Russell and the Cambridge Moral Sciences Club[1]

by Jack Pitt

IN HIS *Autobiography* Russell records his extreme satisfaction at being elected to the fraternal discussion group at Cambridge familiarly known as the *Apostles*.[2] In addition to including a number of congratulatory letters from elder Apostles, he writes: "The greatest happiness of my time at Cambridge was connected with a body whom its members knew as 'The Society,' but which outsiders, if they knew of it, called 'The Apostles.'"[3] The subsequent notoriety of this group obscured the fact that Russell

[1] Gratitude is expressed to those at the University of Cambridge who kindly provided access to the Minutes of the Cambridge University Moral Sciences Club. The Minutes have been invaluable in constructing an historical context in which to locate Russell's participation in the Club, and in providing many details pertinent to that participation.

[2] Its complete name is the Cambridge Conversazione Society. Its character and history is treated in Paul Levy's fascinating study, *G. E. Moore and the Cambridge Apostles* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979). I am indebted to this book for many points of fact in this essay, especially as these concern members of the Society. The interested reader may also wish to consult Peter Allen's *The Cambridge Apostles: The Early Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[3] *Autobiography, 1872–1914* (Boston: Atlantic–Little, Brown, 1967), p. 91.

maintained membership in other Cambridge societies. Philosophically the most important, and the one which will concern us here, is the Cambridge University Moral Sciences Club (CUMSC). Doubtless the tone, the ambience, of these two organizations was viewed from within Cambridge as strikingly different; yet the overlap of leadership and purpose is noteworthy. Both groups indicate their intent to be the discussion of philosophical topics,[4] and during the period which concerns us we find that a significant number of Apostles were active CUMSC members or, more significantly, officers of CUMSC.[5]

CUMSC was first founded in 1874. But the organization then founded lasted but two years. It was in 1878 that a third-year undergraduate at St. Johns, Alfred Caldecott, brought together a new group of men which set the Club securely on its way. On Saturday, 19 October, of that year he presided as Honorary Secretary over a constitutional meeting held in his rooms. Present were seven other men from St. Johns and two from Trinity. (For the presence of women at the Club's meetings, see the Appendix.) It was a group with a number of members at the beginning of remarkable careers. Caldecott himself became Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy (1891–1917) at King's College, London, and Dean of Chapel there from 1913 to 1917. Joseph Jacobs, at twenty-six the senior person present at this meeting, was subsequently a founder, and later President, of the Jewish Historical Society. He was a friend of George Eliot, whose obituary he wrote

[4] Frances M. Brookfield, an early historian of the Apostles, writes that the Society had been started by a group of young men who had "a common craving for further investigation than was permitted by the opportunities given by the University into higher philosophy." See her book, *The Cambridge "Apostles"* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 3. She also mentions that members of this original group were students at St. Johns—albeit Trinity was quickly to be represented in force. The parallel with the beginnings of the C.U.M.S.C. is noteworthy.

[5] Apostles active in the C.U.M.S.C. included, in addition to Russell, A. N. Whitehead, G. Lowes Dickinson, Crompton Llewelyn Davies, C. P. Sanger, A. E. A. W. Smyth, G. H. Hardy, John Maynard Keynes and H. T. Norton. Apostles who were officers of the C.U.M.S.C., often for extended periods, included Henry Sidgwick, J. E. McTaggart, G. E. Moore, and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

for *The Athenaeum*. Another of those in attendance was Alfred Williams Momerie (Mummery), subsequently Professor of Logic and Metaphysics (1880–91) at King's College, London, and also Morning Preacher at the Foundling Hospital in London. Both his appointments were terminated due to his unorthodox theological views, which may be found in his book *Defects of Modern Christianity*.[6]

It was at this constitutional meeting that it was decided to establish, by the adoption of its name, historical continuity with the earlier club created in 1874 for similar purposes, but which had been defunct for two years. A second action was to declare that meetings would take place each Saturday in full term at nine in the evening. We may infer, then, that none of the original members of CUMSC was an Apostle, since the latter group had been meeting also on Saturday since its foundng in 1820.[7] A third action of note was the stipulation that membership would be restricted to those "under the standing" of M.A. who had taken a degree in the Moral Sciences Tripos, or who were reading for such a degree. Members of the University in their first year of residence, "commonly called Freshmen", would be eligible only after introduction by a member of the Club. In conclusion it was decided that the first meeting of the Club would be held in the lodgings of Thomas Edward Scrutton of Trinity on 26 October 1878.

About twenty-eight persons attended this founding meeting, at which Caldecott read a paper entitled "Development Theories of Conscience". It was arranged that the next paper would be given by Scrutton on free will.

A notable non-member of CUMSC during this early period was Russell's teacher, James Ward, who had gained a first class in the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1874. But Ward was already a Fellow. In addition, he was elected an Apostle in 1876, and thus his Saturday evenings would be spoken for.

It will hint at the tone of the Club in its early days to quote from

[6] Here, and in many places throughout this paper, I am indebted to J. A. Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, 1752–1900*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940–1954). The subtitle of this work is "A Biographical List of all known students, graduates, and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900."

[7] This is confirmed by the list of past Apostles to be found in the Appendix to Levy's book, p. 300.

a gracefully written set of minutes presented by G. E. Humphreys of Caius:

> After the minutes of the last meeting had been read (by Mr. Frost in the absence of the Secretary) and approved, there was a long and unusual break in the continuity of the proceedings from the fact that the reader of the paper did not make his appearance until 5 minutes to 10 o'clock. The excuse given was that having retired to the Gog hills to meditate upon some unusually obscure Hegelianisms he had become so lost in thought that it was only when curfew broke in upon the current of his reflections that he remembered he was still a being belonging to this world, to Cambridge and to the Moral Science Club. With this preface Mr. Rees proceeded to read his paper on "The Philosophy of History".

Mr. Rees must have moved with some speed as the Gog hills are a fair distance from the older Cambridge colleges. It remains a beautiful area for walking with an excellent golf course at its base. But this was installed subsequent to Mr. Rees's Hegelian reflections.

It would have been about this time that J. E. McTaggart became a member of the Club, and shortly thereafter its secretary.[8] His name is associated with a restatement of the rules of the Club which appeared in 1885. We may surmise, however, that Henry Sidgwick, who was then President, influenced the introduction of changes and modifications.

Two substantive changes merit notice. One change expanded the class of those eligible for membership to include members of the University interested in the study of philosophy, yet who had neither taken nor were preparing for the Moral Sciences Tripos. Unlike the latter, however, the persons in this new category had to be "proposed and seconded by members of the Club, and balloted for, one blackball in four to exclude." Such a proposal required a week's notice, with a quorum of seven required for election. One is inclined to presume the influence of Sidgwick here, if only because his degrees were in mathematics and classics, and thus he

[8] It is recorded in the minutes of 21 November 1890 that on that occasion he resigned as secretary, "a post he had held for 4 years".

had never taken the Moral Sciences Tripos. He was, however, Praelector in Moral and Political Philosophy from 1875 to 1883. McTaggart did take the Moral Sciences Tripos, but Sidgwick was well positioned to see how the Club could benefit from an expanded pool of possible members.

The second change of interest is that the time of meeting was moved from Saturday evening to Friday evening. Again it is natural to suppose the influence of Sidgwick who, while he had "taken wings" (ceased to be officially active) as an Apostle some time previously, maintained association with the Society and attended their Saturday meetings from time to time. Yet it is likely that there was also a more impersonal motive for the time change. Sidgwick undoubtedly anticipated that with the broader criterion for membership in CUMSC, there would come the increased possibility of persons being eligible for membership in both the Society and CUMSC. Furthermore, he would have perceived the desirability of having such persons in both organizations. In all this he would have been quite correct. Indeed, McTaggart, the Secretary of CUMSC until 1890, was elected an Apostle the year following these changes (1886). These modifications permitted C. P. Sanger, Bertrand Russell, and G. E. Moore to become members of both groups in the early 'nineties.

There is an intriguing footnote to these scheduling problems. On Friday, 30 January 1891, George Frederick McCleary, who was never an Apostle, gave notice that at the next meeting of CUMSC he would present a motion to change the time of the meeting from Friday back to Saturday. Hence on 6 February 1891 McCleary proposed and C. P. Sanger (not elected as an Apostle until 1892) seconded the proposed motion. What to do? W. J. Duncan, then the Secretary, and McTaggart, now a Fellow at Trinity, proposed that the meetings should be on Friday or Saturday at the option of the Secretary. Unencumbered by Roberts's *Rules of Order*, the group postponed all decisions on both motions until a future meeting. At the next meeting McCleary asked leave to postpone his motion regarding the time of meeting until the first meeting of the ensuing (1892) Michaelmas term. This unexplained proposal was agreed to, but neither he nor Sanger was present at the first meeting of the Michaelmas term. No mention of the motion subsequently occurs; and Saturday remained inviol-

ate for the Apostles.

Russell was first invited to a meeting of CUMSC barely a month after he went up to Cambridge in October 1890. In the minutes of a meeting held on Friday, 28 November 1890, the "Honble B. Russell" is listed as a guest along with Sanger and six others. Under the expanded rules Sanger, who was reading mathematics, was elected to membership at this meeting.

Roughly three months later, on 20 February 1891, Russell, who was also reading mathematics, was proposed for membership.[9] On 27 February he was elected, albeit with his name misspelled with only one "l" (Russel). This is a curious error when the person concerned was the grandson of a former Prime Minister. (Yet spelling the name with one "l" was common, and five previous Cambridge men had spelt their name that way. One of them, remarkably, was a Bertrand Russel, or Russell, admitted to Trinity on 5 June 1765, and he too read mathematics.) Among those present at Russell's election to the Club were McTaggart and G. Lowes Dickinson, both Apostles. G. F. Stout, who, Russell says, helped plunge him into "the bath of German Idealism",[10] read a paper on belief.

Immediately after this meeting there was an hiatus in Russell's assocition with the Club and, to a lesser extent, in the Club's activities as well. The next recorded meeting was not until a year later in February 1892, and the next meeting at which Russell is listed as present was on 20 October 1893. No reason for a falling off of the Club's activity is apparent, and it may be that minutes just weren't kept. As for Russell, it may be conjectured that the rigours of reading mathematics, his election to the Apostles (February 1892), and uncertainties within CUMSC[11] were sufficient distraction.

By the fall of 1893 Russell had completed the Mathematical Tripos and begun reading for the Moral Sciences Tripos. During the next year he attended at least six meetings of the Club, one of which was held in his rooms. There Crompton Llewelyn Davies, a

[9] Sponsors not cited.

[10] *Autobiography, 1872–1914*, pp. 198–9.

[11] Between February 1892 and October 1893 there are but nine recorded meetings of the Club.

close friend, read a paper entitled "Cause and End".[12] It may be noted that in this year Russell became of age and therewith financially independent. His relation with Alys Pearsall Smith was becoming more intense, and they were married on 13 December 1894.

Russell's first paper for CUMSC was read by Sanger on 9 November 1894 in Sanger's rooms. In accordance with his grandmother's wishes, Russell was dutifully pursuing his brief diplomatic career in Paris, and this unsatisfactory obligation did not end until 17 November. He had expected to deliver the paper himself, as is evidenced from a letter to Alys dated 22 October 1894: "I have been reading more Mill and beginning an Essay on Axioms for the Moral Science Club at Cambridge .... It will be an immense pleasure to go to Cambridge and read a paper...."[13] The paper (which does not appear to be extant) is reported in the Minutes as being on "*Geometrical Axioms*". It is noteworthy that G. E. Moore was present at this meeting, as was Henry Sidgwick. Moore's first recorded attendance at a CUMSC meeting is as a visitor on 2 November 1894. He read his first paper to the Club, "Kant's Ethical Principles", at the beginning of October 1895. He is reported as supporting Kant against Hegel and Bradley.

As Russell records in his *Autobiography*, he and Alys travelled

[12] In addition to this meeting, which was held on 23 February 1894, the general circumstances of the other five meetings Russell attended at this time were as follows:

(a) 20 October 1893. W. F. Trotter of Trinity read a paper, "The Individual in Monistic Systems". This meeting was held in the rooms of Maurice Amos (Trinity), and the discussion was led by McTaggart.

(b) 10 November 1893. Arthur Balfour's paper in *Mind*, "Current Idealistic Theories", was read by the Secretary (Amos) in whose rooms the meeting was held.

(c) 26 January 1894. E. T. Dixon read a paper, "Monometalism", in Amos's rooms.

(d) 16 February 1894. G. F. Stout read a paper, "Floating Ideas", or the relation of Belief to Fancy. The meeting was held in Sanger's rooms, 7, Old Court.

(e) 23 March 1894. J. S. Mackenzie read a paper on F. H. Bradley's view of self. This meeting was held in McTaggart's rooms.

[13] *Autobiography, 1872–1914*, p. 149.

extensively, first in Europe in 1895–96, and also in the northeastern part of the United States in 1896. He prepared and revised his Fellowship dissertation in the same period and saw his first book, *German Social Democracy*, appear in 1896. It will be understood, then, why his association with CUMSC was in partial abeyance until 1898 when, as he records, he and Alys "began a practice, which we continued till 1902, of spending part of each year at Cambridge."[14] One must say "partial" abeyance for in 1896, while Russell was giving the lectures at the London School of Economics which later comprised *German Social Democracy*, W. E. Johnson read a paper to CUMSC entitled "The Futility of Formal Logic". Such a provocative topic expounded by a senior member of the University definitely required a trip up from London, and Russell made that trip. The minutes indicate that a large crowd was in attendance.[15]

After resettling in Cambridge in 1898, Russell read three papers to CUMSC before the end of the century. The first, "The Constitution of Matter", was read in Moore's rooms on 28 February 1898. The Minutes[16] suggest it represented part of the work he was doing in connection with a proposed book on the philosophy of physics he was researching at this time. Both succeeding papers reflect his study of Leibniz. "The Classification of Relations" was read in Moore's rooms, on 27 January 1899, and "What Is Sensation?" was presented in those of still another Apostle, A. E. A. W. Smyth, on 9 February 1900. Only the second of these three papers is extant in the Russell Archives.

After this time there is (with one break[17]) a ten-year lapse in Russell's connection with the Club. Before resuming our account of Russell's association with the Club, additional perspective will be gained by noting the importance of G. E. Moore's stabilizing

[14] *Ibid.*, 198.

[15] This meeting was on 31 January 1896 in the rooms of R. L. Wedgwood, an Apostle who subsequently received the French Croix de Guerre as a symbol of distinguished war service, and who was knighted in 1924.

[16] Quoted in Ronald W. Clark, *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 69.

[17] In 1906 he read to the Club a paper entitled "The Nature of Truth". It may possibly have been a version of a paper with the same title which appeared in *Mind*, 1906.

influence and organizational abilities. Moore's contribution to CUMSC was intimate in its concern, and may have been crucial to its prosperity. He did, as would be anticipated, read to the Club numerous papers.[18] His rooms were constantly at the Club's disposal, and, as its Chairman from 1912 to 1944, apparently without a break, he contributed the invaluable ingredient of continuity.

He constantly sought to improve the functioning of the Club. For instance, in 1912 a meeting was called in his rooms for the purpose of proposing ways to improve discussion. Among the resolutions passed was one to the effect that as the object of the papers presented was usually to open a discussion, no paper should exceed seven minutes. Exceptions for special occasions would be allowed by the Chairman. It is against this background that Wittgenstein's paper, "What Is Philosophy?", read two meetings later, lasted, as R. W. Clark notes,[19] only four minutes.

Another resolution of interest passed at this meeting made provision for supplementary meetings of the Club which would not be open to those of M.A. standing. In this way undergraduates could gather to discuss philosophical issues in a more informal atmosphere which would encourage their greater involvement. This was a sensitive innovation. Moore would seem to have regarded the Club as an expanded forum for his role as a teacher. It is

[18] In addition to "Kant's Ethical Principles" mentioned above, Moore's papers include "Causality" (5 November 1896), "Some Points in Judgment" (21 October 1898), "Kantian Idealism" (20 October 1899), "Experience and Empiricism" (30 January 1903), "Kantian Idealism" (6 November 1903), "Our Knowledge of an External World" (24 November 1911), "Certainty" (26 October 1944). The two papers on Kantian Idealism probably were earlier versions of his published paper of that title in the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, n.s. 4 (1903–04). One notices the similarity between the title of Moore's 1911 paper and that which Russell gave to his Lowell Lectures delivered at Harvard in 1914. The same observation may be made regarding the title of his 1944 paper and Wittgenstein's *On Certainty*. In this latter case the title is possibly due to the editors, Professors G. E. M. Anscombe and G. H. von Wright. In their preface to this work they note the extent to which Moore's defence of common sense was an impetus to Wittgenstein's reflections on this topic.

[19] Clark, p. 194.

certain that it allowed him to reach large numbers of undergraduates, so many of whom were to remember him with admiration and affection.

Russell's relation with the Club was as different from Moore's as was that of the two men to Cambridge itself. Yet the years between 1911 and 1917 saw Russell's most sustained and active association with CUMSC.[20] During that time he read six papers to the Club, frequently participated in the discussion of papers by others, hosted meetings in his rooms, chaired at least one meeting, and even vetted minutes. He was also instrumental in bringing people to address the Club. A notable instance was the appearance at Trinity of T. S. Eliot on 5 March 1915. Eliot was a student at Merton College, Oxford, at the time. He read a paper in Russell's rooms entitled "The Relativity of the Moral Judgment".

In 1911 the Club heard versions of two of Russell's most famous papers, "Knowledge by Acquaintance and Knowledge by Description" and "The Relations of Universals and Particulars". The excellent summaries of these papers by the Secretary, G. H. Geach, tell us, with respect to the former paper, that Russell made specific reference to certain opposing views of E. E. C. Jones as to whether the denotation of a term is a constituent of the proposition in which it occurs. Miss Jones had read a paper, "Categorical Propositions and the Law of Identity",[21] just three months earlier.

Of the remaining nine papers Russell read to the Club, I will, as all were eventually published in some form, comment only on those which have historical or biographical interest.[22] The last

[20] In 1910 Russell was appointed to a five-year College Lectureship in Logic and the Philosophy of Mathematics. On 1 October 1915 it was agreed to extend this lectureship for another five years.

[21] Jones's paper was read on 2 December 1910 in the rooms of McTaggart (see the Appendix). Both of Russell's papers were read in his own rooms, the first on 3 March 1911, and the second on 3 November 1911. The published version of "Knowledge by Acquaintance and Knowledge by Description" makes no reference to any specific philosopher. See *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, n.s. 11 (1910–11): 108–28. For the published version of "The Relations of Universals and Particulars", see *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, n.s. 12 (1911–12): 1–24.

[22] A list of sixteen papers which Russell delivered to the Club, along with dates and other information, appears in the Table to this paper.

Titles and Circumstances of Bertrand Russell's Papers Delivered to the Cambridge University Moral Sciences Club

Date	Title	Place and Hon. Sec.
9 November 1894	Geometrical Axioms	Sanger's rooms (W. F. Trotter)
25 February 1898	The Constitution of Matter	Moore's rooms (A. M. Mackay)
27 January 1899	Classification of Relations	Moore's rooms (J. B. Baillie)
9 February 1900	What Is Sensation?	Smyth's rooms (Geo. Claus Rankin)
2 November 1906	The Nature of Truth	F. M. Cornford's rooms (A. E. Chapman)
3 March 1911	Knowledge by Acquaintance and Knowledge by Description	Russell's rooms (G. H. Geach)
3 November 1911	The Relations of Universals and Particulars	Russell's rooms (Geach)
8 November 1912	On Matter	Russell's rooms (Alan J. Dorward)
26 October 1913	The Perception of Time	Russell's rooms (Herbert H. Farmer)
19 May 1916	Religion	Russell's rooms (H. Boardman)
16 February 1917	On Scientific Method in Philosophy	Johnson's rooms (W. E. Armstrong)
30 June 1920	Perception and Physics	F. C. Bartlett's rooms (L. J. Struthers)
3 December 1926	Causal Theory of Perception	Broad's rooms (E. W. Whetnall)
29 November 1935	The Limits of Empiricism	Location not given (G. A. Paul)
25 January 1945	Proper Names	Broad's rooms (none cited)
6 November 1946	Negative Knowledge	Location not given (none cited)

paper Russell read (19 May 1916) prior to being stripped of his lectureship by the Trinity College Council was a seriously considered criticism of ecclesiastical religion.[23] That Russell should choose to present such a paper is in itself a puzzle. While somewhat surprising in its lament for lost opportunities on the part of the church, it falls far below—and Russell surely knew this—the standard of philosophical quality he set for both earlier and later papers. Furthermore, it stands as the only piece he read to the Club which is not in the area of "hard" epistemology or metaphysics. Russell never spoke to the Club on history, ethics, or even on politics, the last of which was certainly uppermost in his mind at this time. Why would he choose (since we can surely dismiss that in those troubled times it was merely a whim) to read such a paper? Indeed, given the extent of his then current political involvement, why would he be moved to present a paper at all?

One conjecture is that his decision in this matter was influenced by a paper read by G. H. Hardy some five months earlier.[24] Hardy's paper was delivered to an Open Meeting of the Club held in McTaggart's rooms. It was well known that McTaggart strongly opposed Russell's stand regarding the war, and that Hardy was generally sympathetic to Russell's position. A number of senior people were present, including Johnson, Jones, and Moore. Russell was absent. The title of the paper was "Mr. Russell as a Religious Teacher".[25] It was reported that in the paper Hardy contrasted the views of McTaggart and Russell, claiming that the basic difference was that McTaggart's religion included dogma, while Russell's excluded it. The Secretary reports that the paper was brilliant, and scintillated with sarcastic humour and wit. But it is hard to suppose McTaggart was amused.

It is remarkable that Hardy, a distinguished mathematician, would have read such a paper at all, and to an Open Meeting.[26] It

[23] This was surely a version of "Religion and the Churches", published in *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1916).

[24] C. K. Ogden published Hardy's paper in *The Cambridge Magazine*, 19 and 26 May 1917. It is reprinted in this issue of *Russell*.

[25] It probably was read on 3 December 1915, shortly before the Christmas recess. Thus a five-month lapse is not as great as might initially appear.

[26] In his lucid account of Russell's troubles at Cambridge, *Bertrand Russell and Trinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942, 1970), Hardy indicates he was considerably exercised towards the end of 1915 with the turn events were taking.

also appears to be the only time Hardy addressed the Club. If it is allowed that Russell only knew of this event after the fact, the conjecture is that he was perturbed by reports of it. As a consequence he may have judged that a serious presentation by himself on a religious topic would disassociate him from an occasion which could be construed as an intentional embarrassment to McTaggart.

As events were to pass, however, the Trinity College Council, of which McTaggart was a member, agreed unanimously on 11 July 1916 to remove Russell from his lectureship in the College. At a Supplementary Meeting of the Club, it was moved and seconded "That the Moral Science Club much regrets the loss of Mr. Russell to Cambridge and strongly deprecates the action of those who would deprive Cambridge of the services of a most renowned philosopher because of his political views."[27]

It is to be kept in mind that the Club is independent of the Philosophy Department of the University, and also of each individual College. This arrangement was useful in facilitating Russell's return to present a paper to the Club on 16 February 1917. This was an Open Meeting held in Johnson's rooms at King's with Moore in the chair. The paper, "On Scientific Method in Philosophy", is a plea for logical atomism as an ethically neutral starting-point in philosophy. (It may not have been a new paper, for it bears the same title as Russell's Herbert Spencer lecture of 1914.) It is reported that about forty members and visitors were present, the largest attendance on record to that date. The Secretary noted that McTaggart was absent. Apart, then, from the intrinsic interest of the paper, the event was surely seen as a showing of the flag. The breach between Russell and Trinity was formally healed as early as 1919.[28] He read two papers to the Club

[27] The motion was made by W. E. Armstrong of Sidney Sussex College and seconded by F. C. Bartlett of St. Johns College. It was carried by a majority of sixteen out of eighteen members present. The action of the two minority members was not recorded.

[28] See Hardy, pp. 48ff. But contrast Hardy's rather sanguine account of this matter with Russell's cursory statement: "When the younger men came back at the end of the War I was invited to return [to Trinity], but by this time I had

in the 'twenties, one in the 'thirties, and two in the 'forties. Indicative of the passage of time is that his penultimate paper, "Proper Names" (25 January 1945), was given in C. D. Broad's rooms in Trinity wih Ludwig Wittgenstein in the chair. What I believe was his final paper, delivered when he was seventy-four, was "Negative Knowledge". He held to logical atomism to the end in spite of a decreasingly receptive audience.

During these years the Club itself had changed in organization and character. On 24 November 1924 it celebrated its jubilee. This included a dinner followed by a symposium on F. H. Bradley, who had died earlier that year. By this time there were at least three or four classes of membership: honorary members, among whom was listed "Hon. B. Russell", in the style used by the Club in 1890; postgraduate members; and undergrduate members still subject to the traditional conditions.[29] In the mid-'thirties the membership lists became, in effect, a list of persons to whom "cards" were sent, such cards containing announcements of meetings for the coming term. The end of an era in the Club's history is symbolized by Moore's resignation as Chairman on 2 December 1944.[30] On that date, at a meeting held in Russell's rooms, his letter of resignation was read and regretfully accepted. Wittgenstein, who had succeeded to the Professorship in Philosophy left vacant by Moore, was then unanimously elected Chairman.

APPENDIX

It will be recalled that CUMSC was founded by a group of young men at St. Johns and Trinity. No rules of the Club were restrictive as to gender, but circumstances assured that for some time it would be an all male association, even though Girton and Newnham had been founded prior to 1874. The first recorded instance

no longer any wish to do so" (*Autobiography, 1914–1944* [Boston: Atlantic–Little, Brown, 1968], p. 28).

[29] Thus F. P. Ramsey and R. B. Braithwaite, reading mathematics and physics respectively, were *elected* to membership on 25 February 1921.

[30] Moore's association with Cambridge had tapered off a few years earlier when he ceased (in 1939) to hold his Professorship. He subsequently lectured at Oxford, and for several years, in the early 'forties, at different universities in the United States.

of women appearing at the Club is during Michaelmas Term, 1894. On this occasion Sidney Webb read a paper, "The Economic Basis of Trade Unionism". Visitors included Miss E. E. C. (Constance) Jones and Miss Fletcher (from Girton), and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The minutes show that apologies for absence were "intimated" from Mrs. Henry Sidgwick and Mrs. James Ward.

Several months later[31] Richard Burdon Haldane, later to be Lord Chancellor, read a paper, "Hegel and the Psychologists", at which at least eleven women were present including Miss Jones, Miss Fletcher, and Miss Hughes of the Cambridge Training College.[32]

Still in the status of visitors we find, on Friday, 15 November 1895 in the Trinity College Guest Room, Miss Jones and about twelve students from Girton, along with both James Ward and a large number of Newnham students, and Miss Hughes with some ladies from the Cambridge Training College, attending a paper by the Rev. Cannon Moore Edi, on the topic "The Relief of Exceptional Distress". The Rector's advice is not recorded, but in the process of establishing themselves at Cambridge, women have had ample cause for exceptional distress.[33]

The last meeting at which women are recorded simply as visitors was at the fourth meeting of the Lent Term in 1895 when Bernard Bosanquet gave a lecture on "Time". Mrs. Bosanquet, Mrs. Ward and Miss Jones are recorded as present along with "a large attendance of ladies from Newnham, Girton and the Training Colleges".

As might be expected from this account thus far, the first woman to address the Club was Miss Jones, at first Vice-Mistress and later Mistress of Girton. Her paper focused on James Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*. It was delivered on 1 December 1899 in McTaggart's rooms, with Henry Sidgwick in the Chair. The presence of Sidgwick is pertinent. He had been an active instigator

[31] Saturday (a departure), 9 February 1895.

[32] Now Hughes Hall, and founded in 1885 for women graduates entering teaching. Its students now include men and women.

[33] For instance, it was not until 1948 that Girton and Newnham became full Colleges of the University, and thus their students full members of it and hence eligible to receive degrees.

of reforms admitting women to University life, including permission to sit examinations. His wife, née Eleanor Mildred Balfour, had become President of Newnham in 1892.

Miss Jones also read the second and third papers presented to the Club by a woman, the latter in 1906.[34] It was still not quite time for women to be members of CUMSC, however. The minutes of the 1906 meeting conclude with the passage, "... after the lady visitors departed the following were elected members of the Club." No women were among those then elected.

None the less, with the precedent now firmly set, the way was open for women to be heard. On 15 November 1907 Miss Amber Reeves (later Mrs. Blanco White) of Newnham is reported as delivering "a brilliant paper" on "Propositions". Five women members from Newnham are listed for 1908–09, and for 1912–13 six women from Newnham and five from Girton are listed as members. On 7 December 1917, Miss Dorothy Wrinch read a paper, "Mr. Russell's Theory of Judgment".[35]

By at least 1926, women had official roles in the operation of the Club, for (Miss) E. W. Whetnall acted as secretary for a paper Russell delivered on 3 December of that year. At present Professor G. E. M. (Elizabeth) Anscombe performs the duties corresponding to those carried out by G. E. Moore at an earlier time. The emergence of women in CUMSC was hardly of meteoric swiftness. Yet the steady movement from being visitors, then speakers, then members, to holding the position of (in effect) chief officer, was a pattern of development by no means prevalent at Cambridge or at comparable institutions or organizations.

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[34] The second paper (2 November 1900) was on Moore's review of Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*. The third (16 February 1906) was a critique of Moore's treatment of hedonism in *Principia Ethica*. This was published as "Mr. Moore on Hedonism", *International Journal of Ethics*, 16 (July 1906): 429–64.

[35] Probably the same paper as Wrinch's "On the Nature of Judgment", *Mind*, 28 (1919): 319–29.