is not probable that students under such a master were permitted to see the execution of Charles I, who was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649, only a short distance away in Whitehall Palace yard, particularly as on the morning of that fateful day Robert Southwell had prayers in the school for the preservation of the life of the King. During the period spent at this school Locke's attention was chiefly devoted to the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and though afterwards he disapproved of the method of instruction as ill-suited for pupils without any intention of their future use, it is certain that he acquired thereby an excellent mastery of them. An interesting light is thrown upon his view of the discipline of the school by the fact that he suggests to Clarke in later years that 'if his son were sent there' he would perhaps be more pliant and willing to learn at home afterwards."²

This seems to put very clearly the balance of favorable and unfavorable opinions held by Locke concerning Westminster, and also gives some idea of the turbulence of the Westminster years from 1646 to 1651.

Locke entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651 and remained

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1. King, Lord King, The Life and Letters of John Locke, p. 1

2. Rand, Benjamin, Locke and Clarke, pp. 3,4

a part of that institution until the now famous unfortunáte experience of 1683. The personalities which he encountered there he professed meant much more to him than his books. James Tyrell, grandson of the well-known Usher, pictures his friend, John Locke, as being bored with the "disputations". He considered disputation a method invented for "wrangling and ostentation rather than to discover truth."¹ Among those who meant very much to him were Dr. John Owen, the Puritan Dean of the College, and Edward Pocock, Professor of Hebrew and Aramaic, the most outspoken Royalist in the university, "which revealed in him", according to Rand, "a softening of his inherited Puritanism."² A study of Descartes at this time gave him an interest in philosophy. Although he did not agree with his views, he relished his lucid style and clear thinking. Although during the first year of his life at Oxford he is said to have resorted to reading romances a considerable portion of the time because of his disgust for the disputations, yet he was recognized as a good scholar, and when his years as a Junior Student came to an end in 1659 he was elected to a Senior Studentship, tenable for life. This made it possible for him to continue his residence at the College.

Truth and toleration became key ideas in Locke's political and religious views. One might say that they were keynotes of his life. It is possible that his experiences at Oxford fostered both these ideals as much as, if not more than, any other

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1. Fraser, Arthur Campbell, Locke, p. 9

2. Rand, Benjamin, Locke and Clarke, p. 4

influence. Dr. Owen's views would lead Locke to approve the idea of toleration, and his admiration for Descartes' lucidity and the scholarship both of Owen and Pocock, together with his disgust for the scatter-brain discussions which he frequently heard, would cause him to become enamored of seeking the truth fairly and stating it clearly. It is also likely that his life-long habits of being foresighted and methodical were formed at Westminster and Oxford.

Though this Oxford, according to history, was ineffectual in its own day, it was paving the way for future history in the life of John Locke, for, according to Fraser,

"On the whole, we find that at the Restoration in 1660 the inherited Puritanism of the young student of Christ Church was in process of disintegration, under these manifold influences; his spirit was in revolt from the intolerance or the enthusiasm of the sects, and boldly in sympathy with the sober reasonableness which was the genuine outcome of masculine common-sense, wherever it could be found. This, we may infer, was partly the effect on a mind like his of the strange Oxford of the Commonwealth, and of Westminster during the 'Great Rebellion.'"¹

3. His Studentship at Christ Church.

Soon after becoming a Senior Student at Christ Church, Locke was appointed to a lectureship there in Greek and rhetoric, and from 1661 to 1664 he also held the censorship of moral philosophy in the college. These offices were usually filled by clergymen. Locke's enquiring turn of mind, however, at this time led him into scientific rather than theological studies, and thus began his interest in medicine. There is record of a letter in

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1. Fraser, Alexander Campbell, Locke, p. 13

1662¹ offering him a ministerial position which he refused on the grounds that he did not have such special qualifications or preparation which would cause him to excel in this field.

4. Locke Enters Politics

Locke's political career began in 1664. It consisted in the beginning in acting as secretary to Sir Walter Vane, the King's envoy of an embassy to the Elector of Brandenburg during the first Dutch War. His letters to John Strachey² of Sutton Court, neighboring his childhood home, were lively accounts of the various church services and festivals which he was privileged to witness during his absence from England. They are the more interesting because written during the Christmas season.

On his return from Germany he was offered two diplomatic positions, both of them in Spain. These, after careful consideration, he refused in order to pursue his work at Oxford.

5. Locke's Interest in Medicine

John Locke in his early thirties must have been rather an amazing person. Already, without apparently seeking preferment, he had been asked to take a ministerial position, had been offered three diplomatic positions, and had been placed in an exceptional position at Oxford, that of having lectureships and a censorship although he was not a clergyman. Rather he had deliberately chosen the field of scientific investigation, particularly in the line of medicine. By 1666, although he never became a Doctor of Medicine, and did not

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1. Cf. Fraser, Alexander Campbell, op. cit., pp. 16,17

2. Cf. King, Lord King, The Life and Letters of John Locke,
pp. 13 - 28

become a Bachelor of Medicine until 1674, he was known among his friends as Dr. Locke. Since he was in indifferent health at the time and afterward suffered constantly from tuberculosis and asthma, his study of medicine was very practical to him. He never practiced medicine as a profession although he used his knowledge of it freely for the benefit of his friends.

For a time Locke accompanied his doctor friend, Thomas Sydenham, on his rounds. Lord King says,

"The praise which Sydenham, the greatest authority of his time, bestows on the medical skill of Locke affords a brilliant proof of the high estimation which his acquirements in the science of medicine, his penetrating judgment, as well as his many private virtues, procured from all who knew him. In the dedication prefixed to Dr. Sydenham's Observations on the History and Cure of Acute Diseases, 1676, he boasts of the approbation bestowed on his method by Mr. J. Locke, who (to borrow Sydenham's own words) had examined it to the bottom; and who, if we consider his genius, and penetration, and exact judgment, has scarce any superior, and few equals now living."¹

Dugald Stewart, Scottish philosopher, says,

"No science could have been chosen more calculated than medicine to prepare such a mind as that of Locke for those speculations which have immortalised his name; the complicated, fugitive, and often equivocal phenomena of disease requiring in the observer a far greater amount of discriminative sagacity than those of physics strictly so called, and resembling in this respect more nearly the phenomena about which metaphysics, ethics and politics are conversant."²

Whether or not this observation is correct, the study of medicine no doubt continued to exercise those aptitudes for exactness and system which reflected themselves in his important works.

6. Locke's Friendship with Shaftesbury

The deaths of Locke's father and younger brother, Thomas,

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1. King, Lord King, Life and Letters of John Locke, p. 9

2. Ibid., p. 9

in 1661, left him the sole heir of the modest properties in Somerset. The rent from these, together with the meager income in return for his Senior Studentship, scarcely constituted an adequate living. In 1666, an unforeseen incident caused the formation of a lasting friendship. To this friendship might be traceable the facts that a steady source of income was guaranteed Locke for life, that he became internationally famous in politics, and that he wrote his celebrated Essay on Human Understanding. Besides, because of his apparent complicity with this friend in various plots, he went into voluntary exile in Holland and there formed numerous friendships which exercised great influence in his life.

The immediate cause of Locke's friendship with Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury, was his knowledge of medicine. The vivid ^{account} of the incident by Lady Masham follows:

"My Lord Ashley designing to spend some days with his son at Oxford, had resolved at the same time to drink Astrof's medicinal waters there, and had, accordingly, written to Dr. Thomas to provide them against his coming. The doctor, being obliged to go out of town, . . . requested his friend Mr. Locke to take care of getting the waters against my lord's coming. . . . Through some fault or misfortune of the messenger employed by him for this purpose, my lord came to town and the waters were not ready for his drinking them the next day. Mr. Locke, much vexed at such a disappointment, . . . found himself obliged to wait upon my Lord Ashley, whom he had never before seen, to acquaint him how this had happened. My lord, in his wonted manner, received him very civilly, accepting his excuse with great easiness; and when Mr. Locke would have taken his leave of him, would needs have him to stay to supper with him, being much pleased, as it soon appeared, with his conversation. But if my lord was pleased with the company of Mr. Locke, Mr. Locke was yet more pleased with that of Lord Ashley. My lord, when Mr. Locke took leave of him after supper, engaged him to dine with him the next day, which he willingly promised; and the waters having been provided . . . Mr. Locke having before had thoughts of drinking them himself, my lord would have him drink them with him, so that he might have the more of his company. . . . Soon after, my lord returning to London, desired Mr. Locke that from that time he would look upon his house as

his home, and that he would let him see him there in London as soon as he could."¹

This remarkable friendship was sustained because of common interest in furthering liberty - civil, religious and philosophical. In 1667 Locke moved to Exeter, Lord Ashley's London residence, to become his confidential secretary. Although he retained his Studentship at Christ Church, he had his home with Shaftesbury for the next fifteen years. On Shaftesbury's recommendation, he was made Secretary to the Founders of the Carolina Colony in America, and is the author of the Grand Model Constitution which was signed and put into effect in March 1670. It was much acclaimed in Europe but was found unsuited to the needs of the colonists and actively and successfully opposed by William Penn. There were other important political positions for Locke as Shaftesbury rose to prominence.

In 1670 at Exeter House, occurred the famous incident which brought about the writing of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding. It was John Locke's habit to call together his friends for discussions. On one such occasion the discussion seemed to have come to an impasse. To quote from Locke's preface to the essay:

"After we had a while puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a resolution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course, and that, before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were or were not fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented; and thereupon it was agreed that this should be our first inquiry. Some hastily undigested thoughts, on a subject I had never before considered, which I set down against our next meeting, gave the first entrance into this discourse."²

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1. Fraser, Alexander Campbell, Locke, p. 27
2. Locke, John, Philosophical Works, vol. 1, p. 118

7. His Friendship with Edward Clarke

In March 1675, Shaftesbury lost his political prestige and as a result Locke lost his source of income. In return for his services, however, Locke was granted a small pension for life by the Earl and this was turned into an annuity by the offices of the financial genius, Edward Clarke. Clarke was a young barrister friend of Locke, whom he had met in his political work and who married, in this same eventful year of 1675, Locke's cousin, Mary Jepp. Ever afterward there was a warm friendship between the Clarke family and Locke. It was to Mr. Clarke that he wrote the letters concerning the education of his son which later became the educational classic, Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

8. Locke in France.

At this time, Locke was suffering more than usual from his chronic illnesses, and being released from his secretarial duties and financially provided for, he departed for France where he spent the next three or four years seeking to regain his health, partly at Montpellier and partly at Paris. In Montpellier he met Peter Guenellon, the Amsterdam physician; Ole Romer, the Danish astronomer; Thoynard, the critic; Thevenot, the traveller; Henri Justel, jurist, and Francois Bernier, expositor of Gassendi. The copious correspondence with his friends during this time gives much insight into the nature of the man and his philosophy.

9. Locke's Exile in Holland

In 1679 Locke returned to be with Shaftesbury at Thanet House in Aldersgate, London. Shaftesbury was in need of his council in political matters. From this time on Shaftesbury became more

and more involved in political intrigue and plots. He was tried once and acquitted. After this happened a second time, Shaftesbury, knowing himself suspected at home, escaped to Holland. There he died at Amsterdam in January 1683.

In this same year Locke retired to Holland, then the asylum of exiles in search of liberty of thought, where he remained for over five years. It was probably his characteristic foresightedness which caused him to leave England at this time. His name had singularly been kept out of the plots in which Shaftesbury had been suspected, but at Shaftesbury's death, Locke was beginning to be suspected. In fact, for a time he was in danger of arrest at the instance of the English government, and was concealed for months under the assumed name of Dr. Van der Linden. During all of this he had remained connected with Oxford. But at this time Oxford was officially closed to him by order of the King. This was a grievous blow to Locke, although, according to Lord King,

"The deprivation of Locke was, strictly speaking, the act of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, courting, and almost anticipating, the illegal mandate of the crown, and is not to be described as an actual expulsion from the University of Oxford."¹

The claims against him were based upon his secretive movements at that time and his friendship with Shaftesbury.

Actually, his "secretive movements" consisted in working quietly at the task of writing his Essay while various seditious tracts were being produced by others under his name. These he disclaimed in a letter to Pembroke dated December 3, 1684:

"For I tell you again, with that truth which should be sacred betwixt friends, that I am not the author of any treatise or pamphlet in print, good, bad, or indifferent, and you may be sure how I am used when people speak so falsely. Two or three

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1. King, Lord King, Life and Letters of John Locke, p. 149

copies of verses indeed there are of mine in print, as I have formerly told you, and these have my name to them. But as for libels, I am so far from writing any that I take care not to read anything that looks that way. I avoid all commerce about them, and if a letter from a friend should have in it but the title or mention of any libel I should think it sufficient reason to burn it immediately, whatever else of importance there might be in it, and to quarrel with him that writ it."¹

In 1686 John Locke first appeared as an author at fifty-four years of age. He contributed several articles to Le Clerc's journal, the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, the chief organ in Europe of men of letters. In 1688 an epitome of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding appeared in Le Clerc's magazine. At the time of its publication, Locke was in Rotterdam receiving and advising politicians in exile, including Burnet and the Earl of Peterborough. It was here that he became known to William of Orange.

10. Locke's Restoration to Favor in England

It was soon afterward that William invaded England. Early in 1689, Locke returned freely to England on the same ship with Peterborough, Peterborough's Lady and Princess Mary.

John Locke now was really famous. Within a month he had declined an offer of the embassy to Brandenburg, and accepted the modest office of commissioner of appeals.

From now on the story of Locke's life is the story of his political ventures with his friend, Edward Clarke; his friendships, especially with the Clarke family and with Sir Francis and Lady Masham with whom he went to live in the spring of 1691 and remained until the end of his days; and of his voluminous writings, in the form of essays, letters, commentaries and compilations of ideas

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1. Rand, Benjamin, *Locke and Clarke*, pp. 19,20

from former letters.

Politically he was instrumental in introducing bills through Clarke to prevent counterfeit coinage and to make books and other printed matter available to scholars at less exorbitant prices. He was among the founders of the Bank of England.

11. The Closing Years of Locke's Life

By 1691 tuberculosis had gotten so great a hold on him that Locke could not remain in London. He then went to live with the Mashams and returned to London only for brief intervals to attend to his political duties. At his country home with the Mashams, he gave himself to study and writing. Not until the 28th of June, 1700, however, was Locke forced to discontinue his political activities entirely on account of inability to live in the London atmosphere. At Oates, in the Parish of High Laver, Essex, the home of Sir Francis and Lady Masham, from now till his death in 1704, Locke continued writing and receiving his friends. Among his visitors during this time was Isaac Newton. According to Rand: "Sir Isaac and he had been friends for several years, and doubtless had enjoyed an acquaintance for a decade or more (by 1691)"¹ It was characteristic of Locke that at the very close of his life, in April 1703, to be exact, he formed a fast friendship with Anthony Collins because of Collins'"relish for truth."

12. His Writings

The list of Locke's writings and the replies to them and criticisms of them read quite as informingly in outline form, by

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1. Rand, Benjamin, Locke and Clarke, p. 35

dates, as in narrative form and so in this way they shall be set down, beginning with 1685.

- 1685 - Epistola de Tolerantia (defence of religious liberty) published at Gouda in the spring. Translated into English in autumn by William Popple, Unitarian merchant in London.
- 1685 - Two Treatises on Government (defending the right of ultimate sovereignty in the people) a few months later.
- 1690 - Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Locke received 30 pounds for the copyright.
- 1690 - Answer by Jonas Proast of Queen's College, Oxford, to the Letter on Toleration.
- 1690 - Second Letter on Toleration.
- 1691 - A rejoinder by Proast.
- 1692 - Third Letter on Toleration.
- 1692 - Letter to Sir John Somers: Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money.
- 1693 - Some Thoughts Concerning Education (substantially the letters written from Holland to Clarke concerning his son's education) published.
- 1694 - Second Edition of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding, with a chapter added on "Personal Identity" and numerous alterations in the chapter on "Power".
- 1695 - Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures. This involved Locke in controversies which lasted the rest of his life.
- 1695 - Third Edition of the Essay. A reprint.
- 1695 - Vindication (of Reasonableness of Christianity)
- 1696 - Stillingfleet charged Locke with disallowing the mystery

of human knowledge. (in Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity.)

1697 - Second Vindication (of Reasonableness of Christianity)

1697 - Locke's reply to Stillingfleet.

1697 - May. Stillingfleet's rejoinder.

1697 - Locke's second letter.

1698 - Stillingfleet's reply.

1699 - Locke's third letter.

1697 - The Essay Concerning Human Understanding attacked by John Sergeant, a Catholic Priest. (in Sergeant's Solid Philosophy Asserted Against the Fancies of the Ideists)

1700 - Fourth Edition of the Essay, with important additional chapters on "Association of Ideas" and "Enthusiasm".

Locke died on October 28, 1704, at Oates, and was buried by the parish church of High Laver. After his death several of his writings were published. Among these were: The Conduct of the Understanding, originally meant to form another chapter of the Essay; A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul; Miracles, a tract. He was beginning a Fourth Letter on Toleration, never finished, in his last days.

C. Relation of John Locke to His Own Day and to Posterity

1. Politically and as a Philosopher

John Locke, the man, in reality belonged to England of the eighteenth century, although he lived in the seventeenth century. But perhaps that is true of any great spirit. He helped form the England he did not live physically to see. It was said of him that, after William of Orange succeeded in the Revolution, Locke was dis-

appointed in the outcome of the movement. It fell short of his ideal of toleration and civil liberty. This is not surprising. He expressed this opinion within a year after William came into power. More surprising is the fact that he lived to see some of his far-reaching ideas put into practice. Among these were the founding of the Bank of England, the controlling of money value by the government, the controlling of printing prices so as to make books less expensive for the public, and particularly for the professional student. As a matter of fact, so far-reaching were Locke's ideas that we continue to discover their application to our present situation.

The contribution of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding to the world is aptly expressed as follows:

"Its appearance was startling: it was a revolution in the intellectual world for which men were not prepared, much as they had been lately accustomed to changes; and the schoolmen, especially, were little inclined to unread their learning, abandon their old authorities, and adopt rules of thought and reasoning more accordant with every-day language and commonplace reality. In this recusancy the University of Oxford went so far that at a meeting of the heads of the institution it was agreed that each should prevent Locke's book from being read by the students of his college. But in spite of this and similar opposition, the principles of the essay forced their way with the resistlessness of truth, and the work was recognized as 'one of the noblest, most useful, and most original books the world ever saw'. It is not too much, indeed, to say that it constituted a new era in the history of human thought, from the importance of its innovations and the influence they have more or less exercised upon all the succeeding systems of philosophy."¹

This same estimate continues further:

"But much though the world has been indebted to Locke as

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1. Williams, Henry Smith, ed., *Historians' History of the World*, vol. 20, p. 500

a philosopher, it scarcely owes him less as a political writer; and his productions on toleration, on civil government, on money and the raising of its value, on education, etc., were as bold and original, and as persuasive as his Essay Concerning Human Understanding.¹

2. His Influence Because of His Personal Attributes

Another contribution which Locke made to his own day, was that of friendship. It is scarcely possible to separate his great contribution to his times from this outstanding quality of the man. His friends were from many professions and his friendship usually consisted in being interested in his friends' affairs to the extent of being of whatever service to them he could. And for the most part his friends seemed to have had the same attitude toward him. This may be one reason why he exercised an influence on so many fields.

A further personal trait which affected his relation to his own times was his fundamentally honest attitude. This was inherent in the man, so that in his earliest days in school he was actively opposing or failing to respond to the wrong ideas and methods which he detected and allying himself with unfaltering loyalty to those ideals which appealed to him. Though his ideas were simply and clearly put, it is interesting how often he was able to detect the nice distinctions, for instance, in his ideas concerning toleration and liberty. In some respects he might be known as the apostle of truthful simplicity.

This integrity really was a personal trait. Akin to his friendliness, was his apparent inability to bear a grudge for long.

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1. Williams, Henry Smith, ed., op. cit., vol. 20, p. 500

Although his temper could rise on occasion, his anger did not remain. This was his attitude with respect to his friends. He apparently did not seek the company of his enemies.

He seemed to love the Bible. He studied it and sought to pattern his life by it in evident uprightness, meekness and Christian charity. It is not surprising that a young man inquired of him as to the shortest and surest way to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion. His reply is not only an interesting final note on John Locke, the man, but it is one of the famous sayings of history: "Let him study the Holy Scripture, especially the New Testament; it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter."

CHAPTER II

JOHN LOCKE, PHILOSOPHER AND PSYCHOLOGIST

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A. John Locke's Writings in Philosophy and Psychology

If John Locke were to be thought of as belonging to any one field of learning, he would be considered undoubtedly by many a philosopher. His most notable work was the writing of An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. He began the essay in 1670, and at his death in 1704 he had not completed it to his satisfaction. Ponderous as the work is, it contains the living and genuine philosophy by which the man, John Locke, ordered his life. It is not the writer's present purpose to evaluate this philosophy but rather to set down its tenets as comprehensively as possible. The root ideas contained there will suggest, it is believed, what might be considered Locke's contribution to the field of Christian education when this subject is treated in later chapters.

While An Essay Concerning Human Understanding will be the main work before us in thinking of John Locke, the philosopher, other writings of his will be considered also. Following the completion of the Fourth Edition of the essay, he wrote a practical booklet which he intended to include in the essay itself. This booklet, The Conduct of the Understanding, proposed to assist people in carrying out the philosophy contained in the major work.

Locke's many letters which were written in answer to opposition aroused by his essay throw further light upon his philosophy.

The views expressed in The Reasonableness of Christianity,

An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul Himself¹, and A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible, will give additional help in discovering, in later chapters, the application which Locke made of his philosophy in his other works.

John Locke also has been considered an eminent psychologist. The work from which his practical views on psychology are derived is Some Thoughts Concerning Education which is in reality the compilation and revision of letters written to Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, advising them on the education of their children. In this treatise will be found also some suggestions on Locke's philosophy. Some of his important views on psychology are found, too, in his works already mentioned, particularly in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

B. John Locke's Views

1. Method of the Present Study of Locke's Views

In order to enhance the value of the present study, the philosophical views of John Locke will be reduced as far as possible to the basic ideas contained in his works. The implications of these ideas, carried by Locke into many fields of thought, will be cited only to make meanings clear or to prepare the way for later making the application to the field of Christian education with which this study is primarily concerned. Locke's fundamental psychological views will be outlined as simply as possible in the interest of adequate presentation of his actual contribution to this field.

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1. Prefixed to: A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians.

To those to whom Locke's fundamental approach to life as here outlined appeals, a careful study of the works named will be rewarding. There will be insight gained from his painstaking application of each principle he suggests to many fields of thought. There ^{will be} stimulation to examine carefully all opinions and attitudes, and ways will be suggested by which this may be done. Though entire agreement with Locke is very unlikely, it is equally unlikely that unbiased attention to his views will fail to produce good effects in a careful student.

In setting forth Locke's fundamental ideas it is necessary to consider his works in the large rather than to take specific statements in them. Therefore references will not be made frequently to the source of the ideas noted. The reason for this is that Locke is repetitious, not necessarily to the point of being tiresome, but by way of clarifying his thought by presenting it from many angles. Also Locke was inclined to state specific ideas quite tentatively although his fundamental attitudes remained constant. This thought is expressed by J. A. St. John as follows:

"In my appendix to the Reasonableness of Christianity, I have on this subject made the following remark:- 'Between the publication of the several editions of the Essay on Human Understanding, which appeared during his lifetime, Locke changed his opinion on more than one point, and, like an honest and independent thinker, he was always careful to acknowledge this change.'"¹

To form an adequate understanding of Locke's views by reading the estimates of him put forth by various philosophers appears impossible. One represents Locke as setting empiricism and

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1. Locke, John: Philosophical Works, Vol. 2, p. 288. Editor's footnote.

reason over against each other. Another considers that he combined the two ideas. Still another believes that he would have liked to have been considered an empiricist but that he was in reality an idealistic rationalist. Although it is desired to reserve the expression of an opinion concerning the philosophy of Locke for later chapters, perhaps it will not be out of place here to say that Locke is possibly one of those rare individuals who defies classification. In his Text-Book in the History of Education, Monroe makes an attempt to define Locke's position, but he includes in his introductory statement the possible explanation why John Locke, the philosopher, was not to be definitely related to one school of thought:

"It would be a mistake to suppose from the heading of this chapter, (John Locke As A Representative Of The Disciplinary Education), that the educational ideas of John Locke can be completely summed up under this conception. Locke held the idea that education was a discipline, and his view strongly reenforced the prevalent one. But the discipline of the philosopher was a much broader one than the discipline of the schoolmasters. Locke's one great passion in life, the thought emphasized in his philosophical writings as the aim of intellectual endeavor, was the love of truth."¹

John Locke preferred to know himself as an independent thinker rather than as the disciple of any individual or a member of any particular school of thought. He graciously acknowledged the influence of his professors and friends and did not disclaim the influence of those great thinkers whose works he read, but his naturally scientific turn of mind would not permit him to take sides in the quest for truth.

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1. Monroe, Paul: Text-Book in the History of Education, p. 512.

2. His Philosophical Views

Without attempting to identify the philosophy of Locke with any particular school, his views will be outlined, adhering in the main to his most systematic attempt to explain his philosophy in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

His Purpose and Method of Inquiry about the Human Understanding.

Locke felt that if he could discover the extent and capacity of the human understanding, men would be less inclined to quibble and dispute about the unknowables, and having real knowledge, would be less inclined to skepticism. He said,

"First, I shall inquire into the original of those ideas, notions, or whatever else you please to call them, which a man observes, and is conscious to himself he has in his mind; and the ways whereby the understanding comes to be furnished with them.

"Secondly, I shall endeavour to show what knowledge the understanding hath by those ideas, and the certainty, evidence, and extent of it.

"Thirdly, I shall make some inquiry into the nature and grounds of faith, or opinion; whereby I mean that assent which we give any proposition as true, of whose truth yet we have no certain knowledge; and here we shall have occasion to examine the reasons and degrees of assent."¹

"Idea", as Used by Locke.

An idea is, according to Locke, that which is in a person's mind, whether or not there is a corresponding term or sign to convey it to others. Locke's use of this term caused much controversy, on the grounds that it was likely to lead people to unorthodoxy in Christianity. In reality, Locke seems very clear in his definition of the term, both in the main work and in his answers

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1. Locke, John: Philosophical Works, vol. 1, p. 130

to those who opposed him.

Locke makes an assumption that there are no innate principles in the mind, and attempts to prove it conclusively. To put it simply, he contends that the beginning of "idea" for the individual is either with or after the formation of the physical being. Experience, according to Locke, is the cause of the first idea. Before experience, the mind is comparable to a blank sheet of paper. God has made man capable of receiving ideas through experience. He has not provided him with any initial ideas.

In order to clarify Locke's position, it is necessary to note that nowhere in his essay does he define "experience" as being confined to physical contact with objective existence. He examines minutely this type of experience, but he also cites the type of experience which might be called spiritual revelation. His essay seems to be a very systematic progression from this idea of "no innate principles" to an examination of the working of the Holy Spirit in the minds of men.

Also, the steps of his attempted proof that there are no innate principles in the mind should be stated. These will be set down in logical order as given in the essay. For the sake of brevity and conciseness, the development of the arguments will be omitted, although in each case it served to show why Locke held his opinion. This would not be of particular value to the present study, although of interest. These are the steps of his proof:

1. Universal consent proves nothing innate - other ways to agree.
2. Ideas not in the mind naturally, because unknown to children, idiots, and others.
3. If reason discovered them, that would prove them not innate.

4. Ready assent to an idea, such as a maxim, does not prove it innate, but may be caused by observations in experience or the trusting of the person expressing the idea.
5. If the idea of God, maxims, and other principles, are innate and not received after the physical life begins, it would be difficult to draw the line and say which ideas are innate and which ideas are learned by experience.
6. The ideas generally conceived as being innate are usually those that are vaguest in people's minds, while if they were innate they would be clearest and fairest in their minds.
7. There are no innate practical or moral principles.
8. Worship and the idea of God are not innate.

It should be said in fairness that Locke meant exactly what he said. He had no idea, because principles were not universally innate, that they were therefore not universally true. He later gives a proof, to his satisfaction, of the truth of the idea of God, on another basis. Nor did he believe that, because ideas are not innate, they could not come from God. On the contrary, he believed that God is the source of our knowledge. He also proves this from two points of view: first, that God has provided man with the capacity for discovering truth by his own efforts and, secondly, that God speaks to man by direct revelation.

An insight into Locke's reason for dealing with this subject so minutely in the interests of truth, may be gained from his explanation of the reason people hold the opinion that there are innate principles:

"When men have found some general propositions that could not be doubted of as soon as understood, it was, I know, a short and easy way to conclude them innate. This being once received, it eased the lazy from the pains of search, and stopped the inquiry of the doubtful concerning all that was once styled innate. And it was no small advantage to those who affected to be masters and teachers, to make this principles of principles, that 'principles must not be questioned', for having once established this tenet, that there are innate principles, it put their followers upon the necessity of receiving some doctrines as such;

which was to take them off from the use of their own reason or judgment, and put them on believing and taking them upon trust without further examination: in which posture of blind credulity they might be more easily governed by and made useful to some sort of men who had the skill and office to principle and guide them. Nor is it a small power it gives one man over another to have the authority to be the dictator of principles and teacher of unquestionable truths; and to make a man swallow that for an innate principle, which may serve to his purpose who teacheth them: whereas had they examined whereby men came to the knowledge of many universal truths, they would have found them to result in the minds of men from the being of things themselves when duly considered; and that they were discovered by the application of those faculties that were fitted by nature to receive and judge of them when duly employed about them."¹

According to Locke, the original or sources of our ideas are only two: objects of sensation, or man's senses coming into contact with the world; and reflection, or the operations of man's mind, as it is employed about ideas it has got.

The Salient Principles of Locke's Classification of "Idea".

Nearly all of Book II of the essay is given to a classification of the ideas which men have and an attempt to discover the measure of certainty with which the truth of ideas, or their erroneousness, may be asserted. It will be the purpose here to set down the salient principles outlined by Locke, without giving the reasoning by which he arrives at these ideas.

To Locke, all ideas are either simple or complex. Complex ideas are only combinations of simple ideas. There are simple ideas of sensation and also of reflection. A simple idea of sensation is an odor, for which there ^{may} or may not be a name; another is smoothness. Simple ideas of reflection are thinking, willing, retention, discerning. Feelings (as pain, pleasure, and such) are

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1. Locke: Op. cit, p. 203

simple ideas with their sources both in sensation and reflection.

Locke makes a distinction between the ideas in the mind and the actual quality of the body which produced the sensation and caused the idea in the mind. In other words, the idea and the actuality may be different. Locke distinguishes between primary and secondary qualities, then, as follows:

1. Primary qualities in bodies are such as "are utterly inseparable from the body" — i.e., solidity, extension, figure, mobility — no matter what happens to the body.
2. Secondary qualities in bodies are "nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce various sensations in us by their primary qualities". In other words, their bulk, figure, texture, motion, might produce in us sensations of color, taste, sound, and such.

Another type of secondary quality is the power of one object to produce a new idea in the mind by its action upon another object, changing its color, consistency, and so forth.

Of complex ideas, there are, according to Locke, three types:

1. Modes, which are such complex ideas as require substances in the conception of them, such as triangle, gratitude, murder, dozen, score, beauty.
2. Substances, or such combinations of simple ideas which are taken to represent particular things — lead, man, soldier.
3. Relation, or the comparison of one idea with another.

Locke continues with a description of various complex ideas, which will be outlined here. Those ideas contained in his Essay which will be of particular value in this study will be quoted at length later.

1. Modes of space are immensity, figure, place, extension, motion, vacuum.
2. Modes of duration are succession, time, eternity.
3. Modes of number are made in such ways as addition, measurement.
4. Idea of infinity is not a positive or clear idea, but gotten from the perception of the succession of man's ideas.
5. Modes of thinking are sensation, remembrance, contemplation, dreaming.

6. Modes of pleasure and pain are good and evil, love, hatred, desire, joy, sorrow, hope, fear, despair, anger, envy, shame.
7. Modes of power are of two types: active power, or the ability to make any change, such as possessed by God, Spirit, will, understanding, liberty ("power to take up or lay by, according to the preference of the mind"), volition, consideration (made possible by the power to suspend the execution of any desire), judgment; and also passive power, or the ability to receive any change. God does not have passive power but inanimate objects do.

Of ideas of substance, Locke says that man's conceptions are no clearer than those of Spirit. He only knows what is useful to him. To quote Locke :

"The infinitely wise Contriver of us, and all things about us, hath fitted our senses, faculties, and organs, to the conveniences of life, and the business we have to do here. We are able, by our senses, to know and distinguish things; and to examine them so far, as to apply them to our uses, and several ways to accomodate the exigencies of this life. We have insight enough into their admirable contrivances and wonderful effects, to admire and magnify the wisdom, power, and goodness of their Author. Such a knowledge as this, which is suited to our present condition, we want not faculties to attain. But it appears not that God intended we should have a perfect, clear, and adequate knowledge of them: that perhaps is not in the comprehension of any finite being. We are furnished with faculties (dull and weak as they are) to discover enough in the creatures to lead us to a knowledge of the Creator, and the knowledge of our duty; and we are fitted well enough with abilities to provide for the conveniences of living: These are our business in this world. But were our senses altered, and made much quicker and acuter, the appearance and outward scheme of things would have quite another face to us; and, I am apt to think, would be inconsistent with our being, or at least well-being, in this part of the universe which we inhabit If our sense of hearing were but one thousand times quicker than it is, how would a perpetual noise distract us!" ¹

Further, says Locke, there are no ideas in our complex one of spirits, which are ^{not} caused by sensation or reflection.

Complex ideas of relation are cause and effect; identity and diversity; proportional relations; instituted relations (moral

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1. Locke: Op. cit., pp. 430, 431.

right, power or obligation); moral relations (good and evil, laws: divine law of sin and duty; civil law of crime and innocence; philosophical law of virtue and vice, morality; the relation of these laws and actions); distinct and confused ideas; real and fantastical ideas; adequate and inadequate ideas; true and false ideas.

Locke introduced the now well-known principle or law of association of ideas here to explain error in relation. He is credited with the origin of this law.

When John Locke completed the Second Book of the Essay, he had made all the investigation which it had been his original intention to make. He discovered, however, that he had not as yet plumbed the depths of the human understanding, for he had not dealt, for one thing, with that important instrument for the conveying of ideas to others and for classifying ideas for oneself. He had dealt only with the ideas themselves. Here then is the outline of Locke's philosophy of language:

1. Man is fitted by God for language, of which words is the instrument.
2. Things are classified and names given to the classes according to their real or nominal essences. (Essence - that which sets one class of things apart from other classes of things. Real essence - the actual nature of the thing. Nominal essence - the nature of the thing in idea, so far as it is discoverable by the one using the term).
3. Names of simple ideas cannot be defined because they cannot be analyzed into more than one idea. They are the least confusing in meaning.
4. Names of mixed modes and relations are made arbitrarily and without a pattern. Often the name of the idea precedes its existence, i.e., murder. Names of mixed modes are arbitrary children of the mind and therefore always stand for their real essences. The same name may have different essence behind it in two minds. Locke's comment on this is valuable:

"Men would often see what a small pittance of reason and truth, or possibly none at all, is mixed with those huffing opin-

ions they are swelled with, if they would but look beyond fashionable sounds, and observe what ideas are or are not comprehended under those words with which they are so armed at all points, and with which they so confidently lay about them. I shall imagine I have done some service to truth, peace, and learning, if, by any enlargement on this subject, I can make them reflect on their own use of language, and give them reason to suspect, that, since it is frequent in others, it may also be possible for them to have sometimes very good and approved words in their mouths and writings, with very uncertain, little, or no signification."¹

5. Names of substances stand for the nominal essences. The real essence is not known. We separate species by the nominal essence. These names are not confusing as in the case of mixed modes but really designate fixed ideas in the general mind, enough for common conversation. While man makes the classification by name, nature makes the similitude between individuals in a class.
6. Particles (conjunctions, and such) in speech indicate relationships between ideas.

Since the purpose of language is to convey our ideas, to do it with quickness and therewith to convey the knowledge of things, Locke lays down some ways in which words are abused and some ways to overcome the abuse of language.

These are the ways in which Locke says words are abused:

1. Use of words, without any, or without clear ideas.
2. By learning names before the ideas they belong to.
3. Inconstancy in the use of them.
4. Affected obscurity by wrong application, a fault of much logic and dispute which has resulted in perplexing religion and justice.
5. Taking words for the things themselves.
6. Setting them for what they do not signify.
7. Supposing that words have certain and evident significance.

Locke suggests the following remedies for the abuse of language:

1. Use no word without an idea.
2. Have distinct ideas annexed to them in modes; and distinct and conformable ideas in substances.
3. Use words in the sense which common use has given them.

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1. Locke: Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 40

4. Make known their meaning: in simple ideas by synonymous words, or showing; and in mixed modes by definition; in morality by demonstration; and in substances by showing and defining.
5. By constancy in their meaning, or explaining when there must be variation.

Locke's Examination of Knowledge

Book Four of the Essay is perhaps of most lively interest to the subject in hand, for in it Locke attempts an examination of knowledge as to its nature, extent and reality. He further makes a study of a number of phases, supposed and actual, of knowledge: i.e., universal propositions, maxims, trifling propositions, knowledge of the existence of other things, degrees of assent, faith, reason, enthusiasm, wrong assent or error, division of the sciences.

It is the intention here to examine Locke's philosophy of knowledge in general and some of his chapters on the phases of knowledge.

Locke claimed that knowledge is the perception of the connection and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas in: identity or diversity, relation, co-existence or necessary connection, or real existence.

There are, according to Locke, two kinds of knowledge: actual, in which the mind assents or dissents and is aware of reasons for doing so; and habitual knowledge (which again is twofold: intuitive - in which the mind sees the relationships upon immediate view of the ideas; and from memory, in which the mind retains the memory of the conviction, without the proofs.)

According to Locke, all knowledge is either intuitive or demonstrative and whatever comes short of one of these is but faith or opinion and not knowledge.

The extent of human knowledge is no greater than our ideas and, in most instances, is narrower than our ideas. We have intuitive knowledge of our own existence and demonstrative knowledge of God's existence. There are these reasons for the narrowness of human knowledge: want of ideas, want of discoverable connection between the ideas we have, and want of tracing and examining our ideas.

But, even though knowledge depends upon the intervention of ideas in our minds, still there is real knowledge of these kinds:

1. In simple ideas - sweetness, whiteness, and such.
2. In complex ideas (except substances whose essences are not perfectly knowable), i.e., the reality of mathematical knowledge and moral knowledge by demonstration and social restraint and usage. Names and ideas must agree for practical purposes.

Locke here examines some ideas concerning knowledge which may be passed by now for an examination of his discussions of our knowledge of the existence of God and the comparisons of faith and reason and enthusiasm.

Locke gives us this proof of our real knowledge of the existence of God:

1. Man knows that he himself is.
2. He knows that Nothing cannot produce a being, therefore there is Something Eternal.
3. The Eternal Being must be most powerful, and most knowing, and therefore God.
4. Our idea of a most perfect Being, not the sole proof of God.
5. There was Something from eternity.
6. Two sorts of Beings, cogitative and incogitative; an incogitative Being cannot produce a cogitative. Therefore there must be Eternal Wisdom.
7. The Eternal Thinking Being is not material because every particle of matter is not cogitative, neither can a system of matter be cogitative, and besides, matter is not co-eternal with an Eternal Mind.

Reason is described by Locke as being that faculty wherein man is supposed to be distinguished from beasts. It has four parts:

1. Discovering and finding out of truths.
2. The regular and methodical disposition of them . . . to make their connection and force be plainly and easily perceived.
3. Perceiving their connection.
4. Making a right conclusion.

Hindrances to reason are: want of ideas, obscure and imperfect ideas, wrong principles and doubtful terms.

Locke defines faith and reason as follows:

"Reason . . ., as contradistinguished to faith, I take to be the discovery of the certainty or probability of such propositions or truths, which the mind arrives at by deduction made from such ideas, which it has got by the use of its natural faculties: viz., by sensation and reflection.

"Faith, on the other side, is the assent to any proposition not thus made out by the deductions of reason, but upon the credit of the proposer, as coming from God, in some extraordinary way of communication. This way of discovering truths to men, we call revelation."¹

The following principles laid down by Locke concerning faith and reason are of value:

1. No simple new idea may be given to another person by one who has received a direct revelation from God.
2. Propositions may be made known by revelation from God which are also knowable by reason, but generally they will be known with greater assurance by the process of reasoning.
3. Revelation cannot be admitted against the clear evidence of reasoning.
4. There are things which are above our faculty of reasoning and which, when revealed, are the proper matter of faith: i.e., the rebellion of the angels against God; and, that the dead shall rise and live again.
5. In matters where reason cannot judge, or is able to reach no higher than probability, "faith gave the determination where reason came short; and revelation discovered on which side the truth lay."²
6. When reason can afford certain knowledge of something, that is to be hearkened to.

Locke concludes this discussion thus:

"If the provinces of faith and reason are not kept distinct by these boundaries, there will, in matters of religion,

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1. Locke: Op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 303, 304
 2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 309

be no room for reason at all; and those extravagant ceremonies and opinions that are to be found in the several religions of the world will not deserve to be blamed. For to this crying up of faith in opposition to reason, we may, I think, in good measure ascribe those absurdities that fill almost all the religions that possess and divide mankind. For men having been principled in an opinion, that they must not consult reason in the things of religion, however apparently contradictory to common sense and the very principles of all their knowledge, have let loose their fancies and natural superstitions; and have been led by them into so strange opinions and extravagant practices in religion, that a considerate man cannot but stand amazed at their follies, and judge them so far from being acceptable to the great and wise God, that he cannot avoid thinking them ridiculous and offensive to a sober good man. So that, in effect, religion, which should most distinguish us from beasts, and ought most peculiarly to elevate us, as rational creatures, above brutes, is that wherein men often appear most irrational and more senseless than beasts themselves. 'Credo, quia impossibile est'; I believe, because it is impossible, might in a good man pass for a sally of zeal; but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by."¹

In his discussion of "enthusiasm", Locke claims that a real love of truth is entertaining no proposition "with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant."² He describes the "rise of enthusiasm" thus:

"Reason is natural revelation. . . revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by testimony and proofs it gives that they come from God. So that he that takes away reason to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both. . .

"Immediate revelation being a much easier way for men to establish their opinions and regulate their conduct, than the tedious and not always successful labour of strict reasoning, it is no wonder that some have been very apt to pretend to revelation, and to persuade themselves that they are under the peculiar guidance of heaven in their actions and opinions . . . Hence we see, that, in all ages, men in whom melancholy has mixed with devotion, or whose conceit of themselves has raised them into an opinion of greater familiarity with God, and a nearer admittance to his favour than is afforded to others, have often flattered themselves with a persuasion of an immediate intercourse with the Deity, and frequent

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1. Locke: Op. cit., pp. 310, 311
2. Ibid., p. 312

communications from the Divine Spirit. God, I own, cannot be denied to be able to enlighten the understanding by a ray darted into the mind immediately from the fountain of light: this they understand . . .

"Their minds being thus prepared, whatever groundless opinion comes to settle itself strongly upon their fancies, is an illumination from the Spirit of God. . . This I take to be . . . enthusiasm. . . Strong conceit, like a new principle, carries all easily with it, when got above common sense and freed from all restraint of reason and check of reflection, it is heightened into a divine authority."¹

Locke suggests the following considerations for the discovery of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is often mistaken for seeing and feeling. Enthusiasm fails to provide real evidence that the proposition is from God. Firmness of persuasion is no proof that any proposition is from God. Revelation must be judged of by reason. Belief is no proof of revelation. There must be some evidence. God never fails to provide some evidence (e. g., Moses and the burning bush).

The following causes of wrong assent or error are listed in the Essay:

1. Want of proofs, although God has given man the capacity and means to secure them.
2. Want of skill to use them.
3. Want of will to use them.
4. Doubtful propositions taken for principles.
5. Men's understandings "cast into a mold, and fashioned just to the size of a received hypothesis".²
6. Predominant passions.
7. Means of evading probabilities: supposed fallacy, supposed argument to the contrary.
8. Authority of the common opinion of party, sect, community.

But, claims the philosopher, men are not in so many errors as imagined:

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1. Locke: Op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 314, 315

2. Ibid., p. 329

"For if any one should a little catechise the greatest part of the citizens of the most of the sects of the world, he would not find, concerning those matters that they are so zealous for, that they have any opinions of their own. . . . They are resolved to stick to a party that education or interest has engaged them in; and there . . . show their courage and warmth as their leaders direct . . . Thus men become professors of, and combatants for, those opinions they were never convinced of nor proselytes to."²

With a short chapter following on the division of the sciences, Locke concludes his great Essay on the Human Understanding. Supplementary to this essay, is his treatise on the Conduct of the Understanding, which, as has been observed previously, is intended to be the principles by which Locke's philosophy concerning the human understanding might be made practical. It is therefore more psychological than philosophical.

3. His Psychological Views.

Using Some Thoughts Concerning Education as the main basis, Locke's expressed psychological views will be here outlined:

- 1.Children's minds easily turn this way and that.
- 2.Proper use of the mind is dependent upon health of the body.
- 3.The mind and body should be enured to hardships, in order to grow strong.
- 4."He that is used to submit his will to the reason of others when he is young, will scarce hearken to submit to his own reason when he is of an age to make use of it."²
- 5.Reason may be cultivated in children.
- 6.Reason may be used with children, rather than rewards and punishments.
- 7.The mind cannot act when depressed.
- 8.In seasons of aptitude and inclination learning is real.
- 9.Amusement should be combined with instruction. (Note 7 and 8 above). Learning is recreation to play and play a recreation to learning. A book amusing to the child should

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1. Locke: Op. cit., p. 356
2. Locke: Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Harvard Classics, vol. 37, p. 30

be furnished him upon his learning to read.

10. Teaching should be related to living. Language taught by conversation (Latin (!) and French). Composition theme subjects should be useful. Memory is improved by learning useful rather than long passages. Discussion should be on useful subjects.

11. Logic and rhetoric are not proper subjects for youth:

"Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due consideration of things themselves, and not by artificial terms and ways of arguing; these lead not men so much into the discovery of truth, as into a captious and fallacious use of doubtful words, which is the most useless and most offensive way of talking, and such as least suits a gentleman or a lover of truth of any thing in the world."¹

Locke was not constant in this opinion, but elsewhere in his controversial correspondence he reversed it, particularly in his discussion of the value of syllogism. Further, in his consideration of proper subjects for youth, he states that physics is a natural subject beyond the mind of man. (Cf. His opinion regarding the real and nominal essence of substance).

Upon Locke's incidental inclusion in his Essay Concerning the Human Understanding of the theory of the association of ideas, his successors built that important psychological principle.

There is a sense in which it is not possible to consider John Locke as a psychologist apart from his philosophy. As stated at the outset of this chapter he was preeminently a philosopher. Yet in the Essay Concerning the Human Understanding, which was evidently a philosophical treatise, Locke describes the workings of the mind as he conceives them. Monroe summarizes the relationship of Locke's philosophy to his psychology thus:

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1. Locke: Op. cit., p. 171

"The idea that all knowledge comes primarily through the senses and is built up according to the inductive process, as formulated by Bacon, was elaborated by Locke rather into a test for distinguishing truth from falsity than into a theory explaining the origin of all knowledge . . .

"The rational psychology, or explanation of the manner in which the mind works, becomes probably incidentally with Locke, certainly directly with his followers, an explanation of how the mind develops as well."¹

C. Summary and Conclusion.

It will be seen from the foregoing outline of his great essay that Locke as a philosopher combines a statement of his belief as to the origin of knowledge with what he considers an adequate proof of how that knowledge comes to the human mind and of the fact that the mind is able to distinguish between true and false ideas or real knowledge and error. So it is very difficult to set down Locke's rational psychological principles as distinguished from his philosophy.

However, his practical psychology is easily distinguishable from his philosophy and this found in Some Thoughts Concerning Education. Here, as an addition to his ideas in the essay, Locke differentiated between learning (acquiring of information) and wisdom. The mind should be brought to appreciate the values primarily of virtue, breeding and wisdom. Learning was Locke's least concern. In this he was thinking primarily of the English, and probably of those particular English gentlemen whose education concerned him directly.

As a philosopher, in his main work, Locke progresses faithfully toward the goal of testing the last object of our

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1. Monroe: Text-Book in the History of Education, pp. 512,513

knowledge as to its tenability, and this for man in general.

As a psychologist, both in his Essay Concerning the Human Understanding and in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, he has attempted to look into the way in which the human mind in general works and the particular methods to be used in training the mind of his own day. Although the latter work, for the reason just cited, is less timeless in its application, it is most interesting to note how many of his ideas are still of value.

In this chapter, then, Locke's rational psychology and his philosophy have been set forth as found in his Essay Concerning the Human Understanding, while his practical psychology as found in Some Thoughts Concerning Education has been outlined.

It will be reserved for another chapter to estimate Locke in these fields particularly as to his actual and possible influence upon Christian education.

CHAPTER III

JOHN LOCKE, EDUCATOR

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In considering John Locke as an educator it will be of value to review his activities in this field and make some estimate of his standing as an educator in addition to presenting his educational views which will contribute to an analysis of Locke's philosophy of Christian education in the following chapters.

A. John Locke's Activities as an Educator

John Locke's educational activities have been mentioned previously in the account of the writing of his treatise, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, but it was left to consider them more at length in the present connection.

The story of his early school life has been told. This influenced his work as an educator considerably. His tutelage under his father, contrasted with his experiences as a boy at Westminster, influenced his ideas concerning formal discipline. His experiences at Christ Church as a student turned him against argument for argument's sake and thus intensified his love of truth and caused him to put forth many ideas which have been revolutionary in their effect upon education.

Locke's first experience as a teacher was as the tutor of the second Earl of Shaftesbury when he was a youth. He was entrusted also with the education of the third earl. As he was then much interested in medicine, his main experi-

ments were along the line of his theory of the hardening process.

In 1677 the first Earl of Shaftesbury recommended Locke as an educator to Sir John Banks. For two years he was tutor to his son. Regarding this experience, Sister Mary Louise Cuff states:

"We have hardly any particulars about his tutorship in this instance, save that it lasted nearly two years, and that Locke found his new pupil old enough to begin mathematics, but ignorant, as yet, of the elements of logic, which he considered a necessary preliminary to the study of mathematics; for he says, 'to engage one in mathematics, who is not yet acquainted with the very rudiments of logic, is a method of study I have not known practiced, and seems to me not very reasonable.'"¹

In 1679 Locke was recalled to Shaftesbury's home, where the Earl's grandson, then only three years old, was given over entirely into Locke's care. This was preferred to having the child remain under the authority of his own father who was just a boy himself.

It was after the death of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, four years later when Locke was in Holland, that he began the correspondence with Edward Clarke concerning the education of his son.

After going to live in the home of his cousin, Lady Masham, he continued his educational experiments, with great success, in the training of her four year old son, Frank.

A Mr. Molyneux of Dublin was responsible for the final publication of Some Thoughts Concerning Education. He had heard from his brother about Locke's correspondence with Edward Clarke and about the usefulness of the methods there

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1. Cuff, Sister Mary Louise: The Educational Theory of John Locke, p. 8

outlined. He therefore urged Locke to give his thoughts to the world. Later Locke furnished Molyneux with a copy of the first edition, requesting his opinion. The result of the criticism was an enlargement upon certain views for the second edition.

Locke also had influence in the education of Molyneux's son. Much of the succeeding correspondence between these two men was concerning the matter of a proper tutor for the boy and methods to be used in his tutelage. Molyneux was delighted with the results.

B. John Locke's Standing as an Educator

Locke's preeminence in the field of education should be taken into consideration before presenting his views. With regard to his standing as an educator, Sister Mary Louise Cuff says:

"Having given practical study to the subject of education through his life, Locke had good right now to propound his views to the world. And notwithstanding some blemishes and eccentricities, his plan was a wonderfully sensible one. Not the least recommendation is, that the crafts of the doctor and the teacher were combined. We have seen in his own case . . . how eager the old pedagogues were for certain sorts of intellectual training; but the physical education was before this time almost a thing unknown. Locke had clear notions of his own, which he advanced very boldly, as to the sort of pedagogic work that was most proper for duly developing children's minds; but he was yet bolder in his insistence on the necessity of looking after their bodies if their minds were to be trained in any useful way."¹

In addition to that fact that Locke was well prepared, by experience and wide information, to express his views with authority, it must be noted that his permanent influence was great.

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1. Cuff: Op. Cit., p. 13

It has been observed¹ that John Locke and James Hamilton are the only two English educators with an international reputation as writers and inventors of new educational methods. Hamilton, however, was rather a disciple of Locke and elaborated on his method of language teaching. So to Locke almost of all England's influence upon the theory of education may be attributed.

For the two reasons just cited, Locke's international reputation and his right to put forth his views as a result of practical experience, it is scarcely feasible to ignore his views on general education in considering him as a contributor to the field of Christian education.

C. John Locke's Views as an Educator

Since it is the purpose in the presentation of the subject of Locke's influence on the field of Christian education, to touch but lightly on the contribution of his educational methods and to stress that of his philosophy, an extended analysis of his educational views will not be given here. Rather, a presentation of his distinctive contributions to the field of education will be made, together with his views which specifically dealt with Christian education.

As has been suggested, his educational masterpiece is the essay, Some Thoughts Concerning Education. This is the primary source of the ensuing observations.

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1. Cf. Quick, Robert Hebert: Essays on Educational Reformers (the Kellogg publication), p. 85

1. His Views in the Field of General Education

John Locke's theory of education has not suffered, as has his philosophy, from variety of interpretation. The present writer finds no better way to exemplify this thought than to set down the opinions concerning his views and analyses of them as expressed by Eliot and Monroe who are representatives of two different schools of educational approach. The opinions of Locke as an educator their analyses suggest are also those of educators generally and of the present writer.

President Charles Eliot of Harvard wrote:

"In educational theory and method he held advanced opinions, insisting especially on the importance of guarding ~~opinion~~ the formation of habits, and on training in wisdom and virtue rather than on information as the main object of education. Many of his ideas are still among the objects aimed at, rather than achieved, by educational reformers. It will be observed from the following 'Thoughts' that they bear the mark of their original purpose, the individual education of a gentleman's son, not the formation of a school system."¹

Professor Paul Monroe of Teachers College, Columbia University, summarized Locke's educational views thus:

"These views must be taken into account in the examination of his Thoughts Concerning Education (1693), which is the one work by which his educational ideas are usually judged. It is entirely one-sided to formulate Locke's educational ideas from this one treatise, the more so since it contains advice written to a friend concerning the education of his own sons and it is specifically stated by Locke that much of it has only this special application. This is particularly true of that portion of it which deals with the intellectual aspect of education which is more broadly treated in Locke's other works. . . .

" . . . However, it is just these fundamental conceptions, as distinguished from the many valuable suggestions and ideas scattered throughout the treatise, that gave Locke his relation to the disciplinarians. It is the consideration of isolated ideas and general remarks that leads to his classification with the realists, or humanists, or naturalists, as is done by many students of

.
1. Eliot, Charles W., Ed., The Harvard Classics, vol. 37, p. 4

the subject.

"The aspects of education according to Locke are three: physical, moral, intellectual. The aims are, correspondingly, vigor, of body, virtue, and knowledge. The first is fundamental as a basis. This being provided for, the aims of education are, as he states in another place, virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning in the order of their importance.

"Physical Education. - 'A sound mind in a sound body is a short but full description of a happy state in this world. . . ' These are the opening sentences of the Thoughts, the first thirty paragraphs of which are given to the discussion of physical education - one of the first and yet one of the sanest of such treatises. The principle underlying it all, . . . , is that of the hardening process, - rigid discipline.

"Moral Education. One of the most striking of Locke's positions, as well as the soundest of them, is the clear distinction he ever holds in mind between education and instruction. This explains the divergence between Locke's views and those of the educators of the prevailing disciplinary school. With the latter, education came to be identified with instruction, as it in turn became a rigid and formal discipline. With instruction as merely a method of intellectual education,, the primary object of education is the formation of character. . . But it is rather the manner in which this great end is to be accomplished that indicates again how, fundamentally, Locke holds throughout to the disciplinary conception of education. . .

"Virtue is to be obtained by the formation of good habits through a long discipline of the desires. . . It is true that the process is to be made as pleasurable as possible for the child, and great severity, especially as regards corporal punishment is to be avoided; but the secret of all education is to control the natural desires and instincts by thwarting them and forming the habit of their control, and not at all by following them implicitly as with the naturalists.

"Intellectual Education. . . This portion is devoted for the most part to a consideration of the materials of study, concerning which Locke agrees in most points with the sense-realists and the encyclopedists.

"It is when we turn to Locke's philosophical writings, more especially his Conduct of the Understanding, that his conception of the intellectual aspect of education is clearly revealed. . . In it is best seen his conception of education as an intellectual discipline. . . Here also, in stating his fundamental principle, is given the justification for his encyclopedism . . .

'The business of education is not to make the young perfect in any one of the sciences, but so to open and dispose their minds as may best make them capable of any, when they shall apply themselves to it. . It is therefore to give them this freedom that I think they should be made to look into all sorts of knowledge and exercise

their understanding in so wide a variety or stock of knowledge. But I do not propose it as a variety and stock of knowledge but a variety and freedom of thinking; as an increase of posers and activities of the mind, not as an enlargement of its possessions.'

"The entire treatise is devoted to a reiteration of the idea that intellectual education is a formation of habit of thought through exercise and discipline."¹

Monroe continues with a consideration of Locke's basic philosophy of education, a point at which so many seem to disagree. Estimates of his philosophy and educational principles will be reserved for later chapters, as has already been indicated.

It is of interest to notice that Dr. Herman Harrell Horne of New York University makes an analysis of Locke's position as a formal disciplinarian² which is practically identical with that of Dr. Monroe, especially in view of the fact that Monroe belongs, along with Dewey, with the realists in the field of education, while Horne and Eliot may be classified with the idealists.

2. His Views on Christian Education.

Most of Locke's views on educational method are applicable to Christian education. Only a few of his views, however, were stated definitely on this subject. In later chapters, further principles of Christian education will be deduced from his philosophical and psychological ideas.

Locke's opinion was that the foundation of virtue was the early imprinting on the child's mind of a true notion of God, instilling into him a love and reverence of this Supreme Being,

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1. Monroe, Paul: A Text-Book in the History of Education, pp.512 - 519.
2. Horne, Herman Harrell: The Democratic Philosophy of Education, pp.74 ff and p. 81

and teaching him to pray to Him and praise Him as the author of his being. The child should be taught the nature of God without too much explanation. He should be taught some plain and short form of prayer, suitable to his age. Fear of goblins, the dark, and other such fears, have no place in such a true conception of God.¹

In the teaching of reading, the Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, the Ten Commandments were not recommended by Locke for direct reading but for memorization through hearing them repeated. He deplored the then current use of the Bible as a reading text, but designated the following parts of the Bible for children's reading: parts of the Gospels and the Acts; stories of Joseph and his brethren, David and Goliath, David and Jonathan; plain moral rules contained in the Scripture, such as, What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them.²

Locke's belief that nature in its true essence is not knowable, except by direct revelation of God to our own souls and through His Word, caused him to lay down the suggestion that all young people should be in possession of a good history of the Bible for the study of natural philosophy which is based on a knowledge of spirits and on a knowledge of bodies, and natural phenomena. Locke says:

"When yet it is evident that by mere matter and motion none of the great phaenomena of nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural operation of matter, or any other law of motion, but the positive will of a supe-

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1. Cf. Locke, John: Some Thoughts Concerning Education, in The Harvard Classics, vol. 37, pp. 123 - 126
2. Cf. Ibid. pp. 141 - 143

rior being so ordering it. And therefore since the deluge cannot be well explained without admitting something out of the ordinary course of nature, I propose it to be considered whether God's altering the center of gravity in the earth for a time (a thing as intelligible as gravity itself, which perhaps a little variation of causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for Noah's flood than any hypothesis yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great objection to this, is, that it would produce but a partial deluge. But the alteration of the center of gravity once allowed, 'tis no hard matter to conceive that the divine power make the center of gravity, plac'd at a due distance from the center of the earth, move round it in a convenient space of time, whereby the flood would become universal . . ."¹

This shows sufficiently what he considers to be the relation between the Bible and a study of natural philosophy.

These are the only direct references by Locke to Christian education in his Thoughts concerning Education. But there is clear indication in them that Locke considered that Christian education had definitely to do with life. His omission of Christ's name here is of interest. This will be considered later.

D. Summary

In this chapter John Locke's activities as an educator, his standing as an educator, and his views concerning general education and Christian education have been considered. No attempt has been made to evaluate the views presented, although those on general education have been given through the statements of outstanding men in the present educational field. These men represent the various educational schools of thought of the present day and their unanimity of opinion as to the content of his views indicates, with a fair degree of accuracy, what is the true representation of John Locke, the educator, and his views.

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1. Locke: op. cit., p. 176

CHAPTER IV
JOHN LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHY
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A. Introduction

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to present a clear picture of John Locke, particularly in those capacities in which it is believed he exercised the greatest influence on the field of Christian education.

A consideration of John Locke, the Man, has disclosed his great influence in his day in the fields of education, medicine, politics, finance, philosophy and religion. Further, it has been noted that his rigid honesty required that he apply those principles which he expressed to his own life in all its aspects. Thus he was no mere theorist but has provided the world with demonstrations of the principles he held in many ways. His great capacity for unselfish friendship, his personal integrity and real piety were all traits which made it possible for him to be consistent in the demonstration of his principles in life.

Those fields in which John Locke excelled and which might also be related quite definitely to the field of Christian education, were philosophy, psychology, education and, very clearly, Christian ethics and theology.

In the foregoing presentation of John Locke as philos-

opher and psychologist, the underlying relationship between his philosophy and psychology was examined. In the extended outline of Locke's philosophy, applications of his philosophy to the fields of Christian ethics and theology were noted. This subject will have more careful consideration in the present chapter, in which will be reviewed the ideas expressed in his books, The Reasonableness of Christianity; A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians, to which is Prefixed an Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul Himself; A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible.

It was found that Locke's philosophical views influenced the ideas expressed in all of his works, but that they were not stated in so involved a fashion in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, his classic educational treatise. Hence the psychology there expressed seems better termed his "practical psychology" as compared with that found in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding which has been termed "rational psychology". The psychological views stated in Some Thoughts Concerning Education have very largely to do with methods of training the individual mind, whereas those in An Essay Concerning Human Understanding are rather descriptive of what Locke believed to be the processes of the human mind in general.

While Locke's practical psychology may be applied to the field of Christian education, the emphasis in the present study will be laid upon his philosophy and rational psychology.

In the foregoing chapter concerning John Locke as an

educator

educator were presented summaries of his educational views by representatives of the different educational philosophies of the present day. It was interesting to note their unanimity of opinion regarding the content of his theory of education in contrast to the previously noted variety of interpretation of his philosophical views. In addition to these summaries, the views on Christian education which he stated definitely in Some Thoughts Concerning Education were set down. A review of his activities in the field of education was briefly presented, together with an estimate of his importance in the field of secular education. The chief value of considering John Locke in his capacity as an educator is to notice what application of his philosophy he made to the field of secular education and, in a few instances, to Christian education.

In the introductory remarks to this thesis, it was indicated that Locke could not be considered a Christian educator in the technical sense of the term as used today, although it is the purpose of the present thesis to give evidence that he has made a definite contribution to this field and that some of his principles might be rediscovered and put into practice, with good results, by Christian educators. It will be the purpose of the present chapter to examine John Locke's works, with particular attention to the philosophy expressed in them, and to set down those principles which, it is believed, have made, or could make contributions to the field of Christian education.

In the introduction, an attempt was made to define the term "Christian education" as technically understood and to show

that this is a comparatively modern field as a profession. A Christian educator is one who functions as a leader in the local church or district, or one who trains such leaders in professional schools, or one who creates the curricula or texts for Christian education.

B. Definition of the Term,

Philosophy of Christian Education

In the field of secular education many volumes have been produced on the philosophy of education. For Christian education, however, such a philosophy is rarely developed.¹ It appears that John Locke's distinctive contribution to Christian education must be in the field of philosophy, and that there is a philosophy of Christian education implicit in his works. In order to look into this point of view, it will be necessary first to arrive at a definition of "philosophy of Christian education."

Professor Demiashkevich in his book, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education, has made an analysis of the term, "philosophy of education" from which the present writer found it possible to derive a satisfactory definition of the term, "philosophy of Christian education".

Demiashkevich defines the word "education" and continues with a discussion of the meaning of the expression, "science of education" as related to the phrase, "philosophy of education".

He shows how the educators of all time have taken one or the other of two views of the meaning of education - either the

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1. See Horne, Herman Harrell: The Philosophy of Christian Education.

"Educators", continues Demiashkevich, "should see to it that . . . at the pre-specialization stage of education, the curriculum should be balanced adequately between the mathematical and natural science method and content . . . and the social science method and content."¹ And further,

"To this inevitable conflict between the two sides of the science of education there is to be added the various claims put on the school by the educand and by the various influences to which both the educand and school workers are subject. Such a set of conflicts and controversies, theoretical and practical, creates the necessity for a philosophy of education as a branch of the science of education. The purpose of the philosophy of education is to co-ordinate and reconcile those conflicting tendencies of educational theory and practice."²

The philosophy of education, of which Demiashkevich conceives, is not the conjecture of the prejudiced individual with a pet notion gathered "by the way" as he seeks in haphazard fashion to teach some individual or group. It is the careful deduction as to the aims of education in the light of the mathematical and natural facts of life, along with the "humanities" which are also facts and which, says Demiashkevich, "teach us to revolt against certain ugly facts and to apply ourselves to create new ones, more just and more beautiful."⁵ The humanities to which he refers in this place are such subjects as languages, literature, history, art, philosophy.

In the light of a philosophy of education so conceived all the facts relating to the science of education would assume their proper places and relationships and the educational system would be ideal. Of course, the personal must always enter into

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1. Demiashkevich: op. cit., p. 19

2. Ibid., p. 24

3. Ibid., p. 22

the deductions of the philosopher even as it does into those of the scientist, but the philosophic approach to science and the scientific attitude toward philosophy are correctives needed to help educators approach the ideal.

By the process just described a definition of the term "philosophy of Christian education" may be formed. It, too, is "the careful deduction as to the aims of (Christian) education in the light of the mathematical and natural facts of life, along with the humanities".¹ The "humanities" of Christian education might rather be included with the "divine truths" as a subhead under some such classification as that suggested by Demiashkevich in the description, "the totality of the various patient, unsensational studies which do not seem to be conducive to an immediate utilitarian application, yet appear to be more valuable to mankind than are the sciences."² Under this second unnamed heading would come such subjects as Bible study, theology, Christian ethics, Church history, worship, Christian literature other than the Scriptures, and such. In order to reduce further the definition, it might be said that a philosophy of Christian education is the careful formulation of aims in the light of all the facts of life.

In view of this definition of the term, "philosophy of Christian education", it will be seen clearly that, if there is a philosophy of Christian education implicit in Locke's works, certainly those principles and methods which he suggests will be

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1. Cf., above, p. 64

2. Demiashkevich: op. cit., p. 23

related definitely to this philosophy. For if John Locke arrived at a philosophy of Christian education, it would be utterly at variance with the character of the man to have done so in any other than a methodical and scientific manner, such as has been outlined by Professor Demiashkevich.

It will be the procedure next to examine John Locke's views already outlined in chapters two and three of this study, as well as the application which he had made of them in other works mentioned, in order to discover his philosophy of Christian education.

C. The Philosophy of Christian Education

Implicit in John Locke's Writings

Under the conception of a philosophy of Christian education described in the foregoing section that the curricula of Christian education would seem to include nearly all that of a general education. In considering the philosophy of Christian education implicit in John Locke's writings, it will be discovered that in formulating his aims of Christian education, he did take into consideration all curricula. And herein lies one of his most valuable contributions to Christian education.

The most systematic presentation of Locke's philosophy is to be found, as has been noted, in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding, together with the treatise, Of the Conduct of the Understanding. This latter work was intended by Locke to be a chapter in a new edition of the Essay but was not published until after Locke's death, and then was published as a separate

work. In the Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Locke describes what he believes to be the history of the developing thought life in the mind of man from "no innate ideas" through simple and complex ideas of various types, and the methods of their discernment. He continues with his philosophy of language and concludes with a consideration of the nature and validity of knowledge. In the shorter work, Of the Conduct of the Understanding, Locke lays down practical methods by which one may guide his understanding.

As the two works are viewed together, it may be seen that they comprise a study of the relationship of the human mind to all the facts, as Locke conceives them, in a God-created universe. The story of how Locke became interested in the subject of the human understanding has been told.¹ The discussion by Locke and his friends at that time is thought to have had to do with the "principles of morality and revealed religion".² In any case, nearly every phase of the study is related either directly or indirectly to the idea of religion, and the whole may be seen, too, as a carefully worked out method of testing religious beliefs as well as human knowledge in general.

In view of this, it is puzzling that the name of Christ is not once mentioned in either essay. Locke speaks of Christ frequently in his answers to the attacks upon his work, the Essay Concerning Human Understanding, and in all his other important philosophical works Christ is considered. Locke's critics did not seem to be concerned over this rather glaring

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1. Cf., ante, p. 16

2. Cf., Fowler, Thomas, editor: Introduction to: Of the Conduct of the Understanding, pp. xi, xii

omission. In the present study, however, it should be noted in order to observe how a philosophy of Christian education may be discovered in such a work. Since Locke does mention Christ in his answers to the critics of the very work under discussion, and since he elsewhere elaborates his views concerning Christ, it is fair to consider this body of beliefs as the object of faith and the content of the revealed religion for which Locke so carefully develops a test in his two essays having to do with the human understanding.

The subjects of the following studies by Locke will reveal why they contribute to an understanding of his philosophy of Christian education: The Reasonableness of Christianity, An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul Himself, A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible, and Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

A careful study of these and other writings of John Locke leaves no doubt that this outstanding philosopher developed through his life a philosophy of Christian education, and that, insofar as he was able, he formulated his aims in the light of the facts of life. Locke's predominant views will be set down and illustrated from the above-mentioned works. His philosophy of Christian education will be disclosed in the examination of these views.

1. Views on Which His Philosophy of Christian Education may be Based.

Locke's views will be considered under the following headings: his theory of ideas, his examination of knowledge, his

attitude toward the Scriptures, his conception of truth, and his educational principles. Under these topics, already deduced from an analysis of his philosophy, may be gathered the ideas which have to do with Locke's philosophy of Christian education.

The Theory of Ideas

Locke's development of the theory of ideas has been outlined in another chapter.¹ Those conceptions which have to do particularly with Christian education will be considered now.

Locke attempts a logical proof that there are no innate or inborn ideas in men. The conception itself does not appear to the writer to be significant, although it seems to have caught the fancy of many philosophers and theologians. It is an opinion for which can be found no adequate proof or disproof but about which it is interesting to conjecture. The poet, William Wordsworth, expresses the opposite conception to that of Locke, and in much more beautiful language:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home;
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!"²

Locke attempted to prove that we come from God but that we come in entire forgetfulness. The method that he used was to examine the reasons which were generally given to prove that there are innate ideas and then to present proofs why these reasons were not valid. The steps of the proof were not always perfectly tested by

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1. Cf., *intra*, pp. 31 - 37

2. Wordsworth, William, *in* Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.

undisputed authority and the reasoning as well might be subjected to questioning. Locke did not prove scientifically that there are no innate ideas, but he did succeed in bringing out a very valuable principle, namely, that an idea cannot be made true by calling it "innate". There are ways of testing the validity of our knowledge but this is not one of them. Locke did not leave his readers with a great question as to how one is to know the truth but, throughout his subsequent discussion, presented what he considered to be adequate tests of the validity of human knowledge.

The question which naturally arises is, "How, then, do men come by their ideas if they bring none into the world with them?" Locke's answer to this question was that there are two sources of all the ideas in the mind of men: the objects of sensation, or man's senses coming into contact with the objective world; and reflection, or the operations of man's mind, as it is employed about the ideas it has got.¹ This conception of Locke's is not easily interpreted, for later in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding he claimed to believe in direct revelation from God. He seems to have contradicted himself, which is surprising, since he was so constantly revising his Essay.

What is a revelation? A revelation from God is usually in terms of something known or experienced although in itself it is entirely new. It may be in terms known only to the one who receives the revelation, in which case the revelation would not be communicable by the means of language.²

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1. Cf., ante, p. 34

2. Cf., Locke, John: Philosophical Works, Vol. 2, p. 304, concerning St. Paul.

If Locke had some such idea as that expressed by Jesus Christ, when He said, "The kingdom of God is within you"¹, he then would be likely to trace some revelations from God to that source of ideas which he called "reflection". And from other statements he made², he may well have conceived that communications directly from God would in themselves furnish the persons receiving them with new sensations or experiences. Another view would be that he added later in his thinking a third, or supernatural, source of ideas.³

Locke's discussion of faith and reason in this connection has had far-reaching influence. This will be considered when his evaluation of human knowledge is examined.

John Locke next demonstrated how he conceived man to acquire complex ideas by the combination of simple ideas gained by sensation. This process, too, has been outlined previously.⁴ A few of the modes which are there described will be considered. Man gains the idea of infinity, whether of time, space, or number, by placing units of each of these along-side of each other or extending the units until the mind can no longer grasp the length, magnitude, or quantity represented. Thus the conception of infinity is in terms of definite ideas. This is of interest in connection with Locke's opinion that man is capable of evaluating his own thought processes. The modes which Locke seemed to reduce to such simple terms are among those most challenging to the human mind. He dealt

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1. Luke 17: 21
2. Cf., Ante, p. 42 (first paragraph concerning Rise of Enthusiasm)
3. Cf., Ibid., pp. 42 and also p. 41
4. Cf., Intra., pp. 34 - 37

in the same way with the modes of power: the power to make change (God, Spirit, will, understanding, liberty, volition, consideration, judgment) and the power to receive change (inanimate objects mainly; God totally lacking in this power).

In his discussion of the complex ideas of relations, Locke considered the important subject of moral relationships under the headings of the civil law of crime and innocence, the philosophical law of virtue and vice, and the divine law of sin and duty. The recognition of these laws has to do with the simple sensations of pleasure and pain. The keeping of each law must carry with it its reward and the breaking of it must mean punishment. The civil law is the law of the state and the state is the rewarder or punisher. Civil law, then, is local. Philosophical law is regulated by opinion or reputation. It, too, is of local meaning. The divine law, however, according to Locke:

" . . . is the only true touchstone of moral rectitude; and, by comparing them to this law, it is that men judge of the most considerable moral good or evil of their actions: that is, whether as duties or sins, they are like to procure them happiness or misery from the hands of the Almighty."¹

Another important observation which Locke made is that moral law is demonstrable:

"Morality is capable of demonstration as well as mathematics. For the ideas that ethics are conversant about, being all real essences, and such as I imagine have a discoverable connexion and agreement one with another; so far as we can find their habitudes and relations, so far we shall be possessed of certain, real and general truths."²

The conception of the association of ideas was introduced by Locke to show how false ideas of relationships arise. This has be-

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1. Locke: Philosophical Works, vol. 1, p. 486
2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 257

come one of the universally accepted laws of psychology.

In the discussion of language, Locke includes his theory of the real and nominal essence of things. It will be more practical in this study to consider that subject under the heading of Locke's conception of truth.

Locke's Examination of the Extent and Validity of Human Knowledge.

According to Locke, human knowledge is "nothing but the perception of the connexion and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas".¹ Therefore knowledge is certainly no greater than one's ideas but is more than likely narrower, since some ideas are false, or but faith or opinion. We have intuitive knowledge of our own existence and demonstrative knowledge of God's existence. Anything short of either intuitive or demonstrative knowledge is not knowledge at all but personal opinion or faith. Locke shows how the existence of God is demonstrable.²

The comparative study of reason, faith and revelation found in this section of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding is very important in the consideration of Locke's philosophy of Christian education. The meaning of Locke's theory of revelation from God in relation to his opinion as to the sources of all ideas has been considered.³ His definition of faith, reason and revelation is here repeated:

"Reason. . ., as contradistinguished to faith, I take to be the discovery of the certainty or probability of such propositions or truths, which the mind arrives at by deduction made from such ideas, which it has got by the use of its natural

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1. Locke: Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 129
2. Cf., ante, p. 40
3. Cf., ibid., pp. 70, 71

faculties; viz., by sensation and reflection.

"Faith, on the other side, is the assent to any proposition not thus made out of the deductions of reason, but upon the credit of the proposer, as coming from God, in some extraordinary way of communication. This way of discovering truths to men, we call revelation."¹

An extended analysis of Locke's comparisons of the conceptions of faith, reason and revelation has been given previously.² But certain other propositions which Locke set down in this connection are of permanent influence. These will be noted here:

1. Revelation cannot be admitted against the clear evidence of reasoning.
2. In matters where reason cannot judge, or is able to reach no higher than probability, "faith gave the determination where reason came short; and revelation discovered on which side the truth lay."
3. When reason can afford certain knowledge of something, that is to be hearkened to.

In his discussion of enthusiasm (misguided), Locke continues on this subject:

"Reason is natural revelation. . . revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimony and proofs it gives that they came from God. So that he that takes away reason to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both."³

Locke endeavored to apply these principles to a running comment on the historical development of the principles and doctrines of Christianity in his book, the Reasonableness of Christianity. He used the same method in his pamphlet entitled Miracles. In his preface to his paraphrase of some of Paul's letters, he follows a similar method which will be examined at length in the

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1. ante, p. 41

2. Cf., intra, pp. 41 - 44, and pp. 69 ff.

3. ante, p. 42

discussion of his views concerning the Scriptures.

The study of the Scriptures in the light of reason ushered in a entire new era, not only in theology, but in Christian education. Locke may not have founded this movement but he did much to carry it forward. In the testing of the validity of human knowledge, however, he had no notion of testing the truth of the Scriptures, but only the truth of the interpretation of the revealed truths of God to men, whether they came from nature or from the Word of God.

Locke's Opinion of the Scriptures and His Methods
of Interpreting Them

Locke believed implicitly in the infallibility of the Holy Scriptures. In referring to the epistles of Paul, he wrote of "the Spirit of God, that dictated these sacred writings"¹. This attitude he held consistently throughout his writings. It was Locke's habit of mind to make careful investigation of all the facts of life as to their reality and to test all opinions of them. Locke carried this habit of investigation into his study of the Scriptures, but only to discover what was in them and the validity of men's interpretation of them. He never questioned the authority of the Word of God as found in the Bible. His essay, the Reasonableness of Christianity, was a quest for the true "sense of the gospel", not an investigation into the question as to whether or not the gospel would appeal to human reason. In his introductory paragraph to this work, Locke says,

"The little satisfaction and consistency that is to be

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1. Locke, John: A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Preface, p. xv

found in most of the systems of divinity I have met with, made me betake myself to the sole reading of the Scripture (to which they all appeal) for the understanding of the Christian religion. What from thence, by an attentive and unbiassed search I have received, reader, I here deliver to thee. If by this my labor thou receivest any light or confirmation of the truth, join with me in thanks to the Father of Lights, for his condescension to our understandings. If, upon a fair and unprejudiced examination, thou findest I have mistaken the sense and tenor of the gospel, I beseech thee, ~~as a true~~ Christian, in the spirit of the gospel (which is that of Charity) and in the words of sobriety, set me right in the doctrine of salvation."¹

The fact that the reasonableness of the Scriptures was never questioned by Locke, who used his reason in investigating their meaning, is significant.

Locke's opinion of the usefulness of the Scriptures to children and young people is of interest. In his Thoughts Concerning Education, he expressed an opinion that the Scriptures should be graded to the age of the child using them and only those portions used which suited the understanding. Certain portions should be given to them in story form and certain portions should be memorized, but not used in reading.² He believed that a good history of the Bible should be put into the hands of young people to be used as a text in the study of natural philosophy.³

In An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul Himself, the preface to his paraphrase and notes on some of Paul's epistles, Locke gives a description of the method which may be used in interpreting Scripture. He leaves no doubt that he means this for the laity as well as for the ministry of the Christian Church.

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1. Locke, John: The Reasonableness of Christianity, p. 3
2. Cf. Locke, John: Some Thoughts Concerning Education, in The Harvard Classics, vol. 37, pp. 141 - 143
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 176. Also, cf., ante, p. 56

His method is to know as much as possible of the background of the book of the Bible being read and also the general historical and social background. Furnished with this information, one should read the book under consideration, not read about it. This has been adopted, in some instances, as the method known as the study of the Bible by books, and is quite important in connection with the application of Locke's philosophy of Christian education. Locke said:

"I concluded it was necessary, for the understanding of any one of St. Paul's epistles to read it all through at one sitting, and to observe, as well as I could, the drift and design of his writing it. If the first reading gave me some light, the second gave me more; and so I persisted in reading, constantly, the whole epistle over at once, till I came to have a good general view of the apostle's main purpose in writing the epistle, the chief branches of his discourse wherein he prosecuted it, the arguments he used, and the disposition of the whole . . . It must be repeated again and again, with a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, and a perfect neglect of the divisions into chapters and verses. . . The safest way is to suppose that the epistle has but one business, and one aim; till, by frequent perusal of it, you are forced to see there are distinct independent matters in it, which will forwardly enough show themselves.¹

"This being the only safe guide (under the Spirit of God, that dictated these sacred writings) that can be relied on, I hope I may be excused, if I venture to say, that the utmost ought to be done to observe and trace out St. Paul's reasonings.²

"I do not . . . think it will perfectly clear every hard place and leave no doubt unresolved. . . but the way I have proposed will, I humbly conceive, carry us a great length in the right understanding of them (St. Paul's epistles) . . . by furnishing us with visible grounds that we are not mistaken, whilst the consistency of the discourse and the pertinency of it to the design he is upon, vouches it worthy of our great apostle."³

Locke's opinion of St. Paul, as the result of this careful investigation, is disclosed in the following paragraph:

". . . He fully possessed the entire revelation he had received from God, had thoroughly digested it, all the parts were formed

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1. Locke, John: A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians. Preface, p. xiii
2. Ibid., p. xv
3. Ibid., p. xvii

together in his mind into one well-contracted harmonious body. . . One may see . . . his notions were . . . constantly the same, though his opinions were various. In them he seems to take great liberty. If then, having by the method before proposed got into the sense of the several epistles, we will but compare what he says in the places where he treats the same subject, we can hardly be mistaken in his sense, nor doubt what is to be believed and taught concerning those points of the Christian religion."¹

This method of Locke, namely, the comparison of one part of St. Paul's writing with another, was followed also in his treatise, A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible², in which he made an extended application of the idea to the entire Bible, in a series of topical analyses of questions which he considered practical for all Christians.

In the essay on the interpretation of St. Paul, Locke indicated what he considered the wrong way to interpret Scripture:

" . . . I began to suspect that in reading a chapter, as was usual, and thereupon sometimes consulting expositors upon some hard places of it, which at that time most affected me, as relating to points then under consideration in my own mind, or in debate amongst others, was not a right way to get into the true sense of these epistles. I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one should write me a letter, as long as St. Paul's to the Romans, concerning such a matter as that is, in a style as foreign, and expressions as dubious as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters and read them one to-day, and another to-morrow, etc., it was ten to one I should never come to a full and clear comprehension of it. ."³

And he adds concerning bringing personal prejudices and philosophy to bear upon the Bible for its interpretation:

" . . . The method before proposed . . . every one must acknowledge to be a better standard to interpret his meaning by, in any obscure and doubtful parts of his epistles, if any should remain, than the system, confession or articles of any church or society of Christians yet known, which, however pretended to be founded on Scripture, are visibly the contrivances of men, (fallible both in their opinions and interpretations), and, as is visible in most of them, made with partial views, and adapted to what the occasions of that time, and the present circumstances they were then in, were thought to require, for the support or justification of themselves. Their philosophy also has its part in misleading men from the true sense of the sacred Scripture. He that

1. Locke: Op. cit. p. xvii

2. Locke, John: A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible, espec. pp. 13-16

3. Locke: A Paraphrase and Notes, on the Epistles, of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians. Preface, p. xii.

shall attentively read the Christian writers after the ages of the apostles, will easily find how much the philosophy they were tinctured with influenced them in their understanding of the books of the Old and New Testament. (Locke cites Platonism and Aristotelianism) . . . He that would understand St. Paul aright, must understand his terms in the sense he uses them, and not as they are appropriated by each man's particular philosophy, to conceptions that never entered the mind of the apostle. . That is what we should aim at, in reading him, or any other author."¹

Locke concludes this essay with an avowal of the right of individual interpretation of the Scripture after the individual studied it carefully himself, under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ. He further asserts that taking opinions of others is sacrilege and one and the same thing as giving human beings the authority which belongs to Christ.²

It will be of value now to look into Locke's conception of truth, having now clearly in mind Locke's theory of ideas, his method of examining the extent and validity of human knowledge, and his personal attitude toward the Scriptures as well his plan for interpreting them.

Locke's Conception of Truth

Locke's entire life was a testimony of his devotion to the cause of discovering and applying the truth. There are many statements in his works which bear witness to this fact, as well as many instances in his life. His own definition of truth is found in the chapter, Of Truth in General³, in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Truth must be in the form of a mental or verbal proposition or idea, for it is only thus that man

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1. Locke: Op. cit., pp. xix, xx

2. Ibid, p. xxi

3. Locke: Philosophical Works, vol. 2, pp. 181 - 188.

thinks. Real truth is arrived at when the mental or verbal idea in the mind agrees with the actuality of things. This is the strict sense of truth. Locke added the definitions of two other sorts of truth:

"1. Moral truth, which is speaking of things according to the persuasion of our minds, though the proposition we speak agree not to the reality of things.

"2. Metaphysical truth, which is nothing but the real existence of things, conformable to the ideas to which we have annexed their names. This, though it seems to consist in the very being of things, yet, when considered a little nearly, will appear to include a tacit proposition, whereby the mind joins that particular thing to the idea it had before settled with the name to it."¹

In speaking thus of moral truth, Locke was referring to the arbitrary moral laws of state and opinion already considered.² When he mentioned the reality of things he had in mind his distinction between the real and nominal essence of things.³

Would Locke consider divine revelation still another type of truth or is it, in the light of Locke's writings, the agreement of idea to the reality of things? In view of all that has been considered with respect to Locke's more important views, it seems that divine revelation comes under his primary definition of truth, but truth which, not being discoverable by reason, is brought directly to the mind of man by God.

Locke seems to come to the somewhat paradoxical position that divine revelation must be proven. However, he allows for such a proof in the form of evidence of physical nature provided by God; as well as in the form of reason.

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1. Locke: op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 187, 188

2. Cf., ante, p. 72

3. Cf., ibid, p. 38

The Educational Views of Locke Relating to a Philosophy
of Christian Education

Most of Locke's educational views have to do with method, but his underlying attitude toward education emerges unmistakably from the methods found explained in Some Thoughts Concerning Education. Members of every type of educational thought agree as to his educational principles, although they are widely at variance in the interpretation of his philosophy, as has been noted previously.¹ His opinion was that education has a composite aim of assisting the pupil's growth in virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning in this order of importance. This presupposes taking the utmost care of the body, on the premise of Locke's theory of a sound mind in a sound body. To Locke the main aim of education was the formation of character. This has been stated frequently as the aim of Christian education. It was in this that Locke differed from those educators of his day who considered education as formal instruction. He believed firmly in disciplinary education but as a process in the development of the virtuous, wise and learned gentleman.

It is scarcely fair to judge Locke's educational philosophy solely on the basis of Some Thoughts Concerning Education, which was written in the light of a particular problem, the education of his friend's son. But these deductions, together with the appraisals of his views concerning idea, human knowledge, the Scriptures, and truth, will be used to discover, as nearly as possible, the philosophy of Christian education which was implicit in John Locke's writings.

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1. Cf., ante, p. 30 and p. 53

2. The Philosophy of Christian Education Implicit in These Views.

Certain significant principles will emerge if the development of Locke's thinking as revealed in his writings is reconsidered in the light of his avowed purpose in undertaking the study contained in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding. The statement of his aim was: ". . . before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our abilities, and see what objects our understandings were or were not fitted to deal with."¹ A further revelation of his purpose may be found in his proposed method of inquiry as stated at the outset of the Essay:

"First, I shall inquire into the original of those ideas which a man observes, and is conscious to himself he has in mind; and the ways whereby the understanding comes to be furnished with them.

"Secondly, I shall endeavor to show what knowledge the understanding hath by those ideas, and the certainty, evidence, and extent of it.

"Thirdly, I shall make some inquiry into the nature and grounds of faith, or opinion; whereby I mean that assent which we give to any proposition as true, of whose truth yet we have no certain knowledge; and here we shall have occasion to examine the reasons and degrees of assent."²

Upon the basis of these statements and the views of Locke which have been set forth in this study it is possible to state that certain principles were fundamental in the philosopher's thinking. His purpose was to discover how far it is worth while for people to inquire into the facts which pertain to life. He asked the question: "How far is the human understanding capable of going in the ⁱⁿvestigation of truth?"

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1. Locke, John. *Philosophical Works*, vol. 1, p. 118
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 130

His answer to his question, after minute investigation into many fields of knowledge, was in brief that, although the human understanding is incapable of knowing all things or the real essence of substances, it is capable of knowing anything that is useful for life, for the Creator has seen to this in His infinite wisdom.¹ Some facts are knowable only by revelation from God and must be taken on faith but even these are never contrary to reason, and are duly attested by God in some unmistakable way.² In other words, no truth is contrary to reason.

In his essay, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke lays down the principle that only that which will prove to be useful should be included in the school curriculum. This seems to be a narrow view and has been much criticised. In the light, however, of what Locke considers to be useful, namely, that truth which God sees fit to reveal, his view is very challenging.

Locke has been described so frequently as an empiricist, that it will be of value to consider this estimate of him. It is also important in arriving at a statement of his philosophy of Christian education.

John Dewey, in considering Leibniz's criticism of Locke, makes the following estimate:

"On the other hand, what of Locke? How about him who is the recipient of the criticism? . . . We are already . . . acquainted with Locke. This acquaintance, indeed, is not confined to those who have expressly studied Locke. His thought is an inheritance into which every English-speaking person at least is born. Only he who does not think escapes this inheritance. Locke did the work which he had to do so thoroughly that every

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1. Cf., ante, p.36

2. Cf., intra, pp. 40 - 43

Englishman who will philosophize must either build upon Locke's foundations, or with conscious purpose, clear the ground before building for himself. And it would be difficult to say that the acceptance of Locke's views would influence one's thoughts more than their rejection. . .

"But the fundamental principle of empiricism: its conception of intelligence as an individual possession; its idea of reality as something over against and distinct from the mind; its explanation of knowledge as a process of action and reaction between these separate things; its account of our inability to know things as they really are, - these principles are congenital with our thinking. They are so natural that we either accept them as axiomatic, or accuse those who reject them of metaphysical subtlety, or, staggered perchance by some of their results, give them up with an effort. But it is an effort, and a severe one; and there is none of us who can tell when some remnant of the conception of intelligence as purely particular and finite will catch him tripping. On the other hand, we realize much better than those who have behind them a Leibniz and a Kant, rather than a Locke and a Hume, the meaning and thorough-going necessity of the universality of intelligence. Idealism must be in some ways arbitrary and superficial to him who has not had a pretty complete course of empiricism."¹

The simplest definition of empiricism is that it is a philosophy which holds that all knowledge is derived from experience of the senses. Idealism, on the other hand, is the philosophy which holds that ideas are the only actuality and that life is the growth toward pure form or Mind, in the Platonic sense. Neither of these fully describes the attitude of John Locke. He seemed to hold a definitely empiric philosophy in his theory of the origin of ideas and in his opinion that there is a real and nominal essence of things. But he holds that only in this life are these things unknowable. In John Locke's thinking there is a future life. To his mind, idea and reality will become one in that future life. His paraphrase of part of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians will illustrate:

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¹ Dewey, John: Leibniz's New Essays Concerning the Human Understanding, pp. 67 - 69

"For the knowledge we have now in this state, and the explication we give of the Scripture, is short, partial and defective. But when, hereafter, we shall be got into the state of accomplishment and perfection, wherein we are to remain in the other world, there will no longer be any need of these imperfecter ways of information, whereby we arrive at but a partial knowledge here. Thus, when I was in the imperfect state of childhood, I talked, I understood, I reasoned after the imperfect manner of a child: but, when I came to the state and perfection of manhood, I laid aside those childish ways. Now we see but by reflection, the dim, and as it were, enigmatical representation of things: but then we shall see things directly, and as they are in themselves, as a man sees another, when they are face to face. Now I have but a superficial, partial knowledge of things; but then I shall have an intuitive, comprehensive knowledge of them, as I myself am known, and lie open to the face of superiour, seraphic beings, not by the obscure and imperfect way of deductions and reasoning."¹

In considering Locke as an empiricist, then, to which school of philosophy he belongs, some reservations must be made. He included in experience direct revelation from God, or he allowed for direct revelation from God aside from sensual experience? But in the last analysis, idea and reality will become one. With these reservations John Locke may be denominated an empiricist.

In making a statement of John Locke's philosophy of Christian education a few of the foregoing facts will be singled out in summary form. John Locke in his philosophy held that God is the Author of all reality. This thought of God as Creator would mean that Locke conceived of all life as religious and, indeed, Christian, for he accepted the entire Bible without question as inspired truth. Therefore in his philosophy of Christian education he would take account of all truth or knowledge as related to the task of Christian education. He would formulate his philosophy in the light of all the facts of life. As a Christian educator he might consider

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1. Locke, John: Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, pp.172,173
2. Cf., ante, p. 71

that he had a specific task, just as he did when he undertook the education of the sons of his friends, but he would not lose sight of life in the large.

He would make a reasonable approach to his task, for his belief was that God reveals Himself through the reason and in a reasonable way. His attitude would be fundamentally honest and he would hold no idea as sacred which he did not believe had been fully attested by God. It was this scientific or reasonable approach to Christianity itself which aroused so much antipathy to Locke in his day.

The ultimate aim toward which he would see the "educand" (to borrow Demiashevich's term) progressing would be sufficient understanding of truth or reality in this life to cause him to live virtuously, which means according to the true morality as revealed by God in His universe and in His inspired Word.

It might not be out of place further to define the philosophy of Christian education which was implicit in Locke's writings, by pointing out its lack in one respect. Idea and knowledge were so important to Locke in his manifold investigations that personality became proportionately unimportant. In his Thoughts Concerning Education, it is true, he advocated the utmost consideration for the individual. This was when he had an individual in mind, however. Generally he reduced man to a vague generality and ideas and knowledge took on character. The importance of Jesus Christ consisted rather in ideas about Him being correct than in the wonderful reality of Himself as a Person. This omission of feeling for the importance of personality left

his writings cold, lacking in power to move the heart as they did the intellect. The failure to conceive of Christ as living through the pages which sought to convey correct ideas about Him, caused his ideas to lack the dynamic which a true philosophy of Christian education requires.

This is not say that Locke was not taught by the living Christ, for he was so utterly given to the cause of truth that he must surely have received Christ's promise: "Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice."¹ His life bore testimony to his great devotion to Christ's cause. He proved in his relationships with his friends that he respected personality. This attitude, however, somehow did not carry over into his writings.

If a philosophy of Christian education is to be adapted to the present day out of John Locke's writings, this omission must not be made.

D. Summary

In the foregoing chapter a definition has been made of the term, "philosophy of Christian education", on the basis of an analytical definition of the expression, "philosophy of education". This was done in view of the fact that such a definition has not been discovered by the writer in the books on Christian education. Following a presentation of those views of John Locke which are considered most important to his philosophy of Christian education, a statement of this philosophy was made as derived from them. It will be the purpose in the next chapter to disclose the influence of John Locke's philosophy of Christian education and to make some suggestions as to its further application.

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1. John 18:37

CHAPTER V
THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN LOCKE'S
PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

A. Introduction

In order to disclose the contribution of the philosophy of Christian education found to be implicit in John Locke's writings, it will be the purpose in this chapter to relate what is known to be John Locke's own application of this philosophy. Its effect upon his day will be noted before considering its importance to Christian education up to the present time. Some suggestions will then be made as to how this philosophy of Christian education might be further applied by leaders in Christian education today.

B. John Locke's Application of His Philosophy
of Christian Education

Locke's aims as a Christian educator could be stated in very much the same manner as his aims as an educator, since in general education he had in mind also some Christian education.¹ In general education he claimed to strive for virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning, in that order of importance. Virtue and wisdom or truth would probably be his primary aims as they were for his personal life.

Examples of Locke's application of his philosophy of Christian education in method are naturally somewhat limited, since there was no profession of Christian education in his day. There is abundance of material, however, suggesting how he would have ap-

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1. Cf., ante, pp. 55 - 57

plied this philosophy. His opinion that the understandings of children were better adapted for the comprehending of some portions of the Bible than others is an example of his taking into account all the facts of life in teaching. His application of the "reasonable" approach to the Bible both through a minute examination of the content of the Christian message (in Reasonableness of Christianity, A Commonplace Book to the Holy Bible, and A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul) and through a carefully worked out method of Bible study is very suggestive as to methods of building correct fundamental attitudes toward Christianity. It is also suggestive of methods for building curricula in Christian education.

C. The Effect of John Locke's Philosophy of Christian Education on His Day

It is difficult to imagine a society without church schools for the laity but this situation existed in Locke's day. With the possible exception of the single Sunday School mentioned in the introduction to this study¹ there were no known Sunday Schools at the time. Therefore Locke had no centers of Christian education in which to carry out his views with respect to Christian education. A few of his ideas concerning Christian education which were suggested in Some Thoughts Concerning Education were doubtless carried out by himself and his friends but there is no record of their results.

Locke's opinions were the subject of much contention in his day, however. This was particularly true of those ideas which concerned Christianity. His theory of ideas and his reasonable

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1. Cf, ante, p. 3

approach to the Bible and the theological conceptions to be formed by studying it were both subjects of much contention. His frank berating of the educators and other Christian leaders of his day for their loose thinking probably gained him many enemies although it does not appear that they criticised him specifically for this. As has already been mentioned, Oxford banned his writings from its curriculum. His disciples also were numerous. These were principally among the laity of the Church, particularly the intelligentsia of the time. The sensation which his ideas caused no doubt contributed largely to their influence down to the present time.

D. The Permanent Effect of John Locke's Philosophy of Christian Education

President Eliot of Harvard makes the following statement concerning Locke: "Almost all the main lines of the intellectual activity of the eighteenth century in England lead back to Locke and the skepticism of Hume is the logical development of the principles laid down in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding."¹ This observation is generally conceded and so should be considered. Locke claimed that his principles would avert skepticism.² It is the opinion of the present writer that there is an element of truth in both of these ideas. Skepticism need not have been the outgrowth of the Lockian point of view. His ideas regarding the importance of the use of reason, however, caught the fancy of many and this, along with his conception of the source of ideas in experience, was pressed

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1. Eliot, Charles W., Ed. The Harvard Classics, vol. 37, p. 4
2. Cf., Locke, John: Philosophical Works, vol. 1, p. 132

to the exclusion of those opinions of his regarding faith and revelation which were the spiritual brakes applied by Locke to stop the vehicles of his thought from running into skepticism. It does not seem fair to say that the logical outcome of Locke's views as taken in the whole would be skepticism. But it is undeniable that the application of some of his ideas to the exclusion of others has produced skepticism. This is important in connection with this study, for skepticism is not a desirable outcome in Christian education, and, as has been pointed out, was not conceived by Locke as a desirable outcome.

Robert Hebert Quick comes to the heart of the question when he says: "Locke refused the traditional system and appealed from tradition to reason."¹ And in spite of the misapplications which have been made of his appeal to the reason, his influence on the field of Christian education because of his attitude in this respect has been incalculable.

Christian apologetics have been greatly affected and it is likely that many of the man-made encrustations have been cut away from the Christian doctrine as a result of Locke's fundamental attitude. The linguistic, archeological and comparative investigations into the background of the Scripture may be traceable to this reasonable approach of Locke to the Bible.² These have resulted in what is popularly known as "higher criticism", but they have also made it possible to establish the authority of the Scriptures in the minds and hearts of those spirituall de-

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1. Quick, Robert Hebert, *Essays on Educational Reformers*, (Appleton Edition) p. 218

2. Cf., ante, pp. 76 - 79

scendents of Locke whose intellects must be satisfied as well as their hearts. It has been discovered that in intellectual warfare the Word of God is the "sword of the Spirit". Locke put forth the idea that Christianity will stand under mental scrutiny. The years since have proved that it becomes more majestic under such scrutiny.

What has this done to the field of Christian education? It has effected a change of attitudes. This is evident from the above analogy. There other ways, however, more directly connected with the educational task of the Christian Church. Teachers are more charitable generally toward the questions of their pupils. Questions which are honest, no matter what they concern, are not sacrilegious and should be given careful consideration. This attitude, though comparatively recent among Christian educators, is, it is believed, an outgrowth of the age of reason in religion. Toleration amongst Christian educators for the points of view of each other is another outgrowth of this approach.

Recourse to the Scriptures on their own authority is a method of approach which has affected some institutions of higher learning¹ and has found some entrance into lay practice. To read the Scriptures in the practical way suggested by Locke was a new idea in his day. Both the topical method of study by interpreting Scripture in the light of Scripture; and the method of reading and studying each book of the Bible as a unit, known

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1. The writer is acquainted with three such institutions: The Union Theological Seminary and the Assembly's Training School, both of Richmond, Virginia; and the Biblical Seminary in New York. She has had the privilege of profiting by this method of study at the latter one.

today as the study of the Bible by books, were introduced by Locke. These methods, particularly the latter, are slow in gaining their way as a general educational procedure. Locke would have recommended them for youth and those older. It is not clear what age he meant by youth. From his discussion on Travel in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, it might be gathered that to him youth meant anywhere from fourteen to twenty or twenty-one years old.¹

It is not the present purpose to examine all of Locke's educational views which have affected the field of Christian education. His utilitarian method of selecting curricula and outlining methods deserves consideration, however, because it represents a fundamental conception in his philosophy, as has been noted.² This is reflected in the widely followed idea of group and panel discussions and topical arrangements of lesson materials for children and young people, in particular, according to outstanding life problems of the age group. Locke would have disapproved heartily of the many so-called discussions on "live" topics which, because lacking in serious purpose, and utterly unprepared for, are so fruitless. But he would be wholly in sympathy with the attempt to discover the solution of life problems by conference, and also with the effort made by Christian educators to encourage careful research into problems before discussions take place. Thus far has Locke's utilitarianism found an entree in the field of Christian education. It is believed that this attitude as represented by Locke deserves broader application. This will be considered.

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1. Cf., Locke, John: Some Thoughts Concerning Education, in The Harvard Classics, vol. 37, p. 192

2. Cf., Ante, p. 83 and p. 86

E. John Locke's Philosophy of Christian Education
as It Might be Applied Further Today

The principles and methods here presented as derivable from John Locke's philosophy of Christian education do not appear to be followed generally in Christian education today although there are, no doubt, instances in which each of them may be in practice. It is not the intention to set forth all the possible applications of his philosophy of Christian education but rather to make an analogy which will be suggestive of further applications which could be made.

The principle that all truth or knowledge is related to the task of Christian education¹ would be rightly applied in taking into consideration what the "educand" is learning in the home, the secular school, and various clubs, in fact, under all the various influences of his environment. This would result in a careful specialization in the church school along the lines of its own task, as contrasted with the present-day wide spread attempt of the church school to compete, often with a ludicrous inefficiency that brings Christian education as a profession into disrepute, with organizations which are training amateurs in many secular fields. The church school would not be so much a general educational institution as a definitely Christian educational institution. It would utilize such knowledge as comes to it through its lay members and those of its Christian educators who had had special training in other fields but only as subordinate to and contributing to its main task. In Locke's day such Christian

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1. Cf., ante, pp. 85, 86

education as a pupil received was a part of his general education. Today the fields of secular and Christian education are set apart in the organization of the state and they must be unified meaningful for the pupil upon the same principle but by different methods from those suggested by John Locke.

Of the examples of his reasonable approach to Christianity, the most outstanding is his recommendation that the Scriptures themselves be examined in preference to studying about them. He held the Word of God to be largely its own interpreter if read correctly and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. If this were applied generally in the field of Christian education today, it is believed it would have far-reaching results. In fact, this has proved to be the case in those instances in which it has been done.

In the curriculum for the church school in the local church, the pupil would be encouraged to read the Bible for himself, particularly if he were fourteen years of age or older, according to Locke's theory. It is the opinion of the writer that this practice might also be carried on with respect to children¹, but with Locke's selective principle kept in mind.

In the curricula of the institutions for the training of the ministry and Christian educators, the Bible itself would be the central text from which theology, Christian apologetics and other opinions would be gathered.

Locke's utilitarian point of view would also receive a broader application. His idea that all that God sees fit to reveal is useful somewhat approaches the principle that all truth

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1. cf. The All Bible Graded Series, The Scripture Press, Chicago, Illinois.

should be considered as related to the task of Christian education. But this brings out the mystical side of Locke's practicality. If carried to its logical conclusion, this principle would cause Christian educators to approach their task in great humility. Emphasis would be laid upon the practice of prayer, by the pupils as well as by the Christian educators, as a means of discovering right attitudes and methods in every day living as well as in the curricula of the Church school.

If these principles of John Locke were carried out, with the recognition of Christ's personal presence in the task and with the Christian educator and "educand", it is believed that Christian education today would be a much greater power.

F. Summary

It has been the general purpose of this chapter to present various ways in which the philosophy of Christian education which has been discovered in John Locke's works has been made applicable to the educational task of the Christian church. It was found that Locke made some application of his philosophy in the field of Christian education, although there was no such profession, strictly speaking, in his day. The far-reaching effect of his views upon later generations has been considered and finally ways were suggested by which his principles might be applied further with good results.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIÓN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. Problem and Procedure Re-stated

The problem of this study has been to discover the contribution which John Locke made to Christian education. In the consideration of Locke as a person of importance in many fields in his day, and especially as a philosopher, psychologist, educator and Christian thinker, it has been revealed that his most important contribution to Christian education is to be found in the field of philosophy. A philosophy of Christian education, implicit in his writings, was then discovered by means of a careful analysis of his philosophical, psychological and educational views, together with their application by Locke in his books on Christianity.

John Locke's own application of his philosophy was noted, as well as its effect upon his day. It was found that there was meager evidence of the influence of this philosophy on the educational task of the Church in his day in view of the fact that there was no profession comparable to that of Christian education as it is understood today, but that his philosophy and Christian ideas had far-reaching effect. Finally, the permanent effect of John Locke's philosophy of Christian education was considered, and possible further application of it to the present situation suggested.

B. Summary of John Locke's Contribution to Christian Education

It is the opinion of the writer that many of the educational methods of John Locke may be applied with good results in

Christian education, but that they are only the examples of a much wider possible application of the philosophy set forth in the foregoing pages. Therefore, though a great contribution, these methods are not held to be the chief contribution of John Locke to Christian education, but rather his philosophy.

John Locke's philosophy of Christian education may be summarized under the following headings: his approach to problems in the light of all the facts of life; his opinion of the interdependence of faith, reason and revelation; his uncompromising loyalty to truth; and his utilitarian approach to education.

It has been disclosed that some of the effects of these views have been: a new approach to Christian apologetics; a new attitude toward the Scriptures and a new method of studying them; new attitudes of tolerance amongst Christian educators and on the part of these leaders toward their pupils; and a utilitarian "life approach" in discussion groups and problem studies of various types.

Possible further applications of his philosophy were suggested as follows: Church schools in general becoming more conscious of their specialized task, in the light of ^{all} the facts of life; a more extended use of the Bible itself, in the ways suggested by Locke, for Church school curricula; a wider practice of prayer in the conduct of the educational task of the Church.

C. Conclusion

Dr. Herman Harrell Horne, of New York University, has aptly entitled his recent book, The Philosophy of Christian Education, indicating that there is but one philosophy of Christian education,

namely, that of the Founder of Christianity. It is the opinion of the present writer that this is true. Jesus has the unique position of being both the Originator and the Embodiment of the philosophy of Christian education.

It is an almost unanswerable question to ask if John Locke's philosophy of Christian education was also that of Jesus. But one may ask, not only of John Locke's philosophy, but also of his own or that of any other person, "Does it approximate the philosophy of Jesus Christ?" For Jesus is the Standard one approaches in awe as he asks this question.

It is believed by the present writer that the glaring discrepancy between the philosophy of Christian education implicit in Locke's writings and that presented in the person of Jesus Christ is in the fact that John Locke has been too engrossed in the facts about Christ and Christianity which he conceived as truth to be sufficiently aware of the matchless Personality of the ever-present Christ, Who is Truth. Locke, as well, failed to value sufficiently human personality. This grave omission caused Locke's writings to lack imagination and feeling, in spite of their amazing comprehensiveness.

The philosophy of Christian education implicit in John Locke's writings, with a due recognition of personality, and, in particular, the presence of the Person of the Living Christ, would at least approach the wonderful philosophy of Christian education found in Christ. With this addition, the contribution of John Locke's philosophy of Christian education would be far-reaching.

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