

PEIRCE PROJECT NEWSLETTER

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WILL NEH DISOWN SCHOLARLY EDITIONS?

Scholarly editions have been in trouble since 1996, when Congress slashed funding for the national endowments. Although small annual budget increases have restored some of that cut, NEH continues to be severely underfunded, and Chairman William Ferris is feeling the pinch.

Ferris, a folklorist from Mississippi, would like to leave his mark on the humanities programs his agency funds and wants to support more short-term, popular-culture projects. Without additional support from Congress, Ferris knows he will have to fund these projects with dollars taken from other NEH programs. The scholarly editions stand out as easy targets because they take time, and a commitment to a new edition is likely to be long-lasting. Although the scholarly editions program has been a major part of the NEH profile since the endowment was first established in 1965, Ferris believes it is time to cut the editions loose—or at least to begin doing so.

After considering this matter over a period of several months, the President's Council reached a tentative conclusion that long-term projects (principally the scholarly editions) should have outright funding limited to six years. After the first

six years, there might be another six years of dollar-for-dollar matching awards and a final six years of two-for-one matching awards (if two are raised, NEH gives one). But there would be no outright funding after six years.

For those who understand how much time and funding are required to complete scholarly editions, it is evident that this new policy would force many editions to shut down. Major editions of fifteen or more volumes would no longer be viable. Even minor editions cannot be completed in six years—and how NEH supposes an edition could continue to operate after six years on matching awards alone is hard to understand, because without some outright funding, staff cannot be kept in place while matching funds are raised.

As word of this proposed policy spread, opposition began to grow. On 6 October 2000 an article titled "Scholars Fear Humanities Endowment Is Being Dumbed Down" appeared in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. That article, by Ron Southwick, although not entirely critical of Ferris's leadership, reported that "to many scholars, the idea that the endowment supports barn photography with enthusiasm while it considers cutting

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CHARLES HARTSHORNE

In Memoriam

Charles Hartshorne died on 9 October 2000 at 103 years of age. He

was a monument to philosophy, always bringing to mind the rare qualities of wonder and insight one attributes to the philosophers of ancient Greece. Hartshorne's achievements and honors are many and well-known, and volume 21 in the Library of Living Philosophers series is devoted to him. In addition to being a great philosopher in his own right, he was perhaps the greatest interpreter of the thought of Alfred North Whitehead, whose process philosophy he developed and applied so astutely to theological questions. Hartshorne was also a great Peirce scholar and, with Paul Weiss, edited the first six volumes of the classic Harvard edition of Peirce's writings. Were it not for that work, Peirce's thought might have been all but lost to present thought. Hartshorne served as a member of the Peirce Edition Project's advisory board until after his 100th birthday.

CAROLYN EISELE

In Memoriam

Carolyn Eisele, member of the Board of Advisors and friend of the Peirce Edition Project, died on 15 January 2000. Born in New York in 1902, Eisele was educated at Hunter College and did graduate work in mathematics at Columbia University and the University of Chicago. She taught mathematics at Hunter College for nearly fifty years and retired as professor in 1972. In 1980, she was awarded a Doctor of Humanities degree by Texas Tech University and two years later received an honorary Doctorate of Science from Lehigh University. In 1985, the New York Academy of Sciences recognized Eisele for her seminal contributions to the history and philosophy of science through her publication

of Peirce's mathematical and philosophical works.

Professor Eisele was known worldwide as a mathematician, a historian of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mathematics and science, and as a leading expert on the thought of Charles Peirce. She served as president of the Charles S. Peirce Society. Her editions of Peirce's mathematical writings, *The New Elements of Mathematics*, and his writings on the history of science, *Historical Perspectives on Peirce's Logic of Science*, are monumental achievements. She almost single-handedly brought Peirce's mathematical ideas to the serious attention of historians of mathematics and science. Eisele's principal studies of Peirce's thought are collected in her *Studies in the Scientific and Mathematical Philosophy*

of Charles S. Peirce (edited by Richard Martin). Eisele's unwavering recognition of Peirce's importance and her unstinting devotion to the advancement of Peirce scholarship were little short of prophetic. Eisele's papers and library have been deposited at IUPUI in the care of the Peirce Edition Project.



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scholarly projects represents a terrible shift in priorities” and “there isn’t any doubt that the academic-research community is not thrilled with the way Bill Ferris has been running the agency.” This last comment, attributed to Stanley Katz, continued: “[Ferris has] no strategic view of the humanities. He doesn’t have a vision of what the academic humanities are or where they fit.” Overall, the gist of the criticism and concern was that Ferris’s shift of priorities to folklore involved a clear move from the more traditional humanities programs the endowment had been established to foster and support. The council’s decision to reduce and eventually cut off support for major editions, notwithstanding the fact that they are prized for their use in research and as monuments to America’s genius, is an incontrovertible sign of what Ferris is up to.

Criticism of Ferris’s plan mounted to a sufficient level to raise some second thoughts at NEH. On 25 September John Roberts, deputy chairman, issued a letter outlining the proposed policy and inviting comment. Roberts gave interested parties until 16 October (twenty-one days) to respond. This would give the President’s Council, assembling in November (presumably to adopt the proposed policy), the benefit of responses arriving by the sixteenth. Twenty-one days was not much time to inform friends of the editions of the present danger, but somehow word got out, and a surprising number of strong,

well-argued letters ended up on the desks of Roberts and Ferris. The weight of concern increased on 21 October when the *New York Times* published a lead editorial titled “Scholarly Editions in Jeopardy.” The *Times* editorial concluded with this paragraph:

Nothing the N.E.H. can do is more central to its mission than fostering the kind of research and historical enlightenment these editions provide. They preserve and make public this country’s intellectual, political and cultural monuments. The irony is that by trying to kill off funding as an expression of conservative ire, Congress and the endowment’s critics have made the task of preserving, editing and disseminating “the best that is known and thought in the world” nearly impossible. It is time to put these editions on a solid footing, to give them the encouragement they so clearly deserve.

When the President’s Council met on 17 November, the council members took account of the criticisms of Ferris’s plan. The council seemed more reluctant to abandon or severely cut back the editions, and concluded its discussion by adopting a proposal to create a separate scholarly editions budget and to construct new guidelines for editions. The guidelines are still expected to strongly favor projects that can be completed within a limited time frame, but they will probably be less restrictive than the earlier six-year plan. The council plans to take up this matter again in March.

Now with a new Republican administration at the nation’s helm, it is unclear what is in store for Ferris and for his revisioning of NEH. Ferris will probably at least complete his tenure, which runs for one more year, but it seems likely he will not be looked on too favorably by the more conservative members of the Bush administration. Friends of the editions should be on their guard and should use whatever influence they have to advocate for the continuation and strengthening of the scholarly editions program. To find out who is on the council, access this Web site: <http://www.neh.gov/howeare/council.html>. See if you know any of the council members and if you do, let them know what the Peirce Edition Project means to you and to United States and world culture.

*Nathan Houser
Director and General Editor*

THE CAROLYN EISELE COLLECTION

On 15 January 2000, Carolyn Eisele passed away in her Manhattan apartment at the age of 98. The real tragedy, however, occurred much earlier, in 1992, when a severe stroke greatly incapacitated her. She spent the last eight years of her life in bed in her small apartment surrounded by her books and papers, almost entirely unable to communicate, and under the constant care of a professional nurse.

The stiff Manhattan rents forced a quick evacuation of the apartment. So, at the request of the executor of her estate, Arthur Kaufman, Nathan Houser and I left for New York City to collect her library and papers, which had been given to the Peirce Edition Project.

Carolyn Eisele lived in a one-bedroom apartment on the 27th floor of an apartment building in midtown Manhattan. What the apartment lacked in size was amply compensated for by its location and its most magnificent view of the Manhattan skyline, especially at night. The apartment was literally filled with books and papers. She must never have thrown anything away. Books and journals were found everywhere, as were the remnants of her extensive travels, and the hall closets were filled more than knee-high with shopping bags stuffed with correspondence. Her complete financial records, including all check stubs, tax returns, phone bills, etc. had also been preserved. Even the kitchen did not escape, as there was an old shopping cart filled with mathematics books blocking one of its two entryways. With the help of Ralph Müller from Fordham University and five of his students, we carried away well over a hundred boxes, quite a few of which had already been packed eight years earlier to make room for a hospital bed.

In cooperation with IUPUI’s Public History Program and with support from the Max Fisch Library Fund, a student of Archival Studies is currently sorting her way through the material we brought back. Eisele’s library is now being catalogued, and her books broaden our existing research collection in an important way, as they are mostly on mathematics and on the history of science. They are

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PROBING THE COMMUNAL MIND

The Peirce Project depends on specialists from many fields for help in preparing our critical texts and editorial annotations. Although the heaviest burden falls on our regular contributing editors and advisors, we hope that through the newsletter we can significantly extend the scope of communal involvement. If you can answer one of our questions, or offer some guidance, please reply in writing or by e-mail to Associate Editor André De Tienne at adetienn@iupui.edu.

Previous question:

We are still looking for an answer to **Question 10**: who is Kirchheis/Kirchheiss? In 1891 Peirce wrote a letter to the editor of the *Nation* (reprinted in Ketner & Cook I:115–17) in support of F. E. Abbot, whose *Ways out of Agnosticism* had been fiercely attacked by Royce. In his letter Peirce noted that “philosophers of the highest standing” had spoken highly of Abbot’s work, and he gave three examples of such philosophers: Renouvier in France, Seth in England, and Kirchheiss in Germany. We have been successful with respect to the first two (Seth wrote a review of Abbot’s *Scientific Theism for Mind*), but so far have been unable to find any reference to the German philosopher Kirchheiss.

New questions:

Question 16. In his 1892 review of Sidgwick’s *Distinction and the Criticism of Belief* for the *Nation* (reprinted in Ketner & Cook I:167–69), Peirce concluded with a discussion of one of Sidgwick’s examples that was derived from the British House of Commons. In the last paragraph Peirce added:

Until our “G. B.” has his way, it may be feared we shall not hear debating like that in the House of Representatives. In this country we have not time for such reasonings, nor for the other argumentations which Mr. Sidgwick is occupied with refuting, nor for the closely similar ones with which he would replace them.

One question that has puzzled us for some time, and for which we have not found an answer, is who is this G. B.? Presumably he was a public figure so familiar to the average *Nation* reader that mentioning his initials was enough (like L.B.J. or

C.S.P.). One possibility could be George Bancroft, in which case our question becomes whether Bancroft was known for peculiar debating habits.

Question 17. An isolated sheet with the letterhead of the Century Club in New York (7 West Forty-Third Street) contains the following ciphered poem in sixteen lines. The poem is signed “C. S. Peirce” and is handwritten very carefully with only four corrections. It was probably composed around 1893 given the paper and handwriting. Could anyone help us decipher this poem or shed light on the seemingly syllabic principles underlying its ciphering? Peirce is likely to have ciphered some well-known poem.

Smeyf oysachelpowsk erjorpapaupho psil helghey
 Stelsmey bien ohau ciesnau fohaushelbie skirth
 Aphar skoborshuo haubulfilsk a skolbilghiefar gorbif
 Ohaujor ghorfasm iwshelghelpau olshiwchiebelp
 Ohau snilstauborjaud osnil gorpsi dath ops arbuo
 Diwsmey helsk ayshaubopsorsk olpsurfsh ajoysiebuo
 Bild olsnalnelskeyfoy jil fulforth iebild
 Ohau stiwshirsk iwg aph anijehoth eybild
 Oypsiwph ask ahau fulfiljilgh ayhadausk olshauspajie
 Smeyf ipsiwph obmausk ows ohau stiwpharshiwsnoy smanau
 Bild iljehonuo smiw smeyf iejoysmauphelpe farshoh
 Orfaysowphosk ohau skopsorth iwg eyfor aljorsmey
 Steyjief anie smeyf oyemashoy¹ smeybo shiwsnild eyfor cowshil
 Bild anie smeyf olnaphausmay jil smeyfelsh osnorph
 Aypsilgelshi smeyf smeldelphesk ask smeyth alsnorph
 Aphar skolshanbar² smeyf oshowsmey gorpsi surnau³ smiw sienau.

1. This word could also read “oysmashoy.”

2. Or “skolshaubar.”

3. Or “siwnau.”

“Carolyn Eisele Collection” continued

expected to greatly facilitate finalizing the annotations for Peirce’s History of Science Lectures, which will be published in volume 9. As for the papers, our first intern, Cinda May, has organized Eisele’s personal correspondence, as well as the material associated with her late husband, Morris Halpern. Our second intern, Marcia Caudell, is currently working on Eisele’s professional papers.

The wealth and diversity of the material we have obtained is staggering. It includes, besides drafts of her own papers and recordings of her opera lessons, a few fragments of original Peirce manuscripts, a plate for Peirce’s quincuncial world map, old photographs of Arisbe, and copies from Peirce manuscripts at the Houghton Library that precede the microfilm edition. In addition to their use for the Peirce Edition Project and for the study of Peirce in general, Eisele’s papers contain material on her own life, her tenure at Hunter College, her voice lessons, and on the

American opera scene in the 1930s (her husband worked as a voice coach). The material also gives detailed insight into her involvement with professional organizations like the New York branch of the American Mathematical Society, and of the day-to-day operations at the mathematics department at Hunter College, where she began teaching in 1924.

Provisionally, the collection is being divided into twelve series: (1) Correspondence; (2) Writings; (3) Research; (4) Speeches and Lectures; (5) Courses; (6) Department and University Affairs; (7) Professional Organizations; (8) Personal; (9) Printed Materials; (10) Music; (11) Art; and (12) Morris Halpern Papers. It should be added, though, that this is very much a work in progress and that there is still much to be done to make the collection accessible.

Cornelis de Waal
 Assistant Editor

COMING ATTRACTIONS

THE HISTORY OF PEIRCE'S 1894 LOGIC BOOK

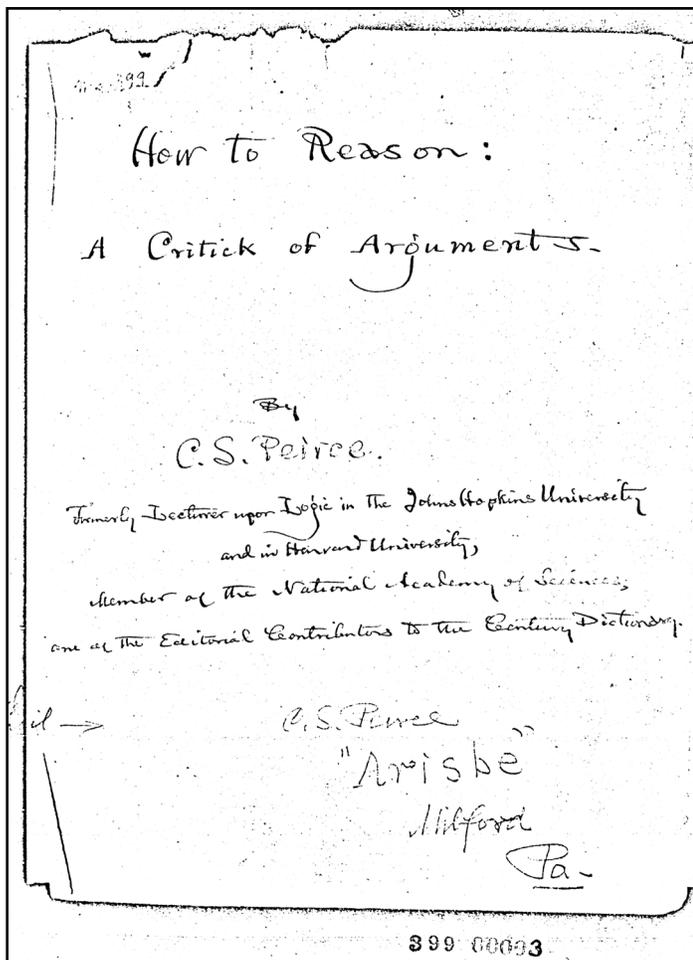
I had a great ambition to some day write a Popular Logic for the Million—But I must be upon my guard against things I have an inclination for. (CSP to Jem, 3 March 1895)

Volume 10 of the *Writings* will be a standalone volume containing Peirce's 1894 unpublished logic book *How to Reason: A Critick of Arguments*, often referred to as the *Grand Logic*. Although the title *Grand Logic* contrasts nicely with Peirce's later *Minute Logic*, it is doubtful that he himself used this title. Peirce makes no mention of it in his correspondence, and all instances of this title in the Harvard manuscripts were written on them after Peirce's death.

Historical Background

How to Reason is in part the outcome of several earlier projects that failed. In 1892, the Open Court Publishing Company offered to publish in book form the series of articles called "The Critic of Arguments," which Peirce had begun writing for the weekly *The Open Court*. However, due to complex interpersonal relations, fueled in part by Peirce's misguided suspicions, this enterprise fell through. Peirce wrote several installments for this series, of which only the first two were published.

Title page for *How to Reason*



In 1893, Peirce refocused his attention on a volume containing revised versions of his published papers, entitled *Search for a Method*. R 1583:2 contains a table of contents for that work. Most items on that table of contents, called "essays" by Peirce, are checked off, which might indicate that he finished revising them. Some of these essays have survived, albeit sometimes in a chaotic or fragmentary state, but others were recycled for *How to Reason*. For instance, chapter 15 of *How to Reason* was formerly marked "Essay III," and illustrations for "Essay I" have been cut out and glued on the manuscript of chapter 9. Due to Peirce's extensive recycling, not enough material survives to allow us to fully reconstruct *Search for a Method*. Moreover, overlaps between the earlier papers that compose *Search for a Method* and the later *How to Reason* weigh against the inclusion of this 1893 project in the *Writings*.

Shortly thereafter, perhaps inspired by the great success of Herbert Spencer's multivolume *Synthetic Philosophy*, Peirce embarked on an equally ambitious enterprise. In November 1893, he wrote to publisher Henry Holt that he planned to write a series of small books under the title *Tractates of Synechism or Synechistic Philosophy*, and he envisioned producing about four volumes a year. A few weeks later, this project developed into the better known *The Principles of Philosophy: Or, Logic, Physics and Psychics, Considered as a Unity, in the Light of the Nineteenth Century*, a series of twelve volumes for which Peirce had a circular and a syllabus printed. The plan was to sell the series by subscription. Although Peirce received some subscriptions for the series, the project never really got off the ground.

On 26 December 1893, Peirce wrote a letter to William James, asking him to endorse this project, adding, "the first two volumes are nearly ready; the first needs a month's work." In the syllabus, Peirce further indicated that the first volume was "nearly ready" and the second "substantially ready." It is this second volume, entitled *Theory of Demonstrative Reasoning*, that concerns us most here, as it is probably his work on this volume that eventually became *How to Reason*. Peirce described the volume as "a plain, elementary account of formal logic, ordinary and relative ... carefully adapted to the use of young persons of mediocre capacities." It is hard to estimate exactly what Peirce meant by the volume being "substantially ready." It is likely, however, that he continued to work extensively on it during the first half of 1894. In June of that year he sent the manuscript for *How to Reason* to the Boston office of Ginn & Co., a textbook publisher. They rejected the manuscript on the grounds that it was not suitable as a college textbook. The next mention of the manuscript occurs in a letter from Peirce to Francis Russell early in September. Peirce wrote Russell that he was holding back on the manuscript "to make some alterations which I have no time to make at present." A few days later, on September 8, he wrote Russell again, reaffirming that the volume was now "completely ready for the press; though I am anxious to make some alterations in it."

In the same month Peirce received a letter from George Plimpton from the New York office of Ginn & Co. in which he invited Peirce to submit a short logic book "after the plan of Jevons." Of this work, which he called the "Short Logic," Peirce

COMING ATTRACTIONS

completed only the first chapter (see EP2:11–26). Later in the year, Peirce submitted *How to Reason* to another textbook publisher, the American Book Company. Although we have not found an actual rejection letter, it is clear the manuscript was not accepted.

In March of the following year, 1895, Peirce seems to have given up on the idea of publishing *How to Reason*. In a letter to his brother Jem he wrote, “I had a great ambition to some day write a Popular Logic for the Million—But I must be upon my guard against things I have an inclination for.” However, by August, Peirce was clearly back in the running, writing Russell that his logic “has been completed & largely rewritten.” It is unclear whether he submitted the manuscript at this point, but he may have tried to strike a deal by combining it with his geometry textbook, an extensively revised republication of his father’s *Elementary Treatise on Geometry*. Whatever happened, by November, part of the manuscript ended up in the hands of Russell in Chicago, who kept it until June 1896. At the end of September, Peirce asked Russell about the possibility of publishing *How to Reason* with the Open Court, adding that the chapter on quantitative logic, which he had sent to Russell earlier, needed serious revision, requiring a “few months more of terribly hard work.”

About two years later, in 1898, D.C. Heath & Co. invited Peirce, on the recommendation of Josiah Royce, to write a small logic manual. Peirce optimistically replied by sending a proposal for three small volumes, in which he probably sought to include the material from *How to Reason*. Peirce’s proposal was more than the editors of Heath & Co. had bargained for. On top of that, they thought Peirce’s logic was terribly outdated. They answered, “From your description of your work it is evidently scholastic and belongs to a period of thought which rather antedates the present marked interest in science.” This seems to mark the end of Peirce’s attempts to get the book published.

The Manuscript Material

The surviving manuscript material is remarkably complete with only a few pages missing here and there. The most significant gap is that the first chapter starts at page sixteen with §16. It might be that the missing fifteen pages were superseded by the current eighty-three-page introduction on the association of ideas, of which we have two versions. That this introduction was written at a later date is suggested by the fact that two isolated sheets are pulled from a draft of chapter 6.

It is not yet entirely clear how much rewriting Peirce did after first submitting the manuscript in 1894. The chapters were obviously reshuffled, as Peirce changed several of the chapter numbers. The correspondence suggests that after its initial submission, Peirce did not work much on the manuscript until the spring of 1896, and that he planned to revise the chapter on quantitative logic. No substantial alternative draft of this chapter (chapter 23) has so far been identified. However, there are substantial revisions found for chapter 8, one of the most technical chapters in the book. Moreover, there are two versions of chapter 6.

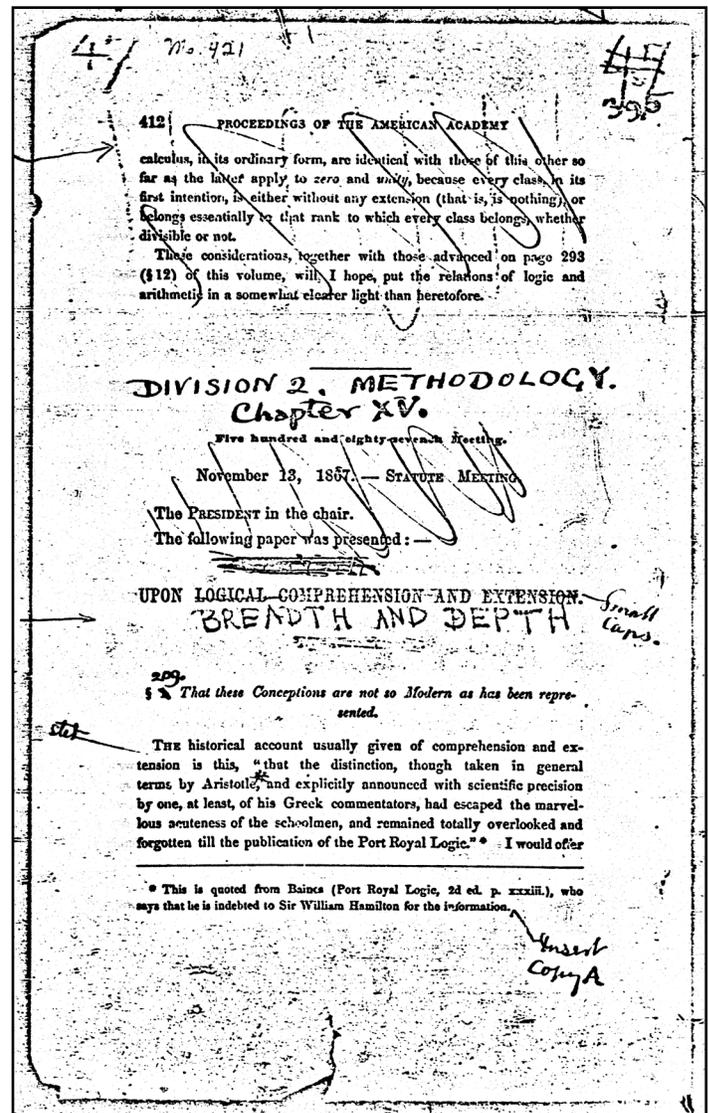
The surviving manuscript also appears to be set up as a three-volume work, in conformity with Peirce’s proposal to D.C. Heath

& Co. Each of the three books into which the table of contents is divided starts at page 1. If this is correct, it might indicate that the long introduction on the association of ideas was actually dropped in favor of the now missing (or possibly later recycled) fifteen-page introduction, thereby reversing the above hypothesis concerning these missing pages.

This short account of Peirce’s *How to Reason* must conclude with a disclaimer. There are still many uncertainties regarding the precise compositional sequence of the documents, which we hope to clear up further as we work to publish this important book, for the first time, in 2004, well over a century after Peirce first submitted it.

Cornelis de Waal

The first page of chapter 15 of How to Reason. For this chapter Peirce used a copy of the original published paper and annotated it freely. The current chapter, under the title “Upon Logical Comprehension and Extension,” was formerly the third essay of Search for a Method, where it started on page 47.



PEIRCE-RELATED RESEARCH

PEIRCE'S CHILDHOOD LABORATORY

Peirce's Early Chem Lab Experience Affected His Philosophical Development; Some Claims in the Secondary Literature Are Corrected.¹

Charles Peirce's writing invites biographical treatment. He tells us that "no man's philosophy can be well-understood until one knows how he came by it."² As if to answer the biographer's need, Peirce occasionally mixes autobiography with his philosophical writing. My current investigations explore the role of Peirce's early experience with laboratory chemistry in his philosophical development.

Peirce's Uncle Charles and Aunt Lizzie helped "Charley," as the youngster was called, set up a chemistry laboratory at home. The date is uncertain. Peirce gives various dates, ranging from when he was 6 years old (CP 5.411, 1897) to when he was 12 (MS 619: 06, 1909). Not surprisingly, the secondary literature on Peirce cites several dates.

It was no accident that young Charley was steered toward chemistry. Internationally, the work of Professor Justus Liebig (Giessen, Germany) was gaining recognition, and chemistry was emerging as an important new area of science. New interest in chemistry and new methods of education were brought to Harvard by Eben Norton Horsford, an American student of Liebig's. Horsford was appointed Rumford Professor of Chemistry in the Lawrence Scientific School (Harvard) in 1847. Benjamin Peirce, Charley's father, had helped organize the Lawrence School. As is evident from Benjamin's correspondence to his wife, Sarah, (22 January 1857) Charley's study of chemistry satisfied his father and seemed a way of assuring success in life.

Peirce venerated his father highly, especially intellectually. In later years, Peirce wrote, "He educated me and if I do anything it will be his work" (MS 1608: 02, c. 1894). In compliance with Benjamin's wishes, he sought to "make himself a thorough scholar in chemistry" (BP to SMP, 22 January 1857). In 1863 he took the bachelor of science degree in chemistry from the Lawrence Scientific School, *summa cum laude*. Writing to Victoria Lady Welby in 1909, he claimed, "I was the first man in Harvard to take a degree in chemistry *summa cum laude*."³

Unfortunately, the records of the Lawrence Scientific School and the *Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard University* show Peirce's boast to have been false. Instead, sixteen men preceded Peirce in this honor. Also unfortunately, the secondary literature

on Peirce has repeated his boast uncritically. Max Fisch expressed doubt in a private note, but his published statement concurs with Peirce's version of events. Several scholars simply repeat Peirce's claim without examination. These include Carolyn Eisele, Paul Weiss, Douglas Anderson, Beverly Kent, Murray Murphey, Thomas Goudge, and James Feibleman. Joseph Brent repeats Peirce's claim, but cautions that the records are spotty and perhaps unreliable.

What kind of chemistry did Charley do in the lab his aunt and uncle helped him set up? Peirce's testimonials, considered with other evidence, indicate that it was qualitative analysis. On this point, the secondary literature is confused. According to Weiss, Murphey, and Knight he did quantitative analysis. But Brent, Fisch, and Goudge claim (correctly, I think) that it was qualitative analysis. The point is important because the procedures of qualitative analysis are a model education in the hypothetico-deductive method of science. What is the import of this for Peirce's philosophical development?

Testing in qualitative analysis involves trying out hypotheses concerning the chemical identity of an unknown substance. Such investigation follows the familiar pattern of conjecture/hypothesis followed by confirmation or refutation, with each confirmation subject to further confirmation or refutation. And there is evidence that Peirce did in fact learn the hypothetico-deductive method this way. MS 634: 3-6 (1909) contains an autobiographical-sounding conjecture of what a youngster would learn in a chemistry lab. Peirce's conjecture strongly suggests that his own manipulations of laboratory instruments, coordinated by his mind with the reports of his senses, made an impression of method that stayed with Peirce through some six decades.

Peirce's early experience with the hypothetico-deductive method seems important for his philosophical development in several ways. First, I believe this exposure was at the root of his lifelong interest in the logic of the sciences. Admittedly, Peirce himself says in several places that it was reading Whately's *Elements of Logic* at age 12 or 13 that initiated his interest in logic, an interest that grew to include the logic of science. But the methods and procedures he was exposed to in the chemistry laboratory, probably well before this, appear the more likely foundation of his interest. Even if young Charley did not reflect explicitly on laboratory method, the exposure would have set up a habit of inquiry (a point of importance in his later theory of inquiry). At any rate, experience with the method of qualitative analysis would have enriched the relevance and interest of Whately's book.

Second, I believe Peirce's exposure to laboratory chemistry was a preparation for his later formulations of pragmatism. This is indicated by a 1905 formulation of pragmatism (CP 5.458):

to what else does the entire teaching of chemistry relate except to the "behavior" of different possible kinds of material substances? And in what does that behavior consist except that if a substance of a certain kind should be exposed to an agency of a certain kind, a certain kind of sensible result *would* ensue, according to our experiences hitherto. As for the pragmatist, it is precisely his position that

1. I wish to express my thanks to the University of Cincinnati for generous support through its Summer Faculty Fellowship program. This support made possible an extended stay at Harvard in summer 1998, as well as visits to Milford, Pennsylvania, where Charles and Juliette Peirce spent the final years of their lives.
2. The passage quoted is from an unpublished manuscript, "Studies in Meaning," written in 1909 (MS 619: 03).
3. Charles S. Hardwick, ed., with James Cook, *Semiotic & Significs: The Correspondence between Charles S. Peirce and Victoria Lady Welby* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 114.

PEIRCE-RELATED RESEARCH

IVAN SARAÏLIEV: AN EARLY BULGARIAN CONTRIBUTOR TO PRAGMATISM

Ivan V. Saraïliev (1887–1969) was a pioneer convert to pragmatism, incorporating the pragmatic viewpoint in his writings as early as 1909. Saraïliev studied in Paris under Bergson and graduated *summa cum laude* from the Sorbonne in 1909. Although he was fluent in French, English, and German, he wrote almost exclusively in Bulgarian. As a result, his achievements remained largely unknown. To make matters worse, his work was heavily suppressed by the Communists after they gained power in 1944.

After his graduation from the Sorbonne, Saraïliev spent a year in England, where he had frequent discussions with F. C. S. Schiller (some of Schiller's letters to Saraïliev have survived). Upon his return to Bulgaria, Saraïliev taught at a Sofia high school for the next eleven years. In 1920, he was appointed assistant professor at the University of Sofia, where he became a tenured professor in 1927. Saraïliev's *On The Will* appeared in 1924 (Sofia: Court Press). That same year Saraïliev returned to Britain, where he met again with Schiller and attended H. W. Carr's course on Bergson. (In 1934, he published a collection of papers on Bergson under the title *Essays. On some Unclear Moments in H. Bergson's Philosophy* [Sofia].)

In 1931, Saraïliev traveled to New York, where he spent a year as a Rockefeller fellow at Columbia University. At Columbia he discussed Peirce with William Pepperel Montague and with Dewey. In his diary, Saraïliev made a special note on the pronunciation of Peirce's name, and in "Charles Sanders Peirce and his Principle," which was published in the Bulgarian journal *Outchilisten Pregled* (vol. 32, June 1933, pp. 725–36) he made sure the readers knew how to pronounce Peirce's name.

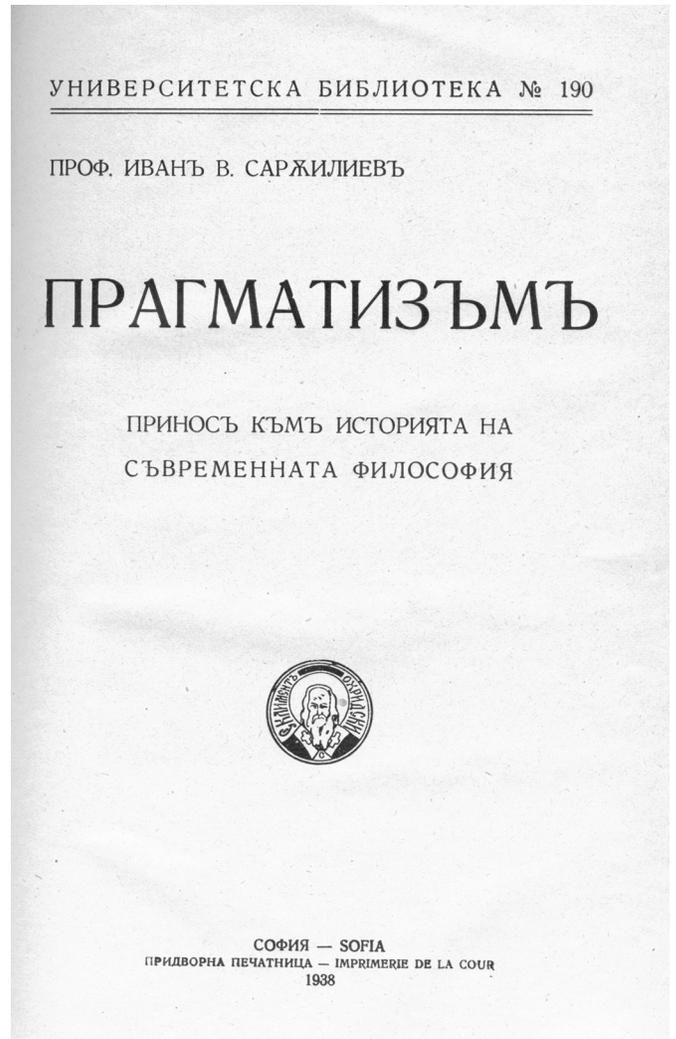
In March of the following year, Saraïliev went to Harvard, where he met Ralph Barton Perry, Alfred N. Whitehead, George Allen Morgan, and James Bissett Pratt. Later that year he visited several other American universities. Upon his return to Europe, Saraïliev traveled first to Italy and met with several Italian pragmatists, and then spent two years in Germany and Switzerland.

In the 1930s, Saraïliev gained recognition among Bulgarian intellectuals because of his debate with a well-known Bulgarian professor, Dimiter Mikhachev, on the dilemma between religion and science. Saraïliev used a pragmatic approach with semiotic influences to defend his view that life is not solely a product of physical causality. He argued that we live in a world of "pre-thought" and that we live and act in accordance with *its* rules and laws rather than with physical ones. Those rules and laws do not contradict modern science but rather complete and prove its validity. Somewhat as Peirce had, Saraïliev sought to unify scientific and religious thought and to show how knowledge of God might be gained through hypothetical (or abductive) reasoning. Saraïliev set out his views on science and religion in two essays published as *Contemporary Science and Religion: Response to a Critic* (Sofia: Chipeff Publishing House, 1931).

In 1944, however, Saraïliev's career came to a sudden halt after the Communists took power in Bulgaria. This brought an abrupt end to his extensive international travels, and immediately isolated him from the international scholarly community. In June 1946, Saraïliev was elected president of the University of Sofia, but because of his unwillingness to cooperate with the Commu-

nist authorities, he was compelled to resign within the year. Then he was asked to give up his pragmatist ideas and to teach Marxism. Again Saraïliev refused and was saved from the labor camps only because of his reputation as a scholar. A few years later, in 1950, Saraïliev was forced to retire, and he spent the rest of his life in almost complete isolation. He was banned from publishing, and his previous publications were blacklisted. Even his name was classified. In 1969 Saraïliev died peacefully but in total obscurity in Sofia. There are few reliable documentary sources on his life, and it is still difficult to obtain any of his books, articles, or papers. Saraïliev was all but erased from history.

This story of Ivan Saraïliev's life and work might not have been told were it not for a pure accident by which I stumbled upon one of his books. The book, entitled *Pragmatism* (in Bulgarian), was published in 1938. *Pragmatism*, with a photograph of the famous Ellen Emmet Rand portrait of William James for its frontispiece, is a remarkable book. It is an important record of Saraïliev's involvement with the European spread of pragmatism and of his extensive travels in France, England, Germany, and the United States. It also provides a vivid snapshot of pragmatism at this critical period in Europe's history.



Title page of *Pragmatism* by Ivan Saraïliev

PEIRCE-RELATED RESEARCH

In the introduction, Saraïliev identified Peirce as the founder of pragmatism with a reference to the latter's "How to Make Our Ideas Clear" (1878). Saraïliev added, however, that this paper remained unnoticed until 1898, when William James published his "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," in which he credited Peirce with the discovery of pragmatism. The further spread and the European premiere of pragmatism Saraïliev credited to Ferdinand Schiller, in particular his 1891 *Riddles of the Sphinx*.

Saraïliev found the greatest number of pragmatists in Italy, and he discussed Papini, Calderoni, Giovanni Vailati, and Giovanni Amendola. Saraïliev also included a brief discussion of Mussolini. In the London newspaper *Sunday Times* (April 1926), the Italian dictator expressed his gratitude to pragmatism by saying that it was of great help to his political career, and that he had learned from James that any action must be tested by its results rather than on doctrinal grounds. Mussolini continued, "James has inspired in me a trust in action and a will for living and fighting on which fascism has built its great success." To balance this, Saraïliev also quoted others who were enthusiastic about pragmatism, like the Russian revolutionist Vladimir Lenin. Saraïliev also made sure to include Giovanni Amendola, who died after being tortured by the fascists.

Saraïliev continued his overview of the European expansion of pragmatism with an outline of its influence in German-speaking countries. Although weaker than in Britain and Italy, it had some influence: Saraïliev mentioned George Wobbermin, Wilhelm Jerusalem, Julius Goldstein, Ernst Mach, Wilhelm Ostwald, Georg Simmel, among others who were influenced by pragmatic ideas. He then continued to show how pragmatic ideas influenced several of the logical positivists in Vienna.

Saraïliev finally followed pragmatism to France, where it was met with more appreciation and played a role in the development of a new religious philosophy founded by Alfred Loisy and George Tyrell. In the 1930s, with further contributions from thinkers such as Maurice Blondel, Laberthonière, Le Roy, and others, this developed into a French movement for a renewal of philosophy and religion known as "modernism."

The introduction is followed by the essay "Charles Sanders Peirce and his Principle" as well as essays on the pragmatism of James, the humanism of Schiller, and the instrumentalism of Dewey. Also included are an essay on Italian pragmatism, a con-

clusion, and a supplemental essay on the meaning of the words "pragmatism," the adjective "pragmatic," and Peirce's term "pragmaticism." The book concludes with a lightly annotated and remarkably complete bibliography of pragmatic thought.

Saraïliev's account of pragmatism's invasion of Europe was scrupulously researched and very well written. He described pragmatism as a new theory of truth, marked its crucial points, and concluded that after the death of its chief representatives the debate about it began to fade away.

It is remarkable that long after pragmatism was abandoned by most philosophers, this diligent Bulgarian professor, Ivan Saraïliev, stood firm for pragmatism and in his own work followed a model of thinking that exemplified Peirce's "logic of science." In his *Genetic Ideas* (Sofia: Court Press, 1919), his *Socrates* (Sofia, 1947), and in his debate on science and religion, he closely followed the pragmatists' doctrine for the clarification of meaning.

Under more fortunate circumstances, Saraïliev would have enjoyed an influence, perhaps a great influence. Instead, he suffered under harsh political persecution and was forced to be a social outcast. His thought was suppressed by a conspiracy of silence and his work was expected to vanish in the darkness of the following ignorant decades. As Peirce understood so well, thought must not be imprisoned in the monastery of a single consciousness, but it must be let out to fight in the street with other thoughts—for the sake of truth. The recent happy discovery of Saraïliev's work most assuredly confirms, at least, that no authority can hope to forever "fix" the truth.

Ivan Mladenov
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia

Editor's note: The copy of Saraïliev's *Pragmatism* that prompted Ivan Mladenov to search for Saraïliev's papers and to investigate his role in the spread of pragmatism in Europe has been deposited with the Peirce Edition Project's rare book collection. We wish to express our gratitude to Professor Mladenov and the book's owner, Mrs. Kina Arnaoudova, for this kind gesture. We have recently learned from Professor Mladenov that more of Saraïliev's papers have been uncovered and that a small archival project has been formed.

"Peirce's Childhood Laboratory" continued from page 9

nothing else than this can be so much as *meant* by saying that an object possesses a character.

Peirce's logic of relatives suggests a third way in which his early chemistry lab exposure may have influenced his philosophical development. Peirce sometimes drew an analogy between the way atoms bond and the way words "bond" in spoken or written language. See, for example, CP 3.469 (1897). I know of no evidence that Charley learned about chemical bonding in his childhood laboratory. Nevertheless, that early lab experience was a foundation on which his later understanding of chemistry was built. Thus, we might reasonably hypothesize an indirect route of development.

As a youngster, Charles Peirce was given a chemistry laboratory. I believe the experience gained in this lab initiated his interest in logic, and especially the logic of science. I also believe it helped prepare him for his articulation of pragmaticism. And it could well have contributed indirectly to his logic of relatives. These findings, which I intend to publish in fuller form elsewhere, suggest that there may be more to learn about Peirce's philosophical development by following his suggestion that we find out how he came by his ideas.

Charles Seibert
University of Cincinnati

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

In my last Director's Report I made the happy announcement that we had received a grant from NEH for 1997–99 and were waiting to hear if we would be awarded a new grant for 1999–2001. Fortunately, we were. In fact, we are now halfway through the new grant and have already submitted another proposal to NEH for a 2001–03 grant. We're concerned about this new application because of the move afoot at NEH to abandon the scholarly editions altogether (see this issue's front-page story), but we remain hopeful.

The Peirce Edition Project had another good year in 2000. I noted in my previous column that Cornelis de Waal had joined PEP as a Visiting Assistant Editor. He has now been made a permanent member of our editing staff—and of course he continues his association with IUPUI's philosophy department. Volume 6 was published in early spring and reached sales of more than 600 copies by August. Work on volume 8 is going well, and we expect to finish it this year; it will be an exciting volume with some interesting writings appearing in print for the first time. And some of the important previously published writings—e.g., the 1891–93 *Monist* series—will be based on the recently discovered original printer's copy. We are also making progress on volumes 9 and 10 (see de Waal's piece on W10 on pp. 4–5).

In hopes of finding a way to move ahead more quickly within the confines of our present funding situation, we are exploring the possibility of working with teams of scholars in Hannover, Germany, and in Montreal to set up satellite operations devoted to special volumes of the critical edition. The group in Germany, led by Helmut Pape, has already developed a detailed plan and is presently seeking separate funding. Pape is hoping to establish a center for the study of pragmatism that would have a larger purpose than simply working on the edition. The Montreal group, led by François Latraverse, is not quite as advanced in its planning but is equally serious in purpose. I hope to have more to report on this in the next issue of the newsletter.

We may suffer some delays this summer because of renovations to the air circulation system in Cavanaugh Hall, where PEP is located. We will have to work in temporary quarters—perhaps for as long as four months—but with careful advance planning we hope to avoid serious setbacks. Scholars hoping to undertake research at PEP this summer should make arrangements well in advance.

Many readers will be glad to know that Indiana University Press has reached an agreement with the IntelLex Corporation to

produce an electronic edition of the critical edition. The initial CD-ROM will include the first six volumes and will be periodically updated after that. Some details remain to be worked out, but the first CD likely will be available later this year.

In March the Peirce Project received the library and papers of Carolyn Eisele (see article on p. 2), a significant addition to our resources. The expenses related to this acquisition were covered by the Max H. Fisch Library Fund, and we are very grateful to everyone who has contributed to that fund.

On the funding front, we were fortunate that so many of you provided support for our NEH matching funds challenges. We managed, to the surprise of many, to raise \$80,000 to fully meet the first NEH match for 1997–99, and we have pledges that fully cover the \$45,000 match for 1999–2001 (which must be completed by July). We are indeed thankful for your help. We are now facing the realization that to insure the completion of the critical edition, and also to insure that the many important resources we have managed to bring together in Indianapolis continue to serve the scholarly community after the edition's completion, it is necessary to establish a Peirce Endowment. A steering committee is being formed to guide this effort, with much help from the School of Liberal Arts Development Office, and before long you can expect to hear more about this. Some of you have already been contacted. Please be thinking about how you could help—perhaps with a bequest or the transfer of an annuity. Truth crushed to earth may inevitably rise again, but only, I am learning, when advocates and friends of “that truth” come forward with funds to support it. This is the world we live in.

Many thanks to John Gallman for his unwavering support of the critical edition and for his years of service to PEP as a member of the Board of Advisors. John retired last year from the directorship of Indiana University Press. Thanks also to Tara Morrall for stepping up to edit this newsletter.

HELP SUPPORT THE EDITION

Write checks to:

Peirce Edition Project

Mail to:

Peirce Edition Project, IUPUI

545 Cavanaugh Hall

425 University Boulevard

Indianapolis, IN 46202-5140

VOLUME 6 ERRATUM

Selection 37 in W6: 354–56, titled [*Reasoning*], ends with three ellipsis points within italic brackets because the editors were unable to find the sheet(s) that continued its last leaf. We have recently identified that continuation, whose brevity made it hardly noticeable among the many fragments. It is found in R 579: 12, and consists of the following five words: “so, it is bad reasoning.” Readers of W6 are invited to enter this correction in their copy on p. 356, and to correct the corresponding entry in the Chronological Catalog in W6: 527 (c. 1889.1), whose first part needs to read: “Holograph, 8 sheets, Houghton, Peirce Papers, R 830: 2, R 278: 240, 243, 269, 268, 267, 266 (= R 1573: 250), R 579: 12; . . .”

FROM THE EDITOR

I am pleased to present you with another issue of the Peirce Project Newsletter. As a graduate intern at the Project, one of my responsibilities is editing the newsletter.

It has been a while since the last one appeared because our attention must be focused, as always, on the work of producing the *Writings* volumes. However, we consider it important that you receive news and information about the ongoing work of the Project and topics related to Peirce. Therefore, we hope to again publish two issues a year. If you have comments on this issue or suggestions for future issues, contact Nathan Houser (nhouser@iupui.edu) or Tara Morrall (tmorrall@iupui.edu) here at the Project. — *T. Morrall*