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ICarbs, Volume 2, Issue 2

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ICarbs

VOL. II, NO. 2

FALL, 1975

Library of Living Philosophers / Paul A. Schilpp
 Albert Einstein / Paul C. Rasmussen
 Philip E.B. Jourdain / Elizabeth R. Eames
 Henry Nelson Wieman / John A. Broyer
 Litchfield, Illinois / William F. Morton
 Robert Graves / John W. Presley
 Open Court Press / Claudia McKenzie Foster

$\nabla \cdot \vec{E} (= \nabla \cdot \vec{g}) = 0$ 2.

From a purely formal ^{point of view} standpoint, however, there ^{is no reason} exists no ~~reason~~ for this.

It appears most natural to me now, ~~therefore~~, to proceed from the integr^{al} ~~which~~ ^{is over} ~~is varied~~ ^(as the integral to be varied)

~~is varied by~~ $\int g_{ik} [\nabla_i \nabla_k - \nabla_i^2 + \nabla_k^2 - \frac{(\nabla \cdot \nabla)}{w}] \frac{1}{w} + \frac{w_{,i}}{w} \nabla_i] (w \sqrt{-\text{Det } g})$ ^{From the curvature}

It is easy to deduce that g is a scalar density.

Furthermore ~~the equation (9) follows from the variation~~ ~~of~~ $\int g_{ik}$ which expresses the natural definition for $\frac{\delta \int g_{ik}}{\delta g_{ik}}$ in dependence upon the g_{ik} .

Moreover, g ~~does not~~ ^{is not} change its value, if one simultaneously replaces g_{ik} by g_{ki} and ∇_i^2 by ∇_i^2 . ^{this is an expression for the fact that the [law] field is symmetric}

~~regarding the sign of the electric charge.~~ ^{regarding the sign of the electric charge.}

The variation ~~of~~ $\int g_{ik}$ furnishes in place of (9) and (10) the equation

$\nabla_i R_{ik} - \frac{1}{2} g_{ik} \nabla^2 U = \dots$ (B) E

where $\nabla^2 U = \nabla_i \nabla^i U$ and $\nabla_i R_{ik}$ has the same meaning (indicated on page 93) and is given ^{by the term} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ brackets in $\int g_{ik}$.

It is tempting to add the equation (B) to the ~~system~~ system of equations ^{thus obtained.}

(9), (B) Nevertheless, and in spite of much effort, I have not succeeded in finding ^{of}

By variation with respect to (10) equation

ICarbS*

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*ICarbS is the National Union Catalog symbol for Morris Library, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

The reproduction on the cover of this issue of *ICarbS* is of an Albert Einstein typescript, with emendations in various hands. It is the first page of his "Additional Remarks" prepared for the autobiographical portion of the Library of Living Philosophers' second edition of *Albert Einstein: Philosopher—Scientist*. It presents a challenge for editors and typesetters as well as for, probably, a few readers. *ICarbS* thanks Dr. Otto Nathan, Trustee of the estate of Albert Einstein, for his kind permission to print the letter from Einstein to Paul A. Schilpp which appears on page 98.

We also thank Robert Graves for his permission to quote from his manuscripts and poems. And William F. Morton for his thoughtfulness, first of all, to save the early Litchfield photographs he acquired with his business and, next, to present them to SIU-C for preservation and the instruction of future generations.

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The Library of Living Philosophers From a Personal History

Paul A. Schilpp

When I was chairman of the Department of Philosophy at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California, our Philosophy Club there, on the evening of 8 March 1933, brought Professor F. C. S. Schiller, formerly of Oxford University, to speak to us. The title of his lecture was "Must Philosophers Disagree?"

Professor Schiller's main point that evening was that the philosophic public is not inquisitive enough, that, by a sedate (or professorial) convention, it does not ask philosophers what they mean, or why on earth they have written as they have. He pointed out that philosophers are peculiar people, who "excel ordinary folk quite as much in the oddities of their idiosyncrasies as in the profundities of their thought," and that, when two philosophers engage in controversy, they hardly ever understand each other or even try to.

A further bar to fruitful discussion in philosophy, Professor Schiller said, is the curious etiquette which apparently taboos the asking of questions about a philosopher's meaning while he is still alive. This certainly preserved the vitality of many insoluble questions and "interminable controversies which fill the histories of philosophy, and which could have been ended at once by asking the living philosophers a few searching questions," he concluded.

It was while listening to Schiller develop those ideas that something akin to what became the Library of Living Philosophers was born, at least as an idea in my mind. The idea itself was clear enough: give a great philosopher an opportunity both to explain himself further and to reply to his critics while he is still alive. There could not be the slightest doubt about the truth of what Schiller had been saying. What seemed incomprehensible then—and still does now—is that nothing had ever been done about it.

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Of course, Schiller was too wildly optimistic in his stated belief that philosophical controversies would be settled by asking the philosophers a few questions. If, as Schiller had insisted, philosophers are incapable of understanding each other, it is, obviously, impossible to succeed through the question-and-answer process. The past thirty-seven years of the Library of Living Philosophers have further demonstrated this impossibility beyond any question—so much so, in fact, that I am not sure that the series would ever have come into existence if in 1933 or 1938 I had known what I know now.

In any case, it was not until four years later, after I had moved to Northwestern University, that I dared to take my dream to anyone else. With it I went to Northwestern's president, Walter Dill Scott, and told him what I had in mind, namely a quarterly journal in which each issue would be devoted to the discussion of the ideas of one still-living, great philosopher who would be called on by his philosophical colleagues to "answer a few searching questions." President Scott was sufficiently interested in the idea that he called in Mr. Thomas Gonser, the university's Director of Development (the euphonious title for the university's fund-raiser) and asked him to get busy and find the necessary financial support which would make the creation and development of such a journal possible.

Naturally, every time I ran into Mr. Gonser on the campus I asked him what success he was having. His laconic reply each time was identical: "None at all." Finally, after more than a year had passed, he answered my endlessly repeated query with a remark I shall never forget. He said, "It is easier to get five million dollars for cancer research than fifty cents for philosophy." Actually, I never even got the fifty cents, not, at least, until 1967, almost thirty years later, by which time I was at SIU-C.

Back then, however, in early spring 1938, I discussed my dream with the dean of Northwestern's Graduate School, the noted economist, James Washington Bell. He recommended that I go to New York and see if I could interest one of the foundations in my project, the significance of which, he felt, would be self-evident. I pointed out that I had no money for such a trip (this, after all, was still in the midst of the Great Depression), and so he immediately promised me one hundred dollars and asked the president's office to make an appointment for me with the vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation of America in New York. Spring vacation saw me on my

way to New York (with the hundred dollars and not one dollar more). My first visit with the Carnegie Corporation lasted no more than ten minutes at the most. I was told that the corporation never made any grants to anyone at any time for anything without the prior approval of the project by Dr. Waldo G. Leland, the permanent secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington. That ended my interview.

The choice before me was simple: either go back to Evanston without having accomplished anything or else make the hundred dollars from the Graduate School stretch for an additional round-trip to Washington. I called Dr. Leland's office from New York and managed to get an appointment with him for the following forenoon. I then determined to try to catch my first victim—so to speak—John Dewey, the undisputed dean of American philosophers, who even then was in his seventy-seventh year and who, as luck would have it, lived in New York.

But since I had, after all, nothing tangible to offer Dewey—the whole thing at that point being not much more than a vague dream in my mind—I realized that I would certainly invite an immediate negative reply from him if I came to him with my perhaps harebrained idea. Consequently, I decided to enlist the personal aid of one of Dewey's closest friends and disciples, Professor William Heard Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University. I called Kilpatrick's home and asked if I could come out to Morningside Heights to see him, and he kindly agreed. Surprisingly enough, Kilpatrick seemed immediately to take to the idea and offered to call Dewey right then and there, to ask him if we could come to see him that afternoon. Fortunately, Dewey was at home, and he invited us to come for tea at four o'clock.

Kilpatrick and I spent the rest of our time laying our campaign plans. I suggested that our chances of getting Dewey to agree to be the first philosopher of an as yet entirely nebulous project would be greatly enhanced if, after I tried to explain the nature of the undertaking, I would then let Kilpatrick carry the ball—let him do the persuading, if persuasion should prove to be necessary. And, believe me, it was necessary. Dewey by no means fell all over himself to agree to be the first philosopher in this new venture. True, he was kindness and courtesy personified; but he knew almost nothing about me, and the project itself was still entirely up in the air,

inasmuch as I had as yet no assurance of any financial aid from anyone. But, before we left, Kilpatrick had succeeded in persuading Dewey to go along with me in this new venture.

After leaving Dewey, I briefly consulted Kilpatrick on his suggestions concerning possible contributors. It should be emphasized at this point that one editorial prerogative which I have never surrendered in these past thirty-seven years is that of inviting the contributors to each of the volumes in this series, although I have, of course, never shied away from availing myself of the helpful advice of knowledgeable scholars. As the editor finally responsible, I could not do otherwise. Consequently, whatever serious omissions may be found in the series can be laid at my doorstep.

In this connection it is interesting that the person who was most scrupulous in this regard was the great Albert Einstein. He emphatically refused to have anything at all to do with the selection of any contributors to our Einstein volume. And he was, of course, quite right. However, not all the philosophers have been as perspicacious in this regard. It also is true that, in some specific instances, I have myself asked for advice from the respective philosopher.

Back to the story. With John Dewey having at least tentatively agreed to be the first "victim," I took the earliest train the next morning to Washington and a taxi there to the ACLS office and Dr. Leland. It did not take me long to understand why Carnegie's vice-president had said they never approved any project without Dr. Leland's okay. No person with whom I had discussed my plans had brought to it the immediate understanding, comprehension, and keen insight which it received at once from Dr. Leland. If he kept from immediate, outright approval and restrained his enthusiasm for the project, it was because he was not, after all, a professional philosopher. But he was so impressed by the idea that he forthwith arranged a luncheon date for us with Professor William A. Hammond, who had become advisor in the philosophy section of the Library of Congress after his retirement from Cornell University. For me that was doubtless one of the most auspicious lunches I have ever had. We talked for almost two hours, and one upshot of that discussion probably almost literally saved not merely the prospective Library of Living Philosophers, but perhaps my own life.

I had been dreaming (and this is the right word here) of a

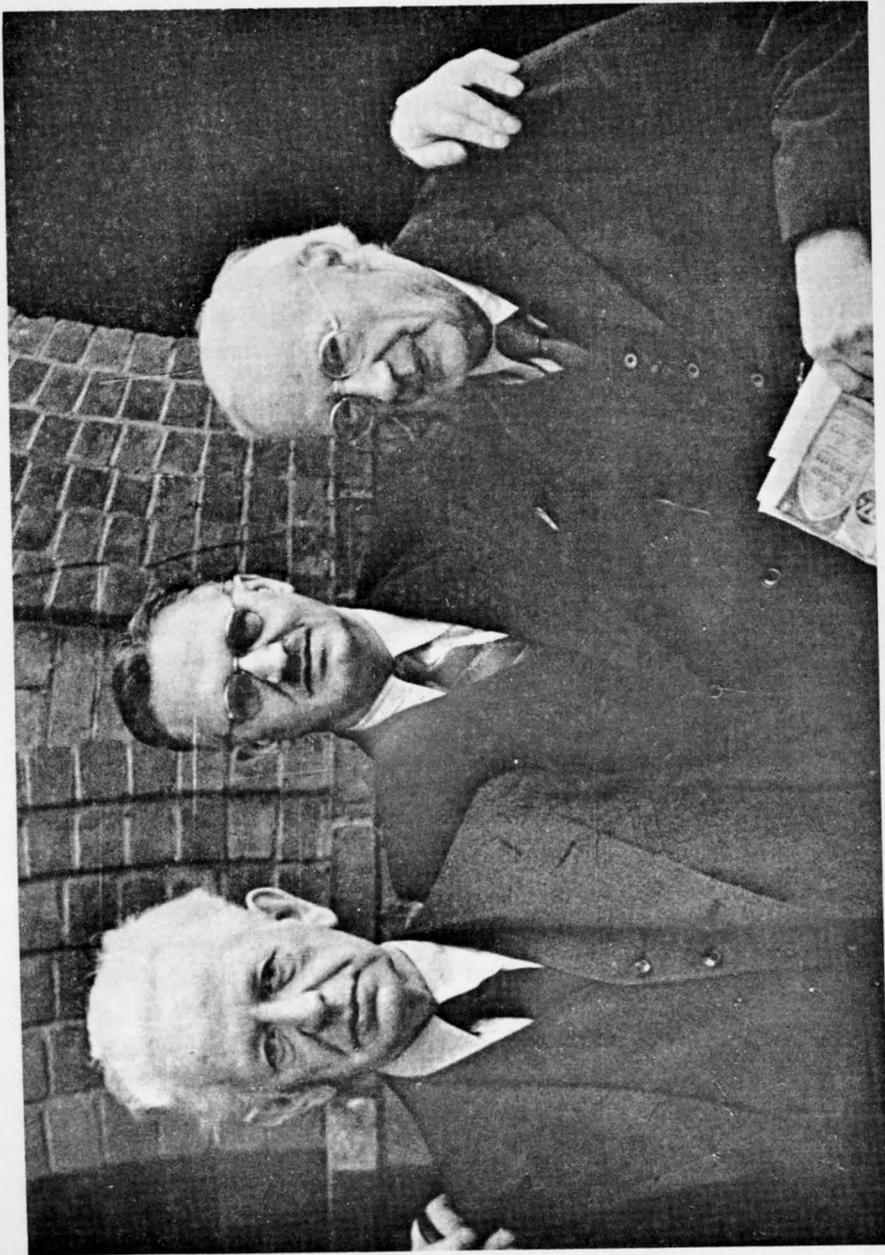
philosophical *quarterly*. Imagine what would have happened had I tried to do four times a year what we are now lucky to get out every three or four years. Drs. Leland and Hammond convinced me almost at once that what I was aiming at required the permanency of book form, rather than the ephemeral journal. Aside from this one change, both scholars approved the project enthusiastically, and Dr. Leland promised to call the Carnegie Corporation in New York the same afternoon.

Back in New York the next morning, I visited the Carnegie Corporation again and received a much more gracious reception. At the same time, I was told at once that this just was not the kind of project which the corporation was in the habit of supporting. Moreover, no member of the corporation's staff was authorized to make a commitment to any new project without the approval of the corporation's entire board of directors. This meant that I would have to wait six or eight weeks for a decision.

Thus, armed with the promised cooperation of Dewey, with the professional approval of Drs. Leland and Hammond, but as yet with no guarantee of financial support, I went back to Evanston—still on that same hundred dollars. Without financial backing of any kind, I did not even dare to invite the first possible contributors to the projected Dewey volume. After all, letters require stationery, postage, and secretarial help, none of which I had.

Finally, late in the spring of 1938, word came from the Carnegie Corporation that their board had approved the project and had awarded it a grant of \$2,500 for the purpose of initiating the projected Library of Living Philosophers, the title Drs. Leland, Hammond, and I had agreed on for the series. However, the grant contained both a limitation and a warning. The limitation was that the money was "solely for editorial purposes"; i.e., not one cent of the grant could be used for financing actual publication of the series. The warning amounted to this: "Don't come back for any more grants as this is a type of project which the corporation does not ordinarily support!"

Thus, whereas I now had something in hand with which I could at least proceed to invite contributors to the first (and perhaps even to a second) volume, no funds were in sight at all for actual publication. This problem was finally solved when Northwestern University's administration agreed to foot the bill for publication on



Ernst Cassirer, Paul Schilpp, and G. E. Moore. Early 1940s.

a personal loan basis, on the condition that I agree to return income received from the sale of the books to the university until the loans were paid in full. Northwestern University Press was not yet in existence (it might be added that, in the meantime, a Northwestern University Press has come and gone, whereas the Library of Living Philosophers still is very much a going concern), and the copyright on each volume in the series then and since has been taken out in the name of the Library of Living Philosophers, Inc., which was formally organized in 1947 as a not-for-profit corporation.

At present there are ten persons on the Library's Board of Directors, six of whom are philosophers, with the editor being also, *ex officio*, president of the corporation. Shortly after incorporation we also were successful in our application to the government for tax exemption for our own operation as well as for any gifts which might come to the Library of Living Philosophers by private or corporate donors. This fact has been noted in our volumes for more than twenty-eight years, and up to now has resulted in one \$1.00 gift.

Not until the Einstein volume, the seventh in the series, was the editor finally able to pay off the publication costs to Northwestern University. In the case of the Einstein, I had more than doubled the print-order for the first edition to five thousand copies—all of which were sold out within ten months of publication.

Then, in the autumn of 1950, the Tudor Publishing Company of New York offered the Library an acceptable contract and became the official publishers. The collaboration with Tudor lasted for almost a decade, until after their publication of the C. D. Broad volume, when they became dissatisfied with what they considered unreasonably small sales and asked to be relieved of their contract. Meanwhile the manuscript of the Carnap volume languished in their offices for more than fifteen months. Finally, on 30 May 1961, the Board of Directors authorized me to enter into and formally sign the contract offered the Library of Living Philosophers by the important philosophical publishing house, Open Court of LaSalle, Illinois. That contract is supposed to run at least to May 1981 and can be cancelled by either side only on three years' advance notice. It also provides that all volumes of the Library of Living Philosophers will be kept in print at all times. The first volume to bear the Open Court imprint was *The Philosophy of Rudolf Carnap* (1963), and there

have been three more since. Our tie-up with Open Court has been one of the best things that has ever happened to this project.

The Carnegie grant of 1938 had finally made possible an actual beginning on the project. I could print letterheads and envelopes, buy postage stamps, pay for long-distance telephone calls, and, most important of all, finally hire some part-time secretarial help with the correspondence (which by now has filled more than seven filing cabinet drawers, to say nothing of additional boxes of correspondence and manuscripts on deposit in SIU-C's Morris Library). At no time before 1967 were we able to pay more than a maximum of sixty dollars per month for secretarial help. Fortunately, when we started in the early summer of 1938, wages and salaries were not anywhere near their present-day level. Otherwise I doubt that we could have survived at all. (Only two years before that time I had joined the Northwestern University faculty at an annual salary of \$2,000.)

With this secretarial help I now began to send out letters of invitation to prospective contributors to our first, the John Dewey, volume. If my memory serves me right, with the exception of Hu Shih, China's Ambassador to the United States, I received not a single rejection from any philosopher or educator whom I invited to contribute an explanatory and/or critical essay.

Since this was a brand new project, I had to explain to each invited contributor what I had in mind. I had to make clear that what we were after, both from disciples of Professor Dewey and from his critics, was, on the one hand, as clear an explanation of what the writer understood Dewey to be saying, and, on the other hand, his own critical reaction to Dewey's work.

One of the difficulties with the project—although to this very day I do not understand why—is that, even after all these years, there are still some (and I dare say particularly among graduate students) who seem to think this is a series which gathers up previously published essays and reprints them. This is quite wrong. Virtually everything that has ever appeared in these volumes has been written at the editor's specific invitation to the individual contributor for this particular purpose and for this project only. These volumes are, therefore, in no sense mere "casebook collections." Every contributor from the beginning was told that he needed to send me two

copies of his essay when it was finished—one copy for editorial purposes and the other copy, after all the invited essays were in, for the respective philosopher, who read these essays and then produced what became Part III of each volume, the philosopher's reply to his disciples and critics. This is, of course, precisely the unique aspect of this series that had never been attempted before and which, since, has been imitated in both sociology and theology.

During the 1938 Christmas meetings of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association at Wesleyan University, I managed to secure the last needed contributors to the Dewey volume. As I approached one philosopher—who as yet, since he is still very much alive, as well as exceedingly productive philosophically, must remain nameless—and started to invite him to contribute what seemed to me an important chapter to our Dewey volume, he literally pushed me impatiently aside and let me know that he had no time to waste on writing for such an ill-conceived idea. After the volume appeared, this same philosopher was called upon to review the book in one of the philosophical journals. His review was the only negative one that I have seen to this day. The same scholar had, from my point of view at least, the doubtful honor of writing the only negatively critical reviews of the next few volumes of our Library as well.

By the time the usual Spring meeting of the Western Division of the American Philosophical Association came around in 1939, the Dewey volume was well on its way to final publication, which came just in time for Dewey's eightieth birthday on 20 October. Even though the concept of the Library of Living Philosophers was my own, I thought it might be helpful to the project to get a vote of approval for the undertaking from an official body of philosophers—and, what better body than my own Western Division of the APA? As briefly as I could, I stated the nature of the project at the annual business meeting. In asking the division to put their official stamp of approval on the project, I stated specifically and explicitly that the association would have no financial or other responsibilities or obligations in connection with the project; that I was asking only for their moral support and professional approval. Before any discussion of the motion could take place, the late Professor Morris Cohen (actually a member of the Eastern Division) arose and moved that

the motion to approve be tabled. Inasmuch as the weight of his reputation had no difficulty in getting a second to his motion, and inasmuch as a motion to table is not debatable, the chair had to call for a vote, which carried, as far as I was able to hear, by a large majority. After all, how many philosophers in that era would have dared to vote against Morris Cohen? After adjournment, I made a beeline to Cohen and simply asked him one question: "Why did you move to table?" I shall never forget his simple, one-sentence reply: "Who will be the person who chooses on whom there will be a volume in the projected Library?" And, since I happened to be not only the editor of the new venture, but also its inventor and instigator, the answer to Cohen's question was obvious. What, therefore, lay behind Cohen's motion, I leave to the imagination of the reader and to posterity.

To this day the Library of Living Philosophers has never had any formal or official approval from any philosophical society. It has had to stand on its own from the very beginning, and it still does. After the appearance of the Russell volume in 1944, which was the fifth in the series, I decided to set up an Advisory Board of distinguished American philosophers. In inviting them to become members of this board, I pledged myself never to announce a new volume on any philosopher who did not have *more* than just a bare majority vote of the members of the board. In this way, I could no longer be accused of having made the decision about a volume all by myself. The first six American philosophers I invited to serve the Library of Living Philosophers in this capacity were: from the East, Cornelius Krusé and Herbert W. Schneider; from the Midwest, Richard P. McKeon and Fritz Kaufmann; and from the Far West, George P. Adams and Arthur E. Murphy. Three of these have since died. They have been replaced by Herbert Feigl of Minnesota; Victor Lowe of Johns Hopkins; Sterling M. McMurrin of Utah; and Eugene Freeman of San Jose State, who is also the editor of the scholarly books division of Open Court Publishing Company. The votes of these distinguished American philosophers are, naturally, held in confidence. The Advisory Board's decision does not always agree with my own judgment; but, having established an Advisory Board, I am obliged to accept its advice.

From 1938 to the autumn of 1950, at which time Tudor took

over publication of the Library, I was not only editor of the series but also its publisher. Typesetting, printing, and binding I farmed out to George Banta Publishing Company, in Menasha, Wisconsin. But when I say that for the first twelve years I was my own publisher, I do not believe that anyone who has not himself been in this boat could possibly understand what this means. My task, far from being finished after I had delivered the completely edited manuscript into the hands of the printer, had just barely begun. I read every word of the two successive sets of galley proofs. (Indeed, in the case of the Carnap volume, the Freemans and I read seven sets of galley proofs.) After that came one, and sometimes more, sets of page proofs, which in turn was followed by the making of the index. (And I must interject here that I am proud of the very careful, precise, and detailed indexes which I have insisted on from the very first; usually they were made by other young scholars.)

After the book finally came off the press, the entire shipment of 2,200 copies would arrive at my office, where each book had to be readied for mailing, taken to the post office, its buyer billed (many times more than once), and the money collected (only to be paid back to Northwestern University). All this was handled with part-time secretarial help. It should, moreover, be kept in mind that my real occupation all this time was not that of editor, publisher, bookkeeper, biller, book-wrapper, or business agent; I was a full-time university professor who was then teaching many more hours per week than I do now, and who had to have time to see and talk with students besides. How I ever lived through those twelve years, I will never know.

I must return to the matter of outside financial support. After the original \$2,500 grant from the Carnegie Corporation was practically exhausted, I did what I had been expressly told not to do: I went back and asked for an additional grant. This application drew an immediate reprimand; I was reminded that I had been told not to come back for more money. But finally they relented and awarded the Library a second grant, this time for \$1,500. This was coupled with a doubly strong warning that this was absolutely the last support the Library of Living Philosophers could expect from Carnegie. Nevertheless, after it had been used up, I dared to do the unheard of and applied to them for a third time. Despite the prior warnings, they came back with a grant of \$2,000, which made a total

of \$6,000 from the Carnegie Corporation; this was all the Library ever received from any agency, except for SIU-C and, more modestly, Northwestern, until a recent grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The reputation which the Library of Living Philosophers achieved very quickly both here and abroad is perhaps best attested to by the fact that soon after our first few volumes had appeared, Cambridge University Press came to us and asked to be our sole publisher in Great Britain and the Commonwealth. After the appearance of the Lewis volume, however, that cooperation ceased because Cambridge wanted more of a discount on the sale of the books than Open Court was willing to give. Another demonstration of the Library's reputation abroad was the contract we made with the W. Kohlhammer Verlag of Stuttgart for the publication in German of the Einstein (1955), the Jaspers (1956), the Buber (1963), and the Cassirer (1966) volumes. But this contract has also gone by the boards, as Kohlhammer found the cost of translating our huge tomes financially prohibitive. The Einstein volume has also appeared in Italian (1958), as has the Carnap in two paperback volumes in 1974. The Einstein volume is scheduled to appear in Spanish this year if all goes well.

But, quite aside from the fact that the Library of Living Philosophers has always been in financial straits, editorially speaking, too, there have been problems, difficulties, and heartbreaks. Some of these are referred to in the prefaces to various volumes, as, for example, in the Whitehead and Cassirer volumes. Others are inferred from the lists of forthcoming volumes, where will be found titles mentioned as in progress but which have never appeared. And that in itself, of course, tells a story. On page fourteen of the Whitehead volume is a facsimile reproduction of a letter from the great French philosopher, Henri Bergson, dated 10 March 1939, written, that is to say, less than two years before his death. After expressing his enthusiastic approval of our Library, Bergson offers his great regrets that, because of the precarious condition of his health, he does not find it possible to cooperate in the production of a volume on his own philosophy. This was a great loss to philosophical posterity. As a matter of fact, the Whitehead volume itself proved to be a great disappointment to the editor because it lacks the customary reply by the philosopher himself, and this, in a sense, vitiates the entire intent

of the Library. But, once again the philosophical reading society has proved "not to be inquisitive enough"; for almost no one has uttered a word of criticism, which would have been entirely justified. The Cassirer case proved to be even worse; it is wanting not only the usual formal reply of the philosopher, but also the philosophical autobiography. The reason? Ernst Cassirer died before he had seen any of the contributed essays and before he had begun composing his autobiography. When the tragic news of his death reached me, I immediately wrote to all contributors to our projected Cassirer volume whose essays were not already in my possession announcing cancellation of the volume, whereupon I was deluged with protests from nearly all of the contributors accusing me of taking too narrow a reading of the word "Living" in the series title. I am afraid that the evidence proves that I allowed myself to be persuaded by their arguments. If "Living" were to be interpreted to mean that a thinker's *philosophy* is still alive, then we would have to have a volume in our Library for everyone from Plato on down. In retrospect and with the advantage of temporal perspective, I will frankly say that, considering the intent of the Library, both the Whitehead and the Cassirer volumes were probably mistakes since they do not carry the philosophers' replies.

There were five other great philosophers who had agreed to cooperate in volumes on their philosophies: the French philosopher, Leon Brunschvicg; the Italian idealist, Benedetto Croce; the French historian of philosophy, Etienne Gilson; the German neo-Kantian, Nicolai Hartmann; and the French Thomistic metaphysician, Jacques Maritain, who died in 1973. None of these projects saw completion. Two of the five, Leon Brunschvicg and Nicolai Hartmann, passed away shortly after they agreed to a volume on their philosophy. The Croce story actually is much sadder. After first agreeing to a volume, he reneged when the book had not come off the press six months later—at a time when even his own autobiography had not yet reached the editor.

In the case of the two Thomistic philosophers, Gilson and Maritain, although again each had originally agreed to a volume on his philosophy, each in turn withdrew approximately nine months after the written agreement. Maritain cited his failing health and the fact that he had six or seven books he wanted to write before it was too late.

Ludwig Wittgenstein died before I had the chance to talk with him. However, his pupils and disciples were unanimous in saying that he would have refused anyway. Indeed, a philosopher who had enjoined the people who were present at his lectures from even so much as letting anybody else learn about them was not the kind of man who would participate in an open, published discussion of his ideas.

Finally there is the omission of a volume on Martin Heidegger—an omission so outstanding and glaring that it is actually difficult to explain, for there is no denying that he wields more influence the world around today than any other contemporary philosopher. To have no volume on him in our series seems positively anomalous.

My Advisory Board approved a volume on Heidegger as long ago as 1946 or 1947. Consequently, when I was in Europe in 1948, I made it one of the first items of business to visit Heidegger. Since this was in the summer, he and Mrs. Heidegger were at their summer cottage up above Todtnauberg in the Black Forest—not too far, as a matter of fact, from the Black Forest city from which I had emigrated to the United States in 1913, Freudenstadt. The only way to get to Todtnauberg, unless you drove your own car, which I didn't have, was by public bus from Freiburg, where Heidegger was on the university faculty. This, too, was a bus trip of several hours. By the time I climbed the long hill to their cottage, it was getting to be twilight. I knocked at the door. A man with a Zipfelmütze (stocking-cap) on his head opened the door. After saying, "Good evening," I handed Heidegger (for it was he) my card. As soon as he saw my name, he screamed. (This is the only right word in English that I can think of. "Shouted" would not have been sufficiently accurate to describe the noise he made.) He screamed at me: "*Ich hab' Ihnen doch geschrieben Sie sollen nicht kommen!*" ("I wrote you not to come!") But I had received neither that nor any other previous word from him. (Six weeks later, in Madrid I think, Heidegger's card finally caught up with me.) Despite this inauspicious reception, he did have the courtesy then to invite me into the hut, where he introduced me to his wife. In the middle of the room stood a very long hardwood table. Heidegger sat down at one end of the table, and Mrs. Heidegger sat down at the other end. I was seated between them. Needless to say, in the light of my reception, I trod even more warily than I had planned to in presenting my invitation to Heidegger for a volume on his philosophy. But Heidegger's mind

had been firmly made up against it. Consequently, he scarcely even permitted me to try to explain the precise nature of the volumes in the Library. He simply kept on repeating, "*Nein, ich will absolut Nichts damit zu tun haben.*" All the while a play of eyes was going on between Professor and Mrs. Heidegger. Sitting as I was smack between them, I could not help seeing that. I'm sure I was not there over half an hour. But by the time I got up to leave, it had become quite dark outside, and, being unfamiliar with the area, I'm not sure where I would have landed if I had tried to grope my way down the mountainside. By now Heidegger was at least so courteous as to take me by an arm and lead me far enough until I came to a wider path and could begin to see some lights in the distance. Perhaps he was so willing to do this because it was a way to get rid of me.

That was the first and last time I saw Heidegger in person. Yet despite his adamant refusal, I would not give up on him. I got busy rounding up some of his closest friends and most devoted disciples and asked them to work on him, to try to get him to change his mind. After all, that was also in their own interest, because each of them would become contributors to the Heidegger volume. This process has been going on more or less ever since, now more than twenty-six years. I cannot number the different philosophers I have asked to help in this case. As late as 1958, I made a special trip to Freiburg once more, this time trying to get at Heidegger through one of his closest colleagues, Arnold Bergsträsser of the University of Chicago. He was going to be at Heidegger's home that very evening and promised once more to try to persuade him. The next morning Bergsträsser called me to say that he had come up against an absolute stone wall. There was nothing more he could do in the matter. To this day I do not know if Heidegger has ever even seen, let alone read, one of the Library volumes, though no less than four of them are now available in German. Whether familiarity with the Library would make any difference to him is anyone's guess. But if he dies without such a volume having come into existence, it will be a real tragedy for our undertaking.

Volume fifteen is to be devoted to the philosophy of Gabriel Marcel, the great Christian existentialist of the French Institute in Paris. That, in turn, is to be followed by volumes on Brand Blanshard, Georg Henrik von Wright, the Finnish logician, W. V. Quine of Harvard, and Jean-Paul Sartre, with whom on 30 June 1973 I had

the privilege of having a personal conversation in Paris, and who at that time not merely agreed to cooperate in the production of a volume on his philosophy in the Library of Living Philosophers, but wrote his agreement out in longhand and signed it in my presence.

When people ask me, "How many volumes will there be in the Library?" I usually respond by saying that, if there is still any humanity on this planet at that time, I rather imagine the Library will still be going strong five hundred years from now; even though by that time it surely will have another editor.

THE LIBRARY OF LIVING PHILOSOPHERS

1939. *The Philosophy of John Dewey.*
1940. *The Philosophy of George Santayana.*
1941. *The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead.*
1942. *The Philosophy of G. E. Moore.*
1944. *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell.*
1949. *The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer.* Also published in German.
1949. *Albert Einstein: Philosopher—Scientist.* Also published in German and Italian, and, in part, in Hungarian.
1952. *The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.*
1957. *The Philosophy of Karl Jaspers.* Also published in German.
1959. *The Philosophy of C. D. Broad.*
1963. *The Philosophy of Rudolf Carnap.* Also published in Italian.
1967. *The Philosophy of Martin Buber.* Also published in German, and, in part, in Japanese.
1968. *The Philosophy of C. I. Lewis.*
1974. *The Philosophy of Karl Popper.* Two volumes.

VOLUMES IN PREPARATION

- The Philosophy of Gabriel Marcel.*
The Philosophy of Brand Blanshard.
The Philosophy of Georg Henrik von Wright.
The Philosophy of W. V. Quine.
The Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre.

Einstein and the Library of Living Philosophers

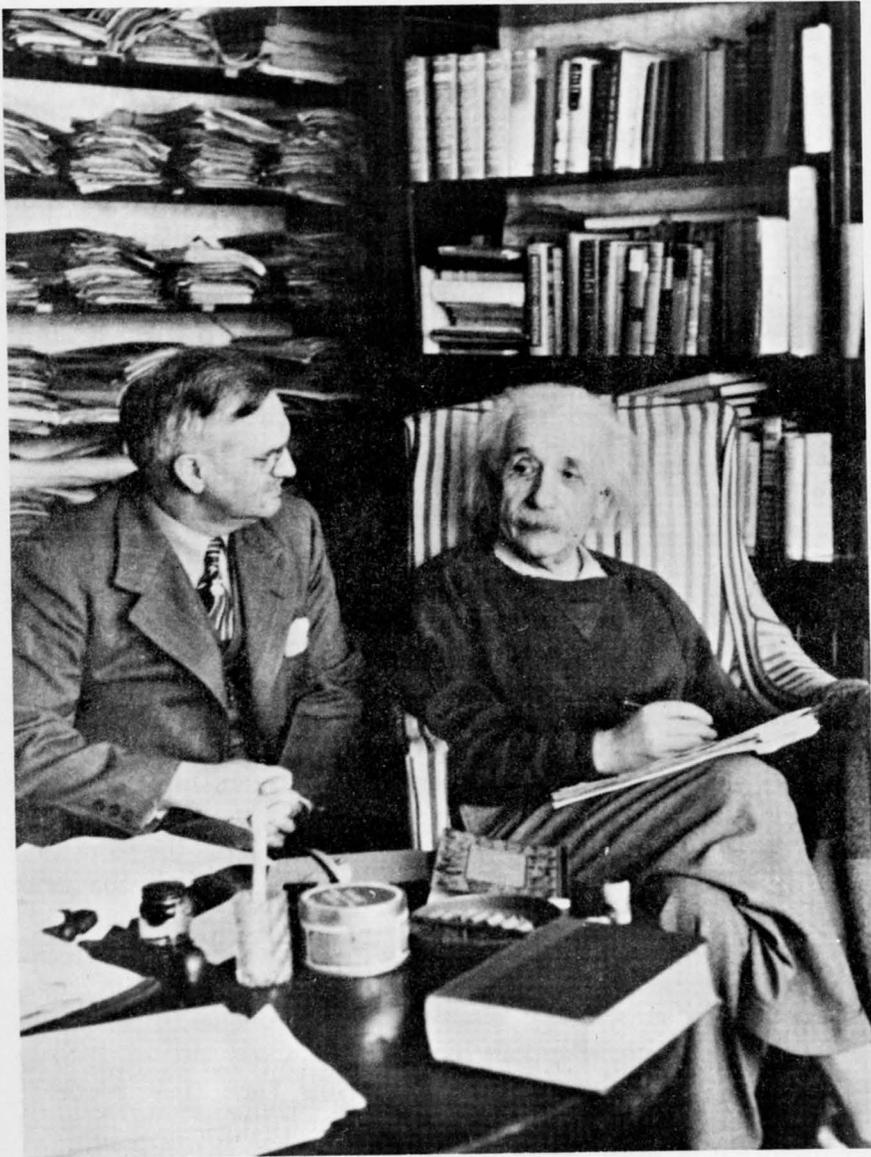
Paul C. Rasmussen

Since the initiation of his Library of Living Philosophers in 1938, Paul Schilpp has come into close personal contact with many of the world's pre-eminent thinkers. The letter from Albert Einstein reproduced here is part of that experience.

In the spring of 1932, seven years before the first volume of the LLP appeared, Schilpp drove from Stockton, California, where he was teaching at the College of the Pacific, to the Coliseum in Pasadena to hear a lecture by Einstein. Schilpp had never met Einstein before this occasion, but after the lecture he went backstage to converse with him (in their mother tongue, German, as remained their custom). Learning that Schilpp had driven 400 miles to hear him, Einstein invited him to his hotel the next morning when they would have more time to talk. This first meeting was to begin a cordial relationship which lasted twenty-three years, until Einstein's death on 18 April 1955.

Their conversation ranged over many topics, as did the more than twenty they had after that. Schilpp relates, "Perhaps the most surprising part of all my visits is this: contrary to what you might expect, by far the larger part of our conversations concerned neither science nor mathematics nor even philosophy, but the state of the world and its increasingly more crushing problems."¹ Einstein's concern for the contemporary errors of man was intense. Shortly after World War II he was asked by a *New York Times* reporter, "What will be the weapons of World War III?" Einstein replied somberly, "I'm sorry, sir, that I'm unable to answer that question, because I do not know. But I can tell you what will be the weapons of World War IV, namely, sticks and stones."²

After the sixth volume of the LLP had appeared, Schilpp made a special trip to 112 Mercer Street in Princeton in order to invite



Schilpp visiting Einstein in his study.

Einstein in person to become the subject of a volume in the series. Einstein was no stranger to the series as he had contributed an essay to the Russell volume of 1944. Schilpp proceeded with all of his powers of persuasion to tell Einstein why the world needed a volume which would both sympathetically and critically deal with his ideas in philosophy as well as science, to which he could respond. After listening patiently, Einstein replied with an air of finality, "No, there can be no volume on my work in your series. To begin with, I am primarily a scientist, not a philosopher, and a volume on my work in your series would, therefore, be entirely out of place."³ Schilpp was utterly disappointed. He writes:

With that he abruptly changed the subject and began discussing world problems with me. . . . For approximately an hour and a half we discussed the international situation, when, all of a sudden, out of a blue sky he mused: "Perhaps a man has no right to think only of his own predilection and desires. Perhaps a man does owe something to his fellows as well as to posterity. Probably I should change my mind, therefore, and agree to a volume in your series, after all." With that the die was cast, and from that moment on he cooperated with the production of our volume, *Albert Einstein: Philosopher—Scientist*, to the fullest extent.⁴

The book appeared in 1949, the seventh in the series.

Although Einstein was primarily a scientist, he insisted on the importance of theories of knowledge, and this was one of the reasons why he was an appropriate subject for a LLP volume. His position was that "The reciprocal relation of epistemology and science is of noteworthy kind. They are dependent upon each other. Epistemology without contact with science becomes an empty scheme. Science without epistemology is—insofar as it is thinkable at all—primitive and muddled."⁵

True to the intention of the series, many of the critical essays in the volume are less than sympathetic to Einstein's positions in either philosophy or physics, as his playful gibe in the letter suggests. Both Niels Bohr and Wolfgang Pauli, for instance, accuse Einstein of a "rigid adherence to classical theory."⁶ The give-and-take continues as Einstein replies, "To me it must seem a mistake to permit theoretical description to be directly dependent upon acts of empirical assertions, as it seems to be intended [for example] in Bohr's principle of complementarity, the sharp formulation of which, moreover, I have been unable to achieve despite much effort which I

den 18. December 1949

Professor Paul A. Schilpp
Library of Living Philosophers
Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill.

Lieber Herr Schilpp:

Hab' ich recht mich auch geschunden,
Nun ist's prachtvoll eingebunden!

Meine Hochachtung für all die Mühe, die Sie sich gegeben haben und auch für die Geduld, die Sie mit mir gehabt haben. Hoffentlich wird der finanzielle Erfolg die viele Mühe einigermaßen belohnen. Sie haben ja auch jetzt den Status meiner gegenwärtigen Ansichten bei den zeitgenössischen Physikern kennen gelernt. Es gilt da, was am besten in der Verszeile des bekannten politischen Liedes "America" so ausgedrückt ist: "Nobody who is anybody believes it". Ich bin froh, meine Ansichten für später einigermaßen vollständig niedergelegt zu haben.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen und Wünschen für das neue Jahr

Ihr
A. Einstein
Albert Einstein,

P.S. Senden Sie bitte gelegentlich das Manuscript der autobiographischen Notizen zurück.

Einstein letter to Paul A. Schilpp following publication of Albert Einstein: Philosopher—Scientist.

have expended on it."⁷

Henry Margenau criticizes Einstein on another front. He objects to Einstein's apparent allegiance to both "rationalism and extreme empiricism." Einstein candidly replies, "His remark is entirely correct."⁸ Einstein explains that systems of physics are logical conceptual schemes. There is a danger of these schemes becoming arbitrary, but this can be avoided by connecting their assertions as closely as possible with the world of experience. This empirical approach is often fruitful. Yet, because specific assertions can only be made about the empirically-given in context with the entire system, this method is always open to doubt. There can never be a logical connection between the world of experience and the conceptual world. Einstein claims that the empiricist then becomes more rationalistic because he recognizes the logical independence of the system. At the same time, though, there is the danger, in the search for the system, that one might lose contact with the world of experience. But, Einstein insists, "A wavering between these extremes appears to me unavoidable."⁹

The autobiographical note which Einstein wrote for the LLP and to which he refers in the letter* is the only one he ever composed, even though he had been besieged for years by publishers the world over who wanted his autobiography. Schilpp subsequently learned of offers of \$50,000 to \$100,000 for some kind of autobiography, regardless of its length. But Einstein steadfastly refused.¹⁰ The total payment he received from the LLP was ten copies of the book. World-renowned though he was, Einstein was humble enough to autograph 760 copies of a specially bound and numbered edition which, upon their sale, were designed to help the LLP once and for

*The text of the letter, freely translated: "I have truly worked myself to the bone / But now it is splendidly bound! / All respect for the trouble you have gone through as well as for the patience you have had with me. Hopefully the financial success will in some measure reward you for your efforts. By now, certainly, you have become acquainted with the status of my present views among contemporary physicists. It holds true here what is expressed so well in the line of the well known political song 'America': 'Nobody who is anybody believes it.' I am glad to have rather completely preserved my views for the future. / With cordial greetings and wishes for the New Year / yours / Albert Einstein. / P.S. At your convenience please return the manuscript of the autobiographical notes."

all free itself fiscally from Northwestern University. It did.¹¹ In fact, the Einstein volume has sold more than any other. Instead of the normal print-order of 2,200 copies, Schilpp had ordered 5,000 copies. These were sold out in ten months. The volume was reissued in a second edition in 1951 and a third edition in 1970 and is the only LLP volume that has been reprinted in paperback.¹²

Einstein was one of the greatest intellectuals of all times. Yet in the playfulness of this short letter, one gains an insight into the almost childlike character of the man. Schilpp claims he has known only two truly wise men. Albert Schweitzer was one and Albert Einstein the other. Perhaps Einstein was most genuinely wise when he expressed an almost innocent awe of the universe. The same man who theorized about the relativity of space and time once wrote, "The eternal mystery of the world is its comprehensibility. . . . The fact that it is comprehensible is a miracle."¹³

NOTES

1. Paul Arthur Schilpp, "Albert Einstein: Saintly Scientist," *Mountain-Plains Library Quarterly* 17 (Summer 1972), 4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Albert Einstein, "Remarks Concerning the Essays Brought together in This Co-operative Volume," in *Albert Einstein: Philosopher-Scientist*, ed. Paul Arthur Schilpp, 3d ed. Library of Living Philosophers, VII (LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court; London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 683-84.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 675.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 674.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 680.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Unpublished, taped lecture, from "Twentieth Century Philosophers." Feb. 1967.

11. See Paul Arthur Schilpp's article in this issue.

12. Harper Torchbooks, 1959.

13. Unpublished, taped lecture, "Twentieth Century Philosophers." Feb. 1967.

Philip E. B. Jourdain and the Open Court Papers

Elizabeth R. Eames

Now that the intellectual life of the first half of the present century is laid open to examination in the numerous collections of manuscripts, papers, letters, memoirs, and journals of scientists, writers, and artists of the period, it is not surprising that some persons who were little known figures in the history of our epoch are found to be important links in the development of ideas and sources of influence in the thought of our own time. Such a person is Philip E. B. Jourdain (1879-1919), writer, translator, reviewer, and editor. The new information about his importance comes from the Mittag-Leffler Institute of Stockholm, Sweden, the Bertrand Russell Archives of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, and the Open Court Papers, Special Collections, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. The pioneering work of studying the Bertrand Russell and Jourdain correspondence, especially in Sweden and at McMaster, has been done by I. Grattan-Guinness and is the subject of his forthcoming book, *Dear Russell—Dear Jourdain*.¹ My emphasis here is on Jourdain's importance as an editor as revealed in his correspondence with Paul Carus, of the Open Court Publishing Company and editor of *Open Court* and *The Monist*.

Jourdain was the son of a minister of the Church of England, educated at Cambridge and abroad. He was fluent in French and German and had the distinction of studying mathematical logic with Bertrand Russell in 1901. His relation with Russell was one of the sources of his later work in mathematics and logic as well as of a long friendship and collaboration. But even before Jourdain became Russell's student at Cambridge, he had become infatuated with mathematics and science and had studied the history of these subjects on his own. When his student days were over, he sought means of

pursuing his own research, of making contributions to mathematics and logic and science, and of furthering research and the communication of research in these areas. His early articles, beginning in 1903, dealt with subjects such as the theory of functions and the nature of mathematical aggregates. He published articles on such topics in mathematical journals, a number of which are cited favorably in the *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*.² In the obituary notice for Jourdain in *The Monist*, thirty-one of his articles which appeared in that journal between 1908 and 1920 are listed, exclusive of his numerous reviews.³ He also published articles in philosophical journals such as *Mind* and *The Hibbert Journal*, and in scientific journals such as *Isis* and *Nature*. When he died, at thirty-nine, he had in preparation two major works—one on Newton, on whom he was an acknowledged authority, and one on the history of mathematical discoveries. These books would have been in addition to two already published.

Jourdain's published work has attracted less attention than it deserves, perhaps because it is scattered; had he lived to assemble the articles he had published and his other material on Newton into one volume, it would have had a wider and more enduring reputation. The lack of recognition may also be due in part to the wide-ranging scope of his interests; had he restricted himself to one topic he might have been remembered as the "Leibniz man" or the "Newton man," in the style of twentieth-century specialized scholarship. He wrote, instead, on many current issues in mathematics, logic, and science. In some articles he strove to apply the techniques of mathematical logic to the analysis of the concepts of physics. He wrote also on the history and development of the new ideas of mathematicians and scientists, combining his wide knowledge of new research in these areas with a historian's discipline and interest in tracing the origin of ideas, and with the journalist's commitment to spreading the word to the educated lay public. One very important series of articles was all but lost to us before Mr. Grattan-Guinness studied the matter with the help of the Mittag-Leffler Institute and the Bertrand Russell Archives; this was a project of writing an account of the development of the work of each of a number of important contemporary mathematicians and having each of his subjects correct and amend the account. Many of the letters Jourdain and Russell exchanged as part of this project are in the Bertrand Russell Archives and throw

considerable light on the shifts in Russell's thought. Unfortunately, the journal which was to publish these valuable articles did not carry out the project, and we are dependent on the work of scholars to unearth and publish what remains. (Jourdain's project was an interesting precursor of the valuable strategy of Paul A. Schilpp in his Library of Living Philosophers series.) Jourdain also wrote articles on the early development of mathematical logic which can be studied in *The Monist*. These appear to have been the first "historical" accounts given in non-technical language which made some of these developments understandable and accessible to a general educated public.

In addition to books and articles, Jourdain was an indefatigable writer of abstracts, providing compact summaries of current research in science and mathematics to journals and encyclopedias, material which contained much untranslated and, hence, inaccessible research. He maintained these labors even after World War I disrupted communication and made German journals unavailable, relying on Dutch sources for his information.⁴

Of the two books Jourdain published, one was an introductory explanation of mathematics, *On the Nature of Mathematics*, first published in 1912 and reprinted in 1919. The other book illustrates his playful side. *The Philosophy of Mr. B*rr*nd R*ss*ll* poses as a scholarly account of the work of a little known and prematurely deceased (a victim of assassination) teacher from whom the celebrated and very much alive Mr. Bertrand Russell learned all his ideas. The book is said to have been based on the jokes with which Russell and Jourdain entertained each other. The book, quoting Mr. B*rr*nd R*ss*ll, solemnly describes the principle of identity and shows how moralists assert it when they are purportedly deliberating weighty opinions:

Identities are frequently used in common life by people who seem to imagine that they can draw important conclusions respecting conduct or matters of fact from them. I have heard of a man who gained the double reputation of being a philosopher and a fatalist by the repeated enunciation of the identity "Whatever will be, will be"; and the Italian equivalent of this makes up an appreciable part of one of Mr. Robert Hichens' novels. Further, the identity "Life is Life" has not only been often accepted as an explanation for a particular way of living but has even been considered by an authoress who calls herself "Zack" to be an appropriate title for a novel; while "Business is Business" is frequently thought to provide an excuse for dishonesty in trading, for which purpose it is plainly inadequate.⁵

There is wide use of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and other Carroll material as a source of authority for logical principles, and absurd and satirical references to other logicians abound:

In their readiness to consider many different things as one thing—to consider, for example, the ratio 2:1 as the same thing as the cardinal number 2—such mathematicians as Peacock, Hankel, and Schubert were forestalled by the Pigeon, who thought that Alice and the Serpent were the same creature, because both had long necks and ate eggs. It is, however, doubtful whether the Pigeon would have followed the example of the mathematicians just mentioned so far as to embrace the creed of nominalism and so to feel no difficulty in subtracting from zero—a difficulty which was pointed out by the Hatter and modern mathematical logicians.⁶

In referring to one of his own satires, Jourdain writes to Paul Carus:

It will amuse you that part of this article has appeared in the "Cambridge Magazine" and has done something to advertize Russell's "Lowell Lectures" [which Open Court under Carus had published as *Our Knowledge of the External World*]. Further, I have a long article which will appear in *Mind* for October, criticizing in a popular style (in a dialogue between Zeno and Socrates in Hades) some of Russell's doctrines. It is very pleasant to see *Mind* advertizing our books and magazines in almost every number, against its own interests. It has to do this because our work is getting more and more discussed among English philosophers, and *Mind* will be left out of the stream of thought unless it advertizes us.⁷

This article, with the ghostly discussion of the paradoxes of Zeno, is more serious than humorous in discussing the divisibility of space and time, and in serving Jourdain's purpose of advertising and furthering interest in current scientific and logical theories which he and his publisher shared.

The correspondence between Philip Jourdain and Paul Carus is concerned with this interest in publishing and publicizing new work in mathematics, science, and philosophy. It reveals a side of Jourdain's work which left a permanent imprint on the development of ideas in our time through the books published by the Open Court Publishing Company under Carus's direction and the articles published in *The Monist*, the journal of which Carus was editor. The letters in the Carus papers between Carus and Jourdain span the period between 1907 and 1918; there are sixty letters from Jourdain to Carus (or his office) and carbons of fifty-three letters from Carus (or his office) to Jourdain. It is obvious that the files of the Carus papers are at present incomplete,

since some portions of the correspondence reveal several letters exchanged in the span of a week, whereas other portions of the time span are completely unrepresented in the collection. However, enough correspondence is present to show us the importance of the collaboration between the two men in furthering the progress and communication of new scientific ideas and philosophical theories.

In the correspondence between 1907 and 1912, we find Jourdain, with no official status with Open Court, volunteering projects for Carus and Open Court to carry out. In suggesting the publication of Mach's "Erhaltung der Arbeit" and Cantor's two papers on transfinite aggregates, Jourdain offered himself as translator and editor for the projects. Meanwhile Jourdain's articles on transfinite numbers and on mathematical physics appeared in *The Monist*. Later his suggestions included a Mach preface to a scientific work and an 1892 article of Boltzmann's. Both of the suggestions were checked with an "O.K." in the margin of the letter, presumably an approval by Carus; both fit in with material Open Court and *The Monist* had previously published. Carus and Jourdain met at a mathematical congress in Cambridge in 1912, and Jourdain became the English editor of *The Monist* and *Open Court*. From that time until Carus's death a steady flow of manuscripts and suggestions proceeded from Jourdain to Carus, and Jourdain retained his influence in judgments concerning which articles and books should be published and reviewed. He himself continued to be a frequent contributor to *The Monist* and translated important books and articles for Open Court, including works of Cantor, Mach, Dedekind, and Frege. He also influenced Carus to publish new editions of some of the classics of early modern logic, such as the work of Boole and De Morgan.

In addition to his work with Carus, he joined the staff of *Isis*, and, according to its editor, George Sarton, Jourdain actually kept the project alive through the days when war duties prevented Sarton from working on the journal and almost made Sarton despair of its survival.⁸ Jourdain also served as European editor of the *International Journal of Ethics*, and, in the year intervening between Carus's death and his own, served as general editor of *The Monist*. His editing tasks, in addition to the writing of abstracts of new work, the contributions to encyclopedias, the preparation of his own articles and books, the labors of translating and editing, kept two

“typewriters” busy all day, every day, as his wife tells us.

Jourdain’s friendship with Russell led to Open Court’s publishing the latter’s *Justice in Wartime* and *Our Knowledge of the External World*. (An advance which Jourdain obtained on the second book made it possible for Russell to manage the expenses of getting ready to travel to Harvard to deliver the lectures, according to his letters to Ottoline Morrell.) It seems that at least two other of Russell’s books were recommended to Carus for publication; *Principles of Social Reconstruction* was suggested as an Open Court book, but no reply was received from Carus, and Russell had it published by Allen & Unwin. This book became Russell’s first major success, critically and financially, and began a lifelong collaboration between him and Allen & Unwin. When the book became successful, Carus demanded of Jourdain why Open Court had not had it; Jourdain tactfully replied that the letters he had written recommending it must have been lost in the mail (at least one letter was not lost but survives in the Open Court collection).

The lectures of 1918 on “The Philosophy of Logical Atomism” marked the re-entry of Russell into the philosophical world, and Jourdain wrote to Carus jubilantly that *The Monist* could have them. In a letter to Russell, Jourdain proposed that they become a book. Carus did accept the lectures for publication in *The Monist*, but Carus’s illness and death, Jourdain’s quarrel with Russell, and Jourdain’s final illness and death intervened, and the project was never carried out. Consequently, this important work, a landmark in twentieth century philosophy, was available only through *The Monist* of 1919, or through an unofficial mimeographed version privately circulated, until 1956, when it became part of *Logic and Knowledge*.⁹

A third book of Russell’s, the second of three parts of which exists in manuscript form in the Bertrand Russell Archives, was apparently written in 1913. The third part was never written, and the first part, according to my hypothesis, exists in the form of articles in *The Monist* of 1914 and 1915. The hope that correspondence relating to these articles, and to their possible inclusion in a book, would appear in the Jourdain-Carus correspondence proved vain. However, the articles, though often neglected, show an aspect of Russell’s development that does not appear so clearly in any other place. Another important work of Russell’s, a 1911 article on “The

Philosophical Importance of Mathematical Logic,” also appeared in *The Monist* (in 1913), thanks to Jourdain’s translation from its original French.

It is to the credit of Carus’s broad-mindedness and of Jourdain’s tactical skill that, although Carus’s own view of mathematics was entirely at odds with that of Russell and Jourdain, Russell’s work and the logistic view were liberally represented and reviewed by *The Monist*. Carus frequently suggested the publication of attacks on Russell’s view of mathematics, but Jourdain succeeded in having an answer or rebuttal published with them.

Although Carus was sympathetic to Russell’s criticism of the war, he was less impressed by the social and political views which he expressed and rejected for publication two articles which Jourdain recommended, “Political Psychology” and “The State and Property.” These titles do not appear in the bibliography of Russell articles under preparation by Kenneth Blackwell and Harry Ruja, but it has been suggested that they may appear as chapters in the *Principles of Social Reconstruction*. It is true that the themes suggested by the article titles appear in that book; however, neither title corresponds exactly with the subject of any chapter. Also the book was published in November 1916 and the article “The State and Property” is referred to in a letter of February 1916 when the book manuscript must have already been submitted for publication.¹⁰ In the case of “Political Psychology,” the letter referring to it postdates the book, since it is dated December 1918. Hence the whereabouts of these articles cannot be identified.

This seems to be one occasion on which one might regret that Jourdain’s recommendation was not accepted. He did successfully recommend the publication of authors of importance and the translation of work of importance. In addition to Cantor, Dedekind, Mach, Frege, and Russell, who were already recognized as important authors, Jourdain proposed several less well known writers. In the correspondence we find Jourdain often writing that he is sending a large packet of manuscripts offering Carus new articles, new authors, new reviews, and new reviewers. It seems that Carus was often concerned at the quantity of materials being sent and fearful of Jourdain’s overcommitting him to publishing too much material and paying too much for it:

I notice that you have undertaken a great deal of publications and I begin to be alarmed whether this would not lead us into bankruptcy. I feel that I ought to tell you at once that you must curtail your expenses, or we will have to give up our English branch entirely. It seems to me that you have already passed the limit of funds at your disposal, and I doubt very much whether the enterprises you advocate will pay their way.¹¹

Carus often did not publish what was sent to him by Jourdain, both Jourdain's own work and the work of others. A tension is detectable on this issue, since Carus allowed Jourdain very little authority to retain or pay authors without his explicit approval, yet he appreciated many of the articles Jourdain lined up for him and the suggestions that he made for Open Court publications. Marginal notes on Jourdain's letters such as "a risk but O.K." or "if not too expensive" seem to indicate Carus's reaction to Jourdain's enthusiasm.¹² Sometimes he reacted negatively to ideas proposed by Jourdain:

Concerning Dr. Mooney's book on "The Vices of Roman Catholic Politics," I do not know what to say. The title is not very encouraging. . . .

As for the work of Mrs. Langford which is coping [sic.] MS. in the British Museum, I will say that I do not doubt the saints have been very worthy personages, but I see not the slightest use of reprinting old documents of these ancient worthies. . . .¹³

One can certainly sympathize with Carus's doubts concerning the use of hard-pressed and expensive printing and mailing facilities during the war to immortalize Dr. Mooney's and Mrs. Langford's interest in these aspects of religion. His doubts about "Woman—The Inspirer" may have been equally sound. Jourdain's judgment on material in science, mathematics, and philosophy seems to have been more sound than that on religion. One questions the wisdom of Carus's rejecting Russell's two articles. Also Jourdain's proposal to have a regular set of reviews by T. S. Eliot, who "undertakes reviewing all books on philosophy and science which has not a formal character,"¹⁴ is a rejection that one might well regret.

The Monist did publish two philosophical articles on Leibniz by Eliot, and some reviews, and these show the early philosophical bent of Eliot's interest; in fact Jourdain recommends him to Carus as a student from a philosophical seminar at Harvard. (This seems to confirm the guess that Russell recommended Eliot to Jourdain as

Eliot was a former student of Russell's at Harvard, and as Eliot, when he came to England, was a protégé for whom Russell sought publishing work.)

Jourdain recommended Ezra Pound as a reviewer along with Eliot, and apparently he did submit some reviews which Carus found objectionable:

I think you will find all the reviews I sent of a thoroughly scientific character except those which you mention and which are by Pound. I entirely agree with you about these books and do not propose to send any reviews by Pound in the future. He was warmly recommended to me as having a fine literary style but I do not think he realizes what is required in a scientific review.¹⁵

It seems the Pound reviews were not published. Jourdain also submitted to Carus an article on Chinese written characters by Ernest Fenollosa and edited with notes by Ezra Pound. Carus first liked the article but not the comments, and finally decided to publish it with the editorial comments. However, the delay angered Pound and his lawyer, John Quinn, wrote to Carus demanding the return of the manuscript. Carus wrote to Jourdain, wondering if Quinn had the right to act on Pound's behalf referring to a recent letter from the lawyer. Jourdain's answer is missing, but on 26 June 1918, Pound wrote a furious, threatening letter to Mrs. Carus demanding the return of the manuscript. Quinn had asked that the manuscript be returned by registered mail and insured for \$500, whereas Carus thought it would have been worth at most twenty-five dollars. The return of the manuscript and an apology from Mrs. Carus ended the incident.¹⁶

In summary, we might say that one of Jourdain's and Carus's chief accomplishments in *The Monist* and in the Open Court Publishing Company was to introduce important new authors and to publish and make better known important recent work. Jourdain served as a kind of intellectual entrepreneur—an important role in the intellectual world of the early twentieth century when many of the interactions between intellectuals of different nations were interrupted.

The letters to which we have been referring, the Carus-Jourdain correspondence, seem, at first reading, businesslike and dull, full of details of manuscripts, proof-reading, publication dates. There are few personal references beyond the usual courtesies, but if we

supplement these few references with materials from other sources, we find in Jourdain a strikingly courageous man who overcame many obstacles and was finally himself overcome. One personal note refers to his marriage, and a year later, a tender personal letter testifies to the depth of his friendship for both Carus and Russell:

Dear Dr. Carus

I have marked this letter 'personal' because I just wish to write a few words on a personal matter. I have been married a year now, I want to express to you how thoroughly happy we both are. For myself, I am better in every way for it, I shall always remember with grateful affection your kind and sensible words to me. You and Russell were the only people I thoroughly trusted at one point of my life. Especially you have been a most lovable mixture of father and friend to me. Believe me I am, my friend,

Yours sincerely
Philip E. B. Jourdain¹⁷

In a personal reference from Carus to Jourdain we find Carus twice writing to discourage Jourdain's plan to come to the United States. He will find no country cottage such as he enjoys in England, and it will be difficult and expensive to hire a nurse to care for him.¹⁸ The background of these references to his health is that both Jourdain and his sister were afflicted from childhood with a form of paralysis, Friedreich's ataxia, which progressively crippled and finally killed them. His learning of German and his study of the history of science and mathematics dated from an attempted but futile course of treatment in Heidelberg. After they met in 1901, Russell records in his journal how severely crippled Jourdain was, yet with what vivacity and enthusiasm he spoke of mathematics.¹⁹ Somehow he overcame his handicap, supported himself, assumed the associate editorship of four journals, wrote, translated, reviewed, and from 1915 enjoyed a brief but happy married life, shadowed only by increasing debility. His widow's account of his personality can be read in the obituary account in *Isis*, that of his sister in *The Monist*.²⁰

Less happy was the outcome of his attempt to make his own important and original contribution to mathematical logic. He wrote to Carus that he had finished his "proof":

Another point on which I am sure that you will be sympathetically interested in is that I have just completed some mathematical work which seems to me very important and which Cantor since 1882 vainly tried to do. It is a proof that every infinite aggregate can be put in a "well-ordered" form, and it proves the axiom used by Zermelo and others. This discovery will I think greatly increase my ability in the mathematical world to bring forward the work we are both of us trying to do in the philosophy of mathematics.²¹

Jourdain sent his proof to Russell and to Whitehead and was deeply hurt and frustrated by their lack of response. The trouble was, according to Russell, that the proof was not a valid one, and that they hesitated to tell him how wrong he was when they knew he was very ill and had a heavy emotional involvement in his "proof." The frustration of having his proof neither accepted nor rejected shadowed his final days, and he bitterly attacked both Russell and Whitehead.²² The principle he was trying to prove had been accepted by most mathematicians as unprovable, and Jourdain's "proof" put him in the position of an idiosyncratic minority and destroyed his much valued friendship with Russell. Thus, in the last year of his life, his friend Paul Carus died, and Russell, as he thought, turned against him, and the honor of being general editor of *The Monist* could scarcely console him in his increasing incapacity to work. It was tragic that one who had contributed so much to the advancement of science, philosophy, and mathematics, and who had gained a hearing for the work of others, should die heartbroken at his failure to gain a hearing for his own, as he believed, pioneering work in mathematical logic.

NOTES

1. Grattan-Guinness, "Russell and Philip Jourdain," *Russell: the Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives*, no. 8 (Winter 1972-3), 7-12. *Dear Russell—Dear Jourdain* is to be published by Duckworth in the United Kingdom.
2. "Philip Edward Bertrand Jourdain," *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*, 2nd ser., 19 (1921), lix-lx.
3. "Philip Edward Bertrand Jourdain," *The Monist*, 30 (1920), 161-182. The bibliography comprises the last two pages.

4. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 1 February 1918.
5. *The Philosophy of Mr. B*rt*nd R*ss*ll* (London: George Allen & Unwin; Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1918), p.61.
6. Ibid., p. 16-62. Anyone who has felt that the bafflement of reading *Punch* must be due to a transatlantic cultural humor gap will be heartened by Jourdain's story of the wounded man whose mouth had been stitched up by a surgeon. The doctor, not wishing him to break stitches out by laughing, ordered him to read only *Punch*. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 16 June 1917.
7. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 23 June 1915.
8. In the obituary notice, "Philip E. B. Jourdain," *Isis*, 5 (1923), 127-128. From page 128-133 is a memoir written by Laura Jourdain, Philip's widow.
9. Bertrand Russell, "The Philosophy of Logical Atomism," *The Monist*, 28 (1918), 495-527; 29 (1919), 32-63, 190-222, 345-380. In Bertrand Russell, *Logic and Knowledge*, ed. Robert Charles Marsh (London: George Allen & Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1956), pp. 175-281.
10. "State" and "Property" were considered together in a syllabus for a lecture series in 1915. Unlike most of the other chapters in the book, they never did get separate serial publication. The syllabus appears in *D. H. Lawrence's Letters to Bertrand Russell*, ed. Harry T. Moore (New York: Gotham Book Mart, c1948), pp. 77-96.
11. Letter from Carus to Jourdain, 18 February 1916.
12. Comments on margin of letter from Jourdain to Carus, 8 April 1914.
13. Letters from Carus to Jourdain, 18 January 1917 and 26 May 1917.
14. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 11 July 1917.
15. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 16 June 1917.
16. This essay ultimately appeared in 1920 in Pound's collection, *Instigations*. First separate publication was in 1936.
17. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 29 June 1917.
18. Letters from Carus to Jourdain, 27 December 1916, and 17 January 1917.
19. Quoted in Grattan-Guinness, "Russell and Philip Jourdain," p. 7.
20. See footnotes 3 and 8 above.
21. Letter from Jourdain to Carus, 1 February 1918.
22. P. E. B. Jourdain, "A Proof That Any Aggregate Can Be Well-Ordered," *Mind*, n.s. 28 (1919), 382-84.

Henry Nelson Wieman at Ninety

John Albin Broyer

May 18 was warm and sunny in Grinnell, Iowa, and at 1510 East Street, Henry Nelson Wieman was enjoying from his bedroom window the spring flowers that were in full bloom. Born in 1884, he had had a lifetime of good health, but for the past one and a half years had suffered progressive physical disability from Parkinson's Disease. Now, at 90, he was thin, frail, and bedridden. As he pointed out to me then, "There is no springtime regeneration following the winter of a human lifetime." He was aware of, and resigned to, his fatal illness.

I visited him that Sunday afternoon to renew our old friendship and to share with him preparations for a *Festschrift* in his honor.¹ He had once been my teacher in six graduate seminars. His philosophy of "creative interchange" became a foundation of my own philosophical perspective. His life exemplified for me a paradigm of the positive value potential of human existence, and a standard by which I frequently evaluate my own personal growth. Like many other of his former students, I owe him an immense intellectual and personal debt. "I am always eager to see my old friends," he greeted me. "Especially philosophers. I need to talk to philosophers to keep my intellect in sharp focus." His handshake was as firm as his enthusiasm. We did talk philosophy all afternoon, mostly metaphysics. I found that his great wisdom and intellect, that his colleagues and students remember so well, remained firm as his grip.

We talked about Wieman's present work. He was currently rereading all of his publications over his lifetime, in an attempt to determine specifically where and how he would now modify, correct, or abandon his previously held positions. Since he was author or co-author of more than a dozen books, and of more

than a hundred articles and reviews, this was a considerable task. Laura, his wife and helpmate, had been keeping notes on these observations. This re-search of his writings has, he said, led him to the positive conclusion that in its overall outline his philosophy has always "asked the same unchanged question: What is the source of creative human good when we commit ourselves to it and meet its required conditions?" In theological language, this means the search for God. Also, he affirmed that he has "always sought the answer through an empirical examination of the creative interchange of symbolized meanings." Wieman finally viewed his own philosophy as consistent over his lifetime, which reaffirms that same claim of consistency that Wieman made in 1959 in his "Intellectual Autobiography."² Having just reread his earlier works, he told me that

I agree with what I said in its essential outline. However, some of the early articles were written too hastily and they lack the clarity and precision of my later works. The language of some of the later works is different, as I discovered more effective ways to express myself. Also, I have shifted the focus of my inquiry from cosmic speculation to the operation of creativity in human life. But the central principle of 'creative transformation' or 'creative interchange' remains central and unchanged.

Here, then, for the historical record, is Wieman's most mature critical evaluation of the development of his life work.

In my notes from a 1963 seminar he taught at Carbondale on "The Philosophy of Henry Nelson Wieman" is the following quotation:

These years teaching philosophy [at Carbondale] outside of the seminary [University of Chicago] have been very valuable to me, because they have forced me to find ways to express my philosophy in non-theological language, forced me to broaden the scope of my philosophy beyond the context of the Christian religion, and forced me to develop more rigorously and comprehensively the philosophical foundations of my theology.

Now, I asked him if this was an accurate quotation, which represented the directions of his inquiry in his most mature years; he replied affirmatively.

We talked about Wieman's past philosophical career, and

especially about the contrasts that developed between his views and those of other major philosophers. Our discussion moved from Plato to Whitehead, from Aristotle to Richard McKeon, from Protagoras to John Dewey and George Herbert Mead. We talked about the views of various students of his thought, and in particular about Martin Luther King, Jr., whose doctoral dissertation studies Wieman's idea of God.³ For over half a century, and especially from his powerful theology professorship at the University of Chicago, he had waged a relentless battle in defense of liberal theology, process metaphysics, and empirical epistemology, against the non-theistic humanism of A. Eustace Haydon and John Dewey, the existentialism of Paul Tillich, the orthodox theology of Karl Barth, the neo-orthodox theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, and the ontological idealism of Charles Hartshorne. These intellectual giants were Wieman's chief living theological peers and adversaries in their common quest for God.

Wieman's theology has not yet been widely accepted. About this, Wieman has written that "I am fully aware that I swim against the current."⁴ His is a new theological perspective, and every genuinely new idea must begin by swimming against the current. Nevertheless he has been called "the most comprehensive and most distinctively *American* theologian of our century,"⁵ and "the prophet of the dawning ecumenical era."⁶ Wieman's concern was always to "wrestle with truth" rather than with popularity or acclaim.⁷ Wieman has said of his teaching and writing career that "the years were rarely calm."⁸ Throughout his entire academic career, Wieman directed his attention to breaking new ground, and to answering the contemporary critics of his pioneering explorations. Wieman told me that his published writings had never directed extensive attention to relating his ideas to the major figures in the past history of philosophy. "Of course," he said to me, "I am primarily a theologian and philosopher, not a historian," and his writings reflect this.

Wieman's teaching also reflected this concern with the growing edges. His seminars were the seminal matrix for developing his philosophy. He would encourage relentless socratic criticism of his ideas, and accepted it with unflinching earnestness, gentleness, and humility. He would honor his students by allowing them to participate with him in that creative interchange by

which his philosophy was being created, sustained, modified, and corrected. His students would have the rare experience of seeing a systematic and original thinker at his work. They also could study his life and his personality as an example of his ideas, for he sought to live by the creative interchange that he taught. He was a living example of practicing what he preached. Wisdom is being able to see the meanings of our knowledge and experience. Wieman did see rich meanings in what he knew and experienced, and he communicated those meanings to others through his teaching and the commitment of his life. Philosophy is the love of wisdom. This wise man was an exemplary philosopher.

We talked about the future. Wieman stressed that "I am not an optimist or a pessimist about the future because I am not a prophet. My approach is closer to that of empirical science, seeking to discover conditions which may make possible achievement of greater good." Wieman does believe that the crisis facing humankind today is more critical than ever before. He also told me that he is "more convinced than ever before" that his answer to that crisis is "on the right track; that an ultimate commitment to creative interchange is the required condition for the insurance of human survival."⁹ This process of creative interchange is the actual presence of God in human experience, since creative interchange is what actually "creates, sustains, saves, and transforms" the human level of existence.¹⁰ To commit ourselves to any *created* values rather than to the *creative* interchange that creates and corrects those values, is idolatry. Wieman's identification of God with 'Creative Interchange,' and his insistence on the necessity of basing religious belief on empirical inquiry, are probably his two most original and important contributions to theology.¹¹ His conviction has always been that "God is what transforms man as he cannot transform himself, to save him from self-destructive propensities and lead him to the best that human life can attain," when he commits himself to God, and fulfills required conditions.¹² And Wieman tells us that "Never once throughout my life have I doubted the reality of God."¹³ I asked Wieman if this still represented his thinking now. "Yes," he answered. But Wieman's theology is non-dogmatic. He once wrote that "the man of liberal faith dies with the answer he has found, not because it is the end of the trail; he dies there to

keep the trail open for others to travel on beyond the point which he has reached."¹⁴

Now Wieman was growing very tired, and so I prepared to leave. We had had a truly creative interchange together. "My work is finished now," he said. "I leave it to *your* generation to carry it on. I pass the torch to you." I thanked him again for giving me so much of his time. He smiled and said wistfully, "I have lots of time, but so little energy. So you should thank me for my energy, not my time!" We both laughed. Wieman joked, "It has been good to see one of my 'Wiemaniacs' again." His wit was still as sharp as his wisdom. As I departed, I received the same firm handshake with which he had greeted me. I had intended to visit for one hour, but at his insistence, that had become nearly four. It was now twilight in Grinnell.

One month later, on 19 June 1975, Henry Nelson Wieman died, peacefully, in his sleep. Throughout his life, Wieman had "struggled earnestly and persistently with the ultimate issues of life and death."¹⁵ Humanity is permanently richer as a result of his struggle. Anyone who is seeking a better life may profit from the study of "creative interchange," now immortalized in his writings.

NOTES

1. *Creative Interchange: Essays in Honor of Henry Nelson Wieman*, ed. John Albin Broyer and William S. Minor. In preparation.
2. Henry Nelson Wieman, "Intellectual Autobiography," in *The Empirical Theology of Henry Nelson Wieman*, ed. Robert W. Bretall. The Library of Living Theology, IV (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 3.
3. Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman," Diss. Boston University 1955.
4. Wieman, in Bretall's *The Empirical Theology of Henry Nelson Wieman*, p. 355.
5. Robert W. Bretall, "Preface," in *The Empirical Theology of Henry Nelson Wieman*, p. x.
6. From the citation for the honorary Doctor of Humane Letters awarded by SIU-C to Wieman, 1966. *Commencement Program*, June 1966, p. 63.
7. See Henry Nelson Wieman, *The Wrestle of Religion With Truth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927).

8. Henry Nelson Wieman, "Profile of a Professor," *Challenge* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association), 3 (22 February 1965), 2.
9. See Henry Nelson Wieman, *Man's Ultimate Commitment* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1958), Ch. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
11. For an excellent summary of his philosophy, see Henry Nelson Wieman, "Technical Postscript," *The Source of Human Good* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 297-309.
12. Wieman, in Bretall's *The Empirical Theology of Henry Nelson Wieman*, p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
14. Henry Nelson Wieman, *Intellectual Foundation of Faith* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1961), pp. 2-3.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Unintentional History Photographs of Litchfield

William F. Morton

Since the advent of photography in 1839, photographers have become the graphic historians of the world, sometimes by design but more often than not by accident.

In order to earn a living, early photographic artists established their "portrait galleries" to make a profit but, because of the sparse population and primitive transportation, few were lacking in free time. This leisure they would utilize to try new techniques and materials by recording life as it existed then, not with an eye for the historical value to future generations, but primarily to portray life as it was for them at that point in time. Much like the snapshotter of today, they would use their experiments for display in their gallery or to look back on in a few years to recall "the good old days." Seldom were they thinking in terms of generations or centuries in the future.

There were, of course, exceptions, such as the famed Civil War photographer Matthew Brady. Looking now at the scarcity of his photographs, it is probable he took a longer time-view than most. But the lack of preservation of thousands of his priceless glass plates leads one to speculate that his view was also rather short as the war dimmed into the distant past.

This, too, is basically the history of Morton Studio of Litchfield, Ill., which was established shortly after the Civil War by a gallery artist by the name of Bacon. The gallery was purchased from Mr. Bacon in 1898 by his apprentice, and by then, associate, Alfred Tennyson, who came to Litchfield from Delavan, Ill. The studio has had three other owners in its over-a-century history—John Murray, now retired of Jacksonville, Ill.; Herman Hagerdorn with the Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N.Y.; and myself.

The studio probably is one of the oldest in the country in continuous operation. Unfortunately, each succeeding owner, includ-



Southern Illinois Art League
The Litchfield Photographs

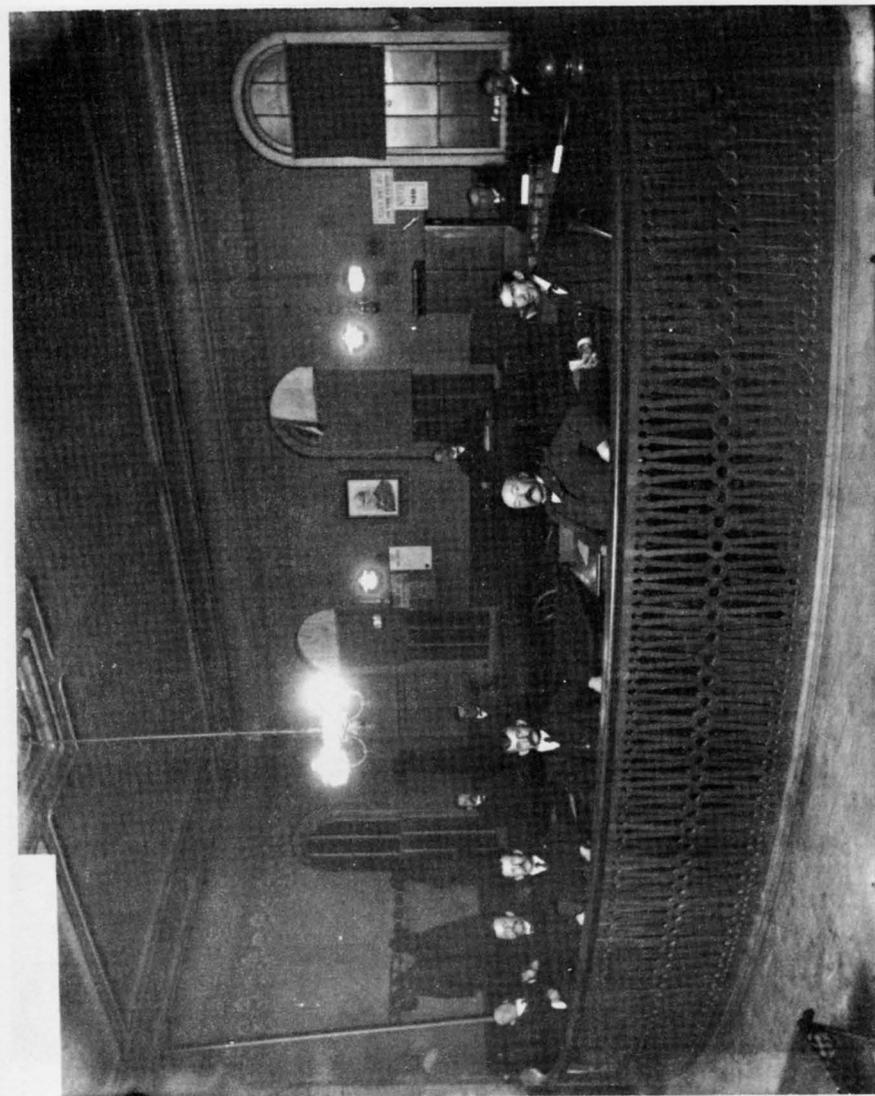
Litchfield Photographs

ing myself, destroyed thousands of glass plates of inestimable historic value which they felt would no longer produce revenue. It was done in the interest of space needs or to expedite a move of the studio to new quarters (the studio has been moved three times).

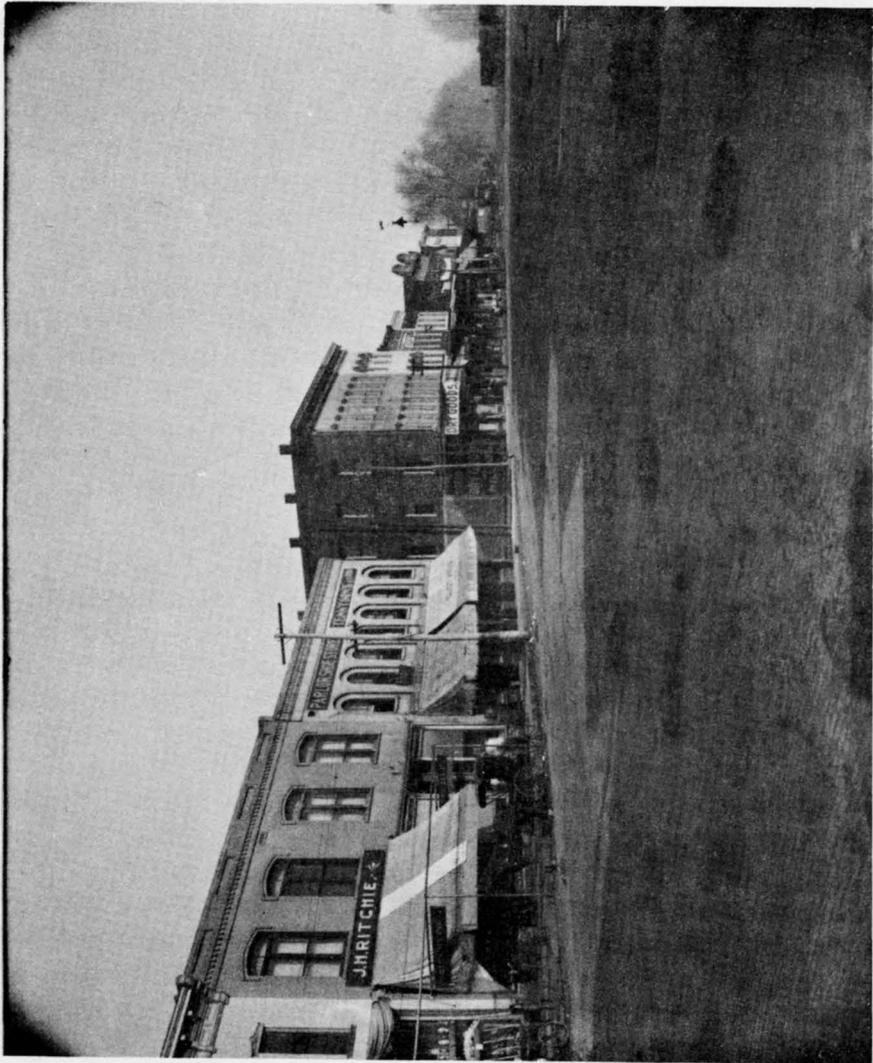
These are my regrets—that fifteen years ago I did not know of the interest of SIU-C in these pieces of history or hundreds of others might have been saved for future generations to enjoy.

(Historians will be gratified that Mr. Morton saved at least a representative few of the glass negatives which came into his possession when he acquired his studio. He gave ninety-seven of these fine documents to the university in 1973. To ensure their preservation, Special Collections had a safety film negative and an archival print prepared from each fragile glass plate.

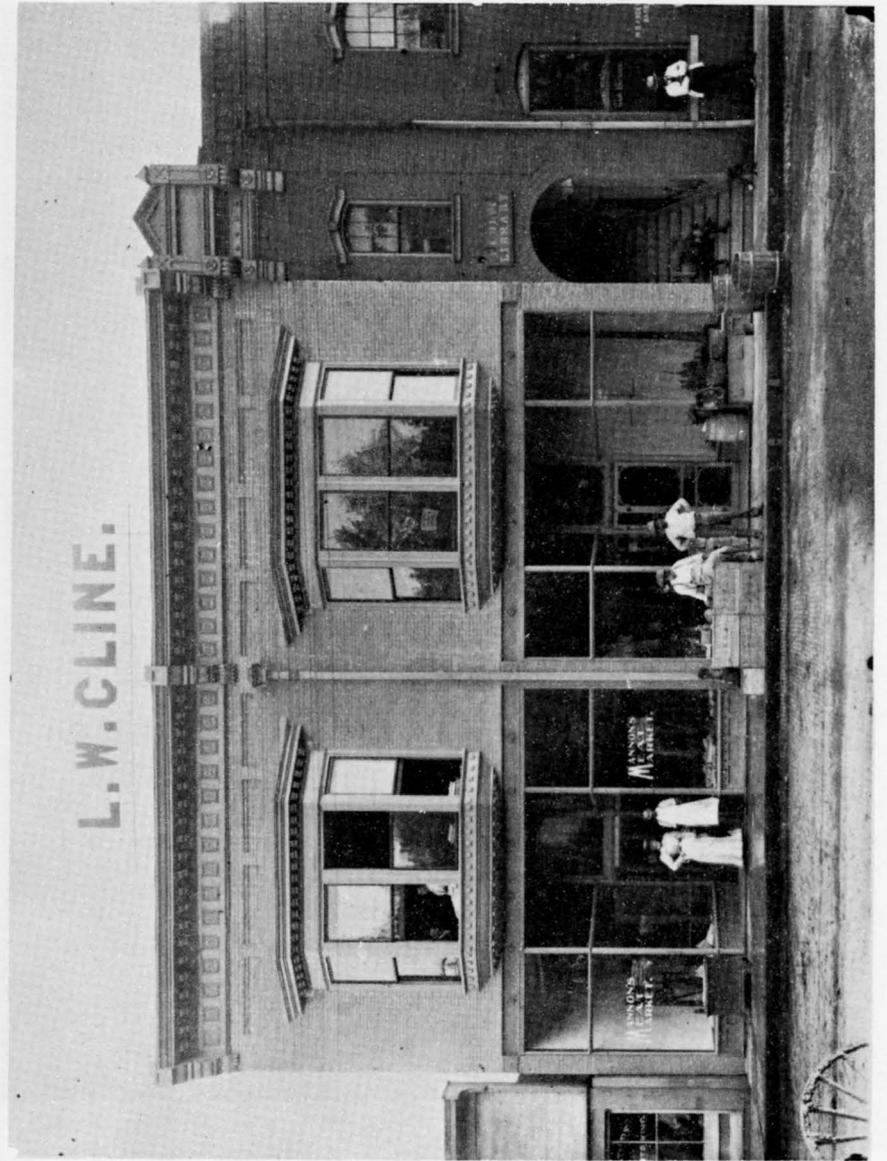
(The reproductions on the following pages lack much of the clarity and sparkle of the original negatives but remain excellent glimpses of the early part of the century. What little is known about each particular photograph will appear in the brief captions. No attempt has been made to date every picture, but costume styles and other internal evidence indicate all were taken in the decade prior to the first World War. Each is of Litchfield, a town of then approximately 6,000, lying forty or so miles south of Springfield. Of particular interest is the group portrait of the Southern Illinois Art League, which may hold a place in the history of the young art form of photography. According to Mr. Morton's calculations, the association, which still holds annual meetings in the area, is the oldest photographic club in the United States. *K.W.D.*)



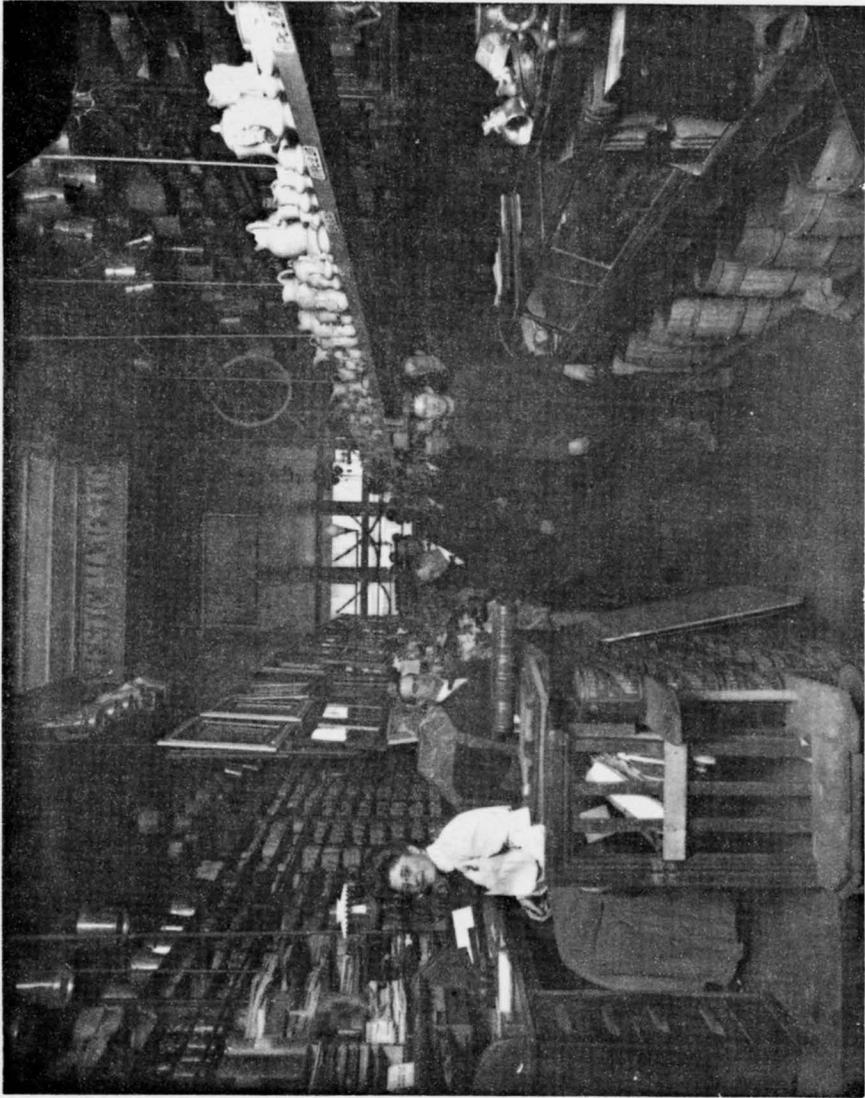
City council chambers. The sign says: Please Don't Spit On The Floor.



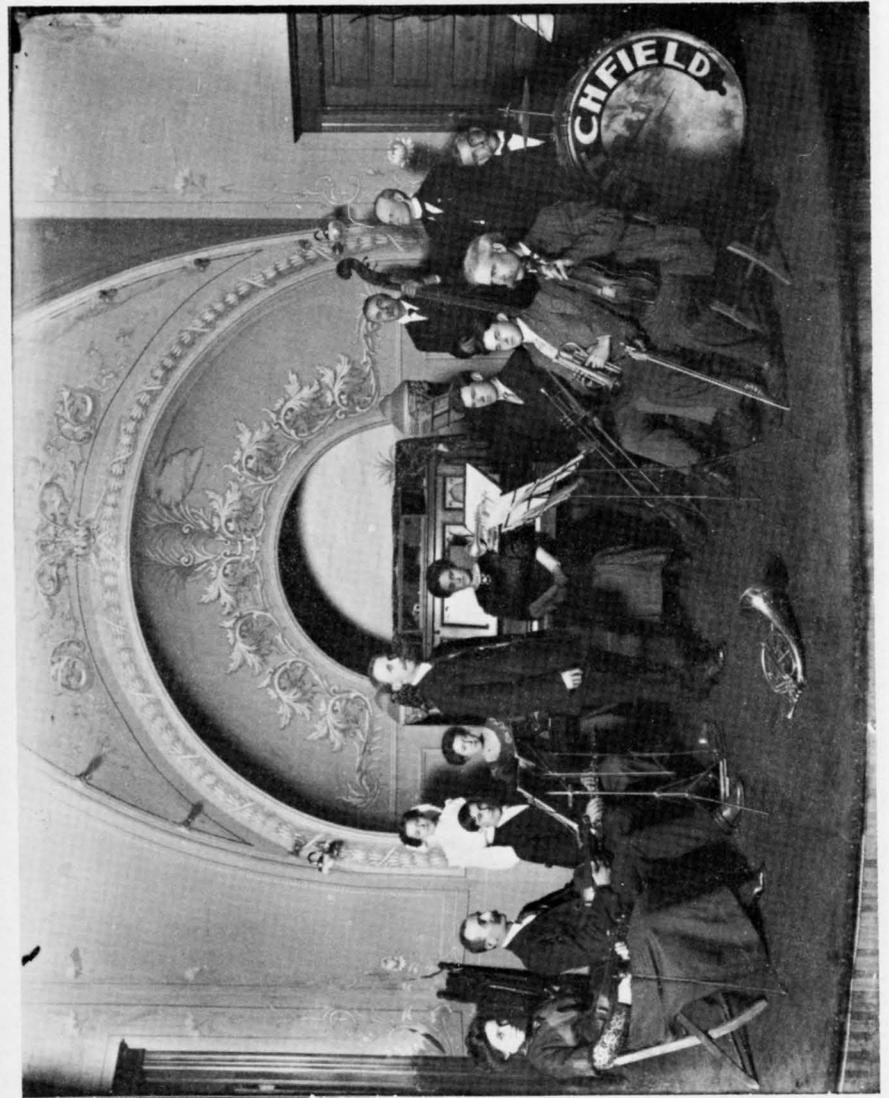
Bricking over Hood street, about 1900.



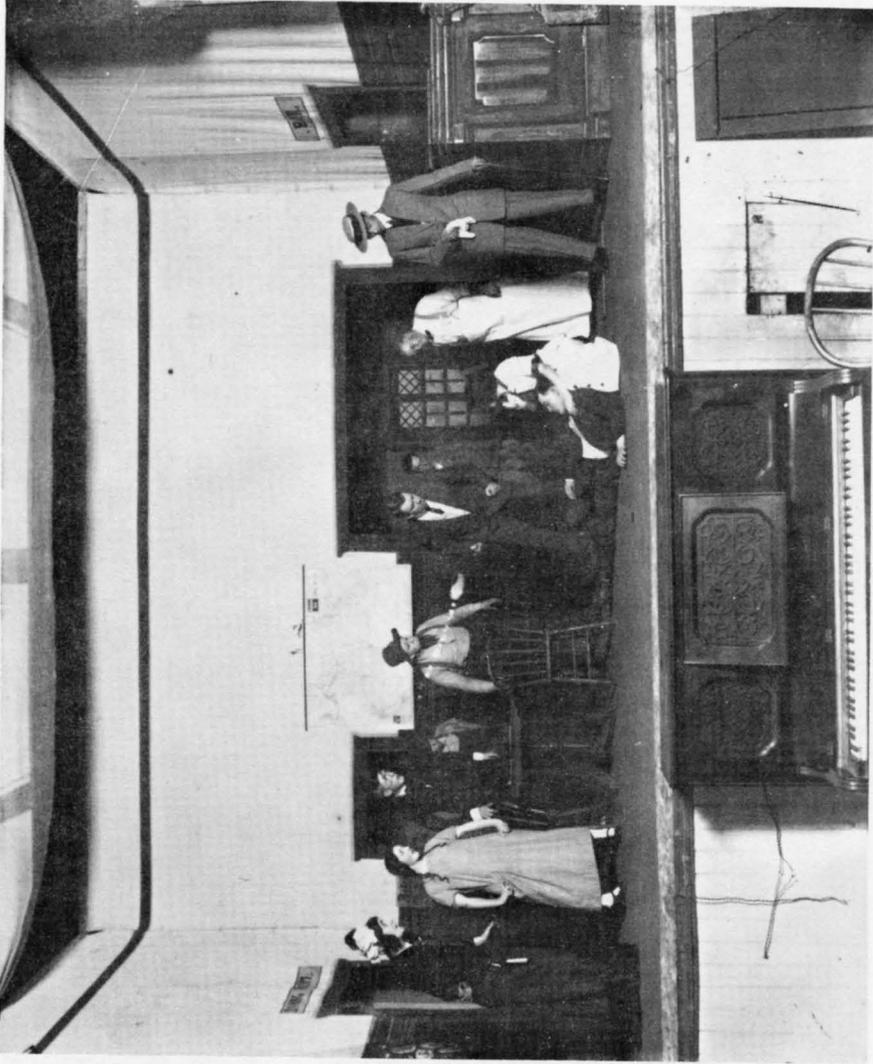
Furniture store-undertaking parlour, meat market, grocery, public library and barber shop.



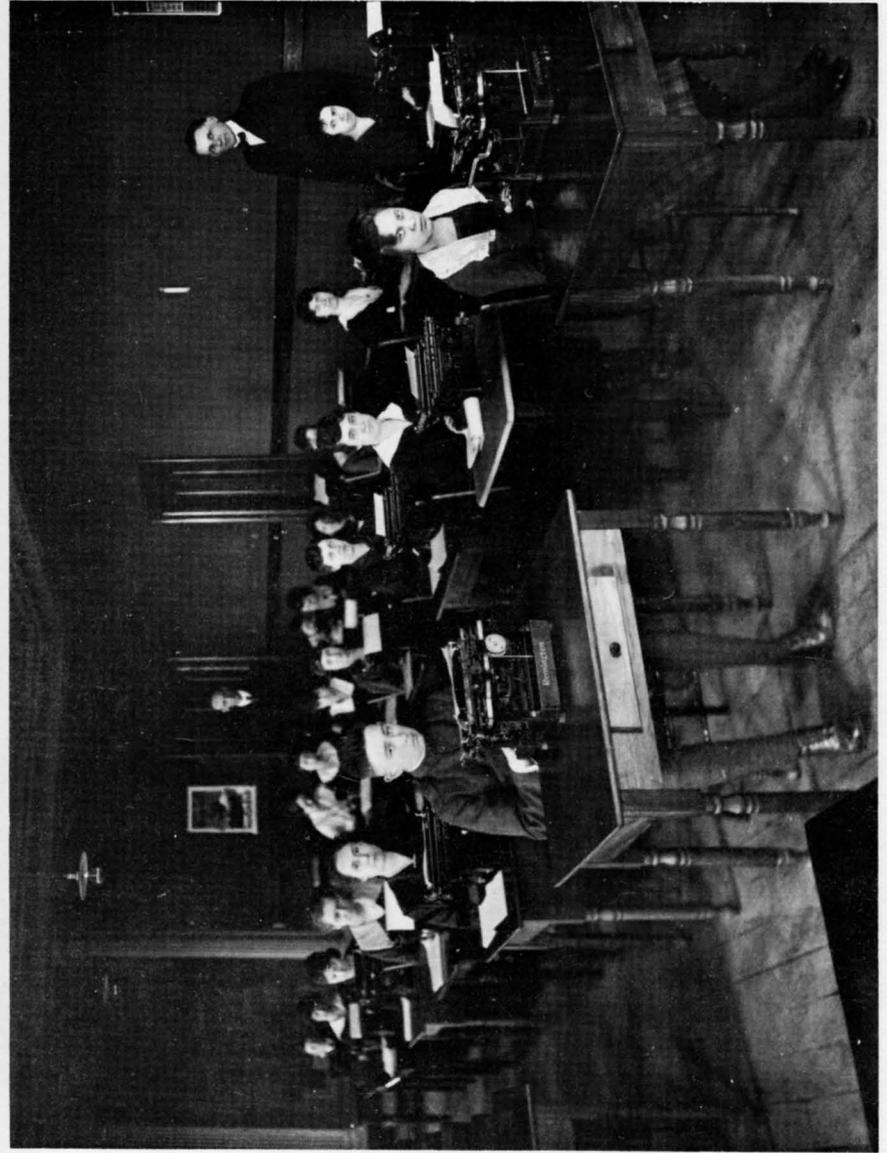
E. M. Austin's hardware store.



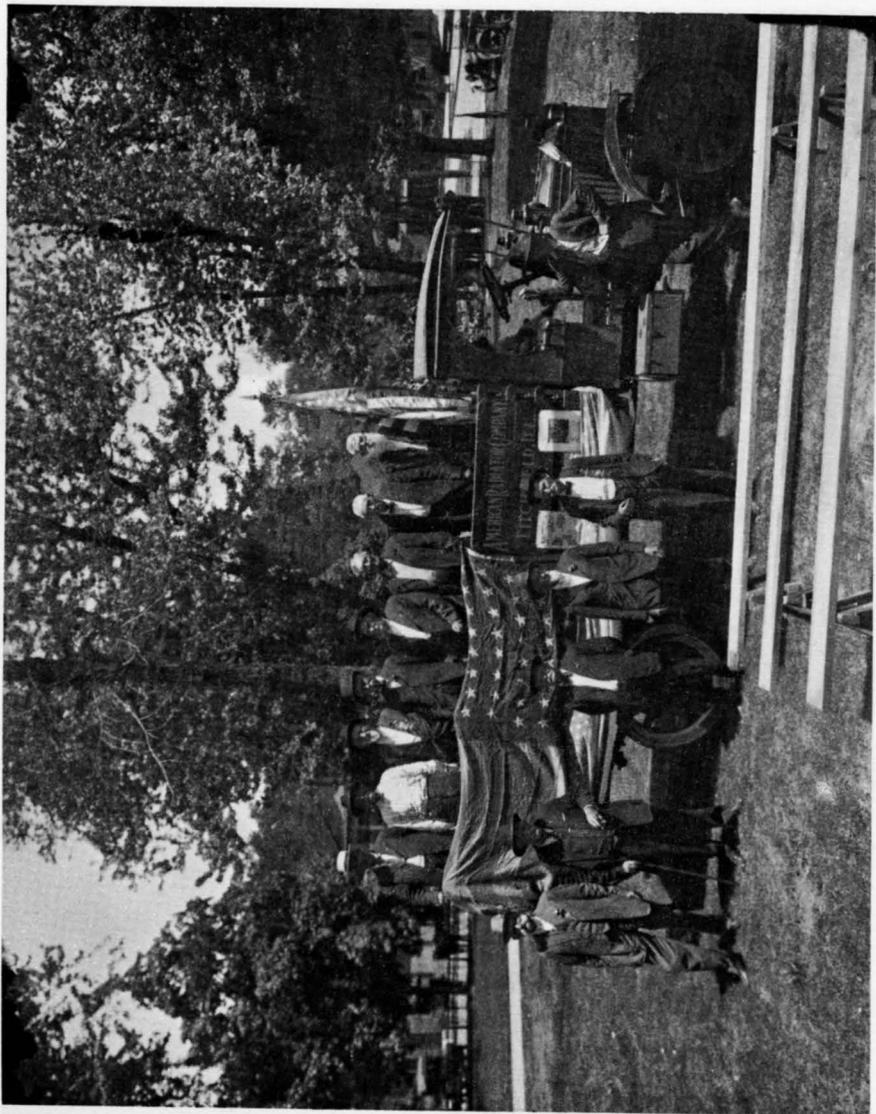
Christian church orchestra and vocalists.



The fight scene from a local theatrical production.



Litchfield Business College, during World War I.



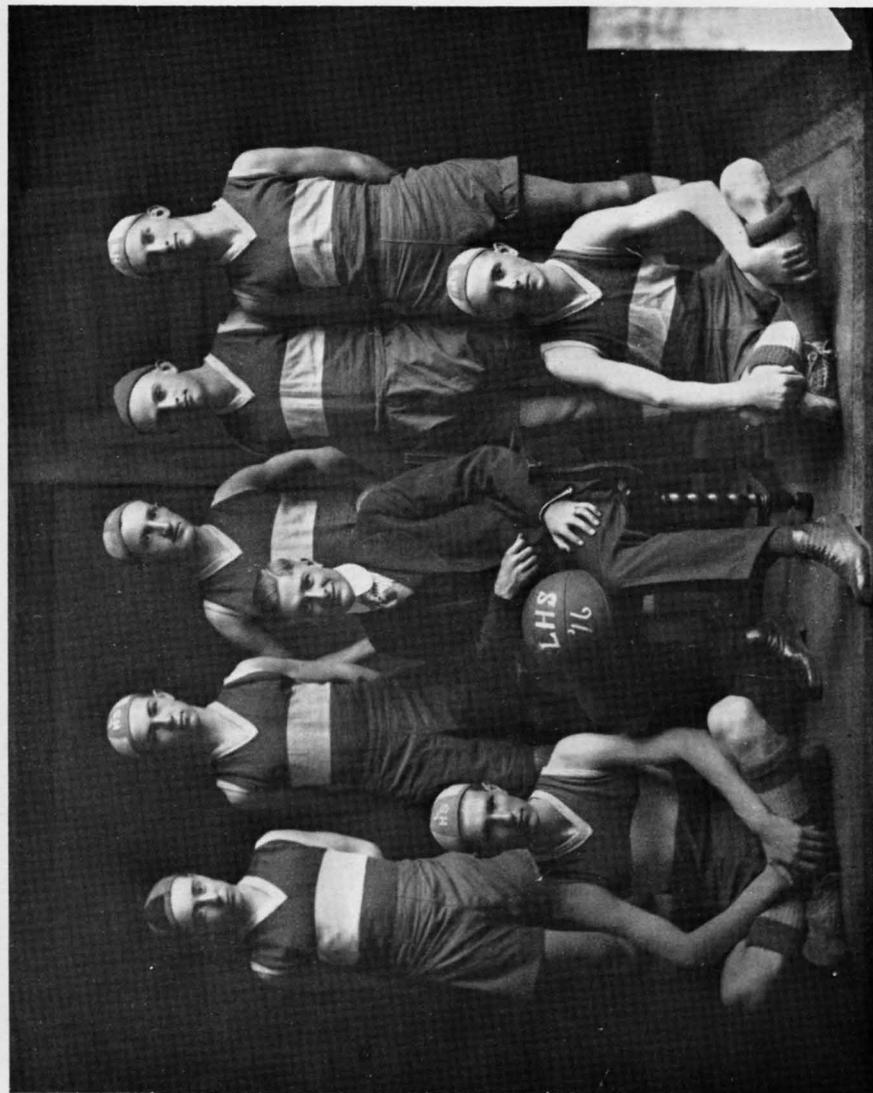
Grand Army of the Republic, probably after a 4th of July parade.



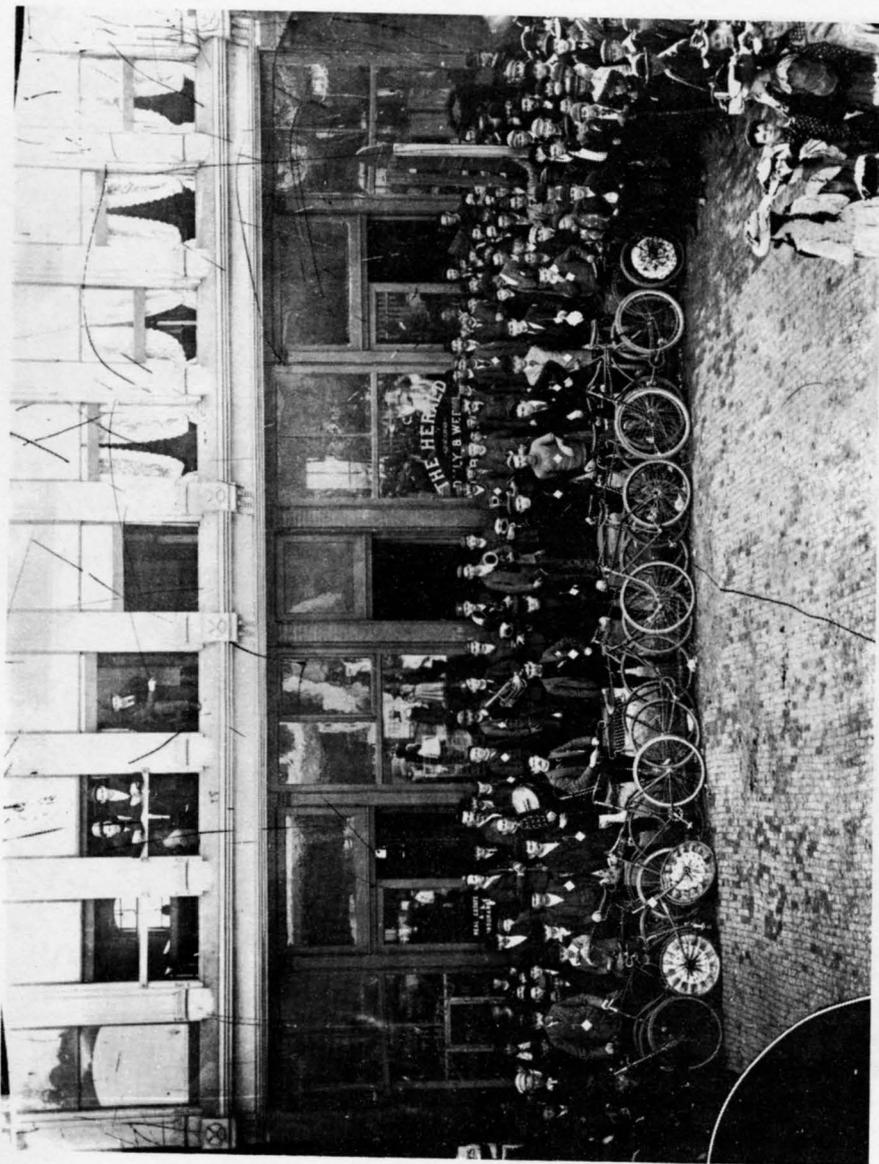
L. E. Meyers's automobile touring party.



Owners and employees of the Litchfield Wholesale Grocery.



High school basketball team, 1916.



ACA (American Cycle Association?) poses with a brass band in front of the newspaper office.

Robert Graves The Art of Revision

John Woodrow Presley

The study of literary manuscripts is one of the most rewarding of all scholarly pursuits, since leafing through these records of creation is almost like watching the writer at work. The Robert Graves manuscripts at Southern Illinois University¹ are particularly fascinating since Graves is a master of revision. As G. S. Fraser has said, Graves "is a model for young writers of a strong and pure style."² Since, as Graves has publicly stated at various times in his career,³ he averages from six to eighteen drafts of a poem (besides his continual revisions of poetry for republications), there is abundant material for the student who wants to see the gradual growth of Graves's work. Both his poetry and his prose manuscripts show a disciplined approach to craft. The poetry, as anyone familiar with Graves's criticism would expect, seems to be the result of inspiration transformed by quite conscious work, since often a two-line first draft later becomes a five-stanza poem in a formal ballad form. What will surprise many Graves readers is the almost equal care he takes in revising all but the most casual of his prose.

In addition, Graves's prose manuscripts are the record of a singularly practical approach to writing. Graves has always maintained that his popular and prize-winning prose was written solely to support his secluded life in Majorca and his poetry. The SIU-C collection supports Graves's contention. The *Claudius* novels were built upon the foundation of anecdotes from classical sources; the Sergeant Lamb novels are formed from the incidents found in the real Lamb's *Journal* (1809) and *Memoir* (1811). Details of the novel are fleshed out from other contemporary records, including journals kept by men in Lamb's own regiment. Outlines, chronological tables, glossaries, source lists—the collection abounds in these devices of the historical novelist, and occasionally Graves uses such

techniques even in his "purer" fiction.

In writing *Antigua, Penny, Puce*, one of his early novels, Graves apparently corrected the autograph draft three times, once with the same blue ink in which the draft was written, once with black ink, and once with pencil. The revisions are mostly stylistic—revisions within the boundaries of the sentence—rather than deletions or jugglings of whole paragraphs or episodes (as Joyce often did), but some alterations do show Graves's changing conception of the novel. The opening paragraphs were revised often and late; Graves found it difficult to evoke immediately the odd combination of colloquial tone and ironic distance which the persona of the narrator developed during the composition of the novel.

Other characters in *Antigua, Penny, Puce* changed, too. Oliver, the brother and unsuccessful novelist, is a classic "also-ran" in life and in school, never quite making first eleven in anything; Graves adds details which make him even more ineffectual. In the first draft, the books on Oliver's shelf are by Henry James, George Meredith, W. H. Hudson, Joseph Conrad, and Virginia Woolf; the final text changes the list to Conrad, Hudson, Mary Webb, Eric Linklater, Sheila Kaye-Smith, and the Powys brothers, a group by and large less impressive, indicating the superficiality of Oliver's tastes. Though Graves deletes a few oblique references to public-school platonic homosexuality from early versions, emphasis on a bedside photo at Charchester firmly establishes Oliver as a mother's boy—damning, but less so than the early version would have it. The final paragraph in Chapter 4, which apologizes in fine nineteenth century style for lingering at Charchester, is a late addition, but affirms that a knowledge of public school "bloods" is necessary to understanding Oliver.

Chapters 5 and 6, the most fantastic and the funniest section of the novel, underwent a great deal of revision. Here, where Graves develops Jane's theatrical success and her scientific study of drama, aesthetics, and sex appeal, many pages are glued composites, with lengthy insertions written later in black ink. There are substantial interlinear revisions in the sections dealing with Jane's varied career, first as exotic dancer Nuda Elkan, then as Madam Blanca, Doris Edwards, and as the founder of Folly's Resurrections cigarettes (made from the butts dropped in theater lobbies). This very funny sequence apparently was among the most difficult

sections for Graves to write, demanding sudden changes in tone to match the development of Jane's character.

Other sections in *Antigua, Penny, Puce* show Graves's close attention to detail and his use of objective material. Just as he had sought advice on philately from Harold Cooke and sent members of his circle to London stamp auctions (and used their drawings and notes), so he sought advice on the legal aspects of his plots. W. A. Fuller, the London barrister whom Graves engaged to check over the manuscript, gave him very valuable advice on the difference between ownership and possession (on which the plot of *Antigua, Penny, Puce* depends), the procedure for obtaining an injunction, and other information necessary for legal verisimilitude. Fuller provided models of writs and injunctions used in the novel, and he suggested that Graves examine newspaper accounts of civil actions in the King's Bench Division. In fact, Graves went even further in his quest for realism: the manuscript of Chapter 12, which includes "a sequence of three extracts from three different newspapers," actually has a newsclipping pasted in, with the names of the fictional characters written over the real names reported in the newspaper. The clipping includes the instruction from the justice, asking Oliver not to refer to his counsel as his "friend." This is in the dramatic form then used by English papers to report complicated court proceedings; apparently Graves could not resist inserting it, and it appears in the printed text.

The manuscripts of *The Anger of Achilles*, Graves's prose translation of the *Iliad*, show another aspect of his work habits: his reliance upon his secretary, Kenneth (Karl) Gay, as an editor. Gay's editing never quite becomes collaboration; it is, rather, as Graves himself says, "patient critical help." But there is no denying that Gay's help shapes Graves's prose style to a considerable extent.

The Anger of Achilles was apparently written book-by-book rather than in complete drafts, since some early chapters went through many more revisions than others did. Graves writes a draft of a book of his translation in ink, then Gay types a second draft, incorporating whatever interlinear changes—or oral instructions—Graves provides. Then both Graves and Gay edit this draft, Graves invariably changing the diction of the sentence, making his language more precise and his grammar more balanced and elegant. Gay, careful always to use a contrasting pen or pencil, underlines

superfluous words and unnecessary function words, including even syllables such as "ess" which may be repeated in words like "goddess," "careless," or "goodness," and words and morphemes which Graves sometimes overuses, such as "ing." And Graves usually takes Gay's advice, deleting or altering words and phrases thus marked. This close attention to diction obviously accounts for the "epic" quality of the prose in *The Anger of Achilles*, since what Gay and Graves typically do is chop a sentence, particularly its verbs and verbals, to bare essentials.

A simple example of this process at work can be found by following the first sentence of the book through its various incarnations:

Draft 1: All the chariot-driving Greek officers and all the Gods, except Zeus, slept through that night.

Draft 2: Not only all the Greeks of chariot-driving rank, but all the gods too, with the sole exception of Zeus, slept through that night.

Draft 3: Not only every Greek of chariot-driving rank, but every Olympian too, Zeus alone excepted, slept the whole night through.

The syntax, which moves from simple coordination to a nice balance, is effected by Graves alone; however, the redundant "all" and other wordiness was first noted by Gay, and Graves alters the sentence accordingly.

Some of Gay's editing is accepted and printed outright: in Book Eleven, Gay changes "Come, my armour" to "Quick, my armour," and the change appears in the published text. However, there are disagreements: in marginal notes, Graves explains that Gay need not mark "careless" and "nevertheless" unless they appear very close together, since they are accented differently. In one of the typescripts of Book Fourteen, Graves reproves Gay thus: "Karl: I see no *out* for a page and a half." So the process continues; Graves and Gay continue their "dialogue," and Graves continues to tinker with the diction of his work, even on the proofs.

A good example of the effect of this tinkering is the opening paragraph of Book Five. The corrected first draft reads:

Now, a rich Trojan nobleman, named Dares, Priest of Hephaestus had two sons, Phegeus and Idaeus who were very capable soldiers, and shared a chariot. From it they together attacked Diomedes who had by now dismounted. Phegeus hurled his long spear but aimed too high and it flew harmlessly over Diomedes' left shoulder. Diomedes' return cast was more effective; it struck Phegeus full on the chest and knocked him off the chariot. Idaeus, not daring to defend his dead brother's body against spoliation, abandoned his car and ran off, well aware that this was his sole chance of avoiding death. Hephaestus to spare his old priest more grief than he could bear, assisted Idaeus with a veil of invisibility.

The final draft has a much simplified syntax, placing the emphasis more effectively on the combatants and their actions:

Phegeus and Idaeus, sons of a rich Trojan nobleman named Dares, priest of Hephaestus, were capable soldiers and shared the same chariot. Together they attacked Diomedes of the Loud War-Cry, who was now fighting on foot. Phegeus hurled his spear, but it travelled high over Diomedes's left shoulder. His return cast was more effective; it struck Phegeus full on the chest and sent him flying out of the chariot. Idaeus, not daring to defend the corpse from spoliation, abandoned their beautiful equipage, convinced that he could avoid the same fate by flight alone; and indeed Hephaestus cast a veil of invisibility around him, thus sparing old Dias [sic] further grief. Diomedes, however, captured the chariot, and some of his men led the team off towards the naval camp.

Besides the obvious changes in diction Graves has made, the muddled tense sequences have disappeared, and the relative clause constructions have been shifted to emphasize the action, rather than the exposition of motive and cause. Repetitions are eliminated, and the writing made more vivid; Phegeus is now "sent . . . flying out of the chariot," replacing the prosaic "knocked." The typescript reveals that the formulaic epithet for Diomedes is supplied in Gay's handwriting, as is the pronoun substituted for the name in the fourth sentence. Gay's editorial marks on the second typescript, noting repetitions of "who," "had," "his," "with," and the infinitive phrases in the last two sentences, are no doubt responsible for Graves's direction of revision.

The SIU-C collection abounds in evidence of Gay's skill (and tact) as an editor-secretary. On page 61 of the *Pharsalia* typescript, Gay reproves the inconsistency of diction; when Graves refers to Marseilles as a city, Gay comments in the margin, "You call it 'city' here, but on pp. 63, 64, 65 you consistently call it 'town.'" Graves answers in a note just below, "Town is the physical entity, city the

political concept—as a rule.” But the words “city” and “town” were later replaced by synonyms such as “place” or by the names of the towns themselves.

Similarly, in one of the explanatory notes for “The Demon Lover” included at the end of *English and Scottish Ballads*, Graves says a girl was forced to marry again after her betrothed was drowned at sea. Gay, in a marginal note, asks, “Not having been married before, how can she marry again?” Graves dutifully changes the phrase to “married another man.”

This close cooperation does not extend into the composition of Graves's poetry. He writes the many drafts himself. By the time a typescript is produced, the poem has very nearly taken its final shape, and the minor changes in diction are, with only a few exceptions, in Graves's handwriting.

The poetry manuscripts in the collection illustrate Graves's adherence to his theory that poetry is the result of inspiration transformed by conscious revision and refinement. Surprisingly, there are a very few “intractables” in the unpublished manuscript group; there are some light, occasional verses, some calypso and Beatle parodies which are discarded, but very few false starts, once Graves begins a serious poem. First drafts of poetry are generally on Graves's personal stationery, but some are on the versos of dry goods tickets, hotel reservation cards, even flattened ice-cream boxes (which would seem to provide evidence of the poet's spontaneity). These poems appear sometimes in as many as eighteen drafts (in one case, thirty), while Graves constantly refines, particularly working on the syntax and meter. Occasionally he will even combine two first drafts, discovering a happy juxtaposition of image or statement, but generally his revisions of poetry are aimed at stripping away, leaving only that part of the poem which is most powerful.

For example, early versions of “The Sweet-Shop Round the Corner” have weak endings. In these, after the boy realizes that the woman buying him sweets is not his mother, he cries out “O Mother, are you dead?” after which four lines of explanation continue:

And his despair
Drew strangled sobs of grief from her; For there
Stood the real mother, elegant, plump and staid,
Who cuffed him smartly for this escapade!

A late typescript replaces these rather superfluous lines with “What else could a child say?” This revision effectively moves the focus of the poem's ending to the ragged woman who is buying the sweets, replacing the rather easy irony of the mother's return with the undefined bewilderment of the child and the implied anguish of the ragged woman. The poem takes on much greater power by the deletion of this rather easy ending.

Graves constantly looks for the part of his work which he can omit, forcing the reader to complete the inference, to “participate” in the creation of the poem while reading it. “Above the Edge of Doom,” one of the most powerful of the Black Goddess poems, illustrates this. The reader hears the woman speak and knows that her words veil a threat, but the threat is not voiced. However, in a more explicit early version titled “Woman Alone,” the female explains the exact nature of the threat; she sometimes thinks her lover understands her

(Yet if he did, I should be here no longer;
My womanhood means lying all alone,
Discoursing with myself).

Later in this version, the man's fate is stated even more clearly:

When woman casts her eye upon two men
It is the stronger goes to the wall.

By omitting the threat itself in the published text, Graves creates a greater impact. The man's relative importance is emphasized here by the woman's manner when she speaks to him, “as it were apostrophizing cat or dog,” and her final “It may be best you cannot read my mind” leaves the reader to guess at her immense, spiderish power over her lover.

Like most writers, during the process of revision Graves alters the diction of a poem, varying a word from draft to draft, searching for the precise effect. In “Postscript” (which is retitled “I'd Die for You” in the *Collected Poems*, 1965, and moved to an earlier section than the rest of the poems from *Love Respelt*), which illustrates the conflicts of love, early versions explain the antagonism of the couple as “love and jealousy.” Since the first line, “I'd die for you, and [sic] you for me,” implies love, the second line is changed to “So perfect is our jealousy” in intermediate drafts. But still, “perfect” implies a

static, completed relationship; "furious," the final choice, adds a note of near-irrational activity and hostility, plus adding a ninth syllable to the line, causing a break in the perfect iambic tetrameter, so that the final couplet, which returns to the tetrameter, creates a sense of finality, of closure, "slamming" this little epigram shut.

These diction changes can be quite revealing of the artist at work. For example, the manuscripts of "The Red Shower" show Graves following an age-old principle of composition, concreteness of noun and verb, when he changes "These are hot sparks from the central anvil" to "Live sparks rain from the central anvil/In a red shower." However, in the final lines, Graves wisely reverses the procedure, generalizing the diction, making the image of the sparks much more evocative and the final lines more universal and less personal. The intermediate drafts read:

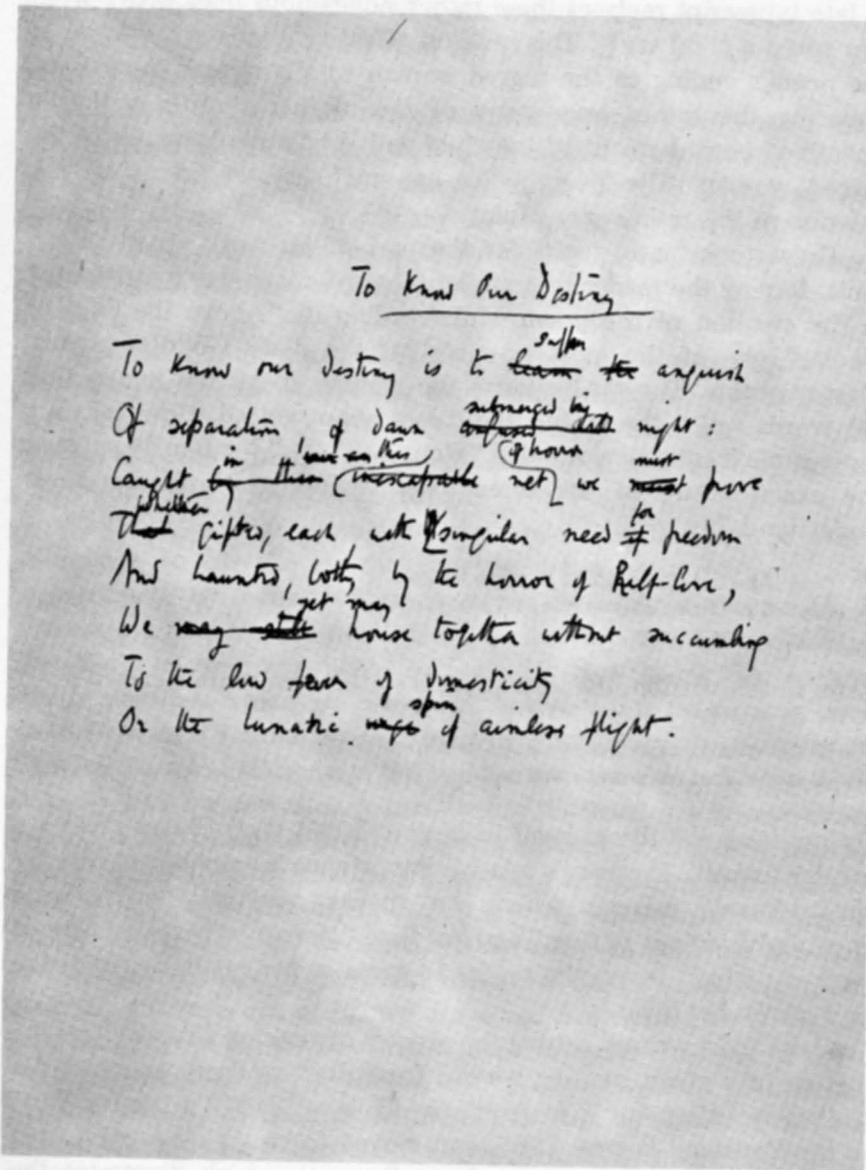
Let them beware
Who would read love as history, pondering on
An old man's madness or a girl's despair

The final version, in addition to generalizing the diction, adds another line to make a third rhyme:

Let all beware
Who read the event as history, frowning at
What they may find of madness there:
Felicity endangering despair.

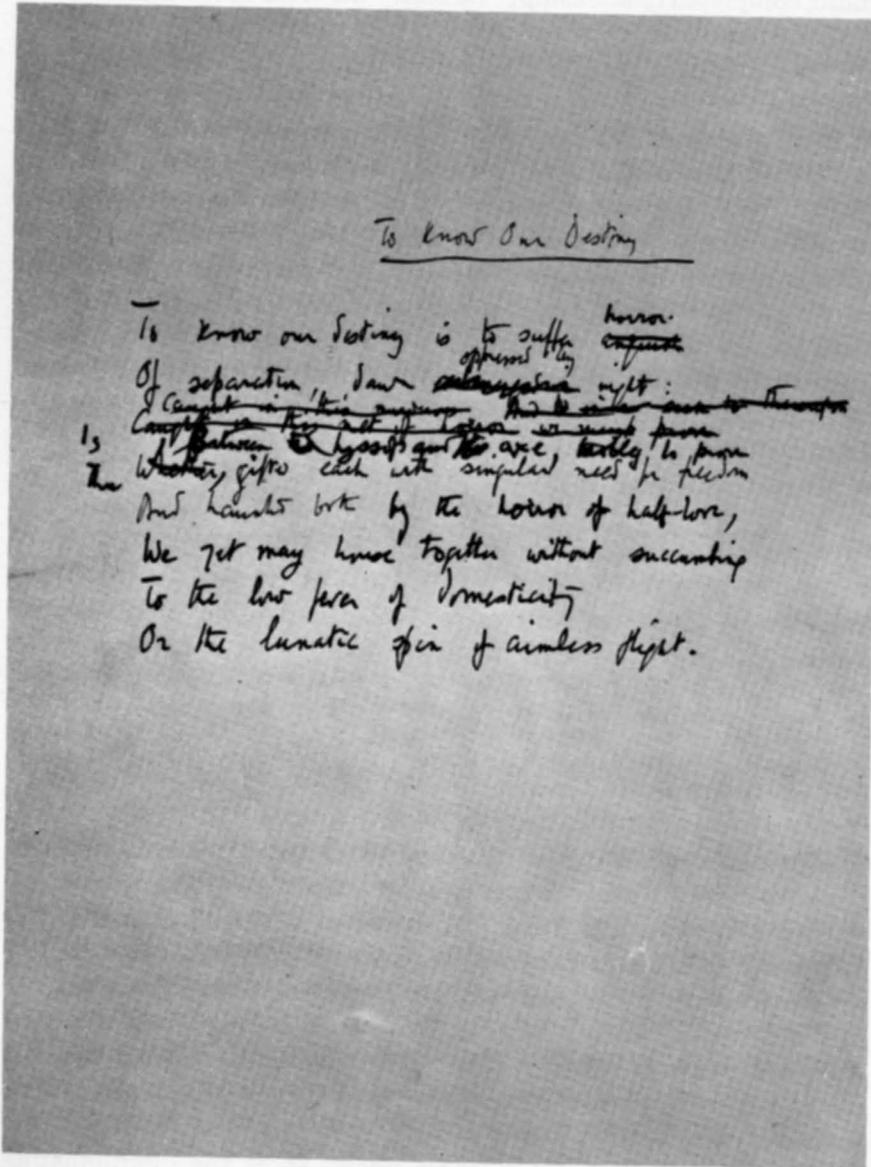
The process here is typical of many of Graves's poems during this period: a striking image is presented, the result of sudden inspiration (or sometimes even a dream, as evidence in the SIU-C collection suggests); this image is then linked with a private emotion or experience, which the process of revision transforms by generalizing the diction, tightening the rhythm, and adding contrasting or complementary imagery. Readers of Yeats will recognize Graves's methods here as similar to those used by Yeats in the composition of his later poetry.

The later manuscripts of these poems show the discriminating artist at work. Here, after versions are combined, line order is established, the thoughts completed, the poet finalizes his rhythm, tightens his phrasing, and concentrates upon stylistic matters. Several late versions of "Between Hyssop and Axe," one of the best of



Early draft of "Between Hyssop and Axe" with working title "To Know Our Destiny."

Graves's recent love lyrics, illustrates the mature stylist at work. (In each quoted version, Graves's corrections appear over the line; deletions are struck through.)



Major revision of "To Know Our Destiny," adding line that ultimately becomes the title, "Between Hyssop and Axe."

is to learn the anguish

To know our destiny ~~we must learn the evils~~
 of dawn confused with
 Of separation, ~~when day is turned to~~ night:
 inescapable
 Caught by this ~~irreparable~~ net of love we must prove
 That gifted, each with a singular need for freedom
 both half-love
 And haunted each by the horror of imperfection-
 may
 We still ~~can~~ huddle together without succumbing
 low fever
 To the ~~cold habit~~ of domesticity
 lunatic urge aimless
 Or the ~~fires spur~~ of aimless lunatic flight.

In this draft, the order of ideas is established: the lovers' knowledge of their destiny is balanced by the responsibility such knowledge brings. This balance, and the antithetical urges of "aimless flight" and "domesticity," are reflected in the syntactic parallelism and antithesis which Graves introduces and emphasizes in these late drafts. The first line is completed with another infinitive phrase; line 2 is made parallel by another preposition. "Haunted both" is syntactically parallel to "gifted, each," but the opposition of "both" and "each" prepare for the series of antitheses which end the poem. There are some minor, but effective, diction changes ("may" increases the dangers, and the changes in line 3 make it stronger), but the most striking changes are in the final lines. "Cold habit" is really too easy an association with the "fires" of passion; by reversing the imagery, Graves creates a much more striking antithesis. In addition, "low fever" connotes a restrained, repressed activity, in contrast to "the lunatic spin of aimless flight."

A still later version continues the process:

To know our destiny is to suffer ~~anguish~~ ^{horror}
 Of separation, dawn ~~submerged in~~ ^{oppressed by} night:
 Is between hyssop and axe, nobly to prove
~~Caught in this net of horror we must prove~~
 That
~~Whether~~, gifted each with singular need for freedom
 And haunted both by the horror of half-love,
 We yet may house together without succumbing
 To the low fever of domesticity
 Or the lunatic spin of aimless flight.

Revision of the first lines continues until this final version, the published text:

To know our destiny is to know the horror
 Of separation, dawn oppressed by night:
 Is, between hyssop and axe, boldly to prove
 That gifted, each, with singular need for freedom
 And haunted, both, by spectres of reproach,
 We may yet house together without succumbing
 To the low fever of domesticity
 Or to the lunatic spin of aimless flight.

Finally, the syntactic parallelism is made even more explicit by repetition in line 1; line 2 has its parallelism veiled somewhat by the deletion of the second "of" (though the appositive construction of the phrase indicates that the preposition is still present in the deep structure of the sentence). "Submerged," which would have introduced extraneous associations, is tried, then dropped; likewise, "nobly" is omitted, probably for the same reason. "Horror" becomes too repetitious after the revisions of the first line, so a much more effective phrase (because the metaphor makes it more concrete) is substituted in line 5: "spectres of reproach." The final touch, though (and most characteristic of Graves), is in line 3, where the completely new phrase, "between hyssop and axe," with all its mythic connection to the goddess' lover, replaces the rather vague and overused net image. The images of hyssop and axe, which so economically sum up the career of the priest-lover, from wedding to final fate, show that "inspiration" can occur at any point in the writing process. These images, together with the more emphatic syntax created by the final image, give "Between Hyssop and Axe" the resignation to fate which is one of the strengths of Graves's most

recent poetry.

These methods and habits of composition, while probably not uniquely Graves's own, show an attention to detail which is astounding when one considers how prolific Graves has been during his long career. Vast amounts of work have gone into each of the well over one hundred books he has produced. The discipline that allows him to work steadily at research, outlining, rewriting, checking, and more rewriting is difficult for most of us to understand, but part of Graves's strength as an artist stems from his absolute dedication to his work. His public pronouncements on this subject and its importance have irritated some, but the SIU-C collection offers evidence that Graves puts his theories into practice; it is here that he best offers himself as a model for younger writers.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Robert Graves and A. P. Watt and Son Co. for permission to quote from Mr. Graves's manuscripts and published texts.
2. *Vision and Rhetoric* (London, 1959), p. 144.
3. An early example of this sort of discussion can be found in the description of a visit with Thomas Hardy in *Goodbye to All That*, rev. ed. (London: Cassell & Co., 1958), p. 270. Graves constantly refers to his own composition habits in both his early and later criticism. J. M. Cohen's *Robert Graves* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; New York: Grove Press, 1960) emphasizes the importance and the difficulties sometimes caused (for critics) by Graves's revisions for republication.

The Open Court Papers

Claudia McKenzie Foster

Many of the early papers of the Open Court Publishing Company are now available to researchers at Special Collections, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Name indexes and other finding aids have been prepared for over fifty cubic feet of correspondence, manuscripts, galley proofs, and other office records, the bulk of which cover the years 1887 to 1919. These papers are of particular interest because they contain an extensive amount of correspondence with many of the cultural and intellectual leaders of this period. Furthermore, the collection provides a valuable historical record of a unique American publishing adventure.

The Open Court Publishing Company was founded by Edward C. Hegeler of LaSalle, Illinois, in 1887 for the purpose of publishing a small fortnightly journal devoted to the "religion of science." Shortly after the first issue of *The Open Court* appeared, however, the company rapidly began to expand its activities to include the publication of a broad range of other scholarly and philosophical literature.

Much of Open Court's early growth was due to the active and energetic leadership of Paul Carus, Hegeler's son-in-law and editor of Open Court for all but nine months of its first thirty-two years. Through his efforts, Open Court founded a second journal, *The Monist*, devoted to the "philosophy of science," began its Religion of Science Library, and pioneered in the publication of inexpensive paperback editions of important new, as well as classical, works in philosophy, religion, science, and mathematics.

After Carus's death in 1919, his wife, Mary Hegeler Carus, became editor of Open Court. In honor of her husband, she initiated the Carus Lecture Series in philosophy and the Carus Mathematical Monographs. The Carus Lecture Series, which began with the

publication of John Dewey's *Experience and Nature*, has continued to publish significant new works by such philosophers as George Herbert Mead, Morris R. Cohen, Brand Blanshard, C. I. Lewis, and Stephen C. Pepper. The Mathematical Monographs have also been distinguished by their contribution to contemporary thought, providing essays by Ernst Mach, Georg Cantor, Florian Cajori, and David Hilbert, among others.

Although *The Open Court* and *The Monist* were discontinued after Mary Carus's death in 1936, Open Court continued to pursue the goals and the other activities which had characterized the earlier period. In addition, through the efforts of more recent members of the Carus family, Open Court has made arrangements to publish the Library of Living Philosophers, has developed a series of public school texts and materials, has revived *The Monist* under the editorship of Eugene Freeman since 1962, and has recently brought out a cleverly written and illustrated children's magazine called *Cricket*.

The Open Court Papers cover a particularly interesting period in the history of the firm's involvement in the intellectual life of America. The earliest papers in the collection include letters exchanged between Hegeler and B. F. Underwood, editor of Open Court for its first nine months. This correspondence, begun in 1886, discloses a great deal about the men who started Open Court and the ideals they were hoping to perpetuate. The bulk of the collection, however, contains the correspondence, 1887-1919, of Paul Carus. It was during this period that Open Court evolved from the publisher of a small journal to a preeminent publisher of scholarly literature.

Hegeler, an avid reader of philosophical and religious literature for many years, had not become involved in the publishing business until he was over fifty years old. Trained as a metallurgical engineer in his German homeland, Hegeler had immigrated to the United States as a young man and eventually became the co-owner of a very successful zinc works in LaSalle, Illinois. Having distinguished himself as a metallurgist and businessman, Hegeler was then free to devote much of his attention and personal resources to promoting the ideas which had become significant in his own thinking. He founded *The Open Court*, not as a financial investment, but in order to advance the scientific approach to religion and a monistic view of the universe. With his philanthropic support *The Open Court* was

able to pursue his objectives for nearly fifty years, 1887 to 1936.

Open Court's first editor, B. F. Underwood, had been the editor of a journal called *The Index*. A publication of the Free Religious Association, a group of particularly liberal Unitarians, *The Index* was committed to a philosophy of religion very similar to, although not identical with, Hegeler's. When financial difficulties forced discontinuation of *The Index* in 1887, Hegeler hired Underwood to found *The Open Court* in order "to continue the work of *The Index*."

Much of the initial support of *The Open Court* came, through Underwood's encouragement, from former readers of *The Index* and the authors it published. Underwood's involvement in the Free Religious Association not only contributed to the early circulation of *The Open Court*, but it also seems to have influenced the selection of articles as well. While Hegeler had been interested in presenting and discussing monistic philosophy, Underwood had printed only one essay on this subject while editor. Consistent with the interests and attitudes of the Free Religious Association, however, he had accepted many essays critical of established religious doctrines and practices, something Hegeler had not intended to emphasize. While Underwood and Hegeler had shared an interest in promoting the scientific approach to religion, they did not share a common view of how this could best be accomplished.

While Hegeler hoped that his journal would promote a radical and fearless scientific investigation of religion, he did not wish to attack established religions, but to present a reconciliation between science and religion based on monism. It was not until Paul Carus became editor of *The Open Court* later in the year 1887 that the journal began to reflect more clearly the goals of its founder.

In his *Monism and Meliorism: A Philosophical Essay on Causality and Ethics* (1885), Carus had outlined a position very similar to the philosophy Hegeler wished to advance. Both men had rejected traditional dualisms between the natural and the supernatural, maintaining that all nature could be understood through a single, unitary set of principles grounded in science. After a brief correspondence, during which they became aware of their common interests and goals, Hegeler invited Carus to come to LaSalle as his personal secretary, tutor for his children, and assistant editor of *The Open Court*. As a result of this arrangement Underwood soon resigned and Carus became editor of the new journal, a position he

held until his death in 1919. Carus was married to Hegeler's daughter within a year after joining the *Open Court* staff.

After Carus became editor of *The Open Court*, its statement of purpose no longer read, "to continue the work of *The Index*," but "devoted to the conciliation of Science and Religion—found in Monism." Many articles soon were published expounding or explaining new ideas in philosophy, psychology, physiology, mathematics, physics, and other areas which were thought to contribute to the development of a rational and scientific view of the universe.

In 1893 the purpose of *The Open Court* was expanded still further. Having become deeply involved in the preparations for the Parliament of Religions held at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in that year, Carus became committed to its goal of creating unity among the world's diverse religious traditions. From this point on, *The Open Court* devoted an increasing amount of space to studies of various religions, particularly those of ancient or Asian civilizations.

As a result of Carus's involvement in the Parliament of Religions, he began to correspond with the leaders of a wide variety of religious groups throughout the world. A prime series is a collection of 236 letters exchanged between Carus and Shaku Soyen and his student and translator Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Other letters not only discuss arrangements for publishing numerous books and articles on religious folklore, history, and theory, but they frequently report on the activities of many religious organizations with which Carus had become affiliated in one manner or another. These papers provide a heretofore untapped source of information about religious movements from the years 1893 to 1919.

Carus's correspondence also includes an even more extensive collection of letters from European intellectual leaders of this same period. In addition to their common commitment to monism, Hegeler and Carus shared an active interest in and respect for European scholarship. Both German immigrants to the United States, they had been greatly influenced by their own studies of continental philosophers and scientists. Before joining Open Court, Carus had written Hegeler of his desire to establish a "Transatlantic Review" which would bring significant new ideas from Europe to the attention of American readers. Encouraged by Hegeler to pursue this aim, Carus provided reviews of many new books appearing in

The Open Court Papers

Europe, first in *The Open Court*, and later in *The Monist*. When Open Court began to publish books, many of them were translations of recent German and French texts which Carus and Hegeler considered of particular importance.

Carus's interest in promoting a transatlantic exchange of ideas was also a motivating factor in the establishment of Open Court's English office in 1912. Under the editorship of Philip E. Jourdain, this office was largely devoted to the task of providing Carus with information about the most recent publications in Britain and other European countries. He solicited many reviews of the latest books in philosophy, science, and religion for *The Monist*.

Carus's correspondence with European scholars is one of the particularly interesting and valuable parts of the Open Court Papers. Including over 160 letters from Ernst Mach alone, the collection contains thousands of letters and manuscripts from other continental philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians—such men as F. Max Müller, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, and Havelock Ellis. Often they wrote to Carus, not only as an editor, but as a friend and fellow scholar, discussing personal matters, their responses to current work in their areas, and the influences on their own thought.

Carus maintained an equally warm relationship with American scholars. Highly praised for the work he was doing at Open Court, Carus had little difficulty in obtaining articles for his journals from some of the finest American minds of the day. The Open Court Papers provide a virtually complete record of Carus's correspondence with his contributing authors, and to a lesser extent the manuscripts and corrected galley proof of their articles. The correspondence files include letters from William James, G. Stanley Hall, Franz Boas, John Dewey, William Torrey Harris, Francis Parker, Robert Ingersoll, Elizabeth Stanton, and a wide range of other cultural and intellectual leaders in America during the period 1887 to 1919.

While Carus was not a pragmatist himself, he frequently published their work, and many, including Charles Peirce, wrote to him often. While Peirce was recognized by his fellow philosophers as a leader of the pragmatist school, he had considerable difficulty making a living during his later years. Carus made an effort to publish as much of Peirce's work as he could, and, judging from the account book found in the Open Court Papers, he was unusually generous in the remunerations to Peirce.

Peirce was only one of many important thinkers promoted by the Open Court Company. Dedicated to bringing the best works of the greatest minds to the attention of the largest possible public, Open Court often published books which brought little or no financial profit to the company. Because of the success of Hegeler's zinc works, he and his family have been able to concentrate on the dissemination of knowledge which would contribute to a rational and scientific world view, and thereby promote a reformation of religion which would ensure its continuing significance in men's lives. That Hegeler and Carus shared a clear and well defined philosophy of science and religion, gave purpose and direction to the rapid growth of the Open Court Company. It is this growth of their joint adventures in publishing which form the focus and recurrent theme of the Open Court Papers.

Contributors

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ELIZABETH R. EAMES is Professor of Philosophy at SIU-C. She is the author of *Bertrand Russell's Theory of Knowledge*, and has contributed essays to several cooperative volumes and numerous philosophical journals.

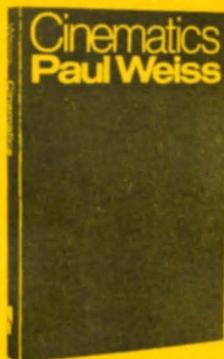
CLAUDIA McKENZIE FOSTER now lives in New Brunswick, Canada, where her husband teaches philosophy. While at SIU-C, Mrs. Foster organized the Open Court papers in Special Collections. She also prepared the catalogue for the Open Court exhibit which is a supplement to this issue of *ICarbS*.

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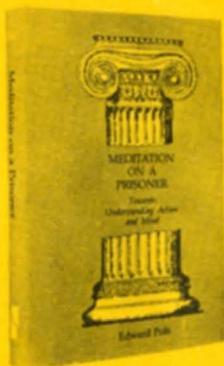
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