

OUP CORRECTED PROOF – FINAL, 7/1/2020, SPi FRAN K RAMSEY

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### **OUP CORRECTED PROOF – FINAL, 7/1/2020, SPi**

CHERYLMISAK

FRANK

**RAMSEY** 

a sheer excess of powers

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. Ludwig Wittgenstein, .
. Agnes Ramsey.
. Arthur Ramsey, .
. Elizabeth Denby.

. Arthur Pigou.

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS: ARCHIVAL** 

**SOURCES** 

ASP/FPR.

Frank Plumpton Ramsey Papers, Archives of Scientific

Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh Library System
ASP/RC
Rudolf Carnap Papers, Archives of Scientific Philosophy,
University of Pittsburgh Library System
ASP/HR
Hans Reichenbach Papers, Archives of Scientific Philosophy,
University of Pittsburgh Library System
BL
British Library
BK
Kingsley Martin Collection, Sussex University
BR
Ludwig Wittgenstein Collection: Research Institute Brenner
Archive, University of Innsbruck
BRA
Bertrand Russell Archive, McMaster University
BTTS
Better than the Stars, (Mellor, )
CA
Cambridgeshire Archives

**CUL** Cambridge University Archives DA Maurice Drury Archive, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, Ireland EC Einstein Collection, Hebrew University **GCA** Girton College Archives, Cambridge KH Harrod and Keynes Notes and Memoranda, University of **Tokyo Archives KCA** King's College Archive, Cambridge LRA Lettice Ramsey Autobiography, courtesy of Stephen Burch LWG

Ludwig Wittgenstein: Gesamtbriefwechsel / Complete

Correspondence, Electronic Edition

**MBP** 

Max Black Papers, Cornell University **MCA** Magdalene College Archives, Cambridge OF Ogden Fonds, McMaster University **TCL** Trinity College Library, Trinity College, Cambridge **TFL** Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto **OUP CORRECTED PROOF – FINAL, 7/1/2020, SPi** TFL MS/COLL/ Laurie Kahn Ramsey Collection, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto **VCA** Vienna Circle Archives, Noord-Hollands Archief **WCA** Winchester College Archives X

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LIST OF A BBREVIATIONS: PUB LISHED

# **WORKS OF FRANK RAMSEY AND**

<u>LUDWIG WITTGENSTEIN</u>
Details can be found in the Bibliography.
Ramsey
C
'Chance'
CN
Critical Notice of Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus
DP
'The Douglas Proposals'
DS
'On There Being No Discussable Subject'
EBFM
'The Foundations of Mathematics', Encyclopedia Britannica
EBM
'Mathematics: Mathematical Logic', Encyclopedia Britannica
EBR
'Russell, Bertrand Arthur William', Encyclopedia Britannica
FM

'The Foundations of Mathematics'

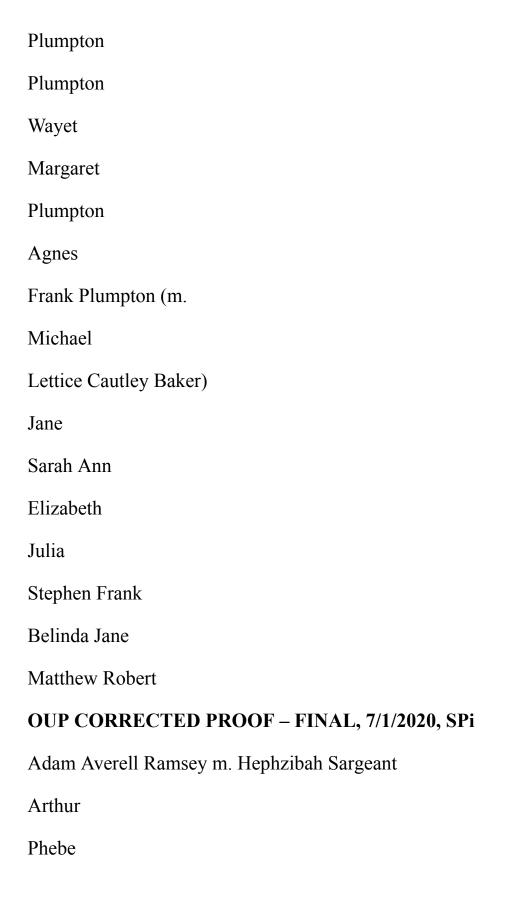
```
FP
'Facts and Propositions'
GC
'General Propositions and Causality'
K
'Knowledge'
KP
'Mr. Keynes on Probability'
ML
'Mathematical Logic'
NP
'The Nature of Propositions'
NPPM
Notes on Philosophy, Probability and Mathematics
NST
'Notes on Saving and Taxation'
OT
On Truth
P
'Philosophy'
```

RMM
Review of Ogden and Richards, The Meaning of Meaning
RT
Review of Keynes A Treatise of Probability
TH
'Theories'
TP
'Truth and Probability'
TT
'A Contribution to the Theory of Taxation'
U
'Universals'
UMA
'Universals and the "Method of Analysis"
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Wittgenstein
CV
Culture and Value
LAPR

Lectures & Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology, and Religious Belief LFM Lectures on the Foundations of Mathematics M Letter to the Editor of Mind **MCI** 'Arthur MacIver's Diary: Cambridge' PG Philosophical Grammar PΙ Philosophical Investigations PPO Ludwig Wittgenstein: Public and Private Occasions PR Philosophical Remarks **RPP** Remarks on the Philosophy of Psychology, Volume I T Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus

WCL

Wittgenstein in Cambridge: Letters and Documents
WPCR
Wittgenstein's Philosophical Conversations with Rush Rhees
Z
Zettel
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TRUNCATED FAMILY TREE
Plumpton Stravinson m. Elizabeth Walker
Charles
Kenneth
Clifford
John
Geoffrey
Ethel
Archibald
Mary
Plumpton
Plumpton



Gertrude
Maude
Charles
Winnifred
Frank
Mabel
Stanley
Rebecca
Mary
Maria
Harold
Bertha
Bridget
Margaret
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List of Illustrations.) I gratefully acknowledge the following.

Stephen Burch granted me permission to quote the many passages from the

private correspondence and diaries of Frank Ramsey and Lettice Ramsey. Permis-

sion to reproduce material from their collections, over which they hold copyright,

has been granted by the Archives of Scientific Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh

Library System; The Provost and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge; the Ber-

trand Russell Archive, McMaster University; the British Library Board; the Master

and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge; the Master and Fellows of Trinity

College, Cambridge; the Noord-Hollands Archief; the Syndics of Cambridge Uni-

versity Library; the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto; and

the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College.

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Partha Dasgupta, Ian Hacking, Hugh Mellor, Ian Rumfitt, and David Wiggins

supported the book from beginning to end, and were excellent sources of advice.

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Ramsey at the History of Economics Society meetings. Brian McGuinness hosted me

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of a rarely seen four-page original manuscript in Ramsey's hand. The exceptional

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cause of death, and Mark commented on the entire manuscript in draft. Roger

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stay off the mountain when the weather locked in. Monika Gruber took me to

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when I was a very happy Visiting Fellow Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, the

college of Russell, Moore, Wittgenstein, and the undergraduate Ramsey. In

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a Humboldt Research Prize enabled me to spend months in Stefan Gosepath's

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Sophie, put up with Ramsey as a constant presence in our lives for five years. Then,

on a long journey to New Zealand, David read the penultimate draft, corrected

countless infelicities, and persuaded me it was good enough to let go. This book is

dedicated to him.

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# PREFA CE

Beginning at the End

Any biography of Frank Ramsey must start with, and be haunted by, his death. He

was one of the most powerful and influential thinkers Cambridge ever produced.

Yet he died just shy of his twenty-seventh birthday, in January

November

. In

, the young don at King's College, Cambridge was ill with jaundice. His family

and friends weren't alarmed, as the ailment was not uncommon. A few weeks into

his illness his wife Lettice herself came down with flu and Frank was moved across

town to his father's house, his old family home. Lettice had their two little girls to

look after, and needed a break. His brother Michael came home for Christmas, and

on New Year's Day, wrote in his diary:

Then to Frank. He was in bed with jaundice, poor fellow, and he looked very weak.

We talked about the usual sort of topics and argued less than usual. He thought that a

lot of unhappiness in the world was caused by 'unsatisfied lust'. I expounded to him the

desire 'to contemplate a oneness' and he was tolerant, though he didn't understand.

'Have you had any more success at this trick?' he asked!

Michael, 'Mick' to the family, was at this time a vicar's assistant in Liverpool. He

would go on to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Frank used to call him 'my little

brother the curate'. Michael was very much given to the contemplation of 'oneness',

and not at all given to regretting lust unsatisfied. Frank was a resolute atheist,

immersed in bohemian culture and interested in Freud. He thought it both frustrat-

ing and comic that his brother, to whom he was so close, was devoting his life to a

God that didn't exist. They often argued about it, mostly in a good-humoured way.

On January, Michael noted that Frank 'still looks ill'. Frank wrote to Lettice from

his new sick-room, both concerned about her and sounding the first note of alarm

about his condition. He asked if she would consult someone in her physician-

populated family and ask what he knew about jaundice. Lettice contacted her uncle

Bobby, a senior surgeon at Guy's Hospital in London. Bobby was taken aback by

Frank's condition and things then moved quickly. Frank was moved by ambulance

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to Guy's, where he was admitted to the Lazarus Ward for exploratory surgery. Two

dear friends, Frances Marshall (later Partridge) and Ludwig Wittgenstein, joined

Lettice at his bedside during these grim days. There was to be no miraculous

resurrection from Lazarus Ward. Frank died in the early hours of Sunday, January,

leaving behind his family and a devastated set of friends and colleagues.

Also left bereft were great swaths of scholarship. If we include his undergraduate

days, Frank Ramsey was an academic for ten years. In that short span, he made

indelible marks on as many as seven disciplines, depending how you count:

philosophy, economics, pure mathematics, mathematical logic, the foundations of

mathematics, probability theory, and decision theory. The Austrian economist

Joseph Schumpeter described him as being like a young thoroughbred, frolicking

with ideas and champing at the bit to work out solutions to problems:

Certainly, that young man was a true product of Cambridge at its best—nobody can

have any doubt about it who ever met him, which the present writer did but once. In

discussion he impressed one curiously like an overgrown two-year-old who misbe-

haves on the race-course from sheer excess of powers.

John Maynard Keynes struck a similar note in his obituary, describing a boyish

enthusiasm and a lack of constraint in Ramsey's thinking, laughter, and relationships:

His bulky Johnsonian frame, his spontaneous gurgling laugh, the simplicity of his

feelings and reactions, half-alarming sometimes and occasionally almost cruel in their

directness and literalness, his honesty of mind and heart, his modesty, and the amazing,

easy efficiency of the intellectual machine which ground away behind his wide temples

and broad, smiling face . . .

My subtitle and aim derives from these observations of Schumpeter and Keynes.

I aim to articulate the quality of mind and heart possessed by this extraordinary

young man possessed of a sheer excess of powers.

The Mind

As Schumpeter said, Ramsey was very much a product of Cambridge. It was a

particularly luminous period for that university. During the three decades of Ram-

sey's life, Cambridge was home, off and on, to the philosophers Bertrand Russell,

G.E. Moore, and Ludwig Wittgenstein; the economists J.M. Keynes, Arthur Pigou,

and Piero Sraffa; and the mathematicians G.H. Hardy and J.E. Littlewood. Ramsey

came into substantial contact with them all.

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But although Ramsey was very much a product of his time and place, he was one

of those rare minds whose ideas seem to bound over the thinking of his contem-

poraries, launching the discussion into a future that only he could glimpse. He has

attracted an almost mythical status in all the disciplines he touched. One must keep

in mind what early death can do to a reputation. It can amplify promise and project

greatness, which, had death not intervened, might have been compromised by later

disappointment. But even when we account for that, Ramsey's genius is clear.

He is perhaps most widely known for his trailblazing work on choice under

conditions of uncertainty. His paper 'Truth and Probability' solved the problem of

how to measure degrees of belief, and then provided a logic of partial belief and a

model of subjective expected utility. These results underpin contemporary econom-

ics and Bayesian statistics, as well as much of psychology, artificial intelligence, and

other social and physical sciences. 'Truth and Probability' was not published in

Ramsey's lifetime, as he was in the middle of expanding on it, by writing a book with

the same title, when he died.

In economics proper, Ramsey published two papers in Keynes's *Economic Journal*,

one on optimum taxation and one on optimal savings. Each has become a classic,

and each has launched a branch of economics and a sizeable handful of Nobel prize-

winning ideas. He identified very modern problems and solutions to them, setting

agendas that are still being pursued a century later. His workhorse model (now

modified and known as the Ramsey–Cass–Koopmans model) is still a feature of

most graduate course textbooks and his name in economics also lives on in Ramsey

Pricing, Ramsey's Problem, the Keynes–Ramsey Rule, and more.

In philosophy, he made advances in logic, foundations of mathematics, philoso-

phy of science, truth theory, philosophy of language, and decision theory. Donald

Davidson, a leading philosopher of the twentieth century, in coined the term

'the Ramsey Effect': the phenomenon of finding out that your exciting and appar-

ently original philosophical discovery has been already presented, and presented

more elegantly, by Frank Ramsey. In addition to this wonderful catch-all label,

philosophy, like economics, has named specific innovations and approaches after

Ramsey: Ramsey Sentences, the Ramsey Test for Conditionals, Ramsification, Ram-

seyan Humility, and more.

In pure mathematics, we have a fruitful branch of combinatorics and graph

theory. His discovery here was quite literally an aside. He had been working on

the *Entscheidungsproblem* that the German mathematician David Hilbert had set in

. It asked whether there was a way of deciding whether or not any particular

sentence in a formal system is valid or true. Ramsey solved a special case of the

problem, pushed its general expression to the limit, and saw that limit clearly.

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Shortly after his death, there would be great excitement when Kurt Gödel, and then

Alan Turing, showed the limit to be hard and fast, and the problem to be unsolvable.

But a theorem that Ramsey had proven along the way in his contribution, an important mathematical truth now called Ramsey's Theorem, showed that in apparently disordered systems, there must be some order. The branch of mathem-

atics that studies the conditions under which order must occur is now called Ramsey Theory.

He also played a major role in the history of thought. Even as an undergraduate,

Ramsey held his own in the impressive environs of Cambridge. He shook Keynes's

confidence in his newly published probability theory; wrote a damning report

on C.H. Douglas's Social Credit proposals; and perhaps most strikingly, had an

immense influence on Wittgenstein. In , at the age of eighteen, Ramsey was

asked to translate Wittgenstein's early and difficult work, Tractatus Logico-

Philosophicus. As soon as it was published (in ), he wrote a Critical Notice of it

which still stands as one of the most important commentaries. Indeed, we will see that

Ramsey's persistent objections to the theory of meaning and truth set out in the

*Tractatus* were largely responsible for Wittgenstein's turn away from the *Tractatus* and towards what we think of as the later Wittgenstein. This was one of the most

important shifts in the history of philosophy. Wittgenstein was himself largely

responsible for the way philosophy unfolded in Cambridge and beyond. Ramsey's

book, had it been completed, might have reset this major part course of philosophy.

Much of Ramsey's work had a delayed effect. That was partly caused by its

prescient nature. The rest of the world had to catch up with him, especially on

technical matters. We still struggle to work out some moves and proofs Ramsey

declared obvious. The delayed effect was also caused by the fact that much of his

work was unfinished, his ideas left in drafts or notes, alive with thought, but destined

to stay in their raw state. His friend and colleague Richard Braithwaite published

some of these drafts and notes in his selection of Ramsey's work, *The Foundations* 

of Mathematics and Other Logical Essays. Braithwaite tidied up some of the manuscripts

and provided titles, in ways that subtly changed their meaning. He declined to

publish any of the book manuscript, only coming to appreciate its significance

much later. That manuscript and various other notes were published only in the

s. That is, only recently has the full and accurate picture of Ramsey's thought

been available. One of the aims of this book is to bring to light the importance of the

relatively unknown work, as well as the famous papers.

It will become clear that one of the ways in which Ramsey was so special—and

radical—was that he saw it as a mark of a good theory that it be 'realistic', or able to

make a difference in practice. His general approach was to move away from high

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metaphysics, mystical solutions to our deepest problems, unanswerable questions,

and indefinable concepts, and move towards human problems that are in principle

solvable in down-to-earth ways. As Steven Methven has put it, Ramsey dispensed

with myth and metaphor, and instead placed human beings—'finite, fallible and yet

extraordinarily functional'—at the heart of his theories. During Ramsey's time,

Bertrand Russell, Wittgenstein, and the Vienna Circle were all engaged in a quest

for certainty and logical purity. They conceived of truth in terms of our propositions

getting right a reality wholly independent of us. Ramsey would retain a place for this

kind of absolute truth for a very small class of propositions. But for the vast bulk of

our beliefs, he stood in opposition to his contemporaries. He was engaged in a quest

for beliefs that would work best for human beings.

The Heart

The first American Nobel Laureate in Economics, Paul Samuelson, rightly said that

'Frank Ramsey was a genius by all tests for genius.' But Ramsey was the antithesis of

the kind of figure with which this label is often associated. He was not an enigmatic,

cult-encouraging eccentric. He was that rarity among so-called geniuses—genial,

open, and modest. He was, as his brother put it, 'very accessible to his fellow human

beings'. 'Never a showman', said Ivor (I.A.) Richards, one of the founders of the new

Cambridge school of literary criticism. Frances Marshall never heard anyone say a

word against him—she didn't think it would be possible. Richards summed him up

thus: 'Frank was never less than serious about anything and never solemn about

anything either.' But the best one-liner is his brother Michael's: despite his being so

clever and accomplished, Frank had 'a total lack of uppishness'. Wittgenstein told a

story that also perfectly captures Ramsey's character. When Wittgenstein was a

schoolteacher in a small village in Austria, Ramsey came to visit. In one of the

classrooms there was a physiological diagram on the wall designed to show that

certain 'bad habits' could give one an enlarged heart. Ramsey opined that a pupil's

ambition should be to have as big a heart as possible.

Ramsey's own heart was outsized, as were his laugh and physique. His head, said

Braithwaite in an obituary, was pentagonal and his smile gentle; his 'enormous

physical size' was perfectly in proportion to 'the range of his intellect and his

devastating laugh'. Moore, in his copy of that obituary, underlined 'devastating'.

Patrick Wilkinson, who would be a colleague of Ramsey's at King's College, said that

'He shook with laughter'. So distinctive was his laugh that when his sister Bridget's

son was a student in Ramsey's old undergraduate college, one of the college servants

heard the laugh (without seeing the owner) and, in a state of astonishment,

announced that it sounded just like Frank Ramsey had risen from the dead.

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Ramsey thus comes across not only as one of the most impressive minds in the

history of philosophy, mathematics, and economics, but also as one of the most

attractive personalities. Even if we take into account the tendency to romanticize

the traits of someone who died so young, there is overwhelming evidence of a

simple, honest, hearty, and generous character. But there are flaws too, and I will

not step around them. Indeed, Ramsey's naturalness and appetite for life, while

usually being a strength of his character, was sometimes a weakness. It made

him naïve and wretched in his romantic life, until he found his footing. While

that is far from unusual in a young man, we will see that it was such a problem

for Ramsey that it could spill into a bitter fault-finding with himself and his friends.

It might be thought that if Ramsey somehow managed all of his astonishing

intellectual advances in a mere decade, he could not have had much room left for

living, and that any biography must be mostly about his work. But that is not true.

He lived an interesting life in interesting times. He started his Cambridge under-

graduate degree in October , not long after the First World War, with the

surviving youth of Britain still struggling with the loss and with their reentry into a

peacetime world. He was part of the flow of a certain sort of English person who

went to Vienna to be psychoanalysed, and was 'cured' by one of Freud's students. He

was a vital member of the Apostles, the secret and elite Cambridge discussion

society, during one of its most compelling periods, and part of the Bloomsbury

set of writers and artists, with their open attitudes towards sex, their love of

friendship, and their witty, gossipy, shocking conversation.

Indeed, Ramsey seemed not to know anyone who was boring or dull. Many of his

friends went on to important lives. Lionel Penrose became the founder of modern

British genetics. Kingsley Martin became the editor of *The New Statesman*. Max

Newman went on to become a leading Second World War code-breaker and a

computer pioneer. This biography will shed light on the lives of these, and many

more, major figures in British modern intellectual history, as we see them intersect

with Ramsey's life. We will also get an indication of how this remarkable group, in

the hothouse that was s Cambridge, played a key role in shaping the subsequent

trajectory of philosophy, economics, and mathematics. By gaining a better under-

standing of this history, we might improve our understanding of the intellectual

disciplines in which we engage and thus improve our understanding of ourselves.

It may appear to the more austere academic that Ramsey's personal experience is

irrelevant to what is really important about him—the intellectual advances. It might

even be thought a violation to dredge up intimate facts about, for instance, his

emotional life and his sexual relationships. But these sentiments are, I think,

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misguided. For one thing, it will become clear that Ramsey and his wife were

uninhibited about such matters. Indeed, Lettice Ramsey deposited a copy of almost

all the sensitive material in the King's College Archive Centre. This means that it has

been widely available and that many of the intimate details are already in print.

Ramsey's sister, Margaret Paul, reproduces some of the most painful letters and

diary entries in her memoir of her brother. Henry Hemming, in his biography of

Geoffrey Pyke, describes an early embarrassment in Ramsey's sex life. John Forrester

and Laura Cameron have written and quoted much about Ramsey's psychoanalysis

and the personal problems that caused him to seek treatment. But these matters

have not always been placed in their full context—for instance, in the frame of

reference of the free attitudes of Bloomsbury and the fashion for Freud. So one

reason for including the intimacies of Ramsey's life in this biography is to rectify

misleading impressions.

Another reason for including matters of the heart as well as the mind is that

Ramsey's ideas become more distinctly focused when we see how they are aligned

with his personality. His instincts, in all parts of his life, were straightforward and

directed to the facts. We might go so far as to say that differences in the personalities

between Ramsey and one of his most important interlocutors, Wittgenstein, mani-

fest themselves as differences in their philosophy. Fichte famously said:

What sort of philosophy one chooses depends . . . on what sort of man one is; for a

philosophical system is not a dead piece of furniture that we can reject or accept as we

wish; it is rather a thing animated by the soul of the person who holds it.

I will suggest that this is especially true of Ramsey and Wittgenstein.

Finally, those who are interested in people, as well as ideas, will want to see how

Ramsey's apparent effortless superiority was set against a background in which he

struggled with the full range of human emotion and anxiety. He was held in high

esteem from the time he was a child and was moved ahead of his age group in

school, with the consequence that he was always at least three years younger than

the rest of his cohort. He would suffer for that. Though he may have appeared on

the surface as a dispassionate logical brain, Frank Ramsey was as emotionally

vulnerable as the next person. He was sharply aware of that fragility, and it

interested him both personally and intellectually. In addition to being a superbly

gifted technical thinker, he explored topics in psychology, ethics, politics, and the

meaning of life. I will venture that Ramsey's poignant remarks on the timeless

problem of what it is to be human are as fruitful to us today as is his work on more

specialized topics.

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# The Challenges

One can understand why a full intellectual biography of Ramsey has been so long in

coming. Many of the topics and problems he pursued seem impenetrable to all but a

small number of specialists, and their range is staggering. Anyone who would try to

fully understand Ramsey must be comfortable both in the minute crannies of technical scholarship and on the grand peaks of abstract thought. The task is daunting.

What we have to date is a wonderful BBC radio programme on Ramsey, a sister's

substantive memoir, an electronically available trade biography, and biographical

chapters in fine commentaries on Ramsey's work.\* But no comprehensive biog-

raphy has been undertaken. Because we have been waiting nigh on a century for it,

I have tried to do what might be impossible. I have tried to satisfy all the parties

interested in Ramsey for one reason or another—for his advances in decision

theory, probability theory, and mathematics; his work on the deepest questions in

philosophy, such as the nature of truth and meaning; his ground-breaking advances

in economics; his relationship to Wittgenstein; his foray into psychoanalysis, and

on and on. The result is an introduction to his work, as well as an account of his life.

My own expertise is in philosophy, and there is a plausible case to be made that

this discipline provides the best basis from which to try to tackle the whole of

Ramsey's thought, although a philosophically minded economist would also be

suited to the task. Nonetheless, I will not attempt ham-fisted explanations of work

that goes beyond my ken. I have asked some of the best people in, for instance,

Ramsey Theory in combinatorial mathematics, optimal taxation theory, and opti-

mal savings theory, to write short guest boxes. Indeed, even where something of

interest to the specialist is within my range, I have asked guests to explain the

brilliance of Ramsey's view, or show where sparks from his mind have alighted. My

text is designed for a certain kind of general reader, whereas the material in the guest

boxes is for those who know, or want to know, more. Those boxes will be

invaluable for some, and unintelligible to others. They can be skipped without

rendering unclear the line of thought in the main text.

Another challenge is that Ramsey's work comes into focus only when we see it as