

HENK MULDER

THE VIENNA CIRCLE ARCHIVE AND THE
LITERARY REMAINS OF MORITZ SCHLICK AND
OTTO NEURATH

1.

The literary remains of two former members of the Vienna Circle, those of Moritz Schlick and of Otto Neurath, are now preserved in Amsterdam. Schlick's papers are almost completely preserved and cover the period from 1900 to 1936; Neurath's papers, publications apart, cover only the period from 1934 to 1945. The two collections, which contain many documents that illuminate the Vienna Circle and the heyday of logical empiricism in the thirties, belong to the *Vienna Circle Archive*, which, at the time of writing (and until 1985), is housed in the *Institute for Foundational Research and for the Philosophy of the Exact Sciences* of the University of Amsterdam.¹ The archive also contains a collection of a large amount of other material that can be described as very important for the study of the history of the various conceptions of the philosophy of science that were entertained in the Vienna Circle. Apart from a number of valuable new acquisitions of later date,² the bulk of this material is the result of my own research activities, carried out from 1961 to 1967, though with a number of interruptions. These activities were undertaken on the suggestion of Evert Beth, then director of the institute which he founded in 1952. It is thus also thanks to him, rather than to me, that there exists a *Vienna Circle Archive* in Amsterdam.

My connection with Beth came about in the following way. My studies in Amsterdam had been in German, Greek, and history. When these were completed I began the study of philosophy, which I regarded as a necessary complement to my earlier studies. My plan of study made provision for, among other things, logic and the philosophy of science. Beth lectured on these subjects and in his weekly lectures on the philosophy of science he treated particular phases in the history of that subject, from Ptolemy to Einstein. Of the two lecture periods devoted to logic in each week, one was employed on the history of logic from

Aristotle to Russell, while the other was spent on modern symbolic logic. I attended all these lectures for the space of almost three years.

When this further study was complete, I had a long talk with Beth. Over the years our relation had ripened into one of friendship. He asked me what had appealed to me most in his lectures; and I replied that I had been chiefly struck by the account he gave in his lectures on the philosophy of science of the activities of the Vienna Circle. It had led me to a closer study of some members of the Circle and I had been particularly impressed by the way in which Schlick had made a distinction between philosophy and science and by how he had expressed his conception of the nature of philosophy. At this Beth told me of his own personal contacts with members of the Vienna Circle, among them Carnap, Neurath, and Waismann. He had several times resolved, so he told me, to make a determined effort to discover, once and for all, whether former members of the Vienna Circle or their kith and kin, or persons that had been associated with the Circle in some way, still had in their possession documents from the years between 1922 and 1936 that might give us a better insight into the history of ideas of the Vienna Circle. He much regretted that he had never been able to carry out this intention because of a constant shortage of time. Beth much doubted whether he would ever be able to find time for these investigations in the future, and therefore proposed to me, in view of my particular interest in the ideas current in the Vienna Circle, that I should take over this project of his. When he further assured me that he would support me as far as possible in all my efforts, I accepted his proposal. In the weeks that followed we mapped out a plan of research; after which I set to work.

2.

A form letter was sent to each person in the categories described above. In the letter I explained the purpose of my research and requested the person addressed to inform me whether he or she was in possession of the sort of documents I was seeking, e.g., letters, notes, unpublished lectures, records of meetings of the Vienna Circle, and so on. To each copy of the letter I appended a list of the names and addresses of all those with whom I meant to get in touch. At the head of this list I put the question whether the recipient thought that there ought to be any additions made to, or changes made in it. The second enclosure with the

form letter was a questionnaire. I added this because Beth had advised me not to miss the opportunity of clarifying a number of questions only vaguely alluded to, or not even mentioned at all, in the accounts of the origin and development of the Vienna Circle then available. From the point of view of philosophy of science, admittedly, these were questions of secondary importance, but they were ones that an historian would much like a definite answer to. Typical questions were ones about the initial phase of the Circle, about the venue and frequency of meetings, about the procedure, about the subjects chosen and the pattern of subjects over a series of meetings, about the relations between the different members of the Circle, about the origin of the pamphlet *The Scientific Conception of the World: The Vienna Circle*.³

After a space of weeks the answers began to come in. I was overcome with amazement at the care and accuracy devoted to the questionnaire that I had enclosed. Even so, Feigl outshone the others. No trouble was too great for him. His first answer was followed up, unsolicited, by several letters with further details. He seemed to make it a point of honour to give a complete and definitive answer to all the questions I had asked, at any rate for the period prior to 1930, when he had emigrated to the United States.

But my satisfaction with the results of my questionnaire was equalled by my disappointment at the fact that clearly none of the addressees was in possession of the sort of documents that it had been the purpose of my labours to discover. True, on the one hand I had within the space of a year found out the answers to practically all the relevant questions of factual detail, but on the other hand I had not come across a single document from the twenties or thirties that might have supplemented or brought life or concrete detail into our knowledge as it then was of the history of the development of the philosophy of science in the Vienna Circle. The letters I received scarcely allowed for any conclusion other than that the documents I had hoped for had very largely been lost as a result of the political situation in Germany and Austria in the thirties followed by the violence of the Second World War and the accidents of emigration. Carnap's remark in one of his letters, that the documents I was looking for were probably now to be found only inside the heads of the surviving members of the Circle, did no more than put my predicament in a telling manner.

Beth seemed prepared to reconcile himself to the fact that we had arrived too late and that our investigations would consequently yield

little or nothing beyond what we already had. Though it was clear to me too that we had more or less exhausted our resources, I was not immediately inclined to content myself with the results of the questionnaire and to relinquish forever all hope of the documents in question. At this point I marked time in my research for a considerable period. I classified the material collected in the answers I had received and in the ensuing correspondence. I made use of the most interesting facts that emerged in order to write a number of articles and, for the rest, I immersed myself in what had been published by members of the Vienna Circle or about it. This reading gave rise to a number of new questions. Moreover, in the course of it I came across, for the first time, two books, *Grundzüge der Naturphilosophie*⁴ and *Natur und Kultur*,⁵ whose content, according to the account given by one of the editors, J. Rauscher, was based on manuscripts from the literary remains of Schlick. I was naturally very anxious to discover where these remains were to be found and what was among them above and beyond the manuscripts alluded to by Rauscher. To find the answer to these and a number of other questions I went to Vienna at the end of 1963.

3.

The questions that my further reading had prompted were principally ones concerning the controversy within the Vienna Circle about physicalism and the ideas of Popper, also those about the influence of Wittgenstein and the relations between the Circle and the *Ernst Mach Society*. To find an answer to them I paid a visit to Kraft. Carnap had recommended him as my most important informant and I had already exchanged many letters with him in the follow-up to my form letter. He received me in his apartment in the Walfischgasse and had also invited Juhos. This was the occasion for a long and lively interchange, in the course of which my interlocutors corrected and amplified one another's remarks in a most instructive manner and gradually dealt with all the questions I had raised.

As to my questions about the *Ernst Mach Society*, which had had Schlick for its president, Kraft felt that he knew too little to give an adequate answer to them. For this purpose he referred me to Matejka, one-time director of the Volkshochschule at Ottakring. As I left Kraft impressed on me the importance of availing myself of my stay in Vienna to visit not only Matejka and Rauscher but also Hans Hahn's widow,

Lily Hahn, Neider, the head of the publishing house of Gerold and Co., and finally Blanche Hardy Schlick, Schlick's widow. On hearing this last name I scarcely believed my ears, because I had not the least idea that Schlick's widow was still alive. None of those that I had previously written to had commented on her absence from my list of proposed addressees. I thanked Kraft for these valuable indications and lost no time in arranging meetings with all five persons.

My talks with Neider and with Lily Hahn were extremely interesting in every respect, but somewhat general in content and I shall not describe them in detail here. I will only mention that they alas confirmed how many irreplaceable documents had been lost as a result of occupation and war. All the personal papers both of Hahn and of Neider, among which there would certainly have been documents of significance for my purposes, had been destroyed in the war.

Matejka was able to give a complete answer to my questions about the origin, activities, and demise of the *Ernst Mach Society*. In the further course of our conversation he was also able to give me interesting details concerning the background to the murder of Schlick. When I remarked that I would like to see photocopies of press and periodical reaction to the death of Schlick, he suggested that I should get in touch with a friend of his who was a civil servant in the Ministry of Education, whose assistance would speedily put me in possession of the photocopies I required and would save me a lot of hunting in archives and libraries. Matejka also introduced me to two former pupils of Schlick's. It was very striking with what respect and admiration they still spoke of Schlick, the man and the teacher, after nearly thirty years.

The conversation with Rauscher revealed that he could tell me nothing about the scope or contents of Schlick's literary remains. Of the papers left by Schlick he had only seen the various versions of the lecture course on the philosophy of nature, the manuscript dealing with the philosophy of culture, and some notes and comments of a personal nature that Schlick had made. As regards these notes, he told me that he had helped Mrs. Schlick with advice when she was preparing an anthology, which she in fact had brought out under her own name and responsibility as editor with the title *Aphorismen (Aphorisms)*.⁶ As I left, Rauscher presented me not only with several copies of the two books already mentioned as edited by him but also with the typewritten version (incomplete, alas) of the lecture course *Logik und Erkennt-*

nistheorie (*Logic and Theory of Knowledge*) which Schlick had given in the winter semester of 1934–5 and which one of his students, Käthe Steinhardt, had taken down in shorthand.

In the afternoon of the following day I made my way to Mrs. Blanche Hardy Schlick's apartment in the Cottagegasse. She was both surprised and delighted that finally someone had come to visit her and shown an interest in the life and work of her husband. In a conversation that went on into the early evening Schlick's life was passed before my eyes, but seen this time from a quite different perspective to the one with which I was familiar. She ranged from her first meeting with him in Heidelberg right up to 22 June 1936, that day of horror, on which Schlick was murdered. She spoke also of her children, a son and a daughter, and I learnt, to my astonishment, that the daughter was married to a Dutchman and lived not far from Utrecht. For my part I told her that I was engaged in research into the evolution of the Vienna Circle and was able to explain to her what sort of documents this research had led me to seek for some years, though in vain. Now, I told her, I had come across a reference to literary remains of Schlick's, and I should much like to know what these comprised. She told me that as a result of an air raid in 1944 practically all Schlick's personal papers and documents had been lost. All that remained were a number of manuscripts dealing with philosophy of nature and philosophy of culture, some notes, and a number of letters from her husband to herself. I pressed her no further, made a brief tour of the apartment to see how much of Schlick's library had survived the war, played a chord or two on Schlick's grand piano, thanked the charming old lady profusely for her reception of me and for the information she had given me, and took my leave, reverently holding a copy of Schlick's *Aphorismen* that she had given me as a souvenir of my visit.

The days in Vienna that remained to me I employed principally in visiting the various places where the Thursday evening meetings of the Circle had taken place, or where Schlick had lived and worked, or finally where he had been gunned down by his former student Nelböck. I also visited Schlick's grave in the cemetery at Pötzleinsdorf, a little country churchyard on the outskirts of Vienna. I later learned that the silver urn in which Schlick's ashes had been placed was stolen during the war.

In the University library I found out what lecture courses were given between 1922 and 1936 by Schlick or other members of the Vienna

Circle who were official teachers in the University. Finally I got in touch with the official recommended by Matejka, who did indeed provide me with the photocopies I had wanted, and not only those of newspaper reports and articles that had appeared in connection with Schlick's death and the trial of his murderer, but also ones of the official record of the trial. I returned to Amsterdam a few days before Christmas 1963.

Back at home I worked up the notes that I had taken of the various conversations into a report, which I added to the various answers to my previous form letter and questionnaire. This done, I gave Beth an account of my findings and declared to him that I had resigned myself to the fact that I should now probably never succeed in bringing to light documents that would justify a rewriting of the history of the Vienna Circle. He was of the opinion that we simply had to console ourselves with the thought that we had left no stone unturned and that we had after all succeeded in throwing light on a number of questions of detail.

4.

In the middle of June 1964 Barbara van de Velde-Schlick, who had found my address in a notebook of her mother's, sent me word that her mother had died in Vienna on 9 June. This notification led to a correspondence, which in turn led to my first visit, shortly after, to Bilthoven, near Utrecht.

Barbara Schlick told me that after the death of her mother she had sold off her father's books, though to her surprise there was no great interest in acquiring them. As for his literary remains, however, she had had them brought in their entirety to Bilthoven. These remains, as shortly appeared, contained very much more than her mother had described to me in Vienna. Nor could the daughter explain this. She hazarded the guess that her mother, already seriously ill at the time of my visit, had perhaps had a lapse of memory; but it also could not be excluded that I had failed to make perfectly clear to her what sort of documents were relevant to the researches I was undertaking. The air raid of which her mother had spoken had indeed taken place. In the last year of the war, the Americans had made an aerial attack on the Belvedere in Vienna, which at that time was the seat of an important Nazi department. A bomb intended for the palace had hit the house, Theresianumgasse 5, in which her mother lived. The two top stories

were blown away by the explosion, but the first story, on which her mother lived, was, though severely damaged, still standing. Because of the danger that the fabric might collapse, her mother was not permitted to enter the apartment, but fortunately she ignored this prohibition, and retrieved from the apartment everything that she thought important enough. In this she was assisted by friends and acquaintances, among them former students of her husband's, who lugged books and personal papers in rucksacks to Wohllebengasse 11, where she had been offered two rooms by a friend.

Barbara Schlick, as she told me, was engaged in sorting and classifying all her father's papers and hoped to be able to show me something of interest as early as my next visit. And such was indeed the case. Many visits followed, and on the strength of them I was able, slowly but surely, to form a picture of the content and the scope of Schlick's literary remains.

I will not here give a complete enumeration of the documents rescued by Schlick's widow and her friends, but will confine myself to a global description. The earliest document preserved is an essay by Moritz Schlick written when he was eighteen years old, a *Lebenslauf* (*Autobiography*) as it is called, composed in the summer of 1900, shortly before his school-leaving examination at the Luisenstadt Gymnasium in Berlin. He there declares that apart from ethics (which, however, he would like to pursue as a natural science) he has now finished with philosophy and wants to make his studies in mathematics and physics. Also preserved are all of Schlick's registration books as a student, so that we can know exactly when, where, and from whom he learned a particular subject; an unfinished manuscript on ethics, *Der neue Epikur* (*The new Epicurus*), dating from the years 1907–10, which Schlick spent in Zurich without paid employment; also left incomplete, unfortunately, is an autobiographical sketch from the early twenties of the century. There are a great number of manuscript notes for lecture courses from the years when Schlick was a lecturer and then a professor at the universities of Rostock (1911–21) and Kiel (1921–2). There are texts, worked up from shorthand notes, of his lecture courses during the years 1932–6, the texts also of some unpublished individual lectures, and finally, what I myself regard as the heart of the collection, a priceless source of valuable information, hundreds of letters, a correspondence extending over the years from 1904 up to 1936. This correspondence begins with a letter in which Schlick describes to his

parents a holiday trip to Italy; it ends with a letter to Neurath, dated June 2, 1936, in which Schlick explains that because of pressure of work he cannot attend the congress in Copenhagen,⁷ but that he is nonetheless prepared to send a lecture⁸ which someone could read out for him.

Apart from letters to and from relatives the correspondence contains exchanges, to varying degrees full and detailed, with M. Born, R. Carnap, A. Einstein, H. Feigl, P. Frank, M. von Laue, O. Neurath, M. Planck, H. Reichenbach, H. Scholz, L. Wittgenstein, and others.

To complete the collection there are reviews written by Schlick, reviews by others of Schlick's own publications, also all of Schlick's publications, from his dissertation, *Über die Reflexion des Lichtes in einer inhomogenen Schicht* (*On the Reflection of Light in a Non-homogeneous Layer*)⁹ down to his last philosophical confession of faith, *The Vienna School and Traditional Philosophy*.¹⁰ Barbara Schlick declared herself ready to deposit with me on loan, or else to give me the opportunity to photocopy, those documents that were of theoretical or research interest to me.

5.

A considerable time after my first visit to Barbara Schlick I was in conversation with a friend and let fall the name of Otto Neurath. The friend asked me whether I was aware that the celebrated Gerd Arntz (like himself a graphic artist) was working in The Hague at the Netherlands Institute for Statistics: Arntz, who had worked for years in the *Social and Economic Museum* in Vienna alongside Neurath and there, together with others, had found the right graphic form of Neurath's ideas of pictorial statistics. In fact I was totally unaware of Arntz's presence in Holland. Though Neurath's activities in connection with pictorial statistics were only indirectly connected with the Vienna Circle, I felt that a conversation with a man who had been close to Neurath for years would be extremely interesting. I therefore wrote to Arntz asking whether I might call on him to have a talk about his own activity in Vienna and about Otto Neurath. He agreed and we made an appointment to meet in The Hague.

It was indeed an interesting conversation. The very fact that Arntz took up residence in Holland was due to the circumstance that at the beginning of 1934 the then Austrian government issued a warrant for the arrest of Neurath. Neurath was in Moscow at the time, where he was

engaged in training specialists at the *Central Institute for Pictorial Statistics* that he founded there in 1931. He naturally did not return to Austria, but made his way, via Poland and Denmark, to Holland with a view to continuing his work at the *Mundaneum Institute The Hague*. For the sake of his collaboration with Neurath, Arntz also decided to go to Holland, where he had remained ever since. In the course of my conversation with Arntz (in which he answered in full all the questions I raised, not only about the Viennese period but also about the time in The Hague; and which, moreover was followed by a long and informative exchange of letters), he mentioned *en passant* that Neurath's widow, Marie Neurath-Reidemeister, lived in London, carrying on her husband's work, as far as pictorial statistics was concerned. For me it was a repetition of the feeling I had had when Kraft impressed upon me the importance of visiting Blanche Hardy Schlick. Arntz was still in contact with Marie Neurath, and gave me her address.

I wrote a letter to Marie Neurath describing both my meeting with Arntz and my research work on the history of the Vienna Circle. This led to a correspondence, and eventually to my first visit to Marie Neurath in the spring of 1967, on 9 March, to be precise. Up to that point our correspondence had been limited to questions about Otto Neurath's activities inside and outside the Vienna Circle and her responses to or comments on those questions. She had only mentioned once, and that *en passant*, that she had still in her possession a number of documents that might be of interest to me and that I must one day look at on the occasion of a visit to London. What I saw on the occasion of my three-day visit to London in March 1967 surpassed my wildest expectations (in this case too I shall confine myself to a global account of what was there): a complete edition of the periodical *Erkenntnis* (1930–39); an almost complete series of *Schriften zur wissenschaftlichen Weltauffassung* (1928–37); the pamphlet *The Scientific Conception of the World: The Vienna Circle* (1929); from the publications of the *Ernst Mach Society* Hans Hahn's *Überflüssige Wesenheiten (Superfluous Entities)* (1929); the ten fascicles of Volume I of the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* and eight fascicles of Volume II (1938–62); records of the proceedings at meetings of the Vienna Circle; and finally, piled up in cupboards, hundreds upon hundreds of letters (Neurath was fortunately an enthusiastic letter writer) a correspondence stretching from 1934 to 1945, full and detailed exchanges of letters with R. Carnap, P. Frank, H. Gomperz, K. Grelling, C. Hempel, W.

Hollitscher, R. von Mises, C. Morris, P. Oppenheimer, R. Rand, H. Reichenbach, L. Rougier, H. Scholz, F. Waismann, among others; all of this rounded off by notes and manuscripts of Otto Neurath's and by practically all his publications. Marie Neurath told me that all these letters and other writings had lain untouched for a good twenty years in the same place, because no one had yet shown any interest in them. If I would arrange for their transport she was very willing to hand over to me all the books, periodicals, pamphlets, and letters (apart from a few copies of things she was particularly attached to) in the interests of research and scholarship in Amsterdam.

It was of course, extremely regrettable that practically all papers and documents from this Viennese period were missing among these literary remains of Neurath's. To set against this there was the fact that the corresponding material from the years when Neurath was active in Holland (1934–40) and in England (1940–5) was preserved in its entirety. A remarkable fact, in this case too, at least as regards the period 1934–40, was that, just as in the case of Schlick's literary remains, the courage and energy of a number of people had played a decisive role in their preservation.

Marie Neurath described to me how she and Otto Neurath had managed to escape at the very last moment, just after the capitulation of the Netherlands on 14 May 1940, with one of the last ships that left Scheveningen for England, a manner of escape that had as its consequence that they had to leave all their possessions behind them in their apartment. After the war she learned that two married couples from among their friends had quickly gone into the abandoned apartment before the Germans arrived and had removed into safety all the letters, documents, and books that they thought might be of importance to the Neuraths. The entire collection survived the occupation and was sent to England at the end of the war, to the great surprise and joy of Otto and Marie Neurath. Now all of them were to make the return journey to Holland, though admittedly not to The Hague but to Amsterdam.

I too returned to Amsterdam. Only now did I really begin to feel that there was nothing further I could do to bring to light new material on the Vienna Circle, and that the research work started in 1961 was finally at an end. I had collected the material that would serve as the foundation for a *Vienna Circle Archive*, for the publications of the *Vienna Circle Collection* (Reidel), for the composition of an intellectual biography of Moritz Schlick, and for a detailed study of the scientific

and organizational activities of Otto Neurath in the years from 1934 to 1945.

Nonetheless, there were a number of considerations that muted my feelings of satisfaction. In retrospect it was clear to me that I had committed some serious errors. In the first place, I should have been much more alive to important indications regarding the subject of my research in publications of former members of the Vienna Circle that appeared shortly after the war. Secondly, in my form letter I should have drawn attention much more explicitly to the category that I have described as "kith and kin". If I had avoided these errors, my investigations would probably have yielded concrete results in a much shorter period of time. In that case these results would also have come within the knowledge of the person who gave the original stimulus for the research. That they did not do so was the chief of the considerations that muted my feelings of satisfaction: 12 April 1964 witnessed, to the dismay of all who knew him, the sudden death of Evert Beth.

NOTES

¹ Over the years all of those who either assisted by their contribution of material to the setting up of the *Vienna Circle Archive*, or who have later added to it by gift, have become convinced that the archive must be preserved as a unity for the future also. For this purpose a foundation was set up in 1978, the *Vienna Circle Foundation (Wiener-Kreis-Stiftung)*, to administer the archive and to give it legal status. Those who have deposited documents on loan have agreed to make testamentary dispositions whereby these will revert to the foundation. Meanwhile negotiations between the foundation and the *Royal Netherlands Academy of the Sciences (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen)* in Amsterdam have resulted in an agreement whereby the archive is entrusted to the safe-keeping of the academy, which will provide a place where any interested person empowered to do so by the management of the foundation can consult the archive. Furthermore a start has been made on an alphabetical and a chronological catalogue designed to make the archive as useful as possible for scientific research.

² In this connection I should particularly like to mention Kraft's daughter, Dr. E. Frodl-Kraft, of Vienna and Mrs. Robert M. Cunningham of Lincoln, Nebraska.

³ *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung, Der Wiener Kreis*, Artur Wolf, Wien, 1929; Eng. transl. by P. Foulkes and M. Neurath, 'The Scientific Conception of the World: The Vienna Circle', in Otto Neurath, *Empiricism and Sociology*, Vienna Circle Collection 1, edited by M. Neurath and R. S. Cohen, Reidel, Dordrecht and Boston (1973), pp. 299-318.

⁴ M. Schlick, *Grundzüge der Naturphilosophie*, W. Hollitscher and J. Rauscher (ed.), Gerold, Vienna (1948).

⁵ M. Schlick, *Natur und Kultur*, J. Rauscher (ed.), Humboldt, Vienna and Stuttgart (1952).

⁶ M. Schlick, *Aphorismen*, B. Hardy Schlick (ed.), published privately, Vienna (1962).

⁷ *The Causal Problem*, Second International Congress for the Unity of Science, Copenhagen 21–26 June 1936.

⁸ M. Schlick: 1937, 'Quantentheorie und Erkennbarkeit der Natur', *Erkenntnis* 6 (1937), 317–326, Eng. transl. by P. Heath, 'Quantum Theory and the Knowability of Nature', in Moritz Schlick, *Philosophical Papers*, Vienna Circle Collection 11/II, edited by H. L. Mulder and B. F. B. van de Velde-Schlick, Reidel, Dordrecht, Boston and London (1979), pp. 482–490.

⁹ M. Schlick, *Über die Reflexion des Lichtes in einer inhomogenen Schicht*, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Gustav Schade, Berlin (1904).

¹⁰ M. Schlick, 'L'Ecole de Vienne et la Philosophie Traditionelle', in *L'Unité de la Science: La Méthode et les Méthodes*, Travaux du IXe Congrès International de Philosophie IV, Actualités Scientifiques et Industrielles 533, Paris (1937), pp. 99–107; Eng. transl. by P. Heath, 'The Vienna School and Traditional Philosophy', in Moritz Schlick, *Philosophical Papers*, Vienna Circle Collection 11/II, edited by H. L. Mulder and B. F. B. van de Velde-Schlick, Reidel, Dordrecht, Boston and London (1979) pp. 491–498.

Weteringschans 49
1017 RW Amsterdam
The Netherlands