

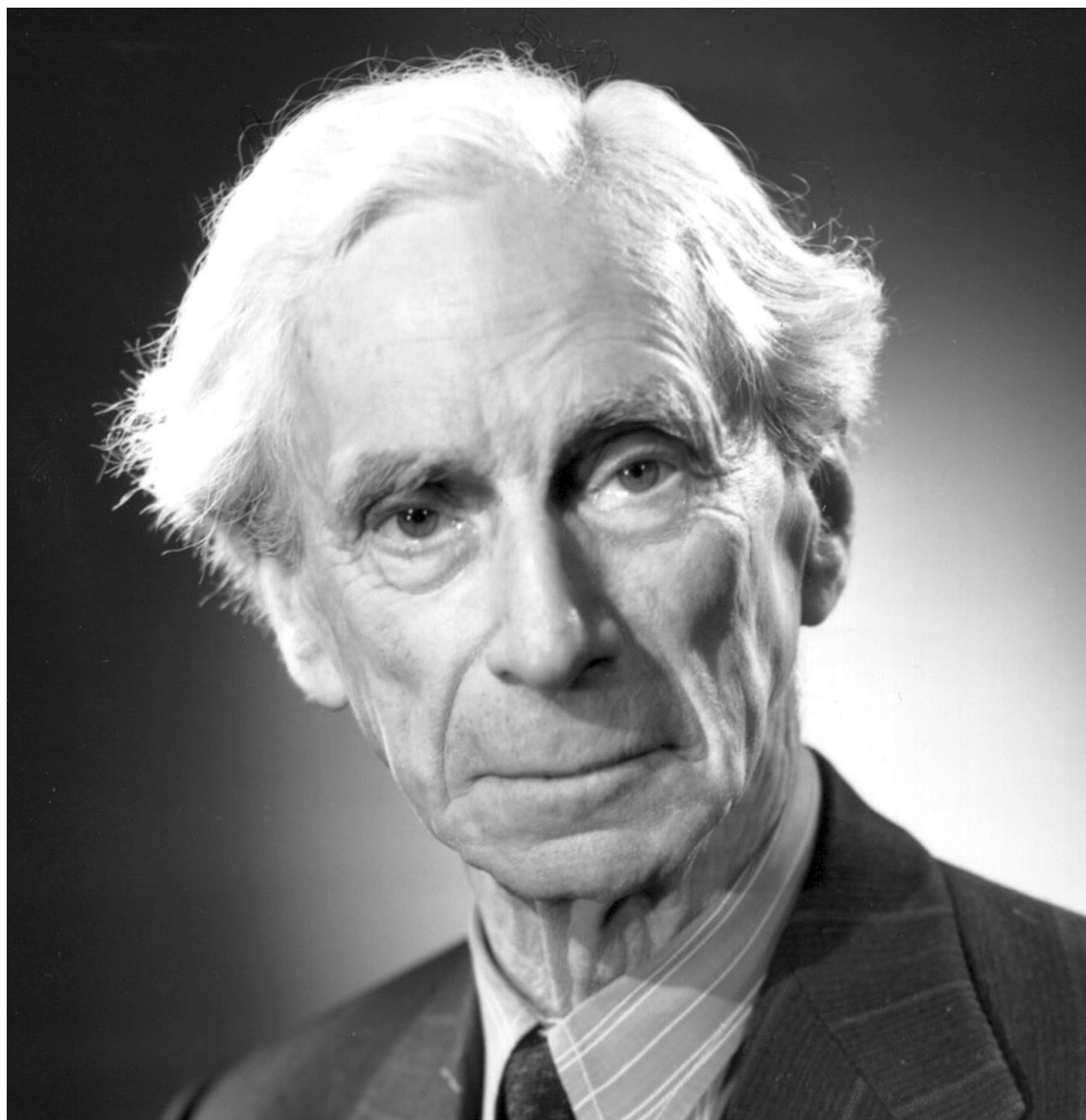
The Bertrand Russell Society

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BULLETIN



Editor

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Manuscripts may be submitted in Microsoft Word to the editor at his email address. Feature articles and book reviews should deal with Russell's life or works, written in scholarly or journalistic style. Articles generally should not exceed 3,500 words, and book reviews 1,000 words. Submissions should be made no later than August 31st and January 15th for the fall and spring issues, respectively. The editor collaborates with authors as necessary, and authors are invited to review suggested changes before publication. There are no guarantees of publication, and articles submitted may be held for future editions. Acceptance by the editor does not imply endorsement by the editor. We aim to publish articles with various and sometimes contrasting views.

Membership in the Society is \$45 per year for individuals, \$30 for students, and \$25 for those with limited incomes (honour system). Add \$10.00 to each for couples. A lifetime membership is \$1,500 for an individual and \$1,750 for a couple. Besides the *BRS Bulletin*, membership includes subscription to the peer-reviewed scholarly journal, *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies* (published semi-annually by McMaster University) and other Society privileges including participation in the on-line BRS Forum, the BRS email list, access to Russell-related, multi-media resources, eligibility to run for the board and serve on committees, and eligibility to attend the Annual Meeting.

Digital versions of the *Bulletin* appear on the BRS website at www.bertrandrussell.org/.

Renewal dues should be paid by or on January 1st each year. One's membership status can be determined by visiting russell.mcmaster.ca/brsmembers.htm. There one finds convenient links to join or renew via PayPal.

New and renewing members may also send a cheque or money order via traditional post to the treasurer (make it out to The Bertrand Russell Society). Send it to Landon Elkind, Treasurer, Bertrand Russell Society, 703 18th Avenue, Unit 5A, Coralville, Iowa 52241, USA. The treasurer's email address is brsocietytreasurer@gmail.com

If a new member, please tell us a little about yourself beyond just your name (interests in Russell, profession, and so on). If a renewing member, please let us know of any relevant changes to your contact information.

The BRS is a non-profit organization, and we greatly appreciate any donations or bequests members choose to give. Donations may be tax-deductible in certain jurisdictions.

The final page of the *Bulletin* gives the names of elected and appointed officers of the Bertrand Russell Society.

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Editor's Note

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The *Bulletin* was edited for several years by Mike Berumen. Mike's energy and intellect were (and are) remarkable, and the quality of the *Bulletin* has been proof. His suggestion that I take on the editorship was intriguing and daunting; after all, Mike not only edited the *Bulletin* but also acted as the Society's capable treasurer. Through all of this Mike never apparently broke a sweat. It is a hard act to follow. The Society owes Mike a debt of gratitude. I'm happy to record that debt here.

In preparing this current issue of the *Bulletin*, I drew on the lengthy history of the *Bulletin*, now at its 156th number. There has always been space in the *Bulletin* for writing about the life of the Society and about the development of Russellian research and action. This *Bulletin* continues that pattern.

Feature articles in this issue combine Russellian philosophical work (Landini on the Barber's paradox and Jenkins on happiness) with studies of historical, social, and psychological "contexts." But the *Bulletin* begins with an essay showing one way of carrying Russellian ideas into action, an article on the threat of nuclear war. As for history, we have an evocative essay by Turcon on Russell's American homes, along with two essays about Russell's papers and published books. There will be more articles about this last topic, in the present and later issues of the *Bulletin*, as the 2018 Annual Meeting is set for McMaster University (2018 June 22-24).

The 2018 Annual Meeting will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the opening of the Russell Archives at McMaster and the University's decision to move the archives into a new home just across the street from the old one. It follows on the heels of the successful Society meeting at Central Connecticut State University [CCSU], hosted by David Blitz of CCSU's Department of Philosophy. President Tim Madigan describes that gathering in the regular column we call President's Corner.

As always, we look for feedback from members and other readers, and for articles they send for possible publication in the *Bulletin*. 2018 looks to be a promising year for Russell and for the Society; please help to make it so!

Bill Bruneau

President's Corner

Tim Madigan

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David Blitz and his associates at Central Connecticut State University (CCSU) did a fine job of hosting the 2017 annual Bertrand Russell Conference, the theme of which was "*Principles of Social Reconstruction Revisited*." I took part in a panel devoted to the centenary of that particular work, along with Michael Potter (our newly elected Vice President), Bill Bruneau (our new *Bulletin* editor), and the aforementioned David Blitz. The panel addressed the ways in which Russell aimed to show how international relations had gone off the rails with the start of World War I, and how society should be reconceived and reconstructed once the war ended. The panel discussed the reasons why Russell felt impelled to write such a book at that time, as well as its relevance to the present day. We hope to publish our thoughts on this in an upcoming *Bulletin*.

As usual at such conferences, a potpourri of issues relating to Russell's myriad writings and activities were addressed. Other topics included "By any Other Name: Bertrand Russell and Joseph Conrad", "Are People Rational? Bertrand Russell on Human Reason", "Russell on Ontological Fundamentality and Existence", "Russell's Two Lectures on Mathematical Logic in China", "Bertrand Russell and the 1935 International Congress for Scientific Philosophy", and "Russell, Hume, and the Passage of Time." As has become a tradition, the final session of the conference was a master class led by our former president Alan Schwerin, in this case on "Some Remarks on Russell's Account of Vagueness." The lively discussion was anything but vague, I can assure you. David Blitz also organized a poster session of students from his CCSU course on Russell, as well as a delightful display of Russell's pamphlets on War and Peace in the campus library.

Being a modest man (with much to be modest about), I was surprised and delighted when the book I co-edited with Peter Stone, *Bertrand Russell, Public Intellectual*, was given the 2016 Bertrand Russell Society Award for Best Book. Peter, a professor of Political Science at Trinity College, Dublin, was unable to attend the conference, but by chance I was in Ireland for another conference a week later, and on June 12th I was able to bestow upon him his Book Award Plaque. The bestowal took place at a wonderful

restaurant in Dublin called, appropriately enough, Darwin's—it is festooned with memorabilia honoring the great evolutionary theorist. Joining in the celebration were three other Bertrand Russell Society members—Tim Delaney, Professor and Chair of Sociology at SUNY-Oswego, and Daria Gorlova and Anastasia Malahova, two students from St. Petersburg University in Russia. We were participants in a conference near Waterford, Ireland on the topic of "Friendship and Happiness" where we addressed, appropriately enough, the continuing relevance of Russell's 1930 book *The Conquest of Happiness*. (For more about Daria and Anastasia, see the Spring 2016 *Bulletin*.)



*Bertrand Russell Society Book Award for 2016—at Darwin's, Dublin, Ireland
2017 June 12*

I encourage everyone reading this to attend the 2018 annual meeting to be held at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada from June 22 to June 24. It will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Bertrand Russell Archives and will be one for the ages.

In closing, I note the passing of one of our most loyal members, Linda Egendorf. A noted jewelry designer and sculptor, she was a regular attendee at Russell Conferences, and her warmth, wit, and deep love for Russell's works were much appreciated. You can read her obituary at: <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/bostonglobe/obituary.aspx?pid=186848117>.

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Call for Papers for the 2018 meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society



100 Years of Philosophy and Political Action

The Bertrand Russell Society (BRS), an international organization dedicated to the memory of the philosopher Bertrand Russell, will hold its annual meeting at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada from June 22 to June 24,

2018. The conference will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Bertrand Russell Archives, housed and curated by McMaster University Library.

If you are interested in presenting a paper at the BRS Annual Meeting, please contact Professor Tim Madigan, President of the Bertrand Russell Society, at tmadigan@rochester.rr.com

Special emphasis will be given to the centenary of Russell's lectures on Logical Atomism; his political imprisonment during World War I for statements "likely to prejudice" a British ally (the United States); the publication of his proposals for post-war radicalism, *Roads to Freedom*; the writing of *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* and the groundwork for *The Analysis of Mind*, both of which were undertaken while Russell was in prison.

But we welcome papers on any aspect of Russell's personal life and his thought, work, and legacy. We also welcome proposals for other activities that might be appropriate for the meeting (for example, a master class on an essay by/about Russell). The abstract should be no longer than two paragraphs. The deadline for submission is May 1, 2018, exactly 100 years after he entered prison.

There is a time limit of 20 minutes for presentation. An additional 10 minutes is allotted for discussion.

Further details about the annual meeting (registration, etc.) will be posted at the Bertrand Russell Society website: <http://bertrandrussell.org/>

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The Treasurer Reports

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Financial mini-update

Our finances are in good shape. We have \$1,200 in the Society's checking account and \$12,300 in savings. Our brokerage account, whose entire initial investment was a member's gift, is also growing at a quick pace. Add to that the cost savings from making the *Bulletin* electronic, and I see no need to raise dues in the near-term.

Renew, renew, renew! The Society's good health depends largely on your active participation in its work and your annual renewal of membership dues. Gift memberships for friends are always treats. I have gotten gift memberships for family members, students, and even my fiancée. Gifts like that are a nice change from a plain old gift card (but feel free to send those gift cards to me instead!).

If anyone would like to donate a book or other Russell-related item for a renewal drawing, please let me know.

Stay tuned for the upcoming annual meeting's registration rates. This meeting will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Russell Archives, and the opening of Russell House!



Notes from Iowa

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BRS-IC Chapter

The Iowa Chapter of the Bertrand Russell Society organization is still going strong. About 6-to-8 students, grads and undergrads (pictured on p. 9!), get together on Monday nights to chat about Russell's works over pizza. This semester we read "On Denoting", and we are currently reading *Marriage and Morals* (1929), one of four books that led to Russell's dismissal from his teaching appointment at City College of New York in 1940 (documented in [Thom Weidlich's book on the trial](#)). This is particularly timely because two members of the chapter are getting married in 2018 (though not to each other). One hopes Russell's book will help in their marriage--although Russell's own record is a worrying 1-for-4.

It isn't difficult to set up your own Russell Society chapter. All it takes is a group of folks that like to read and share a passionate interest in the ideas Russell promoted--philosophical, mathematical, scientific, political, historical, or ethical as the case may be. There are plenty of public-domain books one can use for a reading group. Even the pizza, which is optional, only runs about \$400 annually. And it is terrific fun! We encourage you to start your own chapter wherever you may live--universities and public libraries always have places to meet.



Seminar on logical atomism

The Department of Philosophy hosted (2017 June 12-16) a week-long international [summer seminar](#), *The Philosophy of Logical Atomism: A Centenary Celebration*, organized by Gregory Landini and Landon Elkind and sponsored by generous funds from the Obermann Center for Advanced Studies. Landini and his advanced Ph.D. student, Landon Elkind, enthusiastically advocated different and unique new interpretations of logical atomism. Eleven distinguished professors from many parts of the world offered incisive evaluations of Russell's atomist ideas for a new scientific conception of philosophy that once was thought to offer the promise of finally solving philosophical problems. Engaging pieces were offered by Iowa's faculty participants, including Richard Fumerton, Katarina Perovic, and David G. Stern.

Stay tuned for news concerning the publication of an anthology of the conference papers. Special thanks to the Obermann Center's Prof. Teresa Magnum and Erin Hackathorn, for their excellence. The Bertrand Russell Society (Iowa Chapter) kindly loaned us its inspiring banner.

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About the Editor, the President, and the Treasurer:

Bill Bruneau is Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. He is an editor of the Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell.

Tim Madigan is Professor and Chair of Philosophy, St John Fisher College, Rochester, NY.

Landon D.C. Elkind is nearing the end of his doctoral studies in philosophy at the University of Iowa.

[BERTRAND RUSSELL AND SOCIETY]

Nukes and Trump: What would Bertie do?

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The current nuclear threat—as great as that of the Cold War?

Were Bertrand Russell around today he would be acting against the renewed nuclear threat, especially considering this ill-informed and unpredictable U.S. president's access to the nuclear "football".

There are several regions of concern: Ukraine and Syria, both places ripe for Russia-U.S. military miscalculation; Pakistan and India, both nuclear weapon states having fought four wars since 1947, one as recently as 1999, the year after Pakistan acquired the bomb;¹ and North Korea—a nuclear weapon state since 2005, and apparently close to acquiring a nuclear outreach rivaling those of the Big Five.

North Korea has lately been especially worrisome as its leader (Kim Jong Un), like our own Donald Trump, is prone to crazed threats and impulsive behavior. As I write (in early September 2017) the situation has turned to a mad game of threats and counter threats that not only violate the UN Charter (Art. 2.4), but bring us closer to nuclear war.

Those familiar with Russell's astute *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare* (1959) will recall his comparison of Cold War brinkmanship to the game of "chicken" played by irresponsible boys driving fast cars at each other to see who "chickens out" first. The current North Korea-U.S. game is played by irresponsible heads of state risking not only their own lives, but also those of millions of innocent human beings. As Russell warned:

¹ A two-year study by Physicians for Social Responsibility (2014) estimates a nuclear exchange between Pakistan and India with 100 Hiroshima-size nuclear weapons could kill several million people directly and would initiate a "nuclear winter" leading to 2 billion fatalities globally (due mainly to crop failure).

The game may be played without misfortune a few times, but sooner or later it will come to be felt that loss of face is more dreadful than nuclear annihilation....When that moment is come...both sides will plunge the world into destruction. (p. 30)

Russell's worries were not unlike those recently expressed by former head of U.S. national intelligence (DIA), James Clapper, who fears the President's access to the nuclear codes and doesn't rule out an ill-tempered "first use":

In a fit of pique he decides to do something about Kim Jong Un; there's actually very little to stop him....The whole system is built to ensure rapid response....So there's very little in the way of controls over exercising a nuclear option, which is pretty damn scary.²

To his credit, Kim has been open to talks with the U.S. for several months and willing to suspend nuclear and missile testing in exchange for a cessation of the provocative U.S.-South Korean military exercises in the region (including over-flights by nuclear capable bombers from American military bases in Guam). Yet shamefully the U.S. has so far ignored the offer to talk, and the semi-annual provocative military exercises occurred in the last ten days of August despite the risk of catastrophe.³

Current dangers are as great as those that Russell confronted in the 1950s and 60s—perhaps more so, if former Secretary of Defense William Perry is right:

The danger of nuclear catastrophe is greater than it was during the Cold War. Yet our public is blissfully unaware of the new nuclear dangers they face.⁴

² From CNN interview, August 23, 2017. It's worth noting that just before president Nixon's resignation (1974), the onset of his alcoholic depression prompted the president's defense secretary, James Schlesinger, to inform the Pentagon that any nuclear orders from the President were first to be cleared with him. He also had the nuclear football removed from Presidential access.

³ These drills reportedly included simulated "decapitation" strikes against the North's head of state (Kim)—an act that would seem to violate U.S. law against political assassination (per Exec Order 11905 of 1976). See <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/847162/North-South-Korea-US-nuclear-war-drill-Kim-Jong-un-warmongering-missile>

⁴ See Huffpost 9/2/17 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/former-defense-secretary-william-perry-on-the-nuclear_us_59ab04c1e4b0bef3378cd8fc

We don't have Bertrand Russell, but we have his example

Russell too had to confront this problem of blissful unawareness, and he did so in a number of ways:

- (1) He gave the world—and the principal heads of the three nuclear states in 1955—the simple (and scientifically informed) message of the **Russell-Einstein Manifesto**: That a nuclear war is not only unwinnable; it is omnicidal. And it *will* occur if these weapons—and eventually war itself—are not abolished.

“a nuclear war is not only unwinnable;
it is omnicidal”

- (2) The Manifesto begat the **Pugwash Conferences** (1957) whereby scientists on both sides of the politico-ideological divide could meet for East-West confidence-building and share ideas on disarmament which could in turn be shared with their own country's leaders. It played a significant track two role in bringing about the end of the Cold War. (Pugwash, and its co-founder, Joseph Rotblat, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995).

- (3) The Manifesto also inspired the **Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament** (CND, 1957, with BR as its first president) which raised public awareness of the nuclear threat and led millions throughout the West in non-violent action against nuclear weapons. Public nuclear education must begin again after a quarter-century of sleepy inattention.

- (4) Besides anti-nuclear activism, Russell gave us valuable insight into government and its propensity for propaganda, especially in matters of war and peace. As one of Russell's favorite Cold War journalists, I.F. Stone, put it: “All governments lie.” And that includes the lie of omission, the withholding of information that a democratic electorate has a need and right to know. (The secret 30-year U.S. radiation experiments are a particularly shocking example, *q.v.* below.)

In the nuclear age an informed electorate, especially in a globally influential nation like the U.S., is obligated to have some understanding of Cold War history and geo-politics generally. (But that is not so easy to come by, as the last U.S. presidential election revealed.)

In international relations, the Hobbesian rules of egotistic nationalism prevail and the education of the citizenry too often becomes infused with jingoistic half-truths. Until after the end of the Cold War most public-school texts barely mentioned the crucial role played by the Soviet Union in World War II.

In fact, most gave the impression that the U.S. won that war almost single-handedly. Russell once insightfully suggested that public school history books be written by foreigners. No doubt, he acknowledged, they would be written with bias, but a bias balanced by an equal and opposite bias in the students, and the net outcome would be mind-expanding. (The nationalistic dimension of public school education was a main reason that Russell and Dora started their own private school at Beacon Hill in 1927.)

The mainstream media are themselves naturally prone to nationalistic bias, especially in matters of international conflict. This was certainly true after 9/11. The media were not only quick to embrace the Bush administration's impetuous attack on Afghanistan, but also its skillfully crafted WMD deceptions to wage an illegal pre-emptive war against Iraq.

(5) Another shortcoming of one's own national folly, as Russell insightfully observed (and as Noam Chomsky continues to point out in his scathing critiques of American foreign policy), is the apparent unwillingness (or inability) to put oneself in the position of one's "defined" enemy. For instance, it's admittedly difficult for Americans to feel sympathy for N. Korea. But that's partly due to our own long-time, long-term propaganda-laden perspective. One can scarcely doubt that Kim must be terrified of his country's, and his own, destruction. And reasonably so, given the hostile military might surrounding him, and the bellicose threats that his desperate pursuit of a nuclear deterrent has elicited. But what would you do in Kim's shoes—remembering the fates of Iraq (and its leader Saddam, who had no WMDs) and Libya (and its leader Gaddafi, who agreed to give up his nuke program and destroy his chemical weapons in exchange for lifted sanctions and economic assistance)?

The Secret U.S. Radiation Experiments (1944-1974)

I return to the shameful, but still little known U.S. Cold War human radiation experiments—a grotesque top-secret federal government program, run mainly by the Atomic Energy Commission, Pentagon and Department of Energy, presumably to gather medical information on

radioactive fallout in the aftermath of an expected nuclear war. Some 4000 radiation experiments intentionally exposed many Americans (including thousands of military personnel) without their consent or knowledge, to high levels of radiation downwind from nuclear test sites and releases from plutonium production facilities and nuclear power plants.⁵ Many U.S. hospitals, universities and prisons participated as well, injecting or otherwise exposing about 2000 people—mainly poor, retarded, terminally ill or imprisoned-- to dangerous levels of radioactive substances.⁶

In 1993 Secretary of Energy Hazel O’Leary declassified the files and publicly released the story, which gained top U.S. media attention for at least a week. (The story first appeared in the press via Congressman Edward Markey in 1986, although with surprisingly little follow-up. The country was still in the throes of the Cold War and apparently the “fantastic” story just didn’t quite fit the world views at the time of either mainstream media editors or their country loving readers.)

I don’t believe the U.S. radiation experiments were known to Russell; but of course he was quite familiar with government perfidy and prevarication, particularly in matters of war and peace, both in the U.S. and in Britain. The first chapter of *War Crimes in Vietnam* (“Vietnam and the Media”) offers a tutorial on how to sharpen critical reading skills and offers wonderful examples of astute letter-to-the-editor writing. Indeed, Russell used the “letter to the editor” as an essential part of his arsenal of non-violent protest in most of his life.⁷

⁵ Many of the thousands exposed to radiation were U.S. soldiers in training near U.S. atomic testing sites in the Southwest. I would guess that many are included in the estimates by the UN and other organizations of world cancer deaths due to all atmosphere nuclear testing done before the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 outlawed it. (China got the Bomb in 1964 and did a relatively small number of atmospheric tests until 1982 when it reverted to underground testing.) A 1991 International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War study estimated cancer deaths from atmospheric testing would be 430,000 by the year 2000.

⁶ See: Ch. 7 “Human Experimentation” by T. Ensign and G. Alcalay in P.A. Picarino, ed. *Medical Ethics* (on-line text):
http://www.qcc.cuny.edu/SocialSciences/ppecorino/MEDICAL_ETHICS_TEXT/Table_of_Contents.htm

⁷ R. Perkins, ed., *Yours Faithfully, Bertrand Russell: A Lifelong Fight for Peace, Justice and Truth in Letters to the Editor* (Chicago: Open Court, 2002). See esp. pp. 271-72, 374-75, 337-38.

What we can do

Russell's example is inspiring and deserves to be emulated. All of us must be more informed on this existentially important issue. Join an anti-nuclear local group like Peace Action (over 100 chapters in the U.S., about 100,000 members), or a national/international one like Nuclear Zero, World Beyond War or the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)—all of which are supportive of the recent (July 2017) UN Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons (favored by 122 nations and now open for signature). And whatever you do, write a letter to your local newspapers.

I know Bertie would approve.

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The Conquest of Bertrand Russell's Happiness

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Books that promise to teach us how to be happy are perennially popular. A trip to any big-brand bookstore presents us with all sorts of titles that dangle such hopes. Some present themselves as firmly grounded in scientific research, such as *The Upward Spiral* by Alex Korb (neuroscience-based advice on reversing depression and becoming happier), or *The Happiness Advantage* by Shawn Achor (strategies for improving productivity by applying the psychology of happiness to the world of work and business). Others take a more homespun approach; for example, a whole series of best-selling self-help books by Gretchen Rubin (*The Happiness Project*, *Happier at Home*, etc.) collect all kinds of tips, strategies, and self-diagnostic quizzes aimed at better understanding oneself in order to create and maintain happiness-promoting habits.

These books—and many others—can be positioned as descendants of Russell's *The Conquest of Happiness*. First published in 1930, this is no academic tome. It is a popular guide book in which Russell attempts to offer real-life advice: advice that can actually help people. He does not claim that his offerings are grounded in scientific research (though he evinces some familiarity with psychoanalysis, which in some respects could be called a forerunner of contemporary psychology). Nor does he claim that they are grounded in “profound philosophy.” Rather, he says they are “inspired by what I hope is common sense.” He claims they have been effective in his own experience. Although the term “self-help” did not become popular until later in the twentieth century, *The Conquest of Happiness* is a self-help book. I don't use this label as a pejorative, but merely as a descriptor.

But does Russell actually help? A necessary prior question is: whom is he *trying* to help? With more sophistication than many self-help authors ever attain, Russell in his first few pages immediately separates two kinds of causes of unhappiness: those he associates with systemic social questions and those of individual psychology. Russell is here *not* trying to help those whose

unhappiness is attributable primarily or entirely to the former. The book's occasional casual racism offers further (if less intentional) clues as to its intended audience, as does its tendency to default to discussion of the unhappy "man" — who is, at least often, actually a *man* (as we learn in descriptions of his sexual encounters, his business dealings, his "paterfamilias" status, his "charming wife," and so on). Women are sometimes discussed as such, but a reader paying even minimal attention to questions of gender can hardly fail to notice they are often excluded (without remark) from the focal subject position.

Despite disclaiming "profound" philosophy, Russell's tools are still those of a philosopher, and include (by his own lights) "proofs," "persuasion," and "arguments." Although he says "there is no arguing with a mood" (one of many claims in the book which I myself would dispute), Russell believes a mood's "intellectual expression" *can* be challenged through argument. He sets out to persuade us that (for example) being miserable is not a necessary component of being wise, isolating and rejecting arguments for the contrary position while building his own case. Proceeding in this fashion (with varying degrees of success, at least as far as persuading this reader is concerned) Russell identifies "zest" as key to a happy life, and boredom (often due to conformity) as its enemy, claiming that "[t]he desire for excitement is very deep-seated in human beings, especially in males."

Some of the book's most impassioned prose consists in detailed descriptions of the emotional struggles of intelligent yet unconventional young men. In these passages it is hard not to read thinly-veiled autobiographical sketches, although it is not always clear whether Russell is aware of their status as such. More generally, the book's take on happiness is, in many ways, a product of extreme privilege. Facing virtually no concrete restrictions on how he himself could live, boredom and lack of zest may well have been the problems most salient to Russell. His focus on such issues as "nervous fatigue" is explicable in this light. Russell also notably writes: "If you love, love with abandon, for of all forms of caution, caution in love is perhaps the most fatal to true happiness." But caution in love is vital (and potentially life-saving) for those who aren't protected from the dangers of intimacy by certain of the privileges Russell enjoyed.

This is not to deny, of course, that Russell makes viable and potentially valuable suggestions. His emphasis on the avoidance of self-absorption presages advice developed later in Viktor Frankl's 1946 book *Man's Search For Meaning* (though both share an older precedent in J.S. Mill's 1873 *Autobiography*). Some parts of Russell's advice, such as that about facing one's fears rather than avoiding them, remind me of stratagems I have encountered

under the rubric of modern cognitive behavioural therapy. The fact remains, however, that inexpertly-wielded therapeutic tools can be dangerous, which fact underscores one of many ways in which we might question Russell's claim that his efforts in this book "can do no harm."

In the end, I am tempted to understand *The Conquest of Happiness* as the ultimate in self-help: Russell's ideal audience is, in effect, Russell. So did he succeed in helping himself? Probably; he sounds pleased with the results of the application of his method to his own case. Is his advice helpful to others? Possibly. At least insofar as they resemble Bertrand Russell.

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Nightmares of eminent persons continued: The Barber and Russell

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Alonzo Church wrote the following summary review in The Journal of Symbolic Logic 5, (1940), p. 157. In 1940, The Journal of Symbolic Logic regularly published such "reviews," of articles and of books in the field. We are concerned with Church's characterization of L.S. Johnston's article in the American Mathematical Monthly of 1940. Here is Church's review, verbatim:

L. S. JOHNSTON. Another form of the Russell paradox. *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 47 (1940), p. 474. Not properly a form of the Russell paradox, but a pseudo-paradox akin to a village barber. Alonzo Church.

Reflecting on Church's note, the following imagines Russell having a nightmare in the spirit of his collection *Nightmares of Eminent Persons and Other Stories* (1954).

_____: Well, does the village barber shave himself?

Bertie: What barber?

_____: I mean to speak of the barber of a village that shaves all and only those of the village that do not shave themselves.

Bertie: What barber? There can't be any such barber. You may as well try to speak of the barber who is not a barber.

_____: Recall that in "The Philosophy of Logical Atomism," (p. 261) you said that the Russell paradox has the same form as the Barber Paradox.

Bertie: I said "...you can modify its form; some forms of modification are valid and some are not."

____: But you suggested that they have the *same* form in writing: “The question is, does the barber shave himself? In this form the contradiction is not very difficult to solve. But in our previous form I think it is clear that you can only get around it by observing that the whole question whether a class is or is not a member of itself is nonsense...”

Bertie: My light verse is not to be taken as technical. My point was that one can easily dispatch the Barber by simply noting that quite clearly there is no such barber, but a similar attitude cannot dispatch paradoxes of classes/sets. One must explain how mathematics is to get along without classes/sets (or any other abstract particulars). That is what *Principia Mathematica* endeavored to do. (According to Church, (1963: p. 106), the probable author of the Barber Paradox is Meinong’s student Ernst Mally. Church mentioned it in his short review of a paper by Johann Mokre (1952: p. 89). Mokre attributed the Postman Paradox to Mally who considered a villager who volunteers to bring the mail to all and only those who do not go to get their own mail. Russell mentioned the Barber Paradox explicitly as a false analogy to the Russell paradox.)

____: Meinong argued that the directedness involved in the mind’s Intentionality (the *aboutness* of thinking) requires the thesis that if one thinks about the so and so, there is a so and so about which one thinks – though it may be *intentionally inexistent*. So it is not so very easy to dispatch the barber.

Bertie: Have you also a difficulty dispatching the barber who is not a barber? I pointed out in “On Denoting” that Meinong’s principle is apt to infringe the Law of Contradiction and thus it is easily dispatched along with the barbers, round-squares and existent golden mountains that its lack of a *robust sense of reality* conjures up. One might endeavor to restrict Meinong’s principle to make it consistent, but to do so undermines its *raison d’etre*. Any restriction undermines the poetic license of thinking. Meinong offers an argument for the indispensability of intentionally inexistent objects. His argument fails.

There are other ways to explain the directedness of intentionality. Naturally, *Principia’s* quantificational theory of definite descriptions is still favored by me.

____: What paradox did you discover that was such an important indictment of the theory of classes/sets? Do you speak of *the class of all and only classes that are not members of themselves*?

Bertie: No. Clearly, one cannot speak about *the so and so* when there is no such entity. My paradox does not concern intentionality and reference and it cannot be addressed by appeal to such matters. Let me try to explain. There is paradox in the naïve theory of classes. Be advised. It requires three contradictions to undermine the naïve theory, not one. I found all three.

____: I had no idea Lord Russell.

Bertie: There are three because there are exactly three versions of the naïve theory of classes:

Naïve: There is a class r whose members are just those entities that are *so and so*.

–Naïve: There is a class r whose members are just those entities, excepting r , that are *so and so*.

+Naïve: There is a class r whose members are just those entities that meet the condition of being *so and so and not equal to r* .

In all three, one can replace “*so and so*” with any well-formed expression of the formal language of the theory so long as the variable “ r ” doesn’t occur free in it. If one doesn’t make this obvious point, the entire matter is trivialized. For example, Naïve would have the contradictory instance: There is a class r whose members are just those entities that are not members of r . That is a silly Barber-style paradox (a pseudo-paradox).

To show there is a paradox with the naïve theory of classes, one has to show that for each of the three versions of the naïve theory of classes, there is a well-formed expression in the formal language of the theory that yields a contradiction. It need not be the same for each. Indeed, my “... is not a member of itself” brings down Naïve but *not* the others. Had one or the other survived, I would not be responsible for finding a paradox. In truth, I originally thought that I had found just a fly in the ointment easily removed in favor of, perhaps, other principles. It was in examining Frege’s *Way Out*—that is to say, the idea for a solution to a version of the contradiction with Naïve that he presented in the Appendix of vol. II of Frege’s *Grundgesetze*—that I came to find the others to be contradictory too. That was the end of the naïve theory of classes. That was the end, for me, of embracing classes (or sets) as part of mathematics. It is not that I hold that there are no classes/sets. Rather, I hold that they have no relevance whatsoever for mathematics.

____: My heavens! We’ve gone a long way already down the rabbit hole. Well, what well-formed formula(s) brought down –Naïve and +Naïve?

Bertie: Oddly enough, I found these by investigating versions of a paradox that arises when one pairs an ontology of *propositions* with any theory of classes (even a simple type theory of classes). I wrote it up in Appendix B of my 1903 book *The Principles of Mathematics*. But it was only in 1904 that I noticed its import. The well-formed formula that brings down both –Naïve and +Naïve is this: “... is equal to some singleton class and yet not a member of the member of that singleton.”

_____: Oh, my word! Let me see. Surely, all is well with a class r of all those entities equal to singleton $\{A\}$ for some A and yet not a member of A . The singleton class $\{\{a\}\}$ is certainly not a member of $\{a\}$, assuming that $\{\{a\}\}$ is not equal to a . Hum. I can't imagine any entity failing to meet the condition.

Bertie: All seems well until you consider the singleton class $\{r\}$ and prove that it is not equal to r . You can then go on to ask whether it is a member of r . You'll find that $\{r\}$ is a member of r if and only if $\{r\}$ is not a member of r .

_____: I wish this information were better known. One can admit that Cantor (*circa* 1899) had found a puzzle of the greatest cardinal and that Burali-Forti (*circa* 1897) found a puzzle of the greatest ordinal. Indeed, one can accept as well that Zermelo found a puzzle using his separation axiom, which assures that for any class M there is a class r that is a subclass of M whose members are just those classes not members of themselves. But none can be responsible for a *paradox* of the naïve theory of classes, because none upturned all three: Naïve, as well as -Naïve and +Naïve.

Bertie: Yes, and it is no less troublesome that it is not well-known that that the paradox of the naïve theory of classes does not concern *self-reference*.

_____: The list of well-intentioned offenders missing that point is quite long. It includes you Bertie!

Bertie: Thank you for poring over my work notes. Whitehead had his destroyed when he died. Please don't make me wish I had done the same. I was struggling to find a genuine solution and tried to get ideas wherever I could—including ideas that turned out to be false starts and confusions. *Principia's* goal was to free mathematics altogether from the metaphysician's abstract particulars (numbers, classes/sets, geometric figures, etc.) It succeeded. But what needs to be done is to free logic from abstract particulars. I set myself to this and made some progress. May others have more success.

Postscript

Well intentioned pop expositions now reach a young new audience with misleading cartoons, some of which liken the Russell's paradox to silly Barbers or lying Cretans who say: *all Cretans are liars*. May new cartoons set them straight. Here are some of the cartoon offenders:

Logicomics, eds. Doxiadis, Papadimitriou, Papadotos, Di Donna (Bloomsbury, 2009).

Introducing Mathematics, Sardar, Ravetz, van Loon (Icon Books, 2011).
Introducing Logic, eds. Cyran, Shatil, Mayblin (Icon Books, 2004).

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Church, A. (1963) "Johann Mokre, Zu den Logischen Paradoxien," *The Journal of Symbolic Logic* 28, p. 106.

Johnston, L.S. (1940). Another Form of the Russell Paradox," *The American Mathematical Monthly* 47, p. 474.

Mokre, J. (1952) "Zu den Logischen Paradoxie," in ed., A. Meinong, and J.N. Findlay, eds., *Meinong- Gedenkschrift Schriften der Universität Graz*, vol. I (Graz: Styria Steirische Verlagsanstalt) pp. 81-89.

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Russell's Homes: In America

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Bertrand Russell arrived in America in September 1938. With him were his wife Peter and their young son Conrad. His two older children, John and Kate, remained in the UK with their mother. He had accepted a temporary position at the University of Chicago in order to support his family. After a year at Oxford, he had not found suitable employment either there or elsewhere in the UK. He was to spend five years in America. He lived in the Midwest as well as on both coasts in three main residences, all rentals, and others where his stays were shorter.

Chicago (Autumn 1938-Winter 1939)

Russell wrote to Dean Richard P. McKeon on 24 April 1938 looking for an apartment for himself, his "wife & child, the latter now just one year old. I suppose it will be best for the child if we are some way out, where there would be fresher air. There will be no nurse, so a very small apartment will do ... Economy is essential." For a family of three that had lived at the spacious Telegraph House and the smaller but still charming Amberley House, the idea of a small apartment in a foreign country was challenging. McKeon replied on 7 May 1938 after discussing Russell's request with his colleagues. The consensus was that "it would be wise for you to spend at least the first few weeks in one of the apartment hotels not far from the University and near the lake." The choice would be left to the Russells. After arrival they could decide "whether to remain there or to seek a more desirable apartment."

The choice turned out to be the Plaisance, opened in 1921. An advertisement in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 3 May 1921, described the apartments as "2 to 4 rooms, beautifully and completely furnished. Every apartment has private bath, breakfast room, and buffet kitchen completely equipped."¹ There was also a restaurant in the hotel serving luncheon and dinner. Russell and his wife, Peter, must have found the accommodations suitable; for Peter, it would have been a relief not to cook. The fact that it was furnished suggests the Russells left

1 *Hotel World*, vol. 89 (1919): 81 and vol. 92 (1921): 20.

behind their furniture. In May 1939, Peter replied to an enquiry from Warder Norton as to what she might like from England: "innumerable objects that we long for, from the notes on Nietzsche & Schopenhauer in the bottom right hand drawer of my desk to our large red dog" Despite Russell writing in April that there would not be a nurse, a young British woman called Pamela Campbell travelled with them to act as Conrad's nurse/governess. Confirmation that she travelled with them comes from Freda Utley (*Odyssey*, p. 171). The Plaisance hotel was demolished, probably in the early 1960s.



Gary M. Slezak and Donald W. Jackanicz ("The Town is Beastly and the Weather Was Vile") described the Russells' Thursday evening gatherings for graduate students at the Plaisance. "These 'at-homes' were known for fine conversation, good jokes, and excellent whiskey."² The article title is taken from Russell's judgement on Chicago in his *Autobiography* (2: 217). Peter described one of these evenings in a letter to her step-son John.

At the request of the young men themselves we turned our usual philosophical evening into a poetry evening and all took turns reading till half past one. One of them has just rung me up to say that he never enjoyed

² *Russell* 25-28 (1977): 12.

anything so much in his life, and I think they were all very happy. Looking back, I think I must have been a little drunk, though I felt quite sober, for I remember that when someone had to go and we all sang 'Fare thee well for I must leave thee'³ etc. and one of them began a sort of Highland fling, in which I joined, which seems hardly suitable behaviour for a Professor's wife ... We read the whole of the Ancient Mariner ... Daddy reads so well, and all the men dote on him (28 February 1939).

She noted that "in Chicago, surrounded by filthy snow, it is hard to believe that the world will ever come to life again. California, they say, will be all flowers when we get there." Despite the weather, she commented: "We have enjoyed the time here so much, in spite of too much work for Daddy and too many dinner parties for us both, that we feel now that we would be glad to come back ... if we could get away in the summer."

Berkeley, California (Spring 1939)

Russell was delighted "after the bleak hideousness of Chicago, which was still in the grip of winter ... to arrive in the Californian spring" (*Auto 2*: 217). Dates for his lecture tour had been set by his agent Feakins as early as September 1938. His first lecture was to be in San Francisco on 23 March.⁴ Thus the first destination for the Russells in California was Berkeley, specifically the Hotel Claremont. The luxury Claremont, now part of the Fairmont chain, has been a Berkeley landmark since 1915. Peter wrote to John on 16 March 1939: "... we arrived here this morning, after two days & two nights in a ... train & are now lying on a daisied lawn" On 20 March, Peter wrote to Paul Schilpp that: "We are charmed with the country and climate here, and the hotel is very pleasant." After his initial lecture, Russell was on the road until the end of April. He spoke in Los Angeles on 27 March. His last lecture was in Brooklyn, N.Y., on 25 April.

When the Russells left for California, they still planned to return to England after Russell's lecture tour. Knowing this, Peter thought of sending Conrad to Dartington Hall nursery school (letter to John, 28 Feb. 1939). On the other hand, Russell in his *Autobiography* (2: 217) and the authors of *Bertrand Russell's America* (p. 128) indicate he went to California intending to take a position at UCLA. In an untitled statement Russell wrote: "On the last day of March, I was suddenly offered a 3-year professorship at the University of California at Los

3 A line from the traditional British folksong, "There is a Tavern in the Town".

4 This date comes from a lecture list in Rec. Acq. 968b. Michael Stevenson gives Russell's first lecture as 20 March in Sacramento.

Angeles, the work to begin on September 15”⁵ This statement formed part of the paperwork to explain why he could not go to England in August and thus why he wanted his two older children to visit him in America. He went so far as to write to William B. Curry at Dartington: “As I have a professorship at the University of California for 3 years, & shall likely stay in America for the rest of my life, I should like very much, if possible, to get John & Kate to America, & let them finish their education in this country.”⁶

Montecito, California (Spring-Summer 1939)

The Russells moved briefly to San Ysidro Ranch in Santa Barbara.⁷ By 9 April Peter and Conrad had moved to Montecito. Why Peter chose Montecito is unknown. It is closer to Los Angeles than Berkeley, but still not close. She wrote to Paul Schilpp that day to say she had taken a cottage for the summer. The owners of the cottage are not known. Leandro cottage was located at 76 San Leandro Lane in Montecito, Santa Barbara. The street numbers are now entirely different.⁸ On 12 April, Russell wrote to Peter: “The cottage you have taken sounds very nice.” A fellow Russell scholar, Michael Stevenson, visited this street in 2015; all the houses are hidden behind walls and hedges.

Russell wrote to John and Kate on 25 May 1939 that he was enjoying working on his lectures “about the influence of philosophers on politics & vice versa” but must have injured himself shortly thereafter. Peter wrote to Gerald Brenan on 30 June 1939 telling him that Russell had “hurt his back about five weeks ago.” The injury had caused “acute sciatica.” Although Russell was “now about again” he was “subdued.” She found California “beautiful – though the absence of old buildings makes it seem incomplete.” On 8 July, Russell wrote to

⁵ Recent research by Michael Stevenson, Lakehead University, reveals that Russell knew as early as December 1938 a UCLA position was possible but not certain. The Department of Philosophy at UCLA had recommended that Russell be granted a professorship. The University of Southern California was also interested in Russell as suggested by correspondence between Charles Morris at the University of Chicago and Donald Piatt, Chair of the Department of Philosophy at UCLA. Russell clearly knew that chances were good that he would be employed in California at least for the 1939/40 year. At UCLA, the delay in appointment could be accounted for by slowness at President Sproul's office. Despite a formal reminder on 1 February 1939 from the UCLA Department of Philosophy of their recommendation, Sproul continued to sit on the request. Russell's letter of 31 March, indicating that he had been suddenly offered the job verbally, is correct. He met with Earle Hedrick, the UCLA Provost, for lunch that day, and President Sproul met with him at 2:00 that afternoon, and the contract must have been offered by Sproul at that meeting. The official contract offer took several months to complete and was formally sent to Russell only on 14 July 1939.

⁶ Rec. Acq. 263, n.d., 710.103227.

⁷ Perry Charner to Brownell Baker, 4 April.

⁸ I have contacted, without success, Santa Barbara City Hall, University of California at Santa Barbara, Gledhill Library, the Santa Barbara Historical Museum, and the Montecito Association to see if records were kept of the re-numbering. All house numbers now contain four digits.

Miriam Reichl: "We are in a cottage with a pleasant garden, & are living an idle life till Sep., when term begins." Peter wrote on 26 July to Storer Lunt: "Miss Campbell is still with us, and has decided to stay til next summer, which is great comfort."

In August, the family was joined by Russell's older children, John and Kate. They arrived in New York on the *Queen Mary* (*My Father*, p. 133) and travelled across the country by train. The Russells met them with a car in San Francisco; on 17 August the family was in the High Sierra Camps in Yosemite National Park.

Kate Tait described the Montecito place as "... a cool creeper-covered cottage, set in a green garden surrounded by hedges, and very comfortable." There was a huge problem with the place, however, in Kate's opinion. "Santa Barbara smelled of oil all the time ... like poison" (*My Father*, p. 135). The oil was in the Santa Barbara channel. In 1865, oil geologist Charles Jackson wrote: "The strong smell of petroleum comes from the sea, the oil floating on the water."⁹ While there, "... a large black cook called Mary, stern and forbidding and easily offended" was employed (*Ibid.*, p. 135).

Los Angeles, California (Autumn, Winter, and Spring 1939-1940)

On 25 May 1939, Russell wrote to John and Kate that: "We went to Los Angeles to look round – the road goes along the sea, & there are quite 50 miles of beach on the way – most of the county is almost uninhabited. Los Angeles is a nasty place, but there are some pleasant places near it, so we hope to get a nice house." In mid-September the Russells moved to 212 Loring Avenue which is located close to the UCLA campus in Westwood. Kate described the house as "a Spanish-type villa with an enclosed garden ... [it] was fantastically luxurious: dressing room and bath for every bedroom, deep soft rugs, and shelves and shelves of fancy linens and dishes." "To a certain extent, the owners' style of living forced itself upon us" "Gradually ... we realized that the people who owned our house must be rich, though its small size and lack of books had at first deceived us" (*My Father*, pp. 138-9). The house was small if compared to Telegraph House.¹⁰

Russell took up his teaching duties at UCLA.¹¹ On 23 September Russell reassured his ex-wife, Dora, the mother of John and Kate, that "both children

9 Wikipedia entry: "Offshore Oil and Gas in California".

10 The website realtor.com described the property as follows on 12 Nov. 2016: 6 beds, 4 baths, 3,653 sq. ft., built in 1929, renovated 1942.

11 See Fenwicke W. Holmes, "Bertrand Russell at U.C.L.A.: a Reminiscence" *San Jose Studies* (Fall 1992: 28-43).

live in this house. They are well, & as happy as can be expected in these dreadful times." War had been declared on 3 September 1939.

The photograph below dates from 2015. Kate told me in 2017 there was a lawn in 1940 "amazing to John and me because it had built-in sprinklers which we could turn on and enjoy the showers. Also at least one olive tree, which disappointed us because we hadn't known you just don't pick them and eat them." The external aspect of the house is quite different today.



Michael Stevenson, with permission

212 Loring Avenue, Los Angeles, California

On 22 December 1939 Russell wrote to his friend Lucy Donnelly: "Apart from home sickness & war misery, we all flourish." On the same day Russell wrote to another friend Lucy Silcox: "We feel very much exiled here, & if the children were not involved we would rather be at home." About Conrad: "We love him & he loves the cat & the cat loves her dinner." The Russells had not been able to bring their dog with them when they moved to Chicago. At the end of

December Russell and his family were forced to leave the United States for Ensenada, Mexico where he successfully applied for a new re-entry permit (E39.11). He was granted an “indefinite stay.”¹²

While in Los Angeles, university students Richard Jencks and Jerry Reynolds took John and Kate on a tour of roller coaster rides (letter from Richard Jencks, 28 May 1969). Kate remembered going “to the beach, to the mountains, to Grauman's Chinese Theatre to see the footprints of the stars” and to the movies (*My Father*, p. 145). “Walking in suburban Westwood was so dull that we had almost given up our family walks ...” (*Ibid*, p. 144). The family “visited Aldous Huxley, in his dark house buried in bougainvillea ...” (*Ibid*, p. 143). Kate also noted that her father maintained his tradition of inviting students “home for tea and talk or for an evening of philosophy. Peter was an admirable hostess to such groups ...” (*Ibid*, p. 146). Compared to what went on in Chicago, these evenings seem mild.

Russell connected with new acquaintances through Aldous Huxley. The Huxleys arranged a picnic in the Los Angeles river basin attended by movie stars Greta Garbo, Charlie Chaplin, Paulette Goddard as well as writers Anita Loos, Christopher Isherwood, and others.¹³ Russell also got to know Hans Reichenbach who taught at UCLA, “a man of simple kindness” as Russell described him to Elizabeth Trevelyan in a letter of 20 August 1941.

Russell found “the academic atmosphere ... much less agreeable than in Chicago” (*Auto 2*: 218) and thus when an opportunity arose to teach at the City College of New York he took it. Russell's appointment at CCNY was to run from 1 February 1941 to 30 June 1942; it was confirmed on 29 February. This appointment fell through, causing significant controversy.¹⁴

Russell had barely begun teaching at UCLA when on 2 October 1939 William Ernest Hocking offered him the William James lectures at Harvard University for autumn 1940. Russell was released from a term at UCLA to undertake this lecture series. Despite the CCNY debacle, he looked forward to the James lectures.

The United States Census of April 1940 captured Russell and his family at 212 Loring Ave. The monthly rent was \$150. The staff consisted of Pamela Campbell, the governess, an English high-school graduate, age 20, and Fanny

12 “Harvard Calls Prof. Russell”, 12 Jan. 1940 news clipping in Rec. Acq. 1A.

13 Accounts of the picnic are in *Aldous Huxley: a Memorial Volume* and Christopher Isherwood, *Diaries*.

14 *Inter alia*, see Thom Weidlich, *Appointment Denied: The Inquisition of Bertrand Russell* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus, 2000).

Parker, the housekeeper, age 64, originally from Poland. She had worked for the owners of the home from at least 1935. She earned \$320 per year while Pamela got \$625. Both were live-in. Russell's salary from UCLA was \$5,000; he indicated he had income from other sources but that amount was not recorded. That same month *Life* magazine did a feature, "Bertrand Russell Rides Out Collegiate Cycle"; it contained photographs taken inside the house as well as on the UCLA campus. Russell is quoted as saying: "I believe America to be the hope of the world and I wish my three children to grow up in a land of liberal thought."



Bertrand and John Russell in 1940 at Loring Avenue

Fallen Leaf Lake, California (Summer 1940)

The Russells arrived at Fallen Leaf Lodge in June. Perhaps the lease on Loring Ave. was up after only ten months, or maybe an opportunity arose to exit the lease early. On 28 July 1940 Russell wrote to Lucy Silcox: "We are here till Sp. 1st; after that, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass." He told her that they were living in a little house and wrote at great length about the scenery which usually did not interest him – or at least not enough to describe it in writing.

“You would find a place where the works of God still hold their own against those of man.” He added that he had “just finished ... *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth*.” The following day he wrote to Elizabeth Trevelyan that “the longing for home is almost unbearable” despite the beauty of where he was then living. Russell wrote to Paul Schilpp on 31 August that they would be leaving Fallen Leaf on 8 September and expected to arrive in Harvard on 17 September.

In his *Autobiography*, Russell described the area as “one of the loveliest places that it has ever been my good fortune to know” (2: 220). “We had a log cabin in the middle of pine trees, close to the lake. Conrad and his nursery governess slept indoors, but there was no room for the rest of us in the house, and we all slept on various porches.” Russell wrote in “a tiny study which was hardly more than a shed ...” He also called “the Sierras the only classless society that I have ever known. Practically all the houses were inhabited by university professors, and the necessary work was done by university students. The young man, for instance, who brought our groceries was a young man to whom I had been lecturing through the winter” (2: 220-21). The young man was Richard W. Jencks, who later became the president of CBS/Broadcast Group. In a letter of 28 May 1969 to Russell, Jencks identified himself as the grocery boy.

I remember very well and with great pleasure the breakfast table conversations which I had with you and your family. I share your view that Fallen Leaf was indeed an idyllic place and, in many ways, deserved your description of it as a classless society. Since it substantially represented a summer transplantation of university people, there was really only one class there. Perhaps that is the only way to get a classless society.

He went on to say that the community was “developed by my great-uncle, a naturalist” together with his great-aunt. “It was due in large part to their resolute determination not to allow the place to be commercialized that it retained – and retains to this day – its remarkable flavor.” Jencks was a student at UC-Berkeley but it seems at least possible he took an exchange term at UCLA. Fallen Leaf Lodge is now known as Stanford Sierra Camp. Some memories of the Russell family by university student Mary Lawrence – Peter did the grocery shopping, Russell was only seen having dinner at the Lodge once – appear in Scott Lankford's *Tahoe Beneath the Surface*.

While there, the Russells were visited by Daphne Phelps¹⁵ and her companion David, “a British Commonwealth fellow who had known Bertie and his wife

15 Daphne Phelps (1911-2005) was educated at St. Anne's, Oxford, and the London School of Economics. Her mother knew both Russell and his first wife, Alys.

Peter in Oxford and Chicago." David "saw in the paper that Lord Russell was on holiday in the High Sierras at Lake Tahoe" (*House*, p. 171). They decided to drive over from Berkeley and ended up staying several days. They had been stranded in America after World War II broke out. David was presumably a welcome guest as he "could discuss philosophy and semantics" (*Ibid*, p. 172).



Uncredited photo from internet

Fallen Leaf Lake and Lodge, California, 1940

Barnes at Fallen Leaf Lake (August 1940)

Albert C. Barnes visited Russell at Fallen Leaf Lake and offered him a contract to teach at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania. The contract was

signed on 16 August for \$8,000 per year for five years. After two years of living in furnished accommodations, the Russells were anxious to find a home and furnish it to their tastes. Naturally, given his character, Barnes interfered. He enthusiastically began to find a house for the Russells. On 21 August he wrote that “places with rooms enough and beauty of location could not be rented.” Russell tried to tone down his assistance, writing on 24 August:

Choosing a house is a very personal matter, like choosing a wife. I know that in China the latter is done by proxy, but although people make mistakes, we are apt to prefer our own folly to the wisdom of others. We should neither of us wish to decide on a house until we have seen a considerable selection.

Finances were a consideration. Buying was out of the question as Russell could not get money from England. His expenses included university tuition for both his older children and possibly having to “spend money on refugee children.”¹⁶ Russell also told Barnes: “Buying furniture is great fun and I hate to disappoint your kindly impulse, but we have enough furniture coming from England. We used to have a larger house there, but part of what we had will suffice.” In the same letter he told Barnes that “when my wife first gets to Philadelphia, she will be staying with some very old friends of ours.”

On 25 August Peter wrote to Barnes, telling him: “Houses & the furnishing of them are a passion with me, & if you will forgive my saying so, I would lose half my fun in deciding in a hurry or letting someone else do most of the work of searching.” Attached to this letter are details of the Frederick G. Higham house titled “Dream Farm.” On the same day Peter was writing Barnes, Russell wrote Lucy Donnelly: “We are leaving here in a fortnight, & expect to get to Philadelphia about the 12th of September ... I expect to be in Philadelphia only a few days, & then go to Harvard, but Peter, with Conrad & the governess (Miss Campbell), means to stay somewhere near Philadelphia & hunt for a house.” He asked if they could stay with Lucy but realized that might be too much to expect of her. They may or may not have stayed in Bryn Mawr with Lucy Donnelly briefly; they did stay at a nearby inn, the Bell and Clapper. On 31 August Russell wrote to William Hocking at Harvard that his wife would be staying in Philadelphia to find and furnish a house. “Accordingly I shall be alone at Harvard, & shall need only bachelor quarters.” “We leave here on Sep. 8 and go first to Philadelphia, to get the house-hunting started. I intend to reach Cambridge about Sep. 16.” These plans changed—Peter and Conrad joined him in Cambridge.

At the end of the summer, Kate and John returned to California to continue their education, while Russell, Peter and Conrad went east. Hans and Maria Reichenbach had Kate and John at their home on Christmas day.

16 “Peter was helping English children who had been evacuated to America.” *SLBR*, II, p. 383.

Pennsylvania

Russell's time in Pennsylvania has been covered extensively in Chad Trainer's excellent article, "Russell's Pennsylvania". His focus is on Russell's life there. Trainer visited the Bell and Clapper and prints reminiscences of Russell, Peter and Conrad by the innkeepers, the Rhoads family. He also visited Little Datchet Farm and was given a tour by the owner, William Quain. The house had been renamed "Gunnecroft". He did not include Russell's time at Pennstone Road in Bryn Mawr in his article.

Bell and Clapper, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania (September 1940)

The Bell and Clapper is an inn. Writing from the Deanery at Bryn Mawr – Lucy Donnelly had taught at Bryn Mawr – on 24 September, Russell told his publisher Warder Norton that: "I am sorry I could give you no address but Harvard, as it caused delay. I go there on Sp. 30; til then I shall be at the Bell and Clapper"



Bell and Clapper Inn, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania
Exterior largely unchanged since Russell's residency

Cambridge, Massachusetts (October-December 1940)

On 29 January 1940 Russell had written to Norton that he had been “invited to give the William James lectures at Harvard, & shall be there Sp.-Dec. this year.” In an interview with the *Harvard Crimson*, 2 Oct. 1940, it was noted that “Mrs. Russell was waiting to go apartment hunting” (E40.15). Kate wrote that “Peter and my father took an apartment in the Commander Hotel in Cambridge, a tall brick building, on the edge of the Common ...” (*My Father*, p. 150). Pamela Campbell was with them. The hotel was built in 1927; it is now a Sheraton.

Peter Searches for a Home in Pennsylvania (November-December 1940)

It is not known what properties, if any, Peter Russell looked at when she was in Pennsylvania in September. Although Russell told Barnes back in August that their furniture was being shipped from England, on 11 October Peter wrote to Barnes that the furniture was still sitting on the London docks “waiting for a ship, & everything seems very difficult & worrying.” “Hitler won't let us settle down.” What happened to this furniture is not known. She noted that she and Conrad have been ill but she knew that “I shall have to return to Philadelphia to continue the search, which begins to seem hopeless.”

In November, with time running out, Peter drove to Pennsylvania, arriving at the Bell and Clapper on the 12th.¹⁷ She chose to stay there rather than with “the Aunts” – her name for Lucy Martin Donnelly and Edith Finch – because she arrived too late. Mr. Cantrell was to take her to see properties the following day. Correspondence with Russell resumed on 17 November, when she wrote: “To-day I went to the house & meditated, & was appalled by the amount of furniture required.” She asked for guidance regarding the furniture: “The thought of having no beautiful things is killing, & yet we don't want to be extravagant [18 November]...Mr. Barnes, with one male attendant turned up while I was there ... the house he says is ... at least as old as the revolution...I rather like the thought of being friends with all the local inhabitants, as we never were at T.H. [Telegraph House] or Kidlington [Amberley House]. They all like you & ignore the scandal¹⁸ in the most well-bred way possible.” She ended: “Mr. Cantrell has just come with the lease. I can hardly believe in it. [21 November]” At some point she returned to Cambridge, still without securing a home.

17 She left Conrad with Pam Campbell in Cambridge.

18 The controversy over his CCNY appointment.

On 10 December, Peter sent her first letter of that month from Pennsylvania to Russell. She had spent the day at Little Datchet Farm where extensive renovations were about to begin. Thus exactly when it was found is not known. "I was busy all day talking to painters & carpenters, & deciding about rooms." "Our next-door neighbour known as old Dutch ... & famed for his profanity, is going to use our land for grazing, & in return will mow it" She has "met our landlord, who is a gentleman, & his wife who is almost a lady." "They are pleasant & obliging." This makes it clear that Barnes did not own this house. Although not named in the letter, the landlord was Austin G. Maury. His name appears in the document "Russell's Five-Year Lease on Property." Peter continued: "The Aunts & Judith came & inspected the house this afternoon, and made decisions for me, and were delighted with everything."¹⁹ Peter informed Russell that "the house is badly planned & in some ways inconvenient, but I hope you will forgive it for its charm's sake as I do. I hope you won't mind entering your study through a cupboard." She drew him a diagram. A document titled "IX. Significance"²⁰ described the house as follows: "The original mid-eighteenth-century house was two-and-one-half stories high, one bay wide, and two bays deep, with a single entrance." "The five major phases of the house's construction span three centuries." She thought the place would be healthy for Conrad who had been ill. "The air is delicious" The place had to be furnished and she was unable to attend auctions yet. The property consisted of "50 acres of farmland, a large dwelling house, a large barn, a cottage, and a habitable spring house at the rate of \$100 per month unfurnished, for a period of five years." The lease was signed five days later on 15 December 1940.²¹

On 11-12 December she told him that she had "decided on white or ivory everywhere" "I also made a list of all the furniture I shall need exclusive of china, plate & linen & imagined it all in its appointed places" "I told the landlord that I wanted windows & doors made to open & shut properly." "Apparently the other people were content to stifle in hot weather." Two letters were sent on 13 December. The workmen were busy. She "opened a bank account, registered as an alien, ... & bought 6 beds ... they won't be delivered til December 23" and she suggested he not arrive before then. "Decide it with Pam." On 15 December she wrote that: "I have spent \$1,000 on furniture, partly on credit, so far – it will probably come to \$3,000 – but I am getting things easy to sell again." That amount was almost half his annual salary. She didn't think

19 Judith had also visited Telegraph House with Leonard and Virginia Woolf. Lucy Martin Donnelly wrote to Helen Flexner on 10 December that they were driving to the house with Judith "to go over it with" Peter. Judith Stephen was Virginia Woolf's niece.

20 This incomplete photocopied document is not dated. The organization it was presumably submitted to is not known.

21 "Russell's Five-Year Lease on Property".

the curtains and chair covers would be in place before Christmas, unfortunate because “they will provide most of the colour” On 14 December she wrote that “My love for you all is going into the house.” It was “beginning to seem more hopeful.” Her last letter of 17 December noted that she had met with “painters, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, telephone men, garden men” She was tired of making constant decisions. This entire month she was also fussing about Christmas presents.

By 20 December she was back in Cambridge. She told Barnes in a letter of 22 December that “the doctor telephoned me on Friday morning” alerting her that Russell had bronchitis. It turned out to be not that serious and she reassured Barnes that Russell “will be well enough to travel by the end of next week” She asked for assistance with the delivery of “Conrad's little bed.” On Christmas eve Barnes notified Russell that Conrad's bed had been delivered “last Saturday”, that is 21 December.

Little Datchet Farm, Paoli/Malvern, Pennsylvania (ca. 29 December 1940-Summer 1943)²²

Russell took up his position lecturing at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, a Philadelphia suburb, on 2 January 1941. His lectures became *A History of Western Philosophy*. “We rented a farmhouse about thirty miles from Philadelphia, a very charming house, about two hundred years old, in rolling country, not unlike inland Dorsetshire. There was an orchard, a fine old barn, and three peach trees There were fields sloping down to a river, and pleasant woodlands” (*Auto 2*: 221). They must have moved there in late December 1940; there is a letter to Norton on 29 December with the Hotel Commander letterhead crossed out and the new address written in, although Russell said nothing about the move in the letter.

On 19 January 1941 Russell wrote to Elizabeth Trevelyan that “we have rented an old farm-house (early eighteenth century), which is rather beautiful, & in very lovely country, 25 miles west of Philadelphia.” “Peter has been very busy furnishing the house” On 9 May 1941 Russell wrote to Lucy Silcox that they “have been having a strenuous time without servants; Peter & Pamela have had to do all the work ... But I think soon we shall have servants again.” With regard to Conrad he told her: “Cows & ploughs surround him, & there is a brook; the country is hilly & wooded, very like Dorsetshire.” “Pamela has decided she must go home” to England. Russell wrote on 31 May 1941 to Norton that the house “had to be furnished completely, & as I can't get any

22 Although the mailing address for Little Datchet Farm was R.D.1, Malvern, the actual location of the property was eight miles north of Paoli (Trainer, p. 39).

money out of England, it has had to be done out of income." He would like an advance of \$500.

Also in May 1941, Daphne Phelps and her friend David turned up to visit again and stayed three months. She "helped in the garden and with shopping, and on the free days of Geneva, the black cook, and her husband Charles, I helped in the kitchen." It was during that visit that Russell announced that he had to sack Geneva and Charles because of financial constraints. Peter objected strongly and they were kept on. This observation on servants appears to conflict with what Russell told Lucy Silcox. Perhaps Geneva and Charles were re-hired in May before Daphne arrived. Daphne once drove Russell to visit Einstein. Daphne and David left for Britain separately in August 1941 (*House*, pp. 175-177). Russell's lectures ended in May and did not resume until October.

Kate first saw the house in June 1941. She, her brother John, and three of John's friends had driven across the continent. "The entrance to the driveway was overhung with pink rambler roses ... the house, long and low and gray and partially creeper covered, with white-framed windows ..." came into sight (*My Father*, p. 152). On 9 August 1941 Russell extended an invitation to Barnes and his wife for dinner, noting that " ... the bottle of champagne cries out that it wants to be drunk."

A letter of 19 September 1941 confirmed that James K. Feibleman, a philosopher, was expected for a visit "on Sunday afternoon". On 7 December 1941 Russell wrote to Lucy Silcox that "I have unfortunately had a row with my employer, Dr Barnes, owing to his amazing animosity against Peter. So probably my job with him comes to an end next May." In fact this dispute was papered over and Russell continued to give his lectures in the autumn of 1942. On 6 December 1941 Russell extended an invitation to Albert Einstein and Paul Oppenheim to visit "any time (except a Thursday)". He noted that "We are hard to find – 8 miles north of Paoli. When there, ask for Rapp's Corner (where you will find Rapp's Store) & then ask again."

Christopher Isherwood and Teddy and Una le Boutilliere visited "to have supper" on 3 January 1942. The house "is tucked away in one of the lonely valleys out beyond Paoli, which so much resemble the Derbyshire Peak District²³, especially in winter" (*Diaries*, p. 202). The house was full: in addition to John and Kate who must have been home for the holidays, there was a governess and Julian Huxley was visiting. More guests arrived. When the evening was over Isherwood noted: "When we opened the door to go, it was

23 Russell and his lover Constance Malleson spent an idyllic holiday in the Peak District in 1916. See my article, "Then and Now: Bertie's and Colette's Escapes to the Peak District and Welsh Borderlands" *Russell*, n.s. 35 (Winter 2014-15): 117-130.

like a theatrical transformation – the garden and the hills were deep, luminous blue-white in the darkness, and the night was full of falling snow” (*Diaries*, p. 203).

Peter Blach, who changed his last name to Blake and became an architect, was also a visitor at Little Datchet Farm. In his autobiography he wrote that he had met Pamela Campbell at a square dance in Paoli and described her as a secretary-housekeeper (*No Place*, p. 38). He mistakenly dated this meeting as the fall of 1940. He kept in touch with Pamela after she returned to England. Blake used a pump-house on the farm grounds as his second home (*Ibid*, p. 38). Blake wrote the Russells a series of letters after he joined the American military.²⁴ In a very long, undated letter, Blake wrote that: “It is amazing to find how many friends you have made in this country” He remembered Little Datchet Farm weekends “particularly when there were still servants and we lived in sheer luxury – and about the wonderful sherry ... and Diddy [Russell] climbing up trees and Conrad making the most articulate fuss ... and the gossip about how who slept with whom and ... Diddy reading True Murder Romances ... it was such a wonderful life even though you may remember only the worst of it”²⁵

Freda Uteley frequently stayed at Little Datchet Farm on weekends. Uteley was under the impression that Pamela had left for home “after refusing to marry ... Peter Blake because he was a German” (*Odyssey*, p. 171). She also noted that servants did not stay long at Little Datchet Farm.

At some point when the Russells were still in the main farm-house, Barrows Dunham, one of Russell’s students and later a professor of philosophy at Temple University, visited for tea. Russell told him that “Barnes was the owner of this house, and they were paying rent. They said that Barnes wanted them to buy it on a twenty-four year mortgage ... the Russells refused to buy” (*Bertrand Russell’s America*, pp. 196-7). It is hard to know what to make of this statement. The authors do not provide a source and Dunham is mistaken about the ownership of the house.

In the summer of 1942 when Kate returned from Radcliffe there was no “household help” (*My Father*, p. 156). On 9 July Russell wrote to Elizabeth Trevelyan that they were employing Kate “as a servant, because ordinary servants can’t be got. They are all engaged in war work.” Russell did spend part of the spring and summer working on his Paul Schilpp volume (R&B B77;

24 These letters, mainly addressed to Peter, were retained by her after the divorce. In 1981 she burnt many personal letters but decided to return the letters that Blake had written to her and Russell.

25 This undated letter is headed “l.”, Rec. Acq. 1743.

letter of 17 April). They had received visits from fellow countrymen Julian Huxley and Joseph Wedgwood as well as from cousin Ted Lloyd. On 28 December 1942, the Barnes Foundation sent a letter stating that Russell had broken his contract. The Board terminated his employment as of 31 December 1942. Russell retained the services of White and Staples, a law firm in Philadelphia to represent him. On 19 January 1943 Russell sued Barnes for breach of contract. Naturally these developments caused a drastic drop in Russell's income. In an interview with the *New York Post* in March 1943, Russell noted that "my income is less than my income tax" (E43.02). "On 1 Feb. 1943 Russell signed a lease with Dr. Paul N. Morrow, a captain in the Medical Service of the United States Government to rent the dwelling house with about 2 acres of ground for \$75 a month." On 1 April 1943 Russell leased 50 acres of land to Earl F. Emery for \$80 for one year.²⁶ In the summer of 1943 when Kate arrived, Russell, Peter and Conrad "were living in the servants' cottage across the road ... all miserably cramped together" (*ibid*, pp. 160-1).

Photographs were taken by Kenneth Blackwell when he visited the property with Chad Trainer and others in May 2000. One photograph, not reproduced here, shows the wide horizon visible from the back garden – the type of view beloved by Russell throughout his life. The photographs capture only parts of the house.

26 "Russell's Five-Year Lease on Property"; this document does not disclose the length of Morrow's lease.



Little Datchet Farm, Paoli/Malvern, Pennsylvania: a 21st-century view,
18th-century stonework untouched

2 Pennstone Road, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (July-August 1943)

During the summer of 1943 Kate fell out of a tree at Little Datchet Farm and broke her back. She had to go to hospital in Bryn Mawr, 30 miles away (*My Father*, pp. 161-2). She wrote that friends who spent their summers on Nantucket lent their house, “a pleasant, well-provided home” for the Russells to use (*Ibid*, p. 162). When Kate got out of hospital, she moved not into the Farr house at 1 Pennstone Road, but across the street.²⁷ Russell wrote to Hans Reichenbach on 31 July that: “We plan to return to England, as there is not much for me to do here. It takes a long time to get a passage” He told Paul Schilpp on 8 August that “Peter and Conrad are returning to England next month, & I follow in October.” Alas, that was not to be. At some point the cottage at Little Datchet was offered for rent at \$40 to \$50 per month.²⁸ On 12 August 1943 Russell testified in court in his suit against Barnes.

27 The house at 2 Pennstone Road was owned by Constance Le Boiteau-Drake according to Caroline Farr. Mr. and Mrs. F.W. Elliott Farr owned 1 Pennstone Road.

28 “Russell's Five-Year Lease on Property”.

Carl Spadoni of the Russell Archives visited Pennstone Road in July 2009. The house number had changed to 702. Caroline Farr was able to show him the house that the Russells had lived in and her parents' former house across the road.

Bell and Clapper, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania (September-December 1943)

On 3 September Russell wrote to Paul Schilpp, giving his address as the Bell and Clapper. Russell wrote to his British publisher Stanley Unwin on 14 October that: "We are held up here probably till next summer." Their plans for Conrad and Peter to return via Lisbon had fallen through because "that route is suspended." While at the Bell and Clapper, he and Peter "hunted for apartments in New York but found nothing".²⁹ Russell also expressed their inability to settle to Miriam Reichl: "We are still at the Bell and Clapper ... for another month or so. After that we think of going to Washington, but that is uncertain." In the end they landed in Princeton, N.J.

Peacock Inn, Princeton, New Jersey (ca. 15 December 1943-March 1944)

Russell stayed at this inn for several months. He wrote to Kate on 28 January 1944 that: "This address is fairly permanent" He added that every Tuesday and Wednesday night he was in New York. He also wrote to Unwin on 10 January thanking him for his "generous letter of Nov. 17, which relieved me of financial anxieties as to my return. Since then a very pleasant thing has occurred: I have been given a special Fellowship at Trinity, my old College. I shall return (D.V.) during the summer, & take up residence at Cambridge in October." Alfred Whitehead had already read the minutes of Trinity Council and sent his congratulations on 3 January.³⁰ On 2 February Russell wrote to Miriam Reichl: "We are living at Princeton, which we find very pleasant. I had lectures there, & now have a seminar."³¹ He got to know Einstein better, visiting his house on occasion with Kurt Gödel and Wolfgang Pauli (*Auto 2*: 224).

House on Prospect Ave., Princeton, New Jersey (April-May 1944)

There is only a "Prospect Ave." in Princeton, not an "E. Prospect Ave." which is how Russell always referred to it. Russell wrote in his *Autobiography* that "the last part of our time in America was spent at Princeton, where we had a little house on the shores of the lake" (2: 224). The lake must be Carnegie Lake. Only properties on the far eastern end of Prospect Avenue back onto the lake. He

29 Letter of 6 December to Kate.

30 A formal appointment letter from Trinity College is not in the RA.

31 Kenneth Blackwell notes that these "were occasional, not real courses."

told Kate on 29 April that “We have this house till 15 June.” In the same letter he voiced the opinion that he would probably leave for England before Peter and Conrad did. He was “having to borrow” to pay for the passages.

This “time of uncertainty” he found “disagreeable.” Peter Blake visited. In a letter to Peter Russell, he commented “... it was lovely, a wonderful weekend, a very nice party, a beautiful Conrad, a heavenly angel, & a charming house, an excellent roast something-or-other”³² On 6 May Peter wrote to Mr. Cantrell, the man who had helped her find Little Datchet Farm: “We expect to sail for England on short notice within a few days. We hope that you will be able to keep the house and cottage [i.e. Little Datchet Farm] rented as we shall not be able to send you money from England and we shall not be able to pay the rent. I will write from England at the expiration of the lease to say what I want done with the furniture.”

There are no details on who owned the Princeton house and why the Russells decided to move there. There are photographs taken by the Reichenbachs on what may be the back of the property and the lake.³³ They depict Conrad at play, pointing to a possible motive for the move. Alan Schwerin and his wife Helen visited the eastern end of Prospect Avenue in June 2017. He says he chatted with “a construction crew busy on one of the homes” and was told that “many in the area have been torn down and rebuilt”. Below is a photograph believed to have been taken in the back garden of the Princeton house by the Reichenbachs.

32 This incomplete undated letter was addressed to Peter on Prospect Avenue.

33 In the Reichenbach papers at the University of Pittsburgh.



Russell, Peter, and Conrad behind the Prospect Avenue house

Peacock Inn, Princeton, New Jersey (May 1944)?

Did Russell return to the Peacock Inn? On 10 May he wrote a letter with a handwritten address of the "Peacock Inn". The next day, 11 May, he wrote a letter with a handwritten address of "R.D.1", the mailing address of the Prospect Avenue house. There are four more letters in May all written on Peacock Inn letterhead. The last extant letter Peter wrote from America was on 6 May. She and Conrad left shortly thereafter. On 14 May Russell wrote to F.W. Elliott Farr: "My wife & son have sailed for England, & I sail in a few days." On the same day, Russell also wrote to Lucy Donnelly that: "Peter & Conrad are already gone and I go in 2 or 3 days ... give my love (or whatever she would like better) to Edith [Finch]." On 18 May, Russell wrote to Paul Schilpp that "I am about to sail for England." On the same day Russell wrote to Wallace Brockway at Simon & Schuster that "... my address is uncertain, though Bishop Manning doesn't think so." Those two letters are the last known letters Russell wrote from America. It is possible that Russell did move back to the Peacock Inn where he would have staff to attend to his meals and other needs. Perhaps he stayed in the house but used up Peacock letterhead. The evidence he has left us is not enough to come to a definite conclusion.

Returning Home

Peter and Conrad went on a faster ship, the *Queen Mary* according to Russell (*Auto* 3: 15), although I could not find a source for the *Queen Mary* leaving New York in May.³⁴ Russell went on a slow Liberty ship on its maiden voyage, leaving America presumably 19 May 1944 and arriving three weeks later. He did not name the ship. When he arrived at the Firth of Forth, Peter and Conrad were already in England (*Auto* 3: 15-16). He told an amusing story how he negotiated their passage. This involved visiting Washington D.C. several months earlier, insisting he was needed to fight fascism by performing his legislative function in the House of Lords (*Auto* 2: 224).

Settling Up at Little Datchet Farm

The lawyer, Thomas Raeburn White, who had represented Russell in the Barnes affair, was also involved in the sale of the furnishings. A series of letters, beginning 6 September 1944 and ending 21 December 1944 outline the confusion that took place. Items were put in the auction sale that should not have been because of delayed communications; White did his best to get them back. The current tenant of the house, Lt. Scarborough, wanted to buy some of the furniture as did Mr. Huth, the new owner of the farm. Somehow a buyer had been found before the lease ran out in December 1945. The auction sale, which took place in the barn, realized \$2,244 net for the furniture ... "the articles sold very well"³⁵ On 21 December 1944 White wrote that: "We have secured and sent yesterday to the wharf two large cartons with blankets, sheets, curtains and various other things ..." "We will send the three beds and small Windsor chair ... the other articles we will arrange to sell." These were items that were to be held back – then the Russells decided to sell them after all.

There were also things stored with the Farris on Pennstone Road in Bryn Mawr. In a letter of 14 May 1944, Russell thanked Farr "for your kindness in housing our goods ... [until] our crates & boxes [can be] sent off." On 6 June 1946, Russell's lawyer, T.R. White, wrote to Farr, asking him to surrender certain books to Barnes, noting that Barnes had lent, not given, books to Russell. Farr refused and wondered how Barnes had found out he was holding goods belonging to Russell. On 8 July, Russell wrote to White that he wanted the cartons shipped, unopened. "They contain private letters" He promised to return books if necessary. He was "prepared to state on oath that the books were a gift." Those goods, three cartons of household effects weighing 600 lbs., were not shipped to Russell in London until 27 January 1947. They were sent

34 There were no crossings from New York to Gourock in May according to Steve Harding, *Gray Ghost*, p. 79.

35 Letter of 13 October 1944 from White.

by Farr. On 25 February 1947, Russell wrote to White that: "The crates have arrived safely." Still in Russell's Library are *The Works of Aristotle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1910). Tucked into the fourth volume was an invoice made out to the Barnes Foundation.³⁶

It not known how many books from his library Russell had access to while in America. He likely brought books with him. Two from Russell's Library were either brought to America or sent there after his arrival: Spinoza's *Ethics*, also published in 1910, has been linked to Russell's stay in America by Kenneth Blackwell through an information pay stub from CBS. Russell spoke on Spinoza on "Invitation to Learning" on 25 January 1942. William James's *The Principles of Psychology* (1891), inscribed "B. Russell May 1894", had two library sign-out cards with Russell's address of "Little Datchet Farm" inside.

Conclusion

Russell went to America to teach and lecture, hoping to attain a measure of financial stability. What he encountered were periods of financial security followed by penury. Although feeling sometimes exiled, he tried to put down roots, signing a five-year contract with Barnes and establishing himself at Little Datchet Farm. That venture failed. In the end, Trinity College offered him a lifeline. He was finally able to book passage and return home, arriving 11 June 1944 (*Auto* 3: 16; date deduced).

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A Lion in the Winter: Volume 30 of the *Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell,* *The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1957-1959*

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Like all volumes of the *Collected Papers*, volume 30 has produced editorial difficulties of many kinds and sorts and led me into archival labyrinths worthy of exploration. The *Collected Papers* encompass Russell's shorter writings, not his books, that is to say, his publications in magazines and newspapers, his speeches, interviews, messages to organizations, and statements of various kinds. Each volume has a general introduction, a statement of editorial principles, headnotes to each paper with a rationale for the choice of copy-text, annotations, textual notes, and an index. Volume 30 adheres to this format.

I began editorial work on volume 30 in September 2013. At that time the selection and contents of the volume had been mapped out by my friend and colleague, David Blitz, and the chronology, annotations, and textual notes had been drafted by various members and students of the Russell Centre. The contents of volume 30 are comprised of 85 papers grouped under nine parts. Many papers have multiple drafts and related papers. The appendices consist of 31 interviews, six blurbs for books, almost 40 messages to peace and political organizations and students groups, and five notes, drafts, and fragmentary pieces. Russell is interviewed on British television and BBC radio and in many venues in America and Canada such as *Look*, the Hearst newspaper chain, and the *New York Herald Tribune*. His moderators or interviewers include Mike Wallace, Edward R. Murrow, John Freeman, Kenneth Harris, Edward M. Korry, and Kingsbury Smith. At least two of these interviews were intercontinental conversations via telephone lines and radio with picture and sound combined and edited.

The two-year period, 1957-1959, in our title in fact covers three years of Russell's life; the preceding volume, volume 29 entitled *Détente or Destruction*, ably edited by Andy Bone, contains practically all of Russell's shorter publication for 1957. This was the height of the Cold War. Britain was under a Conservative government committed to a nuclear weapons program. In point

of fact, the Conservatives and the Labour Party both supported nuclear weapons as part of Britain's military strategy despite dissension among Labour adherents. Britain successfully tested its own hydrogen bomb on 8 November 1957.

Britain and America had an agreement to facilitate nuclear co-operation between their respective governments, and new intermediate-range ballistic missiles had been placed on British soil under their joint control. The space age began in October 1957 when the Russians launched *Sputnik I*, the first Earth-orbiting satellite. The Middle East was on the brink of war. In June 1958 Imre Nagy, the former Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, was executed by the Soviets on a charge of treason for his part in the Hungarian Uprising of 1956. At the beginning of 1959, after Castro overthrew Batista, Cuba became a one-party state aligned with Russia. In September 1959, Nikita Krushchev embarked on a whirlwind tour of the United States, including Wall Street, farms in Iowa, Camp David, and California, meeting movie stars such as Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor and speaking at the United Nations. In Britain the first Aldermaston march was organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War at Easter 1958. From 1959 onwards, an annual Easter march from Aldermaston (the location of the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment) to London was organized by Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. There has been a tendency to look back on the late 1950s as a period of stability and growth in the West. In certain respects it may have been the best of times, but it was also the worst of times.

At the age of 85, Russell is a lion in the winter, hale and hearty, with only a slight digestive problem swallowing food. He enjoys his walks on the moors at Plas Penrhyn, his home in Penrhyndeudraeth, North Wales, smokes his pipe for pleasure, and socializes with such friends as Elizabeth and Rupert Crawshay-Williams. He is engaged on the world stage, prolific as an insightful and scintillating author, and sought out by the television media, the newspaper press, and the wider public. He is happily married to Edith Russell, his fourth wife, but in the summer of 1957, she has a heart attack, and it needs three to four months of slow recovery before she can resume her steadfast role as secretary and confidante. The informative entries in her pocket diaries contrast with those in Russell's. The responsibility for the care and upkeep of three of Russell's six grandchildren is an added complication.

On the intellectual side Russell embarks on his last philosophical inquiry with *My Philosophical Development* (1959), a retrospective but vigorous defence of his

philosophical opinions. He is also engaged with Paul Foulkes, the ghost writer of *Wisdom of the West* (1959). There are detractors who champion linguistic philosophy and question Russell's legacy, in particular the significance of the theory of descriptions. The philosophical side of Russell appears fleetingly in volume 30 since that aspect of his writings has been published in other volumes of the *Collected Papers* edited by John G. Slater of the University of Toronto. Still, our philosophy section includes an interesting review, originally published in the *Stanford Law Review*, of Glanville Williams's *The Sanctity of Life and the Criminal Law* on the subjects of euthanasia, suicide, contraception, sterilization, abortion, and artificial insemination. When I corresponded with William Van Alstyne, who distinguished himself as an attorney, an expert on American constitutional law, and a law professor at Duke University and the College of William & Mary, he remarked that Russell's review was the highlight of his year as Articles and Book Review editor of the *Stanford Law Review*.

Another fine essay in the philosophy section is "The Expanding Mental Universe", first published in the *Saturday Evening Post* on 18 July 1959. This essay exemplifies Russell's writing as a public intellectual. Consider this sentence: "The size of a man's mind—if such a phrase is permissible—is not to be measured by the size of a man's body. It is to be measured, in so far as it can be measured, by the size and complexity of the universe that he grasps in thought and imagination." Another thought-provoking essay, placed in Part IV (Science, Scientist, and Peace), is "Should Men Go to the Moon?". The essay was commissioned by Pierre Berton, *Maclean's*'s managing editor and a prominent Canadian journalist, author, and broadcaster, who wanted Russell to write a piece with the provisional title, "Let's Stay Off the Moon", for *Maclean's*'s "For the sake of argument" column.

Volume 30 begins with a challenge to world leaders—Russell's "Open Letter to Eisenhower and Krushchev", an appeal to end the Cold War and for both world powers to stop nuclear testing and to agree on a *modus vivendi* for the resolution of international disputes. In his *Autobiography* (Volume 3, 1969), Russell recalled this period of his life and these events on the world stage with great clarity. "The two Great Powers, Russia and America... seemed to be blindly, but with determination, careering down a not very primrose-strewn path to destruction... I wrote an open letter, to President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev, addressing them as 'Most Potent Sirs'. In it I tried to make clear the fact that the things which they held in common were far more numerous and far more important than their differences, and that they had

much more to gain than to lose by co-operation" (p. 102). This salvo elicited two responses from Krushchev and a reply from John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State. Looking back on his exchanges with Khrushchev and Dulles, Russell in his *Autobiography* stated: "The letters speak for themselves and my final reply gives my point of view on them. The righteously adamant surface of Mr Dulles's mind as shown in his letter filled me with greater foreboding than did the fulminations and, sometimes, contradictions of Mr Khrushchev. The latter seemed to me to show some underlying understanding of alternatives and realities; the former, none."

Russell's "Open Letter" and the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) set the tone for the volume. On 16 January 1958 at a private meeting of the National Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, a new organization coalesced and emerged in Britain in opposition to the nuclear arms race: the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. An executive committee was formed consisting of Ritchie Calder, Canon John L. Collins, Michael Foot, J.B. Priestley, Professor Joseph Rotblat, Arthur Goss, Sheila Jones, and Peggy Duff (organizing secretary). Russell agreed to be the CND's president. The first public mass meeting of the CND with Canon Collins acting as chairman occurred on 17 February 1958 at Central Hall, Westminster. More than 5,000 people, many standing in the cold, gathered together at three separate venues in Westminster for the CND's inauguration.

On the world stage, Russell is still involved with the Pugwash movement, but his presence there is diminished and overshadowed by Joseph Rotblat. To give Russell credit, in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* in April 1958, he defended Pugwash against Walter William Marseille who undertook a critique of the Pugwash conferences and the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. In this exchange with Marseille and other critics, one can trace Russell's evolving views on the ever-present dangers of nuclear war and whether he had expressed inconsistent or conflicting positions, especially on his advocacy of a preventive war against Russia in 1948-9. Although Russell delivered an address at the Third Pugwash Conference of Nuclear Scientists on 20 September 1958 in Vienna at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, he did not attend the main part of the conference held at Kitzbühel some days earlier. He also did not attend the Fifth Pugwash Conference held at Pugwash, Nova Scotia between 24-29 August 1959. He tape-recorded an address on that occasion, but in point of fact, the text was written completely by Rotblat with Russell's approval.

Russell's shorter publications on political matters in volume 30 concern détente, disarmament, scientists and peace, and world government. On 28 January 1958, Russell was awarded the Kalinga Prize for the popularization of science at the UNESCO House in Paris. Approximately a month earlier, he had refused to be nominated for the International Peace Prize from the World Peace Council because he wanted to act impartially in all his public actions between the East and the West. In blunter terms, he saw the World Peace Council as a vehicle for pro-Soviet propaganda. The World Peace Council persisted nonetheless to claim Russell as one of its sponsors and even asked Russell to support an international agreement on the control of nuclear weapons and other armaments and mutual respect and cooperation among nations for a lasting peace. In July 1958 Russell completely severed his connection with the World Peace Council, making it clear in other public pronouncements that he was tired of being regarded as a Communist sympathizer.

Despite Russell's many explicit denunciations of the evils of Communism, he was criticized particularly in America for his "leftist" alliances and alleged anti-American views. One interview in particular did considerable damage to Russell's reputation: Joseph Alsop's article, "Bertrand Russell Still Is the Crusader at 85", *New York Herald Tribune*, 19 Feb. 1958, pp. 1, 14. The article was syndicated widely in the United States and Canada. When Alsop presented Russell with the scenario of the Soviet Union's non-compliance with controlled nuclear disarmament, Russell apparently stated: "I personally am for unilateral nuclear disarmament. It is a bitter choice. I have thought much about it, and I do not think I deceive myself about its nature. Unilateral disarmament is likely to mean, for a while, Communist domination of this world of ours." Taken out of context, this remark seemed to imply that Russell was soft on communism and that without a nuclear deterrent, the Western powers would be immediately vulnerable to a nuclear attack. Friends and foes of Russell, in particular Sidney Hook and Alfred Kohlberg, a staunch anti-Communist and ally of Senator Joseph McCarthy, were alarmed by his seeming willingness to capitulate to Russian aggression.

Russell's debate with Hook in *The New Leader* during this time was quite rancorous. In the first twenty years of their relationship, Hook was respectful of Russell, almost to the point of hero worship. But in 1956 they had a sharp exchange of letters. A former Marxist, Hook in the Cold War became a democratic socialist and a fierce anti-Communist. The deterioration in their relationship is a sad story of lost friendship and mutual inability to find a common ground of intellectual and political understanding. Russell attempted

to clarify and correct the position attributed to him by Alsop. On 14 March 1958, for example, he told Eugene Rabinowitch, the editor of *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*: "I favour unilateral disarmament for Britain whose nuclear contribution is in any case unimportant. With regard to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., I think that, if both were wise, both would agree to nuclear disarmament. I do not think the policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament has any chance of being adopted either in U.S. or in U.S.S.R." Wrongly attributed to Russell, the view of unilateral disarmament would stubbornly cling to him and gave rise to the slogan "Better red than dead".

"I am overwhelmed with work connected with the anti-H-bomb campaign." Russell often used this line when refusing requests for an interview, a speaking engagement, or a piece of writing. In her pocket diaries Edith Russell uses the expression: "No time wasted." The Russells escaped and took refuge in Plas Penrhyn, their home in North Wales, far from the hustle and bustle of London. As *divertissement*, Russell embarked on autobiographical musings and reminiscences, fiction, and humour. There are pieces on Lady Carlisle's ancestry, Voltaire, and Gilbert Murray. He returned to writing nightmare-stories and parables such as "The Theologian's Nightmare", "The Fisherman's Nightmare", and "Planetary Effulgence". He also penned several children's stories such as "The Post Office of Pinky-Ponk-Tong", a story he told and recited repeatedly as early as the 1920s. An interesting text or series of texts is Russell's version of the maxims of La Rochefoucauld, the seventeenth-century French writer. His earliest typescript of these maxims was written on 3 August 1954. They were published in *Fact and Fiction* although Russell continued to write new ones in the 1960s.

Two of his trickiest texts are "Family, Friends and Others" and "Reading History As It Is Never Written". The latter was extrapolated by Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, friends of the Russells and the owners of the Gaberbocchus Press, from a tape recording, revised by Barry Feinberg, and published in Russell's *Collected Stories*. The tape recording, listed as no. 40 in *A Detailed Catalogue of the Archives of Bertrand Russell*, was not located in the Russell archives, however, and only recently have we obtained this tape digitally from a gramophone record at the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

My own work on Russell goes back to the 1970s when I dubiously obtained a doctorate on Russell's early analytic philosophy. I'm not saying that was a bad thing, but as a young man I was so focused in my research that I almost forgot about my greater education about the world itself in diverse fields such as

literature, music, politics, and the history of science. But I was blessed by having Kenneth Blackwell as my mentor who taught me about the importance of accuracy and diligence in archival sleuthing. At McMaster University I began as an archival assistant in the Russell archives and rose to the position of Director of Archives and Research Collections. Although I abandoned Russell studies academically in the early 1980s, Russell was never far from my purview, as I gave talks on all aspects of Russell to students and visitors weekly over a period of twenty years and tried to bolster the Russell archives by acquisitions and publicity at McMaster.

In the course of my career as a bibliographer, I also developed an understanding of what it takes to be an editor of critical editions. The editorial challenges of *Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell* are arduous. To get Russell's texts right we have to publish, examine, compare, and explain them in context, with a textual apparatus that is scholarly and comprehensible to users. The work is often in the nature of trivial pursuit, hunting down minutiae in Russell's daily life, but there is nothing trivial about Russell studies of this nature. In my career I have worked with hundreds of different kinds of archives, large and small, and diverse in all the imaginable aspects of human endeavour. The Russell archives are peerless. I've drafted headnotes to all the papers in volume 30 and am slowly but surely tackling the headnotes for the appendices. Work remains to explain, check, and index. Volume 30 has an extraordinary cast of characters: Linus Pauling, Leonard Woolf, Kingsley Martin, C.P. Snow, and heads of state. Russell is the star of the show. It has been a privilege working on volume 30 of his *Collected Papers*.

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RUSSELL'S REVISED EDITIONS

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Collectors love first editions almost as much as copies signed by the author, in our case Bertrand Russell. True, the print, paper and binding are very often superior in the first edition in the original dustjacket. And true, the content is closer to what Russell first thought, or what he first put on paper. But if content is your goal — if it is his final, corrected content for the book at hand — then you will want to study his revised editions. They often go unnoticed and can be hard to find.

His revised editions came about in many ways and in many forms. Among them were dissatisfaction with a preface; improvement of the text; a re-issue of a title long out of print with the attraction of a new preface; a special preface for a translation; an update of a political situation (as with China); changes in his philosophy expressed in a popular text; correction of printing errors; expansion of the text; and the addition of scholarly apparatus. All of these are reasons *not* to prefer the first edition of a given work. Omitted here are unchanged texts with new introductions, prefaces or forewords by other people (see <http://www.mcmaster.ca/russdocs/introductions.htm>). Very often they are valuable and are an additional reason to consult a new edition.

“B&R” refers to *A Bibliography of Bertrand Russell* by Harry Ruja and myself (Routledge, 1994).

Year	B&R	Title	Changes	Remarks
1896/ 1965	A2	<i>German Social Democracy</i>	BR deleted Alys's appendix on the “woman question” in Germany.	In his 1965 preface BR says he “left it as a historical document”, in which “a former writer comments on a former world”.
1897/ 1901	A3	<i>An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry</i>	The French translation (1901) is a true 2nd edition; it has many textual revisions plus “Notes Mathématiques”.	The revisions (extant in English in MS but published only in French) were to take care of the profound changes in BR's philosophy taking place at the time; and he was still an inveterate reviser of his prose.
1900/ 1937	A4		There is a new 5-p. preface in the 2nd printing, a correction (“passibilities”)	BR prefaced the 1908 French translation, from which the appendix

Year	B&R	Title	Changes	Remarks
		<i>A Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz</i>	on p. 145, and two corrections elsewhere.	was omitted. Research marginalia and notes, a draft preface, Moore's notes, textual variants and my bibliographical index to <i>PL</i> are in the Leibniz issue of Russell 37 (2017) .
1903/ 1937	A5	<i>The Principles of Mathematics</i>	There is a new 10-p. introduction and a few corrections. Use Kevin Klement's online edition of the 1903 text at http://people.umass.edu/klement/pom/ with its many corrections.	BR maintained a hand-revised copy, long since lost. My bibliographical index for <i>PoM</i> is provided in Russell 20 (2000): 141–50 . Introduction revisions in 1948 include a switch from "Wittgenstein" to "some" on p. ix.
1910/ 1966	A8	<i>Philosophical Essays</i>	There is a short new preface in 1966 (BR has "not attempted ... emendations"). <i>Mysticism and Logic</i> (1918) was a kind of 2nd edition, taking "The Free Man's Worship" and "The Study of Mathematics"; the 1966 edition replaced them with "On History" (1904) and "Science and Hypothesis" (1905).	A famous author's annotated copy of the 1st edition is that of D. H. Lawrence in the British Library.
1910–13/ 1925–27	A9	<i>Principia Mathematica</i>	There are a new 34-p. introduction, three appendices, and a list of definitions. For corrections to the text, see B. Linsky, <i>Evolution of PM</i> (Cambridge U.P., 2011), pp. 23–30.	Corrections were made as late as 1949. My bibliographical index for <i>PM</i> is provided in Russell 25 (2005): 77–80 .
1912/ 1967	A10	<i>The Problems of Philosophy</i>	The 2nd printing (1913) was revised. Errors crept into 1946 reset edition. The 3rd typesetting (Oxford, 1967) has an authorized change.	I distributed a list of the misprints and revisions at the 2012 Plymouth A.M. The 1926 preface to the German translation is in English in the Oxford edition, 1980 printing.
1914/ 1926/ 1929	A12	<i>Our Knowledge of the External World</i>	Chapters 3 and 4 were revised on philosophy of matter in 1926. The Open Court/Norton edition of 1929 has a short new preface and independent, but fewer, revisions to BR's philosophy of matter.	The Mentor paperback of 1960 has the Norton text of 1929. See my forthcoming update to " Our Knowledge of Our Knowledge ", now that the original MS has come to light in Trinity College Library.
1915/ 1916/ 1917/ 1972/ 1975	A15	<i>Justice in War-Time</i>	The book was a great expansion over the 1915 pamphlet. The 2nd edition of the book included "Bertrand Russell and the War Office". A Garland reprint in 1972 completed the R. B. Perry–BR ethical controversy.	The Spokesman edition in 1975 corrected the 1917 text from the errata and added footnotes.
1917/ 1963	A27	<i>Political Ideals</i>	A page of typescript on state socialism was omitted. It was not restored until <i>Collected Papers</i> 14: 247–8.	

Year	B&R	Title	Changes	Remarks
1918/ 1929	A28	<i>Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays</i>	A successor edition to <i>PE</i> (A8) it reprinted only 2 essays (see <i>PE</i>) and added 8 others, some with update notes. The Norton edition of 1929 has a new preface of 2 pages.	The new preface is not available anywhere else.
1918/ 1919/ 1949	A29	<i>Roads to Freedom</i>	The 2nd printing has a new preface. 1949 brought another new preface (dated 1948), written during the Berlin airlift crisis.	The 2nd preface is post-WWI, which “has made the problems of reconstruction the more urgent.”
1919	A30	<i>Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy</i>	Later printings have an accumulation of corrections (“2nd edition” of 1920 meant only the 2nd impression). BR made one as late as 1967.	See Kevin Klement’s online edition http://people.umass.edu/klement/russell-imp.html and my “Variants, Misprints and a Bibliographical Index for <i>IMP</i> ”, <i>Russell 29</i> (2009): 57–66.
1920/ 1949	A34	<i>The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism</i>	Some copies of the 2nd impression have an errata list (MS at RA2 210.147502a–F7), incorporated finally in 1949. BR then dropped “Art and Education”, which was Dora’s chapter. 1949 adds a prefatory note and alters 35 instances of “communist” and “communism” to “socialist” and “socialism” (over 200 were unchanged).	
1921	A35	<i>The Analysis of Mind</i>	The 2nd impression includes corrections and revisions, especially in the last pages. BR “was in Peking and could not attend to the matter [of proofreading].” The 4 dozen changes were sent with BR’s letter to Unwin of 19 May 1922 and are found at RA2 210.147502a–F8. See also the revised proof of p. III at 210.006604.	
1922/ 1926/ 1965	A41	<i>The Problem of China</i>	In 1926 BR replaced the original appendix with a postscript, and in 1966 he added a foreword. He said the text was unchanged to “preserve that measure of historical truth” that the book had in its original publication.	The Spokesman Books edition of 1993, introduced by Ken Coates, reprinted the appendix, postscript, and foreword.
1923/ 1928	A36	<i>The Prospects of Industrial Civilization</i>	To the German translation of 1928 BR added a 3-page foreword.	Dora Russell’s 1959 preface reiterated the need to monitor the combined ill-effects of industrialism and nationalism. In the 2nd printing (1925) BR replaced a note about his possessing photos of Indians being beaten (p. 29).
1923	A44	<i>A Free Man’s Worship with a</i>	For this fine-press edition BR provided a long preface on changes in	For previous variants in the essay’s text, see <i>Collected Papers</i> 12: 524–5.

Year	B&R	Title	Changes	Remarks
		<i>Special Preface</i>	his philosophical view of materialism and ethics.	
1923/ 1927	A45	<i>The ABC of Atoms</i>	In 1927, for the 3rd impression, BR added a table of elements and made corrections.	The BRPF's Tony Simpson has acquired a 1927 copy to reprint this long out-of-print work.
1925/ 1958	A50	<i>The ABC of Relativity</i>	Felix Pirani updated the text in 3 subsequent editions, including the loss of the famous sentence on p. 166 of the 1st edition: "Most people would die sooner than think—in fact, they do so." 1958 had BR's approval.	In the 4th edition (1985) Pirani renounced the convention, apparently always followed by BR, that the masculine form of English pronouns includes the feminine.
1931/ 1949	A61	<i>The Scientific Outlook</i>	BR added a short new preface in 1947, revised passages concerning the Nazis and Japan, and replaced the threat of "poisonous gasses" with "atomic bombs".	BR complained to Unwin that Aldous Huxley's <i>Brave New World</i> was "merely an expansion" of the 2 penultimate chapters of <i>The Scientific Outlook</i> .
1938/ 1947	A72	<i>Power: a New Social Analysis</i>	In 1947 BR added a foreword to the German translation.	
1940	A73	<i>An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth</i>	The Norton text is better than Allen & Unwin's because of last-minute revisions insisted on by Carnap.	The A&U edition of 1940 has BR's famous title-page listing his honours, followed by the "dishonour" at CCNY. The page persisted this way at least until 1948.
1945/ 1946/ 1961	A79	<i>A History of Western Philosophy</i>	The 1st UK edition (1946) has a text that benefitted from a further year of correction over the American, and a different preface. BR continually corrected the UK text afterwards, up to and including the 1961 edition and its shortened chapter on Bergson.	The original index is the fullest, though BR regarded it as too full. A bibliographical index is provided in Russell 19 (1999): 63–83 .
1949	A84	<i>Authority and the Individual</i>	These 1st Reith Lectures were recorded. BR omitted several pages from his draft. They're titled "How to Control Initiative" (e.g. in publishing) in Russell 25 (2005): 101–6 .	The lectures are equivalent to an audiobook—the only one recorded by BR. It's downloadable from the Stanley Library, http://bertrandrussell.org/html/Stanley_Library/library.html .
1951/ 1952/ 1953	A88	<i>The Impact of Science on Society</i>	The 1951 edition has only 3 chapters. BR greatly enlarged <i>ISS</i> in 1952 by adding 4 more.	Two paragraphs on the politico-religious equivalence of Roman Catholicism with Communism that should have appeared in the 1952 edition, p. 109, were discovered missing; Unwin never restored them. The paragraphs will appear in the 1st draft of the writing concerned (in <i>Collected Papers</i> 25) and in a long textual note in <i>Papers</i> 26, now being completed by Andy Bone. There is

Year	B&R	Title	Changes	Remarks
				still no satisfactory edition of the book itself.
1952/ 1953/ 1961	A93 and A96	<i>What Is Freedom? What Is Democracy?</i>	Those reading the original pamphlets miss the extensive, less anti-Soviet revisions in <i>Fact and Fiction</i> (1961).	
1953	A94	<i>Satan in the Suburbs and Other Stories</i>	The opposite situation to what we've been discussing happened with a story in this book, p. 81, where there is this oath: "I swear by Zoroaster and the beard of the prophet..." Russell agreed to India President S. Radhakrishnan's request to expunge the reference to Zoroaster and the prophet's beard, less Zoroastrians be offended. But the deletion never took place in Russell's lifetime.	Andy Bone is following the author's final intention for the passage in <i>Collected Papers</i> 26.
1954/ 1986	A97	<i>Nightmares of Eminent Persons and Other Stories</i>	About 1960 BR wrote out "The Queen of Sheba's Nightmare" in his hand for a special edition with illustrations by Hans Erni.	Chances are strong that a collation of the newly handwritten text departs from that of the 1 st edition.
1958/ 1971	A107	<i>Bertrand Russell's Best</i>	BR added a new preface in 1964, though it was not published until the 1971 edition.	
1959	A108	<i>Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare</i>	He added a preface for an Oriya translation. The text is in the Archives, though it's unknown whether the translation appeared.	<i>Collected Papers</i> 30 is expected to include the new preface.
1959	A109	<i>My Philosophical Development</i>	BR prepared a lengthy, technical appendix on how he reached certain conclusions in <i>Human Knowledge</i> (1948). Unwin obtained advice against publishing it.	Someday <i>MPD</i> may have the appendix restored, making it the edition of choice.
1961/ 1962	A121	<i>Has Man a Future?</i>	In 1962 BR added a foreword to the Swedish translation and a preface to the Japanese.	The Penguin and Allen & Unwin editions, though separately produced, aimed to be identical.
1963/ 1964	A127	<i>Unarmed Victory</i>	BR made corrections to the 1st edition, trying to maintain identical texts in the Penguin and Allen & Unwin editions. In 1964 the Hebrew translation was published with a "special preface".	The new preface is concerned chiefly with the bombing of cities.
1967	A142	<i>Autobiography Volume I</i>	It appears that neither BR nor anyone around him proofread Vol. 1. There are grievous misprints. Many were corrected in the 3rd impression.	Most convenient is the 3-volumes-in-1 edition of 1975, with its combined index.

Year	<i>B&R</i>	Title	Changes	Remarks
1967	A141	<i>War Crimes in Vietnam</i>	Corrections and an update were made to the 3rd printing, as requested in more than one letter from BR and honorary member C. Farley to Unwin.	Russell Stetler (another of BR's secretaries) was much involved in putting the book together (S. Andersson, Russell 34 [2014]: 141).

All this may suggest — it does to me — that we students of Russell's thought are in need of a standard edition, based on a critically edited text. One of his publishers, Sir Stanley Unwin, raised the question of a collected edition of his works with him in 1945. Russell responded on 21 February: "I like the idea of a collected edition of my books, but of course that is for after the war." How about it?

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Kenneth Blackwell, Hon. Russell Archivist, edits *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies*, and is an editor of the *Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*.

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