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Einstein Papers: A 20-Year Project

By S. J. HORNER

NEW light will be shed on major scientific and political topics of the 20th century — including the quantum theory, pacifism, Zionism, academic freedom and nuclear disarmament — when Albert Einstein's papers are published, according to Herbert S. Bailey Jr. of Griggstown, director of the Princeton University Press.

Mr. Bailey called the publishing project, conceived in 1971, "the greatest of its kind in this century." Its goal is to bring out 20 or more volumes of Einstein's published and unpublished writings: notebooks, diaries, correspondence, documents and memorabilia.

Einstein, born 103 years ago today in Ulm, Germany, was 76 when he died in Princeton on April 18, 1955.

The world-acclaimed physicist arrived in Princeton on Oct. 17, 1933, a 54-year-old refugee from Nazi Germany. For the next 22 years, he lived at 112 Mercer Street and worked at the Institute for Advanced Physics, becoming a familiar figure on Princeton's streets.

"Unfortunately, a cloud of myths has distorted Einstein's personality," said Dr. John Stachel, a physicist, historian of science and editor of the Einstein papers. "He was not only a creative genius who revolutionized theoretical physics; he was a social thinker with important views on issues crucial to the fate of humanity."

According to Dr. Stachel, the aim of the publishing project, which will include third-party materials about Einstein, is to "document his thoughts and activities as they emerge from his writings and correspondence."

Three volumes are expected to appear in the next five years; the entire project is expected to take 20 years.

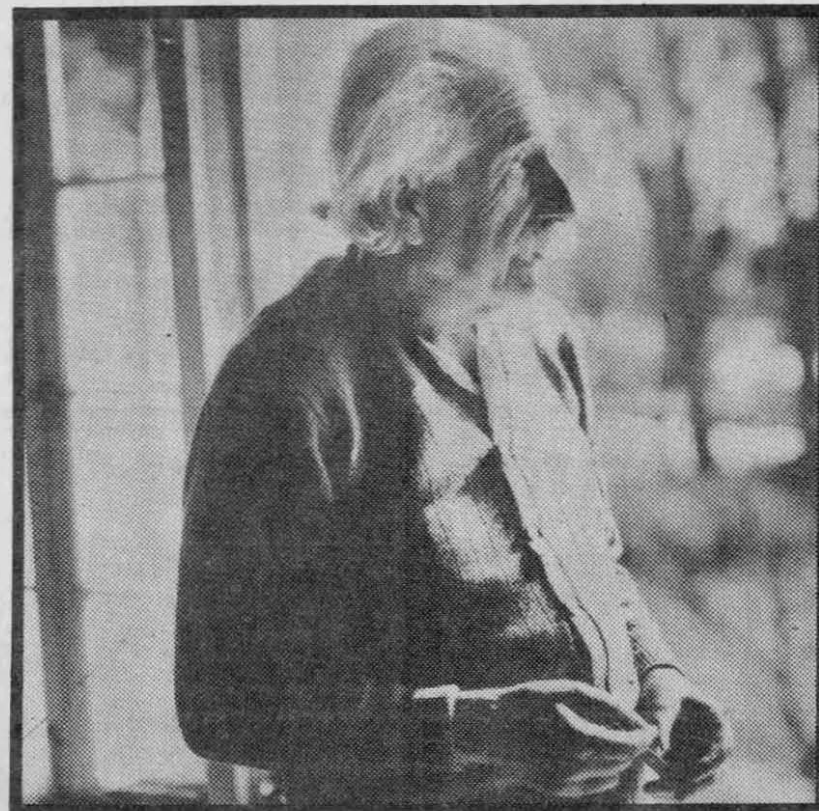
Ownership of 43,000 items in the archival papers recently passed to Hebrew University in Israel, Dr. Stachel disclosed. Duplicates were made and each item was filed and labeled.

"A single most important resource," Dr. Stachel said, was lost with the death last month of Helen Dukas, who had been Einstein's personal secretary since 1928 and who lived in the house on Mercer Street.

After Einstein's death, Miss Dukas was archivist and co-trustee of his papers, along with Dr. Otto Nathan, Einstein's longtime associate.

A biography that she wrote with Dr. Banesh Hoffmann, a theoretical physicist, traces the emergence of Einstein's genius. In the early 1920's, the co-authors wrote, "a street in Ulm had been named Einsteinstrasse in his honor."

By that time, Einstein had revolu-



Albert Einstein at 70

tionized previous concepts of the universe with his theories of relativity (1905 and 1916), had received a research professorship at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin (1914) and had won the Nobel Prize for his discovery of the photoelectric effect (1921).

"But the Nazis could not bear to see a Jew thus honored, especially one who, by his whole life style, shone forth as a symbol of all that they sought to destroy," the biographers wrote, and in the early 1930's the name of the street was changed.

In 1927, Einstein was invited to teach at Princeton and declined. But in 1932 — "foreseeing where Germany was headed," the authors wrote — he agreed to spend part of each year at the then-new Institute for Advanced Study, which was conceived and directed by Abraham Flexner, the educator.

Funds for the post-doctoral institute — a grant of \$5 million in 1930 — had been provided by Louis Bamberger and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld of South Orange, then the owners of Bamberger's, the Newark department store.

"When Hitler came to power," the biographers wrote of January 1933, Einstein — then in Pasadena, Calif. — "realized at once that he could not go back to Germany. He publicly announced his decision not to return in March 1933."

The physicist arrived in Princeton in October 1933 with his second wife, Elsa.

"Einstein's arrival as permanent faculty gave the institute its identity," said Dr. Harry Woolf of Princeton, its director since 1976. "He created a field of attraction that brought in other distinguished Europeans who recognized that, with Einstein's presence, this would not be a minor or lesser place."

But in December 1933, as letters in the Einstein files indicate, the scientist was offering to resign from the institute because of Dr. Flexner's interference in his affairs.

One month after the Einsteins' arrival, Dr. Flexner, who disliked publicity, sent a letter to Mrs. Einstein in which he objected to her husband's granting an interview to *The Newark Ledger* (predecessor of *The Star-Ledger*) and to Einstein's participation in a concert (he played the violin) to raise money for refugees.

Also in early November, the letters indicate, Dr. Flexner refused an invitation to the White House that had been tendered to the Einsteins. In a letter from Dr. Einstein to Mrs. Roosevelt, written later that month, he informed her that he never received the invitation and regretted not meeting the President.

Einstein formally retired from the institute in 1945. However, he remained there, continuing his search, begun in the 20's, for a "unified field theory" that would explain gravitation, electromagnetics and subatomic phenomena in one set of laws.

The years at Princeton — what Miss Dukas and Dr. Hoffmann called "the final phase" — were never autumnal.

"In the mid-30's, at the height of the Depression," Dr. Sachel notes, Einstein encouraged a "cooperative housing, farming and industrial settlement in Hightstown that was set up by a group of New York garment workers."

"In 1939, many of us were very concerned that Hitler's idea to conquer the whole globe might come true," Dr. Eugene P. Wigner of Princeton, then a professor of theoretical physics at the university, recalled, "and we told Einstein of our apprehensions."

"Although Einstein's theory of special relativity had led to the discovery of the atomic bomb — he was not involved in its development, only concerned that Germany might develop it first — his letter of April 2, 1939, to President Roosevelt stressed the need for work in that field."

In 1947, two years after Hiroshima, Raymond Graham Swing, the news commentator, broadcast an interview with Einstein during which the scientist warned that "a world government with powers to guarantee security" was "an immediate necessity."

In mid-February of 1950, or about two weeks after President Harry S. Truman ordered the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb, Einstein, in a televised program conducted by Eleanor Roosevelt, worried about "universal annihilation" and stated:

"In the last analysis, the peaceful coexistence of people is primarily dependent upon mutual trust."

The responses that Einstein received after these and later political statements — copies are in the files of the Einstein papers — articulate the anxieties of those decades.

In the Seeley G. Mudd Library at Princeton, newspaper clippings about Einstein often describe how the scientist's neighbors in Princeton grew accustomed to his informal dress — "old sweaters, open shirts, wool caps, long hair" — and to his "faith in human reason."

At *The Country Mouse* on Nassau Street, Cyndy Bittinger of Rocky Hill, co-owner of the store with her husband, William, explained why she thought people bought Einstein posters and postcards.

"So many heroes have been destroyed," she said, "and Einstein, as far as I know — I'm in my 30's — is still someone people look up to." ■

El Salvador Disneys

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Publishing: \$1 Million for Einstein Papers

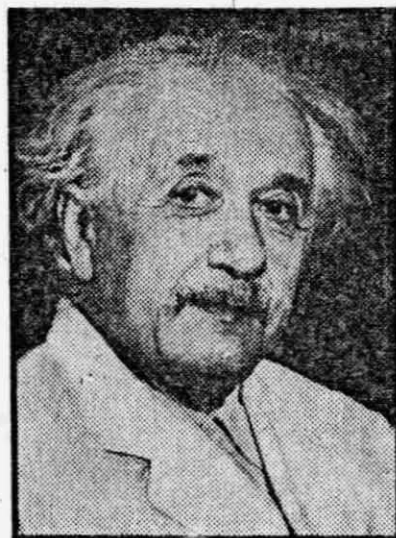
By EDWIN McDOWELL

A \$1 million donation from Harold W. McGraw Jr., chairman of McGraw-Hill Inc., has breathed fresh life into the project to publish Albert Einstein's papers in 20 volumes. Princeton University Press hopes to send the first volume to the printer by the end of 1983, but the entire publishing project will take years.

Meanwhile, Princeton recently published "Albert Einstein: Historical and Cultural Perspectives," edited by Gerald Holton and Yehuda Elkana, a volume based on papers delivered at the Einstein centennial symposium in Jerusalem in March 1979. And next Thursday, Oxford University Press will publish "Subtle Is the Lord: The Science and the Life of Albert Einstein" by Abraham Pais, based on some 250 of Einstein's scientific papers and on the Einstein archives in Princeton, where Einstein was for years a member of the Institute for Advanced Study.

A majority of the book by Mr. Pais, a physicist at Rockefeller University, consists of scientific and mathematical explanations of Einstein's work. But the author maintains that science alone is not sufficient for an understanding of Einstein's remarkable life; therefore, the nontechnical chapters examine Einstein the man from the perspective of a friend during the last nine years of the mathematician's life, until his death in 1955.

Moreover, the late Helen Dukas, Einstein's personal secretary and a friend of the author's for more than 30 years, was Mr. Pais's cicerone



United Press International

Albert Einstein

through the archives, a treasure trove containing 5,000 pages of published and unpublished manuscripts, 3,000 pages of notebooks and travel diaries, and 52,000 pages of correspondence, more than half of which deal with non-scientific matters.

The book explains Einstein's outspoken advocacy of pacifism, his belief that the creation of a world government was the only salvation for the human race and his love of music, especially Schubert, Mozart, Bach and Vivaldi. And it debunks the myth that the man whose name would later be synonymous with genius did poorly in school. In fact, said the author, he received high marks in Latin, Greek and mathematics.

Einstein was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1921, and over the years he endorsed a variety of scholars and statesmen for the various Nobel categories. The book reveals that in 1947 Einstein supported an effort to award the peace prize to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat in Budapest who rescued many Jews from the Nazis and who after the war was arrested by the Red Army and imprisoned in Moscow. In a letter to Stalin, Einstein wrote, "As an old Jew, I appeal to you to find and send back to his country Raoul Wallenberg," who, Einstein said, "risking his own life, worked to rescue thousands of my unhappy Jewish people." In reply, a Soviet official said he had been authorized by Stalin to say that a search for Wallenberg had been unsuccessful.

Collecta: Publication of Einstein papers

ARTS & HOBBIES
BOOKS
RUTGERS GRADUATES
TRAVEL
HOME & GARDEN
ENTERTAINMENT
ENGAGEMENTS & WEDDINGS
COMMENT
THE PUBLIC FORUM

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Were Eisenhower's lieutenants, captains, majors and colonels responsible for bungling and prolonging World War II? Page C10.



The Home News Lifestyle

THE EINSTEIN PAPERS

Publication of 20 volumes stalled by disputes, lawsuits, appeals

By PHYLLIS MESSINGER
Home News staff writer

One day in 1933, Otto Nathan paid Albert Einstein a call. Nathan, a visiting lecturer in economics at Princeton University, offered his help and friendship to the world-famous physicist, who had just fled Hitler's Germany.

Over the years, Einstein and Nathan became close friends. When Einstein wrote his will in 1950, he named Nathan executor and one of two trustees of his estate. Five years later, Einstein died.

Now 88 years old, Otto Nathan is trying to maintain his control of his old



friend's writings. But Princeton University Press wants to begin publishing Einstein's papers, so scholars throughout the world will have ready access. The publication work will take years to complete: Einstein left 33,000 scientific and non-scientific papers — 28 file drawers full — that will fill 20 volumes.

The dispute between Nathan and Princeton University Press was private for more than a year. Then, in 1979, the publishing house requested arbitration. But the arbitrator's decision, issued in 1980, did not resolve the matter. Lawsuits were filed; the latest on May 19 on behalf of Nathan and the second trustee, Helen Dukas, Einstein's secretary and housekeeper. A decision is expected in that case by the end of this month.

None of the principals in the dispute is willing to discuss it. Nathan, Herbert Bailey, director of Princeton University Press, and John Stachel, editor of the Einstein papers, say the matter is up to the courts. Victor Rabinowitz, attorney for the trustees, said Helen Dukas, 85, is too ill to talk to a reporter.

Stalled, then, is a project that will take years to complete, a project that will for the first time bring together all the varied writings of a man who has had a major impact on life in the 20th century. Einstein is best known for his general theory of relativity, which added a fourth dimension, time, to the three that had formed man's basic knowledge of the measurement of matter — length, width and thickness. The theory also disputed Newton's law of gravitation and provided the theoretical foundation for creation of the atomic bomb.

Einstein's fame extended beyond physics. He also is known for his pacifism, his support of Zionism and his Aug. 2, 1939 letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, warning of the possibility of German development of an atomic bomb that if "exploded in a port . . . might very well destroy the whole port, together with the surrounding territory." The atomic era dates from the day that letter was written.

Publication agreement

The story of the relations between Nathan and Princeton University Press begins on Feb. 22, 1971, the date the press formally agreed to publish the Einstein papers.

As part of that contract, the trustees and the Press agreed to jointly appoint an editorial advisory board. They agreed that "on the advice of the editorial advisory board" they would "jointly appoint the editor, who (would) have the primary responsibility of organizing and preparing the material for publication." They also agreed that the editor could appoint "associate editors or assistant editors for individual volumes or series of volumes."

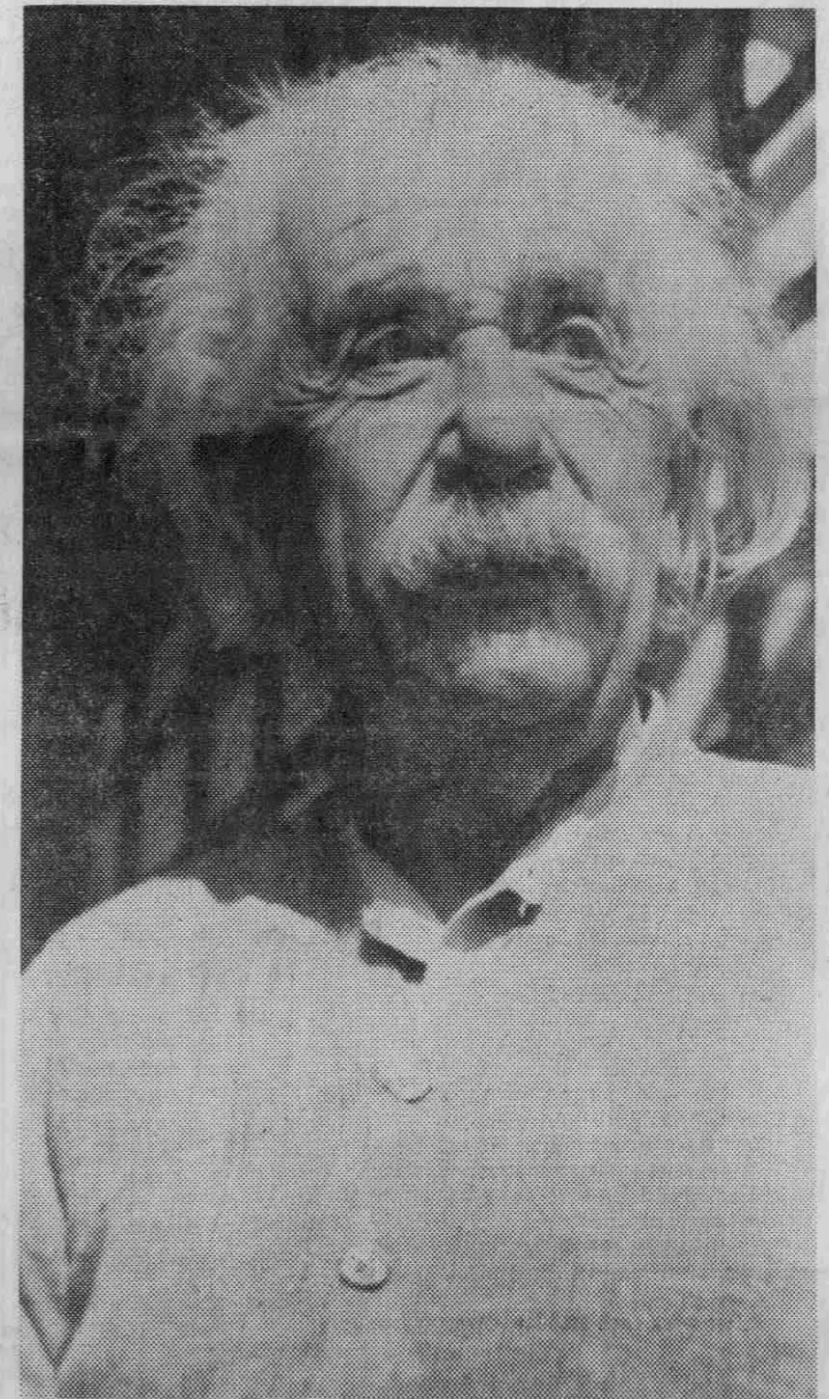
The editorial board held its first meeting on April 3, 1971 and recommended one of its own members, Martin J. Klein, a professor of the history of science at Yale University, for the post of editor. But, in 1973, Klein declined the job.

Several other persons were consulted by the trustees and the Press but the main problem, an arbitrator later reported, "was finding a scholar who was willing to move to Princeton . . . and devote what was anticipated to be substantially the remainder of his or her scholarly career to the editing of the Einstein papers."

A search committee was appointed by the trustees and the Press in the fall of 1975, and on June 16, 1976 the committee recommended three persons. Of the three, John Stachel, a physics professor at Boston University, was willing to move to Princeton. Stachel had done his graduate work in relativity and in 1955 had written about Einstein and his work. In 1972, he had been appointed director of the Institute of Relativity Studies at Boston University. He also had taught a course called "Albert Einstein, the Man, the Times, the Achievements."

The job was offered to Stachel, and he accepted.

Stachel began work on Jan. 14, 1977, but without a written contract. For the next few months, he familiarized himself with the materials in the Einstein ar-



... Albert Einstein, the man, the times, the achievements.
The job was offered to Stachel, and he accepted without a written contract. For the next few months, he familiarized himself with the materials in the Einstein archives and talked to editors of the papers of other famous men, including Arthur Link at Princeton University, who edited Woodrow Wilson's works.

Then, on May 16, 1977, Stachel submitted a proposal for funding to the National Science Foundation. About a month later, the foundation said it would require that the application be resubmitted with significant changes in both the plan of work and the administration of the project.

Dissatisfaction with editor

According to the court papers, "beginning just after the submission of the National Science Foundation application, Dr. Nathan, on behalf of the trustees, began to voice dissatisfaction with Dr. Stachel's performance as editor, initially to Mr. Bailey and then later to Dr. Stachel. The intensity of Dr. Nathan's reaction increased after the trustees, the Press and Dr. Stachel received the June 20, 1977 letter of comment."

On Sept. 21, "Dr. Nathan told Miss Dukas and Mr. Bailey in Princeton that he could not sign an employment agreement designating Dr. Stachel, or any other individual, as sole editor," the court papers state. "Instead, he (Nathan) said that the Einstein papers should be edited by a panel of three or more coequal editors, one of whom might be Dr. Stachel. Dr. Nathan at that meeting and thereafter maintained that he had changed his mind concerning the editorship of the Einstein papers."

In court papers filed Aug. 1980, Nathan said he had become doubtful he wanted to retain Stachel as editor because of "Stachel's serious errors in his pro-



ALBERT EINSTEIN
... during his years at Princeton

Photo by Alan W. Richards



WITH TESTER — This 1931 photograph shows Albert Einstein and Charles St. John, right, examining the spectograph apparatus at

Mt. Wilson, Calif., that St. John used to test Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

ALBERT EINSTEIN
... in 1949, on his 70th birthday

Photo by Alan W. Richards

posal to the National Science Foundation which indicated that his grasp of Einstein's life and non-scientific works was defective;" "Stachel's delay in signing a contract;" "Stachel's submission of a final grant proposal to the National Science Foundation without allowing the estate to see it," and Stachel's allowing assistants to use original manuscripts.

Nathan also noted that the 1971 contract provided for an annual budget for work to be mutually approved by the trustees and the Press. "Yet Stachel submitted annexed to the National Science Foundation grant proposal a budget for five years," the court papers state. "Not only had the trustees not approved of this budget, they had never seen it."

Nathan maintained that "a three-person board would allow the possibility of the appointment, in a final decision-making capacity, of a social scientist or expert in the humanities as editor." The Press, in a separate suit also filed Aug. 8, 1980, said "the estate's proposal for a team of three coequal editors is unworkable." It wanted one editor.

For the next four months, both sides attempted to resolve the dispute. In January 1978, "the Press agreed to call a halt to Dr. Stachel's performance of many of his duties if Dr. Stachel could complete certain computer indexing work he had begun, which the Press believed would be lost if not completed."

The trustees agreed to ask the editorial advisory board to consider the issue of one or three editors.

On Feb. 16, 1978, Bailey of the Press made the agreement formal with a letter to Nathan. That letter said in part: "Dr. Stachel's position as editor will definitely be terminated, while at the same time he will have the opportunity to complete a significant work during his leave from Boston. The work he will complete will clearly be a great use no matter how later editing of the materials proceeds."

On May 6, the editorial board met and voted unanimously in favor of a single editor. That editor, the board decided, should be Stachel.

Nathan did not accept the board's decision. He later maintained that "the editorial advisory board meeting was carefully orchestrated by Bailey so as to produce a recommendation that Stachel be retained as editor-in-chief, even though that issue was not on the agenda." Nathan added that the board "voted for Stachel without even hearing the Estate's views in the matter."

Nathan had not attended the meeting.

Arbitrator's decision

On May 22, 1979, the Press filed for arbitration and on July 18, 1980, Harold R. Tyler, a former U.S. assistant attorney general and U.S. District Court judge, issued his decision.

Tyler first stated that under the laws of New Jersey and New York "an arbitrator need not follow the law of the state in which he or she sits, but is charged with the duty of reaching an equitable result."

Tyler said he considered the main issue "not (to be) Dr. Stachel's appointment or conduct but whether there should be a multi-member board of coequal editors or one editor."

He went on to say: "The unilateral action by Dr. Nathan in Sept. 1977 ... was, as the law comprehends the phrase, arbitrary and capricious."

Tyler added: "The Feb. 16 Letter Agreement did not, in fact or in law, cancel Dr. Stachel's 1976 appointment by the Press and trustees as editor of the Einstein papers. The Feb. 16 Letter Agreement merely ended the existing uncertainty with respect to Dr. Stachel's duties for the period following the Agreement."

Tyler ruled that "the Press and the trustees never agreed, on Feb. 16, 1978 or at any other time ... to cancel Dr. Stachel's appointment as editor of the Einstein papers." Therefore, Tyler said, Stachel should continue in the post and the only remaining issue is "what should be the terms of the definite contract the Press and the trustees were attempting to draft with Dr. Stachel prior to Sept. 21, 1977."

Less than a month after Tyler's decision was issued, both the Press and the trustees filed suit.

The Press filed its papers in New York state's Supreme Court, which is not the highest court in that state. It wanted the court to confirm the arbitrator's decision.

The trustees filed their papers in the Chancery Division of Superior Court in New Jersey. They wanted to overturn the arbitrator's decision.

The New York decision came first, on Oct. 28. It stated: "Although the trustees contend that the arbitrator's decision was 'riddled throughout with factual errors and omission,' the Court of Appeals (New York's highest court) has held ... arbitrators generally are not bound by principles of substantive law or rule of evidence."

The New York court dismissed the trustees' claim that the arbitrator went beyond what was asked. An arbitrator is "empowered to reach a just result regardless of technicalities," the court said. It confirmed the arbitrator's award.

On Nov. 18, the New Jersey court upheld New York decision.

But that did not end the legal battle. On May 19 of this year, the trustees filed an appeal in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in New York.

Waiting for the Einstein Papers

Scholars now have a duplicate archive to turn to at Princeton, but conflict between estate and press delays publication of papers

For a quarter century after Albert Einstein's death in 1955, scholars wishing to consult his papers were able to do so only by individual arrangement with the privately held archive. Recently, access had been increased by the opening of a computer-indexed duplicate archive in a Princeton University library. However, plans to publish the archive in a complete edition of Einstein's writings, making them broadly available, are enmeshed in a dispute over a publishing contract between the Einstein estate and the Princeton University Press.

The dispute centers on the editorship of the papers. Otto Nathan, a friend of Einstein's, who was executor of his will and is one of two trustees of Einstein's literary estate, has raised objections to the present arrangement which confers editorship on a single scholar. The resolute Nathan, 87, has been pitted against the university press as the disagreement has been taken into the courts.

The latest legal rounds were fought over the result of a formal arbitration of differences. The arbitrator's decision favoring the university press was affirmed both in a decision by a New York lower court and on an appeal decided early in June. Now the estate is seeking to appeal the matter to New York's highest court. Meanwhile, the publishing project is in limbo.

Publication of the Einstein papers has been eagerly awaited, because they are expected to throw new light on the pre-eminent scientist of his time who became a figure of world importance in other spheres.

John Stachel, a Boston University physics professor, who was selected as editor for the publishing project in 1976, is the scholar currently considered best able to assess the potential of the archive. Stachel believes that no adequate biography of Einstein can be written henceforth without full access to his papers. Further, Stachel says that material in the archive may well lead to a revision of current understanding of the development of Einstein's special theory of relativity. In the nonscientific sphere, Stachel expects that the papers will yield new information on Einstein's complex involvement in Zionist issues and, he

says, there is also "a wealth of material" on subjects that have never been adequately explored, such as Einstein's views on education.

The delay in publication has been a source of frustration to those interested in the Einstein intellectual heritage. Scholars say that because substantial funds for the publication project have been provided by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and private foundations, the public has a stake in the papers. And, after a quarter century, precedent indicates that the papers of a person of Einstein's stature "should be available, no holds barred," as one scholar put it.

A representative view is expressed by Nathan Reingold, who is editor of the current project at the Smithsonian Institution to publish the papers of Joseph Henry and is also a member of the NSF advisory panel on history and philosophy of science. Reingold says that "Nathan has created a serious problem for open and objective use of the material. Unless that grip is relaxed, there will be no edition on a satisfactory basis."

At the arbitration hearing last year, physicist John Wheeler, who had known Einstein at Princeton and is now at the University of Texas, Austin, was called to testify by the Princeton Press. The transcript shows the following as part of his response to a request by the attorney for the university press for his view of the importance of going forward with publication of the Einstein papers.

My Soviet colleagues can turn the chair around and . . . reach *The Collected Papers of Einstein*, the four volumes, in Russian, published, of course, before the Soviets had signed the copyright convention.

They have a familiarity with these papers. They have a feeling of the history, what came first and what came second, that none of us have except those, rare among us, who can read Russian, and I am not in that category.

In the same context, Wheeler later alluded to a protracted discussion between Einstein and Niels Bohr on the subject of quantum theory.

The debate between Einstein and Bohr, to my mind, is the greatest debate in intellectual history that I know about. In 30 years, I never heard of a debate between two greater men

over a longer period of time on a deeper issue with deeper consequences for understanding of this strange world of ours.

To get on with that, to appreciate that, to get a feel for the issues, I think it is absolutely essential that these papers of Einstein should be available, and to me it is a tragedy that we should be without them.

The issue is complex because the papers are still the property of a trust created by Einstein in his will to provide



Bettmann Archive

income to his heirs. Nathan, the dominant trustee, knew Einstein well and reveres his memory. To his responsibilities as literary executor, Nathan brings a strong sense of Einstein's place in history and a protectiveness toward Einstein's public image. This protectiveness appears to extend to the reputations and feelings of other individuals who figure in the papers. Nathan is determined in his views and devoted to the task, continuing, for example, to collect additional items for the archive, which has been expanded in recent years.

Nathan, an economist and academic, who, like Einstein, came to this country from Germany in the 1930's, seems particularly strict in his attitude toward personal material, especially involving family matters. A case in point was a plan in the late 1950's by Einstein's son, Hans Albert, to publish letters in his possession from Einstein to his first wife and their children. The estate asked to see the material before publication to insure that there was no invasion of privacy. Einstein's son declined to do this and publication was blocked.

Nathan told *Science*, "We know how Einstein felt." Nathan said the estate had written statements by Einstein that show "how much he was opposed to talking about people's private affairs." Nathan says the estate "did not oppose publication. We insisted that [the letters] be submitted for examination. They refused. We did what we were entitled—obligated to do. We own the copyright."

It appears that more than sensitivity about personal material was at the root of difficulties between Nathan and Ronald W. Clark, a successful British writer on scientific subjects and author of the 1971 biography, *Einstein the Life and Times*,* which is still in print.

The chief difficulty occurred when Clark was preparing a British edition of the book that had been published in the United States. Nathan refused to grant him permission to use quotations that had appeared in the American edition. According to Clark, Nathan "said there were errors in the book but would not say what the errors were." Clark says that he had to go through the English edition and take out or paraphrase the copyrighted material that was the property of the estate. This also applied to later foreign editions.

In a letter to Clark's English publisher at the time of the incident Nathan complained that he had been given insufficient time to review the manuscript of the American edition. In a recent telephone conversation with *Science*, Nathan said that he had on file a long list of "false statements and errors" in the original version, but declined to comment in detail.

Clark acknowledges his resentment of the reversal. "It took 6 months of my life. Dr. Nathan was perfectly within his legal rights. Whether he was within his moral rights, I don't know. Why he took the view he did I still don't know."

In discussing the problem of access to privately held papers, Clark says that "Nathan regards himself, rightly or wrongly, as keeper of the Einstein reputation. Einstein is too big a man to need that sort of protection."

The archive in Princeton's Mudd Manuscript Library duplicates the original Einstein papers stored in the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton where Einstein was a fellow for the last two decades of his life. Helen Dukas, Einstein's longtime secretary, has acted as archivist for his papers and is the other trustee of the estate.

The duplicate collection is accessible to scholars on normal research library

* T. Y. Crowell, New York.

terms, but is a restricted archive in the sense that the Einstein material may be photocopied or quoted only with specific permission from the estate. The duplicate archive, an offshoot of the publication project, was prepared under the direction of Stachel.

Publication of a complete edition of the papers has been contemplated virtually from the time of Einstein's death in 1955. Early progress on the project was apparently blocked in part by a divergence in views between Nathan and J. Robert Oppenheimer, then director of the Institute for Advanced Study. A major stumbling block was that an Oppenheimer proposal for publication of Einstein's scientific papers did not accord with Nathan's preference for a more comprehensive collection.

Princeton University Press, under Herbert Bailey, continued to evince strong interest in acting as publisher of the papers because of Einstein's association with Princeton. Finally in 1971, with Carl Kaysen, who had succeeded Oppenheimer at the institute, lending moral support, an agreement was signed between the estate and the press under which Princeton would publish the complete writings, scientific and nonscientific.

A search for an editor and funding for the project consumed several years. Few candidates were both qualified and will-

Stachel undertook the task of "conforming" the photocopies to the originals, that is, making certain that the text of the originals was fully reproduced and that such things as marginal notes, corrections and other markings were noted. The size of the task immediately escalated when instead of an estimated 10,000 documents, it was found that there were about 43,000. At the start, two assistants helped Stachel with the conforming process, but Nathan insisted that only Stachel handle the originals. Stachel, therefore, carried out the balance of the work himself.

By September 1977 differences had emerged between the estate and the university press as to whether Stachel should continue as sole editor. Nathan's position was that there should be a board of not less than three coequal editors; he has persevered in pressing for the change.

Nathan's view is that no single editor can deal adequately with the broad range of Einstein's writings on science, philosophy, peace, and political affairs. In scientific matters alone, Nathan insists that "no living scientist" can understand all of Einstein's scientific thought. In a recent letter to *Science*, Nathan noted that the project to publish Bertrand Russell's papers has five coequal editors and that the papers of other notables, including Adam Smith, John Maynard Keynes,

The issue is complex because the papers are still the property of a trust created by Einstein in his will . . .

ing, in effect, to spend the balance of their careers completing the task. In 1974, Bailey sounded out NSF about financial support and was given to understand that NSF would be receptive if a meritorious proposal were submitted.

In 1976, on the recommendation of an advisory panel composed largely of well-known historians of science, the post of editor was offered to Stachel. At the same time, a planning grant of \$34,000 for the project was awarded by NSF. Stachel started work in Princeton in 1977 but maintained his faculty status at Boston University, where he still teaches a partial course load.

With Stachel's arrival in Princeton, a decision was made to photocopy a duplicate of the archive to facilitate the editor's job. The duplicate was prepared from microfilm of the archive made earlier by the estate.

and Wolfgang Pauli, have not had single editors-in-chief.

To permit work to continue while the issue was discussed, Nathan and the press agreed in February 1978 that Stachel be named editor pro tem for a term ending in July 1979. Stachel pushed to complete the conforming process and made the deadline.

Officials at NSF had been aware of trouble between the principals and, in mid-1978, agreed to continue to fund the work only if it was transformed into an archival project. The 1978 agreement, by the principals, included conditions that a sealed duplicate be kept for eventual use by the editor of the papers and that a second duplicate be made, along with a computer index. This second duplicate is the one now available to scholars at Princeton.

With the publication project at an im-

passe, the university press took the issue to arbitration, as provided in the contract with the estate. The arbitrator, agreed to by both sides, was Harold R. Tyler, a former Department of Justice official and federal judge. Tyler conducted the arbitration in New York a year ago.

In arbitration, Nathan complained that Stachel had not kept the estate informed on work plans and budget, as had been agreed upon, and that Stachel had allowed his editorial assistants to have access to original documents, an action forbidden by the terms of the contract. But Nathan's main theme continued to be that a single editor was unacceptable. He also, in effect, claimed that relations between the estate and the press had deteriorated to the point where the contract should be terminated. In its appeal brief, the estate argued that the agreement that Stachel should serve as editor pro tem had the effect of ending his editorship.

The position of the Princeton Press was that a single editor for the papers was essential from a standpoint of cost and efficiency and that the editor would have the support of experts in relevant fields to deal with Einstein's many-faceted writings. The press asked that the contract and Stachel's status as editor be confirmed.

The arbitrator found in favor of the press last fall. Nathan was said to have broken the contract, which still remained in effect. There should be a single editor and Stachel was qualified to occupy the position. Consequently, the parties were obligated to negotiate a contract with Stachel as sole editor.

The press moved to have the decision confirmed in a New York court to give it the force of law. The confirmation was obtained; the estate then appealed the action to the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court.

Because the panel of judges upheld the arbitrator's decision unanimously, the estate cannot automatically appeal the matter to the New York State Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, but now must follow the more difficult path of moving for leave to appeal, which entails convincing the court to hear the case.

There matters stand. The publication project has been effectively stymied until the editorship issue is resolved. The NSF provided a total of \$122,000 before suspending funding. The press would have to reapply for support when the obstacles are cleared to get further NSF funding. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation stepped in with a grant of \$150,000 in 1978 to help complete the duplicate ar-

*Einstein and his wife, Elsa,
on shipboard between the
World Wars*



Bettmann Archive

chive and index for the library and recently approved another grant of \$120,000 to keep editorial work going on an interim basis.

Prospects for financing from the federal agencies that traditionally fund major publication projects have been dealt a severe blow by the Reagan Administration's budget policies. The NSF, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission are slated for drastic reductions in such funds.

So far, no plan or budget for the Einstein project has ever even been approved. The archive includes notebooks, manuscripts, diaries, and personal documents as well as correspondence—in all, an estimated 65,000 pages. A decision would have to be made on how complete a complete edition would be: how much of the material would appear in printed form and how much in alternative forms such as microfiche. Estimates of the total number of volumes vary between 20 and more than 50. A budget for such a project might typically run at \$200,000 a year in current dollars, and preparation of the Einstein papers could consume 30 years or more.

The bright spot now is the existence of the duplicate archive for scholarly use. Helen Dukas, organizer of the original archive and the person most knowledgeable about the history of the papers, has been cooperative in assisting individual

scholars over the years. But the opening of the duplicate archive in the library and creation of the computer-based control index affords researchers systematic access to the varied and voluminous archive.

A further cause of concern is the Einstein will. It provides that income from the literary estate be used for the benefit of Dukas and Einstein's stepdaughter Margot Einstein during their lifetimes and that afterward the papers become the property of Hebrew University in Israel. Not only could transfer of the papers make the publishing task more difficult, but it has been suggested that the shift of ownership could create a tax liability, raising the threat that a portion of the papers might have to be sold to satisfy tax claims. Hebrew University has carefully steered clear of the controversy that has beset the publications project.

The troubles besetting the Einstein papers might be seen as a conflict of good intentions. In his arbitration decision, Tyler said of Nathan, Bailey, and Stachel that "all these men are truly devoted in their own way to the success of this great project which lies at the center of this controversy." The irony is that Einstein, the most famous contemporary scientist, was personally modest to a fault and doubtless would have been sorely pained at the contest over his papers.—JOHN WALSH

Nassau to Open Einstein Archive

PRINCETON — And now, for the physicist who has everything, the Princeton University Library has announced the opening of an archive containing the papers of Albert Einstein.

The collection, which comprises 43,000 documents, will be housed in the Seely G. Mudd Manuscript Library and will be open only to qualified scholars, according to University Librarian Donald W. Koeppe.

Original copies of the scientific and non-scientific writings and correspondence in the collection are too valuable and too fragile for extensive use and are kept at the Institute for Advanced Study under the care of Helen Dukas, Einstein's former secretary.

Included in the collection are letters to and from such world leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Dag Hammarskjold, Queen Elizabeth of Belgium and physicists Niels Bohr and Max Planck.

Professor John Stachel of Boston University prepared a computer-based control index for the new archive.

TRENTON TIMES 14 JAN. 1981 CHRIS SCHUCK

TOWN TOPICS, 4 FEB 1981

Corrections Offered.

To the Editor of **Town Topics**:

The article 'Papers Available' in your issue of January 21, 1981 contains several misleading statements.

It is untrue that I looked upon the University's action to make photocopies of Einstein's papers available to scholars as "illegal" and "immoral." According to a written and signed arrangement with Princeton University Library of October 4, 1971, microfilms of all Einstein's papers have been available at the Library to scholars for years; moreover, on behalf of the Trustees of the Einstein Estate, I have given permission in writing to the Library also to make the recently completed photocopies accessible to scholars.

Under these circumstances, it is obviously an insult to state that I had called the Library's action "illegal and immoral." It is equally untrue that, before Princeton University Press provoked a "controversy" between itself and the Trustees of Einstein's literary estate, I protested the appointment of Dr. John Stachel as editor.

Following the recommendation of a search com-

mittee, I suggested that Dr. Stachel be appointed as one of three co-equal editors for the gigantic work of Albert Einstein. Princeton University Press rejected my recommendation which led to what is called in your article the controversy between the Press and the Trustees.

OTTO NATHAN
Executor and Trustee

The Estate of Albert Einstein
24 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

A 'relative' look at Einstein

(Continued from Page One)

and musicians in the archives," he continued.

Among those dignitaries are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw and Pablo Casals.

The documents are not expected to be available to the public at large; their availability will be limited to those researchers who can demonstrate serious scholarly purpose, a university spokesman said.

The general public would have difficulty using the documents anyway, since most of the documents are written in Einstein's native German.

But scholars will be able to gain insight into Einstein, the scientist, through notes and correspondence that led to such discoveries as the Special Theory of Relativity — which transformed our understanding of time and space — and the "photoelectric effect" that paved the way for the development of the television tube.

And they will be able to better understand Einstein, the man, through family documents, personal letters and notes, and several folders of verses and limericks.

For example, letters written for the Emergency Committee of Scientists show his deep concern over the uses of atomic energy, which his research contributed to in a theoretical sense.

"Through the release of atomic energy, our generation has brought into the world the most revolutionary force since prehistoric man's discovery of fire," he wrote in 1947. "This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the outmoded concept of narrow nationalism."

And his writings reflect his belief in "Spinoza's God" who "reveals himself in the slight details we are able to perceive with our frail and feeble minds," and include his observation that "God does not play dice" with the universe.

* * *

Occasionally, letters give insight into his famous correspondents, as when George Bernard Shaw, writing that he was "seven-eighths dead," commented, "Personally, I should prefer to die in a reasonably dry ditch under the stars."

Einstein's verses and limericks often were written to amuse friends and as personal "thank you's to hosts. But they were sometimes written simply to amuse himself.

"He wrote poems to let off steam," Stachel said. "If he was vexed by a problem, he might write a satiric verse about it."

The papers also show drafts of poems and letters were used as scrap paper; Einstein worked out equations on the back pages of several of them.

NEWARK STAR LEADER - 14 JAN. 1981

Scholars obtain a 'relative' look at Einstein papers

By WES DVORAK

Beginning today, scholars will have access to the papers, letters and notes of Albert Einstein, affording them insight into the scientific, political and personal life of the "father of modern science."

Princeton University, where Einstein worked from 1933 until his death in 1955, is making available to the public duplicates of Einstein's papers — an estimated 43,000 documents.

"It will help scholars understand what happened in science during the first half of the 20th Century and Einstein's role in Zionism and pacifism," a university spokesman said.

Before today, Einstein's papers were available only with the permission of his estate, or on microfilm, a difficult medium for researchers to work with.

Aside from offering scholars photocopied documents to work from, the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton will provide researchers with a comprehensive index of the papers — grouped according to chronological order, Einstein's own filing system and by correspondence.

The photocopying of the papers, which fill 91 legal-size storage boxes, and the compilation of the 11-volume index took more than two years. The project was funded by the National Science Foundation and Alfred P. Sloan Foundation in cooperation with the university, the estate and the Institute for Advanced Study, where Einstein worked.

John Stachel, a Boston University professor who led the Einstein project, said the papers had been microfilmed and photocopied to preserve the originals and to maintain a set of the documents in the United States. The originals eventually will be donated to Hebrew University, in keeping with Einstein's will.

"The originals are extremely valuable and in a condition that could not stand abuse," he said.

Stachel said the index would permit a researcher to locate, for example, the letters between Einstein and other noted scientists — such as Neils Bohr and Max Planck — that contributed to his discoveries.

"And there are letters to world leaders, philosophers, literary artists

(Please turn to Page 29)