

PAUL CARUS AND THE OPEN  
COURT: THE HISTORY OF A  
JOURNAL

CONSTANCE MYERS

The story of Paul Carus and his Open Court Press is a chapter illustrating a facet of the impact of science upon religion in America. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the Carus publications attained their peak circulations and exerted greatest influence, forum, pulpit and press resounded with polemics. The dramatic Wilberforce-Huxley debate of 1860 in Oxford, England, set in motion the controversy which at length culminated in the 1925 Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee. Into this arena the Open Court Press directed its principal message.

The reaction to this impact assumed four distinct forms. Certain of the intelligentsia turned away from traditional religion altogether, including its terminology, and retired into agnosticism, scientific determinism or the sort of humanism represented by such organizations as Boston's Free Religious Association. Others threw themselves wholly into programs of social reform, and advocated with Dewey, Ward and Rauschenbusch an application of the "experimental method" to society. Still others huddled together within a fortress of "fundamentals," and repelled the onslaught as well as they could. The reaction of a few, however, was to attempt an unlikely synthesis by welding the mystic with the natural, making religion and science one, retaining the familiar religious terminology, and applying it allegorically to a monistic cosmology that incorporated the latest scientific hypotheses. This synthesis the Open Court Press strove to achieve. Its message was not elastic enough to survive. After World War I, it seemed relevant no longer.

In September, 1957, a memorial symposium honoring Paul Carus was held at "Huis ten Bosch" in Peru, Illinois, during the course of which several scholars presented papers concerning modern trends in world religions. Comparative religion had been Carus's life-long interest and particular forte. His eldest son, Edward Hegeler Carus, and his grandson, M. Blouke Carus, read excerpts from his work. The proceedings of the symposium were tape-recorded, and, in 1959, were published by the Open Court Press in La Salle, Illinois, the press yet active under the same family name.<sup>1</sup>

The Open Court Publishing Company is an enterprise of forty-nine years' standing in the United States. Instituted in 1887 as publisher of a

weekly journal of the same name, "Devoted to the Work of Establishing Ethics and Religion on a Scientific Basis,"<sup>2</sup> the Open Court has been in continuous operation to the present day, although it ceased publication of its periodicals in 1936. The intervening years, 1887-1936, had witnessed the transformation of The Open Court journal from successor to the Free Religious Association's faltering Index, to a veritable institution<sup>3</sup> in the Progressive Era, the period of its greatest activity. The Open Court press had become publisher of the Religion of Science Library (a philosophical series), and an additional philosophical journal, The Monist.

The name Open Court is associated with that of the Carus family, and particularly that of Paul Carus, its editor for thirty-two of the forty-nine years of its existence as a functioning press. When this indomitable German popularizer of philosophy died in 1919, his widow, Mary Hegeler Carus, carried on the work. Publication of the journals ceased, however, in 1936, the year of her demise.<sup>4</sup> The long success of the publishing company and The Open Court attests to the timeliness of its message during the period, and amply demonstrates the kind of topic that concerned many educated, though probably non-academic, people. Furor over the propagation of evolutionary notions by Darwin's popularizers made biological science, and science-in-general, a virtual obsession. Discussing the new ideas became a favorite dinner table and smoking room pastime. The prevalent opinion was that one must be modern, "scientific," or at least appear so. If one did not, he was liable to be branded as "behind-the-times," or out of step.

The attempt to be scientific affected social studies. Some found convincing Herbert Spencer's "evolutionary ethics," an ethic based upon social utility rather than upon the precepts of an Absolute Heavenly Father, the very existence of whom in the Spencerian system was redundant. But there were those who found such ideas repellent. The notion of evolution from monkey to man was disturbing enough, and destructive enough of one's Sunday School teaching; but an ethic without the Divine Judge seemed the extra step that led over the precipice. For such apprehensive individuals, Carus and his fellow-contributors to The Open Court held out an alternate option. His option appears to us today as perhaps overly-romantic and a bit naive, albeit the result of a sincere effort to retain the emotion-evoking qualities of the familiar Christian message. But the message was shorn of charisma, eschatology, and judgment, and was merged with full-scale adaptation of progressive evolution to an ethical theory based upon faith in the gradual human accretion of moral and social virtues. This ingenious blend of biological and social evolutionary theory with Christian theism was enclosed within a framework of a fully rationalistic, unitary world system -- a monistic view.

Carus and The Open Court, then, were attempting a needed synthesis, but the twentieth century fate of the venture, and the paucity of survivals of

such thought today, testify to the tentative success of the pragmatic "revolt against formalism."<sup>5</sup>

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In the throng of the theologico-scientific system-builders was, curiously, a zinc-manufacturer from La Salle, Illinois, Edward Carl Hegeler, German-born engineer and businessman of no inconsiderable means.<sup>6</sup> His endeavors were to be effective, his message to reach many synthesizers, although his name has been virtually forgotten, so pronounced was Carus's leadership and so surely did Carus dominate the field. Hegeler's influence was indirect. He determined to have his opinions heard and to spread his gospel of "Monism," the religion to "supplant the traditional Christianity." In this manner he hoped to offset the deleterious effects of agnosticism. Consequently, he began in July, 1886, to seek a collaborator for the founding of a periodical, a vehicle for his ideas. At the same time, Boston's Free Religious Association, founded in 1867 by Octavius Brooks Frothingham and Francis Ellingwood Abbott, was experiencing financial woes; its organ, The Index, was "faltering in a financial mess" under Benjamin Franklin Underwood's editorship. Underwood was seeking a new position.

The two interests discovered each other, and correspondence concerning the nature of a new periodical to be founded and published by Hegeler, and edited by Underwood, began and continued throughout the year of 1886. Underwood initially suggested that The Index and its staff be transferred from Boston to Chicago, in order that the journal could be under the direct supervision of its new publisher. Perhaps, removed from Boston, it could exist subsequently as a journal free of institutional encumbrance. It became apparent through correspondence, however, that the differences between the essentially humanistic philosophical basis of The Index's former articles and policies, and Mr. Hegeler's "religion" of monism, though slight, were yet so decided as to render a simple transfer undesirable (for Hegeler).<sup>7</sup> Together Underwood and Hegeler agreed to sever completely the connection with Boston. Underwood prepared to relocate in La Salle, where on January 1, 1887, he would assume the editorship of the new, as yet unnamed, publication, at a salary of \$1800 per year.<sup>8</sup> Hegeler preferred for himself the position of silent partner to that of co-editor, as the two reached concordance on their mutual monistic world-view. After some discussion, and several alternate proposals, they settled upon the title The Open Court for the new fortnightly.<sup>9</sup> As subscribers, the new venture found a number from The Index's former lists; Hegeler proudly noted on December 20, 1886, that "many cultivated men and women" were subscribing.<sup>10</sup>

Difficulty lay in store for the enterprise during its first year. Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, the editor's wife (whom Underwood had insisted upon installing as co-editor) published, in an early issue, a poem entitled "I Do Not Know." In her poem, she expressed wonder at nature's creation, the source of which she "did not know." Monism does, indeed, know the an-

swer to such questions of religion, rejoined the publisher, thereby drawing clearly the line between Mrs. Underwood's agnosticism and his monism. He added that "agnosticism was a transitional standpoint to Monism of those who, having found the teachings of old theologians untenable, had not yet worked through to the clear and definite view of Monism."<sup>11</sup>

Concurrent with this irritation ran another, more serious, one. In order to have his views expressed in the most logical and articulate fashion, Hegeler early in the first year of publication had engaged Paul Carus, recently arrived from Dresden. Carus appeared to Hegeler to hold views identical with his own, and seemed to him ideally suited to ghost-write for him, and, additionally, to translate European articles for use in The Open Court.<sup>12</sup> When he learned of the new addition to the staff, Underwood raised objection. Carus and Underwood subsequently disagreed regarding fine points of "doctrine," and the contest, inconsequential and of short duration, appeared on the pages of The Open Court. The editor simply resigned, with regret at leaving his post so soon (January, 1888) after the journal's inception. In the November, 1887, issue, appeared Underwood's formal statement to the effect that "the immediate cause of the editor's resignation is Mr. Hegeler's expressed desire and purpose to make a place on The Open Court for Dr. Paul Carus, who never had, it should be said, any editorial connection with the paper, who never wrote a line for it except as contributor, and as Mr. Hegeler's Secretary . . . ." <sup>13</sup>

Thus ended Mr. and Mrs. Underwood's work on The Open Court; thus entered Carus, elevated to editor by Hegeler; and so began a long and successful relationship between the man and his creation -- for the course of The Open Court was charted and guided by Carus as long as he lived.

Paul Carus, the new editor, was born in 1852 at Ilsenburg, Prussia, the son of a clergyman who was later to become the Superintendent-General of the State Church of Eastern and Western Prussia.<sup>14</sup> At the Gymnasium in Stettin, the young Carus studied mathematics under a former student of Schleiermacher and follower of Leibnitz, Hermann Grassmann, whose theory of space and forms provided the starting point and inspiration for Carus's philosophy of formalism.<sup>15</sup> He studied theology and philosophy at Tübingen, receiving his Ph.D. in 1876. Although his degree was in philosophy, he regarded himself as a theologian. Often in later years accused of atheism, he insisted that he was an atheist who loved God!<sup>16</sup> Following a conflict over his liberal religious views with the authorities at a military academy in Dresden where he served a short stint as teacher, he came to England in the 1880's, and then to New York. In the latter city, he became co-editor of a German-language periodical.<sup>17</sup> He desired to leave at the first possible opportunity, however, in order to found an English-language "Transatlantic Review" for the publication of European thought in America. Lack of financial capital prevented his projection from going beyond fancy. His subsequent alliance with Hegeler on The Open Court, formally begun in

January, 1888, following Underwood's departure, provided the sympathetic environment for the experiment. This fortnightly became the sounding board not only for the editorial viewpoint, but for that of varied and contradictory opinion, usually pertaining to philosophy or religion, but often to international events and famous personalities. The work of European writers frequently found its way into the pages of The Open Court.

On March 28, 1888, Carus married Hegeler's daughter Mary, a recent graduate of the University of Michigan. As a result, the alliance with Hegeler was welded into a permanent one.

A particularly fruitful association for Carus commenced in 1897. In 1893, the "First Parliament of Religions" convened in Chicago, one of many "World Congresses" held in connection with the Columbian Exposition. The gathering had been proposed by Charles Carroll Bonney, prominent New York legal authority; Carus attended the forty-six sessions as Secretary under Bonney's Presidency (curiously, their positions were reversed in 1895, when Bonney became Carus's Secretary at the Open Court Publishing Company).<sup>18</sup> Comparative religion had early captured Carus's fascination; he was particularly interested in Oriental thought, in which field he was later to contribute significantly. At the conference, he met Abbot Shaku Soyen of Engaku Monastery, one of the five strongholds of Zen Buddhism in Japan. After the congresses adjourned, the Abbot visited in the Carus home for several days. Carus plunged into Oriental scholarship full force following this encounter, and in two years completed his The Gospel of Buddha -- a simplification, for the Western reader, of the intricacies of the Buddhist scriptures. Sending the proof sheets to Shaku in Japan for inspection proved the catalyst that stimulated the production of a series of such studies. Shaku, who did not read English, presented the proof sheets to his student, Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Suzuki translated the work into Japanese, and when in 1897 Carus decided to seek a collaborator for the translation of the Tao Te Ching, he summoned the twenty-seven-year-old Suzuki to La Salle. There the Japanese scholar remained for twelve years in association with The Open Court, where he served as writer and translator. At the symposium in 1957, Suzuki reminisced upon the vicissitudes of a Japanese and a German translating the classic Chinese of Lao Tzu into English! Ultimately, he left La Salle to pursue a teaching career.<sup>19</sup>

In 1890, the Open Court Press began to publish The Monist, intended as a vehicle for works of a more technical nature. It carried philosophical and scientific treatises. The Monist's tables of contents list such names as Boole in mathematics; Binet in psychology; Peirce and Dewey in philosophy; Suzuki in religion; and Mach in physics. Still, Carus threw open the pages of The Monist and The Open Court to contributors with an unusual point of view, regardless of previous prestige, and with equal zest entered into controversies with nobodies and with philosophers of standing. He was "literally personally acquainted" (or soon became so) with all of his contributors.<sup>20</sup>

Paul Carus obtained his university training at a time when German philosophical thought was at a crossroads; it was a period of reaction against the British idealism which had reached across Europe and found its fullest expression in Königsberg in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. It was a period, too, of the triumphs of the natural sciences, which in some instances were leading philosophical thought into a deterministic channel. Carus openly espoused the Kantian cause, but not uncritically; he felt he must "go beyond him."<sup>21</sup> The central idea of Carus's philosophy was an attempt to solve Kant's problem of dualism -- of the unknowability of the "thing-in-itself." He sought to bridge the chasm between object and subject, and in this attempt, he reached his monistic conception. As Kant's disciple, he upheld the hypothesis of necessary law in the universe, such law within the individual, at his command for the formation of his perceptions from sense data, declaring that "formal laws of nature and formal laws of thought are identical." The definitions explanatory of The Open Court were decidedly Kantian: "The data of experience are perceptions. Reality is the sum total of all that is. Truth is the conformity of cognition to reality. . . ." <sup>22</sup> Kant had wished to show "how the a priori conditions of the possibility of experience are at the same time the sources from which all the general laws of nature must be derived." For, he said, there are "really universal natural laws, existing completely a priori," but since "Nature . . . is the sum total of all the objects of experience," [italics Kant's] the laws of this "nature" are subjective laws. <sup>23</sup>

There is a clear correlation between the monism of The Open Court and Eastern thought -- little wonder that Buddha and Lao Tzu appealed to Carus as objects of study. He came to be regarded as an authority on Oriental religion, and an expert transmitter of the ideas and ethos contained therein to the English-reading public. <sup>24</sup> The Gospel of Buddha was translated into the vernaculars of Eastern Asia, and used as a textbook in Buddhist missions and seminaries. <sup>25</sup>

As for his religious views, Carus's professed theism included a belief in an "allegorical God," whose essence is captured in the myths concerning him. God is the "super-real condition of the whole world -- the order of the laws of nature. . . . The laws of mathematics are part and parcel of the . . . super-personal God." <sup>26</sup>

Carus desired to have his religion regarded as a science, for, he said, it had been submitted to the rigors of scientific analysis and comparison. The Open Court's dedication, composed by Charles C. Bonney, reflects this idea: "Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea." It was a religion of science, Carus thought, because it was an amalgam of all religion (his own special admixture), and was, by virtue of the amalgamation, proved true. <sup>27</sup>

In his formalism, he denied that chaos preceded order, or that mere chance is the "law" operative in the universe. He asserted, "There is no chaos -- it is a cosmos. . . . God is immanent: He and the universe are one."<sup>28</sup> This attempt to show order in nature led Carus to the study of Oriental numerology, a study resulting in the publication, with W. S. Andrews, of Magic Squares and Cubes, wherein he said "the law of number is the key that unlocks the secrets of the universe. Magic squares illustrate . . . that the nature of existence is dominated by mathematical regularity."<sup>29</sup>

Carus was severe in his criticism of pragmatism, especially that of William James. Yet the two philosophers admired each other personally: William James's "broad-gauge personality was cherished by this broad-gauge dogmatist quite as warmly as his pluralistic philosophy was repelled." The dedication to Carus's Truth on Trial reads: "To the Memory of William James, Who With the Best Intentions put Truth on Trial and by his Very Errors Advanced the Cause of Truth."<sup>30</sup> For James, truths replaced one another as belief in them proved useful by application to the exigency of the hour; truth "happened" to an idea. For Carus, truth remained Eternal Truth, merely changing

. . . as our knowledge broader grows,  
As science gains in depth and definition,  
But verily the new and broader Truth  
Will never call the older Truth a lie  
For lo! it is the selfsame older Truth  
As from a higher standpoint it appears  
And all the truths are ultimately one.<sup>31</sup>

Truth, according to Carus, was no static relation of correspondence, but "a relation which . . . originates and exists through an agreement between the idea and the reality represented." Truth must be discovered; if there were no feeling, comprehending minds, there would be no truth.<sup>32</sup>

Bonney's dedication appeared on the title page of every issue of The Open Court from 1901 through 1931, when it was dropped, only to be resumed in the final volume, L, for the years 1935 and 1936.

During its first years, The Open Court greeted its subscribers with a big 10" x 14" format. In 1897, it became a "Monthly Magazine," and assumed the modest proportions of a scholarly journal, which it retained until its demise.

The war years found the journal forsaking temporarily its commitment "to the Science of Religion, [and] the Religion of Science." Always open, and favorable, to articles of European origin, its German-born sponsor and editor displayed a predisposition toward German essays. Carus's sentiments remained attached to the cause of the Central Powers in the war period before April, 1917. Indeed, he delivered himself of utterances against the "sham neutrality" of America,<sup>33</sup> and carried advertisements and reviews of books written for the purpose of castigating the allied cause.<sup>34</sup>

Immediately prior to America's entrance into the war, he contributed articles on the race question. Suggesting that the real threat to civilization was posed by the Slav, Carus enjoined a union of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic peoples in whose societies the democratic form of government had emerged. But Germany, he believed, had more of the elements of "real" democracy than either England or France.<sup>35</sup>

The March and April, 1917, issues skipped reference to the international situation, but once the United States had entered the war committed to the allied cause, Carus resumed publication of controversial material, plainly designed to evoke sympathy for Germany. In the July, 1917, issue, for example, he printed "Letters of an Italian Officer to His Sister in America," exalting Germany's military strength, and praising German fortitude. The same issue carried an article lauding Britain's cunning diplomacy as demonstrated by her preventing an American-German alliance, and thereby insuring her own commercial supremacy.<sup>36</sup>

These expressions, and the editorial policy of The Open Court, elicited the inevitable unfavorable reaction. H. Roger Thomas, in the New York Tribune of September 17, 1917, charged that Carus's "German-trained mind" had altered the policy completely from the founder, Hegeler's, intent, and from the declared purpose of the journal as evidenced in the dedication. The charge was indeed well-founded; it was a telling blow. Thomas accused The Open Court of being "a poor camouflage behind which pro-Germanism (in its best intellectual light, naturally) is rampant." Mentioning as examples both book reviews and articles, Thomas asserted that, to him, the policy appeared patently "pro-Central Powers."

Carus rejoined with a fervent avowal of patriotism; after all, he was an American "by choice." He had "sworn allegiance to the Constitution and . . . would remain faithful to my oath," but he was "not sympathetic with our policy in entering this war, and if that is a crime, make the worst of it."<sup>37</sup> In reply, the newspaper's editor, remaining in agreement with Thomas's criticism, aptly observed that he disagreed with Carus "mainly as to the emotional propriety of treating the war at all on an intellectual plane. The war is the herd's business, we are in it, and before anything else we must win it, and that is not a matter to be reasoned about."<sup>38</sup> The following number, that of December, 1917, contained a translation of General Helmuth von Moltke's essay reflecting upon life and death; with this, The Open Court ceased printing such material, and commenced publication of articles concerning Oriental philosophy and literature. Again, the dedication to "the Science of Religion" became meaningful and descriptive. The 1918 volume, slenderer than former ones, included essays upon comparative religion, showing the relation and effects of Oriental philosophy and religion upon European and American thought. During the post-war years, the journal published articles by such eminent sinologues as Cyrus H. Peake, L. Carrington Goodrich, and Homer H. Dubs.



Carus died in 1919 after a prolonged illness.<sup>39</sup> Mary Hegeler Carus kept the presses operating, and in 1933, turned the journal over to the New Orient Society of Chicago as a vehicle for its monograph series. The Open Court, in this manner, became a quarterly, retaining still its old dedication to "The Science of Religion, the Religion of Science." On June 27, 1936, Mary Carus died. The last issue appeared in October, 1936.

With the recent increase in activity of the Open Court presses, we can perhaps expect a revival of the speculative, inquiring, multi-directional spirit of Paul Carus. The new Monist of the 1960's may answer these expectations. Certainly, the recent acquisition from Northwestern University of the Library of Living Philosophers should provide a wide spectrum for expression. It may be that a new Open Court could "catch up" the spirit of the mid-twentieth century just as the old one caught up the spirit of its time, and furnished a sounding board for discussion of the religious and philosophical problems of the day. We shall watch these new ventures of the Open Court Publishing Company with keen interest.

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Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Joseph M. Kitagawa, ed., Modern Trends in World Religions (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Descriptive subtitle as it appeared in earlier volumes. See The Open Court, I (February 17, 1887).

<sup>3</sup> (New York) Evening Post, September 26, 1914, quoted by William Ellery Leonard in Dial (May 3, 1919), 452.

<sup>4</sup> Her obituary notice in The Open Court, L (July, 1936), 129. The Monist resumed publication as "An International Quarterly Journal of General Philosophical Inquiry," edited by Eugene Freeman, with the Fall, 1962, issue. A Winter, 1963, issue followed (XLIV, nos. 1 and 2). The old Religion of Science Library is no more, but the Open Court has recently taken over the publication of the Library of Living Philosophers, formerly under the aegis of Northwestern University. In addition, there is in publication a series entitled The Open Court Classics.

<sup>5</sup> Ably described in its secular (and quite academic) manifestations by Harvard's Professor Morton White in his Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism (Boston: Beacon, 1947). Carus's place as a cosmologist in American philosophy is discussed in Herbert W. Schneider, A History of American Philosophy (New York: Columbia University, 1946), 333-334.

<sup>6</sup> Hegeler's prosperity was derived from his success as supplier of zinc for the manufacture of cartridges during the Civil War, and from his invention of several devices to facilitate zinc manufacture. William H. Hay,

"Paul Carus: A Case Study of Philosophy on the Frontier," Journal of the History of Ideas, XVII (October, 1956), 501.

<sup>7</sup> The Index was regarded by Hegeler as surrounded by so heavy an aura of theology that it would be difficult for the modern scientific spirit to muster sufficient thrust to penetrate it. The Open Court, I (December 22, 1887), 634.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 626.

<sup>9</sup> Other titles proposed and considered: Horizon, The Contemporary, The Radical, Dawn, The Monist (strongly favored by Hegeler), The Monist's Open Court, et al. The Open Court, I (December 22, 1887), 626.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 631-634.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 636.

<sup>12</sup> Hegeler to Carus, January 21, 1887, in The Open Court, I (December 22, 1897), 639-640.

<sup>13</sup> "Editor's Farewell to the Readers of The Open Court," in The Open Court, I (November 24, 1887), 591-592.

<sup>14</sup> Ernest Sutherland Bates, "Paul Carus," in Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, III (New York: Scribner's, 1929), 548. This rank is equivalent to Bishop in the Anglican Church.

<sup>15</sup> Julius Goebel, "Paul Carus," The Open Court, XXXIII (September, 1919), in the Paul Carus Memorial issue. See A. E. Heath, "Hermann Grassmann," in The Monist (January, 1917), 1-21, for a discussion of his mathematical contributions. A more detailed analysis of Carus's debt to Grassmann is in Donald Harvey Meyer, "Paul Carus and the Religion of Science," American Quarterly, XIV (Winter, 1962), 599-600.

<sup>16</sup> Catherine Cook, ed., The Point of View: An Anthology of Religion and Philosophy Selected from the Works of Paul Carus (Chicago: Open Court, 1927), viii. Mrs. Cook was associated with Carus for ten years in the work of the Open Court Press.

<sup>17</sup> The periodical was entitled Zickel's Novelleu-schatz und Familieu Blatter; Bates, "Paul Carus," in Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, III, 548. Also cf. Carus to Hegeler, January 22 and 24, 1887, in The Open Court, I (December 22, 1887), 640.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Carus, "The Honorable C. C. Bonney, The Inaugurator of the Parliament of Religions," The Open Court, XIV (January, 1900), 4-7.

<sup>19</sup> Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, "A Glimpse of Paul Carus," in Kitagawa, ed., Modern Trends in World Religions, x-xiii; also cf. Bernard Phillips, ed., The Essentials of Zen Buddhism: An Anthology of the Writings of Daisetz T. Suzuki (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962), xxxvi-xxxvii. Suzuki's writings, produced after he had passed the age of fifty, have played a prominent part in awakening Western interest in Zen. He has taught at the University of Hawaii, Claremont College, and Columbia University, as well as at universities at Tokyo and Otani in Japan. Since 1958, he has lived in Japan, and has witnessed the popularization of his life-interest and study. His

translations in collaboration with Carus include The Canon of Reason and Virtue: The Tao Te Ching; Acvaghosha's Discourse of the Awakening of Faith; and T'ai Shang Kan-Ying P'ien: Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution; all published by the Open Court Press.

<sup>20</sup> Bates, "Paul Carus," in Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, III, 548; Lydia G. Robinson, "Paul Carus: The Philosopher, the Editor, the Man," in The Open Court, XXXIII (September, 1919), 585.

<sup>21</sup> Philip E. B. Jourdain, "The Ideals of the Life and Work of Paul Carus," in ibid., 522. Jourdain was The Open Court's associate editor in London. Cf. also Goebel, "Paul Carus," in ibid., 515; and cf. Carus's own Philosophy as a Science: A Synopsis of the Writings of Dr. Paul Carus (Chicago: Open Court and London: Kegan Paul, 1909), 22-24, 26.

<sup>22</sup> Carus, Fundamental Problems: The Method of Philosophy as a Systematic Arrangement of Knowledge (Chicago: Open Court, 1889), 48; "Definitions Explanatory of the Positions of The Open Court," beginning in May, 1889, and published on page 1 for several years.

<sup>23</sup> Kant's Prolegomena, the Carl J. Friedrich translation.

<sup>24</sup> Suzuki, "A Glimpse of Paul Carus," in Kitagawa, ed., Modern Trends in World Religions, xiv.

<sup>25</sup> Robinson, "Paul Carus: The Philosopher, the Editor, the Man," in The Open Court, XXXIII (September, 1919), 585.

<sup>26</sup> Cook, ed., The Point of View: An Anthology . . . from the Works of Paul Carus, ix, 14-15, 38.

<sup>27</sup> Carus, Philosophy as a Science, 9-10, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Carus, Fundamental Problems, 91-133, passim.

<sup>29</sup> (Chicago: Open Court, 1917), vii.

<sup>30</sup> Carus, Truth on Trial: An Exposition of the Nature of Truth, Preceded by a Critique of Pragmatism and an Appreciation of Its Leader (Chicago: Open Court, 1889); Leonard, "Paul Carus," in Dial (May 3, 1919), 452.

<sup>31</sup> Carus, Truth on Trial, 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 11-12. Carus owed a considerable debt to Alexander von Humboldt and Ernst Haeckel for his monism.

<sup>33</sup> Editorial, "Made in America," in The Open Court, XXIX (August, 1915), 503-505.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., reviews and advertisements of S. Ivor Stephen, Neutrality: The Crucifixion of Public Opinion; Roland Hugins, Germany Misjudged; William Bayard Hale, American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas (which was described thus: "an account of England's legalized piracy in the present war is well set forth in [this] pamphlet. . ."); Carus's own The New Morn, "A short dramatic poem in which the main theme is concerned with English diplomacy and the rulers of the Triple Entente. Over against these personages appears the majestic figure of the Kaiser, announcing a new morn and a new civilization. . . ." In addition, the Open Court Press

printed for the Germanistic Society of Chicago a series of pamphlets, selling at five cents apiece, which the Society wished to disseminate "to counteract prejudice inspired by American newspapers under the control of English capital." The authors included professors and men who had served in government. Other volumes announced were Eduard Meyer, England: Its Political Organization and Development and the War Against Germany; and Marshall Kelly, Carlyle and the War. The titles sound innocuous; both were "pro-Teutonic." Cf. the 1916 and 1917 issues (volumes XXX and XXXI) for these notices. Such advertisements are in nearly every issue; all volumes published by the Open Court Press except Stephen's, which emanated from the "Neutrality Press."

<sup>35</sup> "Racial Characteristics," The Open Court, XXXI (January, 1917), 55-58; "Anglo-Saxon and Teuton" (February, 1917), 117-119; "Slav and Goth" (September, 1917), 569-572.

<sup>36</sup> "English Diplomacy," The Open Court, XXXI (July, 1917), 458-464.

<sup>37</sup> Carus to Editor (Garet Garrett) of the New York Tribune, September 22, 1917, in The Open Court, XXXI (November, 1917), 655-661.

<sup>38</sup> Garet Garrett in the New York Tribune, October 8, 1917, printed in The Open Court, XXXI (November, 1917), 662, under the title, "Our Patriotism Doubted: A Discussion with the New York Tribune."

<sup>39</sup> See his obituary by J. P. Kantor, of the University of Chicago, in The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods, XVI (March, 1919), 223-224.