

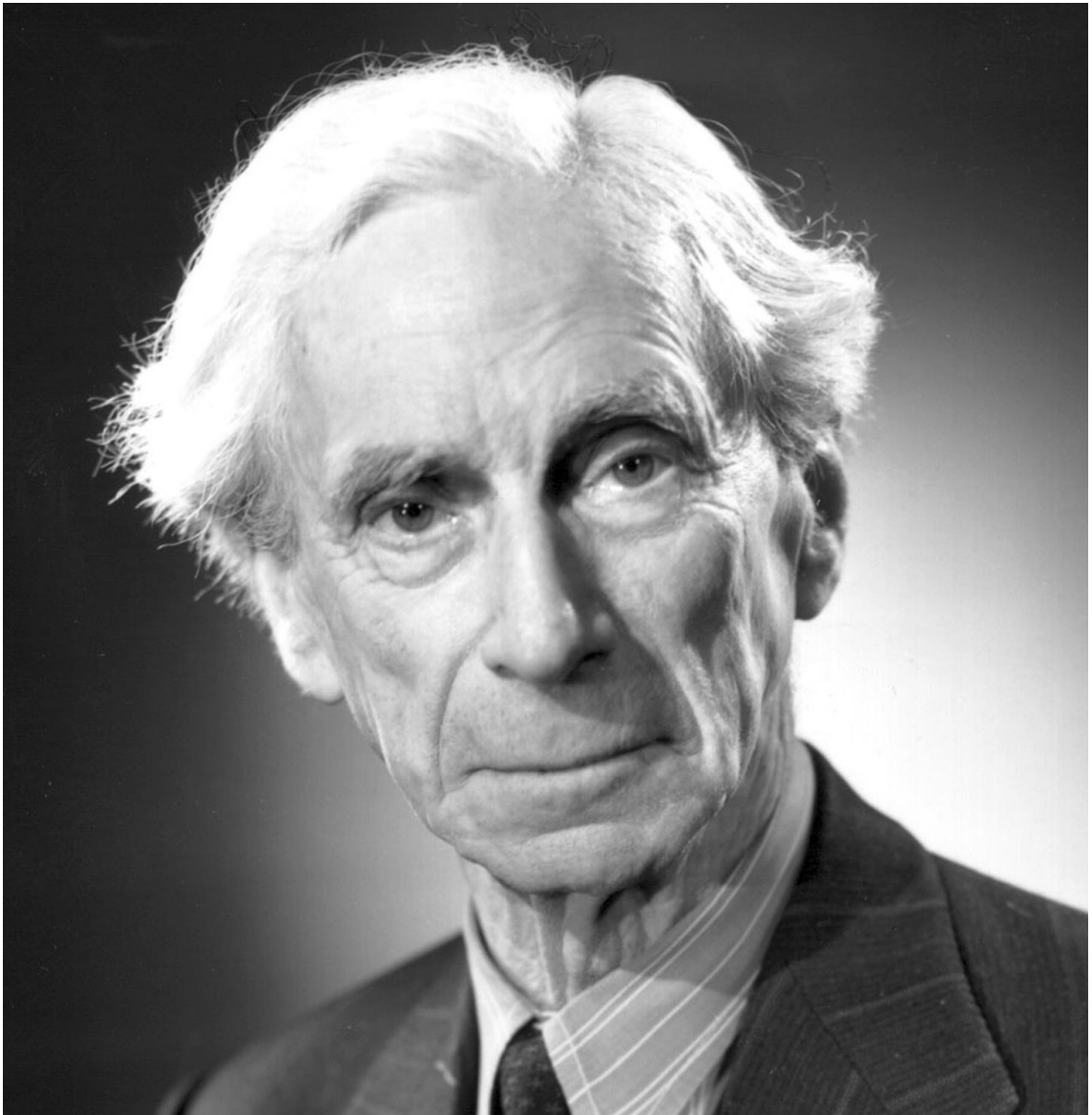
The Bertrand Russell Society

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BULLETIN



In this issue:

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL ARCHIVES AT MCMASTER UNIVERSITY —
50TH ANNIVERSARY

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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Registration, Lodging, and Other Excitements:

Plans for the Annual Meeting, Bertrand Russell Society, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 2018 June 22-24

Registration has begun at the Annual Meeting website,
<http://russell.mcmaster.ca/brsmeeting.htm>.

Registration won't proceed unless paid for, as you will quickly discover; but the website allows payment in several forms—via PayPal, cheque, and so on. The site provides a link to an information page at the host campus,
<http://russell.mcmaster.ca/brsregform.pdf>. There is also a link to registration by JotForm, rather than by snail mail. The JotForm link appears on screen in the page at russell.mcmaster.ca/brsmeeting.htm.

Lodging at McMaster is left up to attendees, but you'll find a link on the information page to "Hotel McMaster." Hotel McMaster is the McMaster University's brand name for its system of on-campus dormitories. Hotel McMaster runs only in summertime. There's also a link to the nearby Visitor's Inn, a hotel located 2.2 kilometres walking distance from the McMaster campus.

The Bertrand Russell Archives and Bertrand Russell Research Centre are moving in early June to a newly renovated house on a corner of the campus. A special [issue](#) of the *Hamilton Arts & Letters* magazine [<https://halmagazine.wordpress.com/hal/>] will deal with Russell and the Archives.

It's the eighth time in forty years that the BRS has met at McMaster. Although it seems only yesterday, the Russell Archives were established at McMaster fully 50 years ago.

The opening of the new Bertrand Russell Archives and Bertrand Russell Research Centre has significance for the McMaster University Library, for the University as a whole, for the Canadian academic community, and for Russell studies and scholars all across the world. The next two pages of the *Bulletin* provide a snapshot of celebratory events planned for the weeks before, during, and after the BRS Annual Meeting. We thank McMaster's Librarian for providing the details you see just below.

Celebrating 50 years: The Bertrand Russell Archives

Notes from the Library, McMaster University

This year, McMaster University Library celebrates the 50th anniversary of the acquisition of the Bertrand Russell Archives, the University's largest research collection, used by scholars from around the world.

The collection, by far the largest on Russell, has inspired a wealth of scholarly activity in peace and religious studies, philosophy, history, political science, literature and mathematics, and more.

Throughout 2018, the Library will mark the 50th anniversary of the acquisition of the archives in a number of ways including an exhibit of items from the Russell collection at the McMaster Museum of Art, and a special edition of *Hamilton Arts and Letters* edited by McMaster archivist Rick Stapleton.

The Library celebrates the opening of a new home for the Bertrand Russell Archives and Bertrand Russell Research Centre.

This summer, the Russell Archives will also acquire a major new research collection. The new accrual includes significant correspondence, extensive documents related to the Vietnam War and the International War Crimes Tribunal, manuscripts, and other significant material.

We invite readers and friends to consider financial support of the new accrual. All such donations help us acquire and process the materials, making them more readily available to scholars around the world.

Please visit the donation web site at:
<http://alumni.mcmaster.ca/s/1439/ifundmac/index.aspx?sid=1439&gid=1&pgid=3266>

Highlights of the 2018 Celebrations

May-Dec 2018	McMaster Museum of Art Exhibit	A display of Russell's iconic possessions including his Nobel Prize—and records of his imprisonment in 1918
May 2 - Sept 13 2018	Russell Research Centre	Publication, each on its 100 th anniversary, of Russell's 1918 Brixton Prison letters
May	Special edition of <i>Hamilton Arts & Letters Magazine</i>	A special edition dedicated to Russell

June 2018	Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre Opening	New site dedicated to the archives and research centre: reading room, permanent displays, and the home of the BRRC on the 2 nd floor
June 19-22	SSHAP conference	International conference on the history of analytic philosophy
June 22-24	Russell Society Annual Meeting	Patrick Deane, President McMaster University hosts a reception June 22
July 2018	New accrual from the BR Peace Foundation	This addition to the extensive collection includes correspondence from the 1960s and materials on the war crimes tribunals
Sept 2018	Bertrand Russell Peace Lecture	A lecture organized by the Faculty of Humanities at McMaster University

CELEBRATING 50 YEARS:
 McMaster University
 Library's
**BERTRAND
 RUSSELL
 ARCHIVES**

Renowned
 philosopher, peace
 advocate & Nobel Laureate

McMaster
 University

**BRIGHTER
 WORLD**

Inaugural Bertrand Russell Prize, American Mathematical Society: Christiane Rousseau, Université de Montréal

The inaugural [Bertrand Russell Prize of the American Mathematical Society](#) [AMS] was awarded in San Diego on 2018 January 11 to Christiane Rousseau, Université de Montréal, for her contributions furthering human values and the common good through mathematics. Members of the Bertrand Russell Society were delighted to learn of a biennial AMS prize recognizing work of a sort that Bertrand Russell did throughout much of his adult life.

The AMS citation notes that “Professor Rousseau has inspired people of all ages and diverse backgrounds through her lectures, publications, and a wide range of activities reaching out to the general public. In particular, through her visionary leadership of the thematic year *Mathematics of Planet Earth 2013* and her continuing active involvement in the ongoing activities that grew from it, Professor Rousseau has created opportunities for the mathematics community worldwide to confront crucial challenges facing our planet while highlighting the contributions of mathematicians to the well-being of society.”

Christiane Rousseau has been a faculty member at the Université de Montréal since 1979. Her mathematical research mostly concerns dynamic systems and differential equations, fields with which Bertrand Russell



Kate Awtry, Atlanta Convention Photography

was familiar. Rousseau has been a delegate to the General Assembly of the International Mathematical Union and served as vice president of the IMU from 2011 to 2014. She has been devoted steadfastly to mathematical outreach at all levels.

Rousseau in 2013 began work on *Mathematics of Planet Earth 2013* (MPE 2013), a year-long international programme aimed at the mathematics community and the general public, carried out with the patronage of UNESCO.

Christiane Rousseau, in reply to the award of the Russell Prize, said that “[a]s soon as I had the idea of Mathematics of Planet Earth, it became a passion for me to learn more about the many contributions of mathematics to the understanding of our planet. At the same time, the more I learnt about the threats coming from global changes and the increase of the world population, the more I felt that our community has to play a role.”

[The Editor thanks the Public Awareness Office of the American Mathematical Society for providing a photograph of the ceremony for the inaugural Bertrand Russell Prize. For more detail on the Russell Prize, see http://www.ams.org/news?news_id=3821 and <http://www.ams.org/profession/prizes-awards/russell-prize>.]

Digging In A Library Basement

Landon D.C. Elkind
University of Iowa

Editor's note: Landon Elkind is in the last stage of doctoral studies in philosophical logic and mathematics at the University of Iowa, working mainly on the significance of Bertrand Russell's logical atomism. Members of the Bertrand Russell Society [BRS] may have met Landon during his research at the Russell Archives in McMaster, summer 2017. Others will recognize him as Treasurer of the BRS. In 2017, Landon received a T. Anne Cleary Dissertation Research Fellowship from his home university to travel to the Bertrand Russell Archives. His description of experience in the Archives is especially pertinent in the year when the Archives are themselves about to "graduate" to a new home. We expect Landon will add to this account of his research experience in later Bulletins. Here is a first installment of Landon Elkind's reflections on the pleasures and perils of "Digging in a Library Basement."

«On my first car trip to Canada, I discovered too late that when driving across a border with enough books in a 2007 Honda Accord to start a new life, one should bring documentation: Canadian border security was suspicious of me, a young summer traveler bringing what looked like all his Earthly possessions. It took a good bit of midnight dialogue to persuade them to let me pass. That was lesson one: *bring documentation evidencing that someone in the country you are visiting expects you to visit.*

I followed most of the other lessons of international research projects pretty well. I contacted the Archival staff at the Mills Library, where the Bertrand Russell Archives are housed, and well in advance. (In an exciting development, the Russell Archives will have their own dedicated Russell House in spring 2018!) Similarly, I contacted the Hon. Russell Archivist, Kenneth Blackwell, who met Russell and was responsible for their documentation and growth since their arrival at McMaster University. (This interesting chapter in the history of the history of analytic philosophy is detailed here.) I also got in touch with some well-known historians of analytic philosophy in McMaster's philosophy department: Nick Griffin and Sandra Lapointe. My interactions with all these folks were superbly helpful. The Archival staff in the William Ready Division was also terrific.

I followed a tip from academics in history that helpfully blogged about their archival research. That was lesson two: *bring a nice camera and a hands-free stand for taking photographs*. I spent \$200 on the Nikon Coolpix L840. (Of course an academic would buy their first camera for doing archival work!) I also dropped \$40 on a 32GB memory card, rechargeable batteries, a battery charger, a case, and – most importantly of all – a tripod for the camera.

Why did I do all this? That was lesson three: *make the most of your time in the archive*. The Russell Archives were open Monday through Friday from 9 to 5. I only had a few weeks there, and I wanted to spend as much time as I practically could documenting materials I could not access from home. I spent almost all the time I could in the Archive taking as many photographs as I could. I would organize photographs on my computer when I got home for the evening. (And lesson four: *organizing photos is a must!* Otherwise you might be unable to know what on Earth you are looking at when you return home. For my part, I followed the documentation system of the Russell Archives and organized photos by box number, item number, and document title.)

I had two sets of four rechargeable batteries: as my camera needed four batteries at a time, that let me charge one set while I was using the other, so I could photograph without interruption almost the entire time the Russell Archives were open. I also chose my camera because it had WiFi networking capacities. That let me download a free Android application that I used to take photos by pressing a button on my cell phone while seated. If you are taking photos by holding your arms above your head while seated, or by standing, that gets uncomfortable fast. It also distracts your hands from arranging primary documents by making them fiddle with or hold a camera. My archiving arrangement let me take photographs while comfortably seated and freed my hands to focus on laying the documents before the camera. (See the picture.) The arrangement was highly successful: it resulted in around 7,400 photos over three weeks, which amounts to about 500 photos daily over fifteen working days.»

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Russell on Everything and Nothing

Gregory Landini
University of Iowa

It may be written in places of contemplation such as public restrooms that “Nothing will happen if you do nothing”. I suppose this means that desirable events in life that can be brought about by the agency of others require one’s own catalyzing agency. Curiously, the very same meaning is conveyed by all of the following rearrangements:

If you do nothing, then nothing will happen.

Nothing is such that if you do it, nothing will happen.

Nothing is such that it will happen, if you do it.

Even the last is nothing to ponder. It takes a little practice to be vigilant in using “nothing.” It seems rather pedantic these days to remind ourselves that “everything” and “nothing” are quantifiers which don’t name anything. Nothing worth taking seriously can come from equivocating with “everything” and “nothing.”

Parmenides would have us take heed that nothing is necessarily not. And Homer jested, having Polyphemus say “No man has harmed me”, thinking “no man” the name of Odysseus. Shakespeare couldn’t resist *Much Ado about Nothing* and his King Lear admonishes Cordelia saying that *nothing will come of nothing*. I recall a gentle warning from Bertrand Russell’s *Principles of Mathematics* to be wary of “Nothing is not nothing.” Those were the days when Russell thought denoting phrases to be significant on their own. His “On Denoting” changed that:

Everything, nothing, and something are not assumed to have any meaning in isolation, but a meaning is assigned to *every* proposition in which they occur. This is the principle of the theory of denoting I wish to advocate: that denoting phrases never have any meaning in themselves, but that every proposition in whose verbal expression they occur has a meaning.

This was significantly extended in Whitehead and Russell’s *Principia Mathematica*. We find the following in Russell’s 1914 *Our knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*:

If the theory that classes are merely symbolic is accepted, it follows that numbers are not actual entities, but that propositions in which numbers verbally occur have not really any constituents corresponding to numbers, but only a certain logical form which is not a part of propositions having this form. This is in fact the case with all the apparent objects of logic and mathematics. Such words as *or, not, if, there is, identity, greater, plus, nothing, everything, function*, and so on, are not names of definite objects, like “John” or “Jones,” but are words which require a context in order to have meaning. All of them are formal, that is to say, their occurrence indicates a

certain form of proposition, not a certain constituent. “Logical constants,” in short, are not entities; the words expressing them are not names, and cannot significantly be made into logical subjects except when it is the words themselves, as opposed to their meanings, that are being discussed. This fact has a very important bearing on all logic and philosophy, since it shows how they differ from the special sciences. But the questions raised are so large and so difficult that it is impossible to pursue them further on this occasion.

The scientific implications of this for clear thinking are nothing to scoff at. Some pop physicists seem to want to offer nothing in lieu of a serious discussion of questions of cosmological importance. Let’s go easy on them. Some philosophers were practiced and after all, some physicists (for example, Descartes, Galileo, Huygens, Newton, Einstein) were *themselves* philosophers. Is there nothing a physicist/philosopher can say to answer questions about origins—do we live in *a universe from nothing*? No, according to Russell; there is nothing to be said.

There is indeed much ado about nothing. Is it physically possible to produce a *container* with nothing in it? This seemingly straightforward question is not about nothing, or is it? To say it is about nothing, is to say that the question is vapid, meaningless, silly. So let’s stop being so cheeky and take it seriously. All the same, the question might well be rejected for a different reason—namely, that it commits the fallacy of *complex question*. Nothing can be more dangerous to clear reasoning than to be unaware of this fallacy. The fallacy is committed when the presuppositions for the applicability of a question asked in a particular context have not been met. For example, one cannot answer *how* and *when* one will give up one’s fear of the dark if one has no such fear. One can imagine many things, but that is itself no help to assure the intelligibility of one’s having a physical realization. One needs to first assure the intelligibility of producing a *physical* container with nothing in it.

It may help to entertain a related question—a question I’m happy to say I found addressed in the philosophically minded pop physics book *Near Zero*, by D. K. C. MacDonald. The author responds to the question whether it is physically possible to produce a container with a temperature in it that is Absolute Zero. There is no answer to the question *how* one can go about freezing something to Absolute Zero because, the author explains, the question is physically meaningless. The physical conditions that make temperature physically intelligible (not just measurable) are not realized. I should think the same must hold for questions about physical containers with nothing in them.

Indeed, the two questions are related. The *empty container* question is a complex question if the *freeze* question is a complex question. If the container contained nothing, its inside temperature would be Absolute Zero. The question may well be a complex question. Let’s think about it another way. The container is itself something, and its inside walls are something too—composed as they are of

particles in motion. But there is nothing in physics that gives meaning to a precise location where the wall's inside begins and ends. Thus, physics cannot offer a meaning to the ordinary notion of a physical wall having an infinitesimal edge, on one side of which there are elementary particles composing the wall and on the other side of which there is nothing. There is no reason to imagine infinitesimal edges in nature. It is just physically meaningless. Nothing in the mathematics of *limits* and *continuity* can help with the physical issues involved. The physicists who are also philosophers should gently remind us that some questions that seem to be about physics commit the fallacy of complex question and are about nothing.

The crux lies here. I fear there are a great many more complex questions than we'd like to think. They are not easy to spot and in physics only physicists who are also philosophers are apt to spot them. And now let us entertain an important candidate that is most relevant to everything and nothing: Did an occurrence of a Big Bang create the Universe? The question, albeit one physicists as esteemed as Hawking have contemplated at length, may well be just a complex question. It may be physically meaningless. Space-time regions are metrical fields and while physics can speak meaningfully of deformations and metrical features of *expansion* of regions of a variable curvature field, it cannot speak meaningfully of the everything field (a.k.a. the Universe) itself, nor indeed can it speak of the everything field's "beginning" or "occurrence". I worry that it has no physical meaning to speak of the everything field having expanded, and certainly there is no physical meaning of expanding from a point since a *point* is a mathematical and not a physical notion. In speaking of metrics of regions of space-time, physics cannot speak meaningfully of the expansion of the everything. A vast collection of data on many different regions cannot give information about the everything, since "everything" is not a name of something. Put starkly, I shouldn't say that nothing is a universe. The point is that everything is no more an entity than is nothing.

Copleston: *But are you going to say that we can't, or we shouldn't even raise the question of the existence of the whole of this sorry scheme of things – of the whole universe?*

Russell: *Yes, I don't think there's any meaning in it at all. I think the word "universe" is a handy word in some connections, but I don't think it stands for anything that has a meaning.*

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Bertrand Russell and the *Jewish Daily Forward*¹

Andrew Bone

McMaster University

Bertrand Russell wrote fifty-four articles for the *Jewish Daily Forward*—a significant output, even for a writer so prolific. The association was productive but short lived, spanning just four-and-a-half unsettled years of inter-war history. His first submission, datelined during the General Strike of May 1926, attacked the British Government's handling of that bitter national labour dispute. The last piece, a barbed commentary on British astronomer Sir James Jeans' attempted reconciliation of religion and science,² appeared in December 1930. These contrasting "bookends" nicely capture the variety of Russell's writings for the *Forward*, demonstrating the breadth of his interests and experience as well as the preoccupations of the age. This was a period of dramatic scientific progress full of sinister and beneficent potential, shifting moral sensibilities, and new hopes and old fears for the social and international orders.

Russell had been invited to write for the newspaper in the spring of 1926. Although neither this invitation nor Russell's reply are extant, he accepted a presumed offer and despatched his first contribution before agreeing a formal contract. Terms were clarified shortly afterwards by the editor of the *Forward's* English section, Nathaniel Zalowitz. The newspaper's initial commitment would extend to three or four articles of 1,000-1,500 words each, for payment (at Russell's suggestion) of four cents per word. Russell had evidently inquired about suitable subject-matter, so Zalowitz also supplied him with this profile of his paper's readership and its interests:

It is difficult to say whether the kind of articles we have in mind should deal exclusively with politics, philosophy, sociology or science. It is necessary to call your attention to the fact that our English Section is intended for two general classes of readers, a) the Americanized Jew, formerly a native of Russia or Poland or Romania; b) the American-born sons and daughters of the Russian and Polish immigrants. Now the former are very intelligent and keen-witted though few of them received what passes for an education in the Western countries. That is, they were trained in the Talmud and the Old Testament, they can grasp philosophic thoughts (when not clothed in technical language), but of geography and mathematics and the sciences they probably know very little. It is this class of

¹ An earlier and much shorter version of this article was published in the digital edition of the *Forward* as "The Literary Intermarriage between Bertrand Russell and the *Forward*" (4 Oct. 1917; <https://forward.com/opinion/politics/372252/the-literary-intermarriage-between-bertrand-russell-and-the-forward/>).

² *The Mysterious Universe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

Jewish readers which reads Tolstoi, Dostoievsky, Chekhov, attends the performances at the Guild Theatre, crowds Cooper Union nightly, is interested in and understands foreign affairs, etc.

Now then, we think that this particular kind of reader would be interested in articles on sociological or political subjects provided the style is popular and no technical terms are used. These readers are interested in philosophy — not the philosophy taught in college courses, but the wisdom of life taught by the profound thinkers of all kinds. They would be interested in questions relating to education: What is the true meaning of education? How shall children be educated, etc. Other questions which would interest them are: What is the future of Europe? Has Western civilization a chance to survive? What is the outlook for Socialism in Europe and in the United States? (13 May 1926)

Zalowitz need not have worried about Russell's approach being too "technical". He was a master of political and philosophical distillation and had proven equally adept at popularizing complex scientific ideas in *The ABC of Atoms* (1923) and *The ABC of Relativity* (1925). While insisting (in the same letter) that Russell should "feel free to express any opinion ... on any subject that you write about", Zalowitz himself encouraged his new correspondent to devote his second submission to comparing the social status of British and American Jews. Taking his cue from Dean Inge, the Anglican prelate and theologian who had commented on his own lack of contact with American Jews on a recent trip to the United States, Zalowitz wondered why "in the best English homes Jews are excepted [*sic*] as social equals whereas the upper classes in America refuse to accept any Jews whatever".

Russell likely noticed social exclusiveness and institutionalized anti-Semitism on his frequent American travels.³ He breezily confirmed his editor's impression that the British aristocracy *was* more tolerant of wealthy Jews than were American elites. That tolerance was partly the effect of self-serving interest, as British aristocrats looked abroad to bolster their landed incomes, then in steep decline. But it was also a consequence of the fact that, until the 1880s, most of the small number of British Jews "were themselves aristocrats in the Jewish community ... rich men of Spanish and Portuguese [i.e. Sephardic] origin" ("Bertrand Russell Tells Why England Is Friendly to Jews", 27 June 1926). Russell did not overlook hostility towards the recent wave of Jewish immigrants from Russian Poland who had settled in large numbers in London's East End and other working class districts. But he saw behind this antagonism a general anti-foreign bias rather than a particular hatred of Jews. He also contended that, in contrast with

³ He had certainly detected anti-Semitism in the (thwarted) attempts of Harvard academics to deny further employment to one of his former students, Henry Sheffer, a Jewish philosopher and mathematician whom Russell held in high regard and whose treatment by the university he vigorously protested (see *Auto.* 2: 112–14).

continental Europe, anti-Semitism had obtained virtually no political purchase in Britain.

Although not completely wide of the mark, Russell's potted sociology of British Jewry was less than perfect. He informed readers of the *Forward* that an (unidentified) aristocratic female cousin had "married a Jew" and converted. But such unions across the class *and* confessional divide were comparatively rare in Victorian Britain. As for popular prejudices, the deep-seated wartime animus against enemy aliens seamlessly merged with anti-Semitism when directed at wealthy Jews of German origin. The same point might be made about ultimately violent objections raised to the low enlistment rates among Russian-Polish Jews (many of them refugees from the pogroms), who were exempt from conscription until August 1917 and understandably wary about volunteering to fight for the same cause as the Tsar.⁴ Finally, Russell neglected to mention the persistence of old cultural prejudices and stereotypes—from which even he was not completely immune—in his reassuring sketch of a British Jewish community no longer confronted by discriminatory barriers and well integrated into the life of the nation's upper classes.

Russell continued his four-article "trial" for the *Forward* with a call for the transformation of education through the promotion of "disinterested curiosity", "enlargement of the Self", and a scientific understanding of human nature ("Bertrand Russell Explains True Meaning of Education", 1 Aug. 1926). He concluded the quartet with a disquisition on the great power standing of the United States ("Bertrand Russell Thinks America Will Rule the World in the Future", 12 Sept. 1926). Not surprisingly, he passed the newspaper's probationary test (if, indeed, it truly was one) with flying colours. A couple of years later, when he was sending fresh copy to Zalowitz at least once a month, he confessed to his editor that he was "always glad when you suggest themes to me" (21 May 1928). Zalowitz had lately proposed a combined review of Henri de Man's *The Psychology of Socialism*, and Bernard Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, which duly appeared on 28 July 1928.

But Russell refused to discuss those other Fabians, his friends Sidney and Beatrice Webb, for he was "critical of their political influence, and I could not write about this in a way that would please them, so that I think it is better not to write about it at all". He did promise, however, to "deal with in due course" various other proposals from Zalowitz. Only one of these was identified in Russell's letter: an article on Gandhi, which he agreed to write "if I can do so without seeming hostile to Indian nationalism". Although he seems not to have fulfilled this pledge, he had tackled the broader question already in "Bertrand Russell on India as a Permanent Source of Trouble" (25 Sept. 1927), endorsing the principle of Indian self-government but disdaining the anti-Western bias of some

⁴ See Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), pp. 122–32.

opponents of the Raj (Gandhi is not mentioned by name). Decades later, Zalowitz (reportedly) remembered Russell submitting his articles in manuscript, but also that no such holograph documents had been preserved.⁵ From mid-1928 he started sending typescript copies, but the only extant versions of nearly all those published before then are in the *Forward*.

Whether by editorial prompting or on his own initiative, Russell moved seamlessly from Spenglerian pessimism (modern civilization was not decaying but threatened by its very vitality, 5 Dec. 1926); to China and the West (British imperialism was vying with Russian communism for influence over an unstable polity—but China was destined for independence in the long run, 13 Feb. 1927); the foibles of gerontocrats (chiefly cruelty, rooted in unhappiness, 9 Oct. 1927); the road to peace (this would be paved by an authoritarian world state, not by disarmament agreements, 26 Feb. 1928); intelligence testing (the technique had some validity, but differences in ability were as much acquired as innate, 27 May 1928); cinema and morality (Hollywood’s moral lessons were drawn from the nursery, while the propaganda potential of film remained largely untapped, 24 March 1929); the Lateran Treaties (Fascist Italy’s Church–State concordat, from which the Vatican had gained more than Mussolini, 2 June 1929); modern marriage (a demonstrably failing institution, which could be rescued only by emphasizing parenting over monogamy, 19 Jan. 1930); or the future of the British Empire (threatened by Dominion economic assertiveness and shifting patterns of trade, it was ultimately, and happily, doomed, 11 May 1930)—and much else besides.

Russell travelled to the United States nine times in all, from his earliest visit in 1896 until his last in 1951, and he stayed there uninterruptedly for almost six years between 1938 and 1944—living in Chicago and California before moving east, first to Boston, then Pennsylvania and, finally, Princeton. He came to know and understand the country well and acquired a healthy (and loyal) American readership in the process. Russell’s appeal extended far beyond the academic circles in which he frequently mixed, to a wider public stirred by his radical passions and his optimistic rationalism. His American profile was further raised in the 1920s by a succession of lucrative if gruelling lecture tours, which helped offset the serious financial drain of the experimental school he had established with his second wife, Dora Russell. He became an especially familiar presence on the progressive political and intellectual scene of New York City, of which the *Forward* was very much a part and on which ground he debated fellow socialists and delivered many lectures.

In these public appearances Russell sometimes voiced misgivings about the inequities in American society, the hypocrisy and materialism of its mores, or its defective political and educational cultures—as he did in the *Forward* (for example, “Russell on True Function of Modern Education”, 24 Aug. 1930). During

⁵ See Moses Rischin to BR, 16 Aug. 1963.

the Cold War Russell would face censure for his alleged anti-Americanism. But his criticisms of the United States were usually intended fraternally – at least until the 1960s. Four decades previously his attitude towards both the dynamic industrial society of the United States and the inevitable extension of its influence on the global stage remained one of “benevolent hope” (“What I Think of America”, 31 Oct. 1926).

It might be seen as a major coup for the *Forward* to have the services of so celebrated an author as Russell. Yet the newspaper counted many prominent writers and political figures among its contributors. To name but two, Trotsky had been published in the *Forward*, and the future Nobel laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer would in later years write a regular column for its main Yiddish-language section. A thirtieth-anniversary issue featuring “Bertrand Russell’s Confession of Faith” (or, rather, his lack of one, 24 April 1927) also included a short story by American novelist Theodore Dreiser and an article by the leader of the British Labour Party, James Ramsay MacDonald. The first issue of the paper (in Yiddish only) had appeared in New York in April 1897. Under the guiding hand of the indomitable Abraham Cahan, who took the editorial helm from 1901 to 1950, the *Jewish Daily Forward* (or *Forverts*, its Yiddish title) quickly built a reputation as a dogged champion of Jewish immigrant labour and democratic socialist ideas (and as just as resolute a foe of Zionism).⁶ More than this, the newspaper became a vital cultural resource for an uprooted community adjusting to American life. When Russell was writing for the newspaper in the 1920s its thriving New York operations had moved onto a nationwide footing, albeit directed from grand ten-storey offices at 175 East Broadway on the Lower East Side. The *Forward*’s letterhead proclaimed it the “World Largest Jewish Daily”, and in the early 1930s it reached a peak circulation of more than 275,000 copies.

The relationship between the *Forward* and Russell proved highly satisfactory to both parties, and his steady stream of articles invariably received front-page coverage in the English section. Telling Russell that it was a “privilege” to print them, Zalowitz assured him that “each was read with keen pleasure by ourselves and our readers” (2 April 1927). Russell’s social and political outlook made him a natural fit for the left-leaning newspaper. His aversion to Soviet ideology and dictatorship (for example, “Russell Opposed to Bolshevism”, 7 Aug. 1927) provided additional common ground with a publication that tentatively embraced the Russian Revolution before turning anti-communist in the early 1920s. The *Forward*’s tendency became more pronounced in the decade after Russell’s connection with the newspaper ended, when Cahan

⁶ See Ehud Manor, *Forward: The Jewish Daily Forward (Forverts) Newspaper: Immigrants, Socialism and Jewish Politics in New York, 1890-1917* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009) – although the author questions the socialist commitment of Cahan in particular. In a parallel literary career, the editor of *Forverts* also became a notable chronicler in fiction of the Jewish immigrant experience.

sponsored a new political party for anti-communist American socialists, battled against Communist-led trade unions, and threw the *Forward's* editorial weight behind President Roosevelt and the New Deal.⁷

At one point, Russell gingerly asked Zalowitz for a higher rate of pay but declined to press the point out of respect for “the work you are doing and all that you represent in America” (21 May 1928). It is rather curious, then, that such a fruitful publishing arrangement should have ended so abruptly in December 1930. Perhaps it was an austerity measure forced upon the newspaper by the Great Depression, which definitely did reduce Russell’s American earnings in the 1930s. Unfortunately, no correspondence in the Russell Archives sheds light on this mystery. The timing may have been coincidental, but a few months later (beginning in July 1931) Russell started writing a 700-word column for the conservative Hearst press. These succinct articles, appearing on a platform radically different from that provided by the *Forward*, also showcased Russell’s literary gifts and are not nearly so throwaway as might be supposed.⁸ In fact, they often exhibited great deftness of touch as Russell tried to reach a large and varied audience, which he would have presumed far less receptive to his opinions than subscribers to the *Forward*. Taken as a whole, however, the “Hearst” writings *are* slighter than those for the latter newspaper, which probed more deeply into current politics, political ideology, public morality, and philosophical inquiry.

A few years later there was a strange coda to Russell’s under-appreciated involvement with this vibrant channel of Jewish-American culture and opinion. In a telegram to the *Forward's* London representative, the newspaper’s long-serving editor, Cahan, requested an immediate investigation of a rumour that Russell had joined the fascist movement and was publishing “articles vilely attacking Jews” (25 Oct. 1933). This insinuation may seem utterly far-fetched given the progressive credentials displayed by Russell as a contributor to the *Forward*—and, less obviously, for the Hearst stable of newspapers.⁹ But this was only months after Hitler’s rise to power; other writers and public figures *had* voiced sympathy for the Nazi regime.

Aspersions had been unfairly cast on Russell by the recent appearance in *Everyman* of a short piece by him entitled “Why Are Alien Groups Hated?” (n.s. no. 2 [6 Oct. 1933]: 22). This British magazine had recently been sold and was afterward edited briefly by pro-fascist writer Francis Yeats-Brown (of *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* fame), who assumed this role “with the express intention of using the journal to introduce corporatism to England as a viable political doctrine”.¹⁰

⁷ See Seth Lipsky, *The Rise of Abraham Cahan* (New York: Schocken, 2013), pp. 166–7.

⁸ See Harry Ruja, ed., *Mortals and Others* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁹ See Kenneth Blackwell, “Anti-Nazi Politics in Russell’s Hearst Columns”, *BRS Bulletin*, no. 147 (Spring 2013): 9–12.

¹⁰ See Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany* (London: Constable, 1980), p. 45. Barely a month after the appearance of Russell’s article, however, the Yeats-Brown editorship of *Everyman* was abruptly terminated by owners who “strongly disapproved of the line that was being taken” (*ibid.*, p. 47).

But before the change of ownership, *Everyman* had purchased through Russell's agent the rights to a job-lot of fifty old Hearst articles—including the purportedly offending item (which had never actually been published in the United States). Its placement in a far-Right periodical had been noted in a British Jewish paper and "commented upon rather adversely", Fine informed Russell. And this unfavourable attention had evidently spread from London to New York. In hastily seeking an explanation from Russell, Fine then asked (apologetically rather than accusingly) for an explicit statement of his "attitude towards Fascism and the present Jewish problem" (25 Oct. 1933). Recalling Russell's prior connection to the *Forward*, its London agent also stressed the "intense interest ... aroused in the minds of the readers. In fact, I feel sure", he continued, "that I in no wise underestimate the position when I add that the world Jewry are anxiously awaiting for a pronouncement from you upon a subject so vital to their lives and principles".

Russell may have been gratified to hear that his opinions were valued in Jewish circles, as he certainly would be twenty years hence when asked to address a commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Indeed, on that later occasion he was deeply and movingly humbled.¹¹ In 1933, however, he was also a little exasperated by the misapprehension of his *Everyman* article, for which, he presumed in reply to Fine, only "a person who had not read it" could have been responsible (29 Oct. 1933). In an ironic closing statement, Russell left it "to the consciences of Jew-baiters throughout the world" to determine "whether ten centuries of pogroms can be justified by the production of Karl Marx" *may* have caused offence, along with a reference to seventeenth-century polymath Sir Thomas Browne's rejection only of "the explanation, not the supposed fact" of the old libel that Jews had an offensive odour due to "the curse of Christ".

But it seems more likely that the consternation had been triggered by the editorial politics of *Everyman* rather than by the content of Russell's short piece, which stands as an unambiguously liberal and humane rejection of the ugliest manifestations of "herd" feeling. "Few things are more important for human welfare than the prevention of these utterly unreasonable dislikes", he had concluded, and however deeply rooted in primitive instincts, such hatreds as anti-Semitism *could* be surmounted. Not only was the persecution of the Jews a terrible stain on human history, but it was harmful to the perpetrators as well, Russell observed in *philo-Semitic* vein, since "the average among Jews is higher than among the rest of the population, not only in intelligence, but in public spirit, in artistic capacity, in industry, in fact in almost every valuable quality".

Russell paraphrased this last part of the article in his letter to Fine, before explaining its circuitous route to publication. Although he could legitimately

¹¹ For a transcription from a recording of Russell's speech to the British section of the World Jewish Congress at London's Caxton Hall on 9 April 1953, see *Russell*, nos. 37–40 (1980): 6–8.

claim that it had not been written *for* the reputedly “Fascist organ”, he did not do so in mitigation. Indeed, he declined to repudiate this particular appearance in print, “since it would be a mistake to neglect opportunities of placing one’s views before readers not already convinced of their rightness”. He ended by providing this general statement of his political outlook, as requested by Fine, and by which he aligned himself squarely with a leading personality and pressure group on the Labour Left:

My politics are those of Sir Stafford Cripps, and I am a member of the Socialist League; I regard Fascism as the greatest danger of the modern world, and I abominate anti-Semitism.

To this I will add two observations. 1. There is danger of England being hurried into war by opposition to Hitler; one must therefore be careful to avoid becoming an unintentional war-monger. 2. Not only Jews, but also pacifists, socialists, and communists, suffer persecution in Germany; Jews, sometimes, seem to me to forget this. I think, in this matter, they would do well to follow the example of Karl Marx,¹² who merged his sense of the injustices suffered by Jews in that of the larger total of social injustice. (25 Oct. 1933)

Russell’s intervention served to nip potential controversy in the bud. To dispel any lingering misunderstanding, however, the *Forward* ran Yiddish translations of the *Everyman* piece followed (three days later) by excerpts from Russell’s letter to Fine (28 and 31 Oct. 1933, pp. 12 and 1, respectively). In English, the title of the front-page story reads, “Bertrand Russell Thanks the *Forward* for Promptly Denying False Accusation Concerning Anti-Semitism” — which is not entirely accurate as a description of his communication with the newspaper’s London representative. Russell had rather resented supplying the clarification that is quoted above and had expressed irritation to Fine that a publication with which he had enjoyed “a long and pleasant association” could suppose that he might “suddenly cease to oppose oppression”.

Of course, Russell was not boasting emptily about resisting “oppression”. He issued countless statements and initiated many actions on behalf of Jews and other persecuted minorities. His humanitarian record speaks for itself. Yet Russell has faced the posthumous criticism that for some years he privately harboured prejudices against Jews—especially American Jews—that he would have been quick to denounce in the public realm.¹³ Actually, Russell was first taken to task while still alive—by Leonard Woolf, whose review of the second volume of

¹² Although as Harry Ruja has pointed out, Russell overlooked Marx’s occasional anti-Semitism (“Bertrand Russell on the Jews”, *Midstream*, 26, no. 2 [Feb. 1980]: 51).

¹³ Between 1998 and 2004, this issue was repeatedly debated on “Russell-I”, the now defunct listserv of the BRS. In what follows I would like to acknowledge the contributions to those discussions of, among others, Kenneth Blackwell, Jack Clontz, Louis Greenspan, Richard Rempel, and (especially) Charles Pigden.

Russell's *Autobiography* picked out a few flippant anti-Semitic asides from its featured correspondence with Lady Ottoline Morrell.¹⁴ The charges against Russell are less serious than those that might be marshalled against his anti-Semitic philosophical contemporary Frege, or even his Bloomsbury friend Keynes, whose low-level prejudice sometimes surfaced in print as well as in his letters.¹⁵ Russell never tolerated institutionalized or informal discrimination of any kind, and he took particular pride in his grandfather's role in relaxing the civil disabilities of British Jews.

The incriminating evidence may be slight, but it cannot be ignored, as Ronald Clark acknowledged in the first major biography of Russell: "In no sense an anti-Semite ... Russell nevertheless sometimes exhibited a personal allergy to Jews which is betrayed in his private correspondence from time to time, lasted until the 1930s, and should not be brushed under the carpet".¹⁶ It is difficult not to wince, for example, at the account he gave to Lady Ottoline of a just-concluded American lecture tour: "I can't imagine how I survived. In New York I stayed with a philosopher, [Horace] Kallen, a Jew, whose friends are all Jews. All were kind, but I began to long for the uncircumcised. New York is mainly Jewish" (2 June 1924). Three years later Russell again complained to his former lover about the company he was obliged to keep in the United States, albeit after testifying to the merits of his Jewish hosts. "The best people in this country are the Jews", he wrote. "Many of them are very intelligent, but yet I don't like being with them" (8 Nov. 1927). For Sidney Hook, a former friend of Russell's turned (c.1950) bitter political enemy, the hint of anti-Semitism was fatally damaging to the latter's entire legacy, for "[t]he discovery that the moralist has failed to live up to his own precepts destroys faith in his sincerity, creates doubt about the principles he offers as guides, and deprives him of the authenticity – and the moral authority – that

¹⁴ Specifically, Russell's comparison of his prison experience to that of a book in the unused library of "some Jew millionaire", and his now familiar description of Bolshevik Russia as a "close tyrannical bureaucracy, with a spy system more elaborate and terrible than the Tsar's, and an aristocracy as insolent and unfeeling, composed of Americanized Jews... Imagine yourself governed in every detail by a mixture of Sidney Webb and Rufus Isaacs". See *Auto.* 2: 92 and 122, and, for Woolf's review, *Political Quarterly*, 39 (1968): 343–7.

¹⁵ On Frege, see, for example, Ray Monk, "The Machine in the Ghost: Inside the Mind of Gottlob Frege", *Prospect*, no. 259 (Oct. 2017) (<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/the-machine-in-the-ghost>). For the "public" face of Keynes's anti-Semitism, see his *A Short View of Russia* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925). I am grateful to Jack Clontz for citing this source in a posting to Russell-I dated 13 Aug. 2004. It should also be noted that Keynes was no less appalled than Russell by Nazi anti-Semitism and that he both served and contributed financially to an organization dedicated to the resettlement of persecuted German-Jewish academics (see Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes*. Vol. 2: *The Economist as Saviour, 1920-37* [London: Macmillan, 1992], p. 486).

¹⁶ *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (London: Jonathan Cape and Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), p. 380.

accrues to any person who seems willing to stake his life or reputation on his beliefs".¹⁷

Harry Ruja, the Russell bibliographer and anthologist of his Hearst columns, later rebutted these serious accusations.¹⁸ Although he did not dismiss Russell's anti-Semitic lapses out of hand, Ruja saw not hateful prejudice but, rather, a (still unappealing) penchant for aristocratic snobbery, into which Russell occasionally slipped in letters to his social peers. Ruja might have added, more in explanation than extenuation, that Russell's faults were shared not only by certain of his Bloomsbury contemporaries but also across much of upper-class Britain. He was prepared to forgive Russell's minor and private indiscretions, preferring instead to accentuate his unwavering public commitment to tolerance—using the *Everyman* article as one illustrative example—while noting the high esteem in which Russell was held by much of world Jewry as a result.

Ultimately, Russell's moral trajectory pointed in the direction of growth rather than degeneration, as he surmounted or else suppressed a past prejudice. Coinciding with Hitler's rise to power, disparaging references to Jews seem to disappear completely from his correspondence. The timing of this lasting change may be taken as reason enough, although Russell never commented upon it directly. But Charles Pigden¹⁹ has detected a possible explanation in "On Keeping a Wide Horizon", a 1941 essay which might also be read as oblique self-criticism of prior faults. Russell urges good citizens to protest even off-the-cuff expressions of anti-Semitism or racism, for "it is from such small beginnings that terrible persecutions grow". At the very least, ethnic and racial prejudice should be internalized, lest "other people less responsible than yourself may think dislike a reason for persecution".²⁰

Although the *Everyman* episode was a storm in a teacup, Russell never again wrote for the *Forward*. The reasons may have been prosaic, but the newspaper certainly disapproved of the extreme pacifism with which Russell became identified later in the 1930s. There was a portent of this in the first of two "observations" appended by Russell to the forthright condemnation of anti-Semitism he placed on record for Fine. Russell never entertained illusions about the plight of German Jews under the Nazi regime, but he continued to regard this

¹⁷ "Bertrand Russell the Man", *Commentary*, 62, no. 1 (July 1976): 52–4 (<https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/bertrand-russell-the-man/>). On first meeting Hook, Russell had described him for Dora's benefit as "a Jew philosopher, rather nice and very intelligent" (29 Nov. 1931).

¹⁸ See above, n. 12.

¹⁹ Posting to Russell-I, 31 Aug. 1998.

²⁰ See *A Fresh Look at Empiricism, 1927–42* (The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell 10) (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 456. Although this article obtained a wide-circulation by its appearance in *The Reader's Digest* ("A Philosophy for You in These Times", 39, whole no. 234 [Oct. 1941]: 5–7), the published version was heavily abridged and removed all Russell's references to anti-Semitism.

persecution as insufficient cause for the adoption of more robust diplomatic and defence policies. Writing to a correspondent from the *American Hebrew* in July 1937, he urged “everything possible ...to help Jews in the countries that ill treat them” —but only to the extent that such measures did not increase the likelihood of war.²¹ This caveat was more central than incidental, however, to those who regarded fascism, not war, as the primary threat. Among these voices was the *Forward*, which would denounce the Munich agreement (greeted with relief by Russell) as a “shameful document”, brokered by a “fascist devil” who had “made a fool of his terrified opponents, of the democratic countries, and of the whole civilized world”.²²

Russell’s last contact with the *Forward* arose in connection with his defence of Soviet Jewry—a cause for which he became in the 1960s one of the West’s earliest and most tenacious campaigners. This humanitarian advocacy touches on much more than the fleeting revival of contact between Russell and the newspaper. It speaks to his decades-long engagement with political matters of burning interest to Jews. This broader topic deserves to be considered in its own right and would entail discussion of certain issues bypassed in the present paper, notably the modified Zionism espoused by Russell during the Second World War and his increasingly critical perspective on Israeli policies in the 1960s. Regarding the suppression of Jewish religion, culture and identity in the Soviet Union, the prevalence of anti-Semitic stereotypes in its official newspapers, and the disproportionate number of Jews convicted of capital “economic” crimes, the *Forward* welcomed Russell’s interventions. When David Liberson, a *Forward* staffer who greatly admired Russell, inquired about the Soviet leader’s response to a multiple-signatory appeal on behalf of Soviet Jews—released to Western media in mid-February 1964—Russell could provide no enlightenment as he had not received a reply.²³ None was ever forthcoming, but Khrushchev *had* answered a previous letter from Russell by defending Soviet criminal justice and implying that allegations of state-sanctioned anti-Semitism were nothing more than Western slander.²⁴ Russell was unimpressed and quoted in the *Forward* to this

²¹ See *How to Keep the Peace: The Pacifist Dilemma, 1935–38* (The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell 21) (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 251, where the letter to Ewen is followed by an article from *The Berwick Mercury* (“The Persecution of the Jews”, 9 July 1938, p. [3]), in which Russell again discouraged measures likely to increase the risk of war, and partly blamed the victorious Allies’ harsh treatment of post-war Germany for the worst features of Nazi tyranny—including its violent anti-Semitism.

²² Quoted in Lipsky, *Rise of Abraham Cahan*, p. 179.

²³ See Liberson to BR, 1 March 1964 and BR’s reply, 14 March 1964. Also, “Khrushchev Gets Appeal on Jews”, *The New York Times*, 18 Feb. 1964, p. 3, and, for a mimeograph copy of the complete statement, RA2 340.183565.

²⁴ See “Khrushchev Note to Bertrand Russell on Anti-Semitism: an Exchange of Letters”, *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 15, no. 9 (27 March 1963): 13–14. There is a (signed) typescript carbon of Russell’s letter (dated 2 Feb. 1963) at RA2 340.183453.

effect (“Khrushchev’s response ... did not satisfy me”²⁵) before again calling for an end to the mistreatment of Soviet Jews—in a letter to the editor of *Izvestia*, which never appeared there but was eventually published in the West.²⁶

In his letter dated 1 March 1964, the *Forward*’s Liberson also asked for Russell’s advice to the Jewish-American organizations that would soon gather in Washington, D.C. to discuss the predicament of Soviet Jewry. Russell replied that the most constructive course for this meeting to take “would be to separate the question of maltreatment of Soviet Jews from Cold War propaganda and from hostility, as such, to the Soviet Union. To allow these two things to be confused is to harm the cause of Soviet Jews and to damage the prospects for peace” (14 March 1964). His own entreaties to the Soviets were generally issued in a spirit of respectful but critical friendship by someone who deplored the perpetuation of potentially suicidal East–West conflict. It is not known whether Russell’s reply to Liberson was ever published or if its counsel was communicated to the 500 delegates representing twenty-four different groups who assembled in Washington on 5 and 6 April 1964. But its message was certainly reflected in the conference resolution, which stressed that the Soviet Union was being petitioned “within the framework of our ardent desire to see an end to the cold war and to lessen and hopefully eradicate inter-national tensions”.²⁷

In further correspondence from the *Forward* at the end of 1964 (28 Dec.), Liberson again pressed for details of Russell’s contacts with Soviet authorities. Responding for Russell, Ralph Schoenman insisted that no information could be disclosed (7 Jan. 1965). The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation had opened many files on Soviet Jews seeking exit visas for the purposes of family reunification (together with requests for death sentences to be commuted) and preferred to work discreetly to such ends. In the last few years of his life, Russell conducted much patient advocacy of this kind through confidential channels, even if successful results, according to the Foundation’s Pamela Wood, were obtained “in only a very few instances” (to Raisa O. Russineks, 2 April 1969). At the same time, Russell also continued publicly to protest the plight of Soviet Jews whenever he considered that such wider exposure was warranted.

On 16 August 1963 a prospective biographer of Abraham Cahan, Moses Rischin, asked Russell about his time as a contributor for the *Forward* and whether

²⁵ N.d., but see <http://forward.com/culture/looking-back/171669/bertrand-russell-challenges-nikita-khrushchev-on-a/>

²⁶ See “Bertrand Russell vs. Reds on Jews”, *New York Herald Tribune*, 26 June 1963, p. 6; RA2 340.183511, for a typescript carbon of the letter as sent to *Izvestia* on 6 April 1963; and <http://forward.com/culture/looking-back/178544/bertrand-russell-calls-out-nikita-khrushchev/>, for undated coverage in the *Forward*.

²⁷ “Jewish Leaders Map Fight on Soviet Anti-Semitism”, *The New York Times*, 7 April 1964, p. 5.

he kept correspondence from those years.²⁸ Had Russell searched his archives he might have located the handful of letters used in preparing the present paper. As it was, his response indicated only that he could recall “little of the contents of my articles for the *Jewish Daily Forward*. They ranged over many subjects all of which were chosen by me without editorial suggestion from the paper” (23 Aug. 1963). As well as unintentionally misleading Rischin about the inspiration for at least some of these writings, Russell’s terse reply hardly does justice to a significant chapter of his publishing life. Five of his fifty-four *Forward* articles have been reprinted already in *A Fresh Look at Empiricism, 1927-42*, the tenth volume of the *Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, and the remaining forty-nine articles will be divided between volumes 17 and 18, with their working titles of *Authority versus Enlightenment, 1925-27* and *Behaviourism and Education, 1927-31*. Readers of Russell would surely also be well served by the preparation of a stand-alone compilation of this unique set of largely forgotten and not easily accessible writings.

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²⁸ Although he was a prolific historian of Jewish-American life, Rischin never completed this project. Two decades later, however, he did publish a selection of Cahan’s writings for the muckraking New York newspaper, the *Commercial Advertiser*, where he had worked as a reporter for four years before taking on the editorship of *Forverts*. See Moses Rischin, ed., *Grandma Never Lived in America: The New Journalism of Abraham Cahan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

Bertrand Russell and the 1935 International Congress for Scientific Philosophy

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Bertrand Russell marked his “return to philosophy” in the interwar period by attending the inaugural International Congress for Scientific Philosophy held in Paris from 15-21 September 1935, his first appearance at an academic conference in nearly fifteen years. Despite the importance of this event, scholars have not documented his activities in Paris. Ronald Clark devotes a single phrase to the conference, noting only that Russell “was fit enough to attend the Congress of Scientific Philosophy”¹ after an extensive rehabilitation period following his nervous breakdown early in 1935. Similarly, Ray Monk mentions Russell’s 1935 breakdown and briefly notes that “in the late summer of that year he attended the International Congress of Scientific Philosophy in Paris”² before finishing “On Order in Time,” the technical philosophy paper that would shortly appear in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*. Russell’s short after-the-fact account in the conference proceedings provides few autobiographical details while optimistically asserting that the scientific philosophy on display in Paris could “provide the intellectual temper in which it is possible to find a cure for the diseases of the modern world.”³

To remedy the want of published writing about Russell’s attendance at the International Congress of Scientific Philosophy, this article provides annotated transcriptions of five previously unpublished letters Russell wrote to Marjorie Spence—his third wife, after their 1936 marriage, and commonly known as ‘Peter’—while he was in Paris in September 1935. These letters and those Peter wrote to Russell during the conference were until recently closed to Russell scholars. Five years after her death in 2004, an embargo expired in accordance with the terms of the transfer of Russell’s voluminous papers to McMaster University, allowing the remarkably detailed correspondence between Russell and Peter to be opened. Russell’s letters to Peter printed below are faithful transcriptions of the original correspondence housed in the Russell Archives at McMaster, including abbreviations, emphases, punctuation, and capitalization.

¹ Ronald W. Clark, *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 452.

² Ray Monk, *Bertrand Russell: The Ghost of Madness* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 198.

³ “Congress of Scientific Philosophy,” *A Fresh Look at Empiricism, 1927-42* [Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell, Volume 10] (London: Routledge, 1996), 121.

Errors made by Russell are noted in the annotations, which also provide commentary on the individuals and events described by Russell. Peter's letters to Russell while he was in Paris do not appear as part of the present article, but are cited in annotations when Russell makes a specific reference to their contents. McMaster University retains copyright in the letters of Bertrand Russell transcribed below and in full.

Planning for the Paris congress started in July 1932 when Louis Rougier and Hans Reichenbach met to discuss the possibility of an inaugural conference celebrating interwar advances in scientific philosophy. The next year, Rougier and Reichenbach contacted leading members of the Vienna Circle—the group of logical empiricists who met in Vienna between 1924 and 1938 under the nominal leadership of Moritz Schlick—to gather further support for the congress, and leading scholars held an organizational meeting at the International Congress of Philosophy in Prague in September 1934. An Executive Committee of Rougier, Reichenbach, Rudolf Carnap, Philipp Frank, and Otto Neurath then completed the planning for the International Congress for Scientific Philosophy meetings to be held at the Sorbonne, primarily in the Salle Liard and the Grand Amphithéâtre de la Sorbonne. The Russell Archives is strangely silent on Russell's contact with the conference organizers, and no formal invitation to Russell can be located. But Russell clearly was viewed as the intellectual godfather of the logicians, mathematicians, and philosophers who assembled in Paris, even if he only delivered an impromptu speech to the delegates and not a formal paper. Rougier noted, for example, that "les Congressistes furent particulièrement heureux d'applaudir parmi eux Bertrand Russell, qui, en dépit de sa discrète réserve, assumait en quelque sorte la présidence morale du Congrès."⁴

Four primary observations can be gleaned from Russell's letters to Peter from Paris. First, Russell's philosophical reputation clearly remained intact despite his relative lack of academic productivity in the decade before 1935. Indeed, many conference participants relied heavily on Russell's work in their own scholarship. "I am surprised to see how much they all owe to me," Russell observed, "& very glad to have had just that kind of influence" (Letter 3). Second, as the European situation worsened with the escalation of the Abyssinian crisis, Russell remained intensely interested in international affairs, and he subsequently entered a period of pacifist activism not seen since the First World War that would culminate in his publication of *Which Way to Peace?* In 1936. Third, Russell's relationship with Peter stabilized in the period leading to their marriage in 1936, despite continued infidelity by both individuals. Russell's letters written while he attended the conference are very solicitous and expressive, traits matched and exceeded in Peter's letters to Russell in Paris. "I am in the library," she wrote from Telegraph House, "& oh, my darling, how dreary it is without you! I am so happy with you,

⁴ "Avant Propos," *Actes du Congrès International de Philosophie Scientifique: I—Philosophie Scientifique et Empirisme Logique* (Paris : Hermann & C^e, 1936): 5.

dear cheerful Bertie, & when you are away I find myself listening, as if by straining my ears I should hear you laugh.”⁵ Finally, the letters themselves demonstrate that new primary sources documenting Russell’s life remain in abundant supply and suggest new perspectives on Russell’s life.

&

Letter 1

[Envelope postmarked 16 September 1935]

Sunday Sp. 15, 1935

My Darling

The Congress has begun very successfully – I didn’t know there were so many scientific philosophers in the world. They made me make a speech, & gave me quite an ovation. A number of German Jews got hold of me afterwards & took me out to dinner. A German⁶ (not a Jew) told me that there is only one university, Münster, where math^{al} logic is still allowed; I hear also that Goebbels, 2 days ago, announced that Kant’s philosophy is that of the Nazi State.⁷ There are Poles, Czechs, & all sorts here. Jörg Jørgensen⁸ is here: he is quite young, & his wife⁹ is friendly & jolly – they are looking forward (so they say) to our visit. I also met a couple from Lund, in Norway,¹⁰ who say we are going there. We met today in a

⁵ Peter to Russell, 16 September 1935. This was the second written letter Peter sent on this day (710.106344).

⁶ Russell probably refers here to Heinrich Scholz (see note 43).

⁷ A reference to this announcement made by Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945), Germany’s Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, cannot be located. Russell held a dim view of the philosophical outlook of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804): “Kant has a reputation of being the greatest of modern philosophers, but to my mind he was a mere misfortune” (Russell, *An Outline of Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927), 83).

⁸ Jørgen Jørgensen (1894-1969) was professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen from 1926 to 1964 and one of the financial sponsors of Russell’s upcoming lecture tour of Scandinavia in October 1935. For the full itinerary of Russell’s Scandinavian tour, see Michael D. Stevenson, “‘No Poverty, Much Comfort, Little Wealth’: Bertrand Russell’s 1935 Scandinavian Tour,” *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies* n.s. 31 (Winter 2011-12): 101-140.

⁹ Krista Kjær (1900-1965), the daughter of a prominent Danish architect, had married Jørgensen in 1922.

¹⁰ Russell incorrectly places Lund in Norway—it is in Sweden.

place¹¹ belonging to the League of Nations, & were welcomed by the Minister of Education¹² – after today, we meet in The Sorbonne. Braithwaite¹³ was pained because I talked against Kant – all the Germans here agree with me about him. I am enjoying meeting such a lot of intelligent foreigners.

My Darling, I hope tomorrow morning there will be a letter from you. I hope you weren't tired by all your exertion yesterday – I was a little anxious, as you had a very long walk. I hope the visitors are keeping you happy – I am glad this show doesn't last any longer. I shall have had more than enough of it by Saturday. Goodnight my Treasure – take care of yourself. All my heart
Your B

Letter 2

[Envelope postmarked 16 September 1935]
Hôtel Montalembert. Thursday 16.9.35

My Darling

I had a telegram saying you hadn't heard from me,¹⁴ tho' I wrote as soon as I arrived & posted the letter at once – I telegraphed to reassure you.¹⁵ Posts are slower than one would think – I am very sorry you have been worried, Dearest. I had a long session morning & afternoon at the Congress, not very interesting – lunch with Braithwaite, who told yarns of Wittgenstein's difficult behaviour as a teacher.¹⁶ Did I say "new" wife? I didn't mean it – she is only differently got up.¹⁷

¹¹ This word in Russell's original letter is difficult to decipher—it is possible it should be transcribed as "palace". If this is the case, it could refer to the Grand Palais on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées.

¹² Marius Roustan (1870-1942), France's Minister of National Education from June 1935 to February 1936.

¹³ Richard Bevan Braithwaite (1900-1990), was best known for his views on the philosophy of science and early game theory who taught his entire career at Cambridge University beginning in 1928

¹⁴ Peter had telegraphed Russell on 16 September: "No letter. Rather anxious. Please telegraph."

¹⁵ This telegram is not located in the Russell Archives.

¹⁶ Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), Russell's erstwhile student and—by the time he attended the 1935 conference—philosophical nemesis, worked as an elementary school teacher in Austria between 1920 and 1926. His "difficult behaviour" cannot be specifically determined, but he frequently meted out corporal punishment to his students; his physical discipline of an eleven-year-old pupil, Josef Haidbauer, forced him to submit his resignation in April 1926 (see Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 232-233).

¹⁷ It is uncertain if Russell had referred to Richard Braithwaite's wife in earlier correspondence or in conversation with Peter before leaving for Paris. In a letter Peter wrote to Russell the next day on 17 September, she asked: "What on earth is Braithwaite

Tomorrow & subsequent days will, I think, be better: so far there have been too many generalities. I managed to recognize Padoa,¹⁸ whom I last saw in 1913 – he has survived Fascist authority without any sign of either moral or intellectual damage.

I return Sat., arriving Newhaven 4.15. If it is convenient I should like to be met, as otherwise I shan't get home till after dinner. Dear Love, I wish you were here – I have had no letter from you yet. I hope you are getting well properly. All my love, my treasure – I love you.

B

Letter 3

[Envelope postmarked 18 September 1935]

Hôtel Montalembert. 17.9.35.

My Darling Love – I have just had your long letter¹⁹ in which you say you wish mine were longer & tell me about Gerald.²⁰ So I will make this a longer letter than usual. To begin with Gerald: I don't suppose he realized how young she is, nor would it seem to him as if she disliked his advances. I am very sorry it happened, & I think we ought perhaps to have explained how young she is. I can't say I am much surprised; it has always been obvious that he is very sexual. I agree that he is to blame, & that you are right in what you have always said about married people making love to unmarried ones.²¹ But I cannot say it alters my

doing with another new wife? Is the red nosed one dead?" Braithwaite had married for the second time in 1932 to Margaret Masterman (1910-1986).

¹⁸ Alessandro Padoa (1868-1937) was an Italian mathematician and logician who lectured at the University of Genoa from 1934 to 1936 after spending most of his career – despite his international academic reputation – teaching in technical colleges and secondary schools in Italy.

¹⁹ In addition to Peter's telegram Russell references in the previous letter, she wrote two letters to Russell on 16 September. Russell refers here to the twelve-page letter written in the morning of that day (710.106342).

²⁰ Peter provided in her letter a detailed account of a sexual advance at Telegraph House made by British author Gerald Brenan (1894-1987) on Rosalinde von Ossietzky (1919-2000), Peter's fifteen-year-old houseguest and the daughter of Carl von Ossietzky, the pacifist who exposed German re-armament schemes during the interwar period and who won the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Russell and Peter became closely acquainted with Brenan and his wife, Gamel, after meeting them at Yegen in Spain in 1933. Russell also strongly supported the international campaign condemning the imprisonment of Carl von Ossietzky, who eventually died of tuberculosis in 1938 after languishing for several years in German concentration camps.

²¹ In Peter's "long letter" describing Brenan's indiscrete behaviour, she informed Russell that "I think married people ought never to be allowed to see unmarried ones." Peter must have recently converted to this opinion, since she became Russell's mistress within

opinion of him, as I should have expected him to do that sort of thing, though I never suspected it is regards Rosalind. It does, however, diminish one's enthusiasm about him. I know you must be unhappy about it, & I wish I were with you. I hate to think of you alone.

Today it is cold & wet. I have been interviewed by three papers, 2 French & The New York Herald.²² My former pupil Bugeja²³ is an important man on this last; he is the man from Malta who was going to be a Jesuit but was deterred from becoming one by modern logic. He wrote to me but I have not yet seen him. I lunched with Morris from Chicago, whom I had stayed with in Texas at the place where they read *Principia Mathematica*.²⁴ He has been travelling extensively in Russia & Germany; in Russia, he says, academic people now have almost complete freedom as regards their philosophy, & are not obliged to think of atoms as little hard lumps. But in Germany he found everybody so oppressed in spirit that they can't do any work of an original kind. He told me that a man named Dingler,²⁵ whom I formerly knew & hated,²⁶ had had an article refused by "Erkenntnis," the journal of my sort of philosophy, & had written to Goebbels in consequence to warn him that such philosophy is dangerous, with the result that all the Germans who work at scientific philosophy are now suspect.²⁷ (Morris is

months of being hired as the governess for Russell's children in 1931 while he was still married to Dora Russell.

²² See "What's What In War; Steel, Says Russell," *New York Herald Tribune*, 18 September 1935, pp. 1, 3. The interviews published in the two French papers are not located.

²³ Censu (Vincent) Bugeja (1887-1963) was a Cambridge-trained logician and mathematician who spent his career as a journalist for the *Paris Herald Tribune*, the European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*. No link between Russell and Bugeja can be located apart from that found in this letter; it is logical to assume that Russell instructed Bugeja while the latter was a student at Cambridge.

²⁴ Charles Morris (1901-1979) received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Chicago in 1925 and taught there for most of his career beginning in 1931. Russell stayed with Morris—who was then teaching at Rice University in Houston—in November 1929 during his American lecture tour. Russell subsequently informed Ottoline Morrell that "Texas, which on the movies is nothing but cowboys, contains the only known human beings who have read all three volumes of *Principia Mathematica*" (19 December 1929, RA3 69, Box 2.69).

²⁵ Hugo Dingler (1881-1954), German mathematician and philosopher, was dismissed from his appointment at the Darmstadt Technical Institute in 1934 for reasons of economy and did not secure a stable university post again until 1940 at the University of Munich.

²⁶ The reason for Russell's animosity towards Dingler cannot be determined. It appears the two men first met in 1908 at the International Congress of Mathematicians held in Rome (see Dingler to Russell, 10 August 1912, RA1 710, Box 5.13).

²⁷ *Erkenntnis* was the replacement name for the analytic philosophy journal *Annales der Philosophie* after Rudolf Carnap and Hans Reichenbach took it over in 1930. The particular incident referred to by Russell involving Dingler and Goebbels cannot be identified.

Dingler issued "occasional anti-Semitic and anticommunist statements" (Gereon Walters,

not a Jew, & not at all hysterical.) I think it is time that scientific philosophy is dangerous: one of the Germans here said that, in his experience, 9/10^{ths} of those who work at it are of the Left. I am all the time impressed here with the belief that it is the ultimate enemy of dictatorships. – Jörg Jørgensen inquired after you solicitously, & seemed really glad to hear you were coming. (He called you Miss Spence.) I said you would come, & were making a good recovery, but might not be up to doing a very great deal. He is a nice man.

Most of the time the Congress is rather boring, but sometimes there are good papers. There are some intelligent Poles. I am surprised to see how much they all owe to me, & very glad to have had just that kind of influence. Hilbert & Brouwer, who both had different systems, seem to have blown over.²⁸ I shall be having meals with various congressists most of the next days, & I think things will get more interesting.

The French are more annoyed with us about Abyssinia than you would gather from The Times.²⁹ The newspapers are full of Memel.³⁰ I enclose a typical leading article.³¹ I think the Memel business makes war about Abyssinia less likely. I still think we shall arrange matters with Italy somehow. But the ultimate outlook is desperate.

Now I have written a long letter, but I fear a very dull one. Ord Lees³² was Dora's lover in Sweden, who had a telegraphic quarrel with his young woman

"Hugo Dingler," *Science in Context* 2 (2) (1988): 359) to seemingly advance his employment prospects after Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

²⁸ German mathematician David Hilbert (1862-1943) and Dutch mathematician L.E.J. Brouwer (1881-1966) engaged in a contentious debate about the relationship of mathematics and logic, with Hilbert advocating a formalist position and Brouwer adopting an intuitionist approach. Hilbert ultimately succeeded in removing Brouwer from the editorial board of the leading journal in the field, *Mathematische Annalen*, in 1929, a bruising personal battle that effectively exhausted both men physically and mentally.

²⁹ International tensions about a potential conflict between Italy and Abyssinia were reaching their boiling point while Russell was in Paris, as the League of Nations failed to broker an arbitrated settlement to the dispute and the British government advocated a policy of sanctions against Italy if war broke out. Italy would subsequently attack Abyssinia on 3 October 1935.

³⁰ The Treaty of Versailles detached the Memel Territory from East Prussia adjacent to Lithuania and placed it under French control. After a special commission proposed to transform the Memel Territory into a free state, Lithuanian forces seized control of the government, and the League of Nations recognized the territory as an autonomous region within Lithuania in 1924. Ahead of elections scheduled for September 1935, Nazi propagandists worked with the German minority in the Memel Territory to foment political unrest and generate international tension.

³¹ This article is not found in the Russell Archives.

³² It is unclear why Russell suddenly refers in this letter to Thomas Orde-Lees (1877-1958), as no mention of him is made by Peter in her letters to Russell while he was in Paris. As Russell indicates, Orde-Lees, a Royal Navy officer, participated in Sir Ernest Shackleton's

when he was in Japan & she in Switzerland, & who tried to stop the demolition of the gasometer in Tokyo. He was in the Antarctic with Shackleton.

Goodbye my dear dear Peter. I am lonely without you & long to be at home to comfort you. Do take care of yourself & not do too much.

Your B

Letter 4

[Envelope postmarked 18 September]

Wed.

My Darling Love – Jørgensen absorbed the time during which I meant to write to you, & now some Germans are just coming for dinner, so I can only write a line. I will write more later. Jørgensen told me all about our engagements in Scandinavia – I like him. The New York Herald had a long front-page interview with me.³³ I saw Bugeja, who writes its editorials – he says that from what he has seen in Malta he has expected war between England & Italy during the last 2 years. He thinks no one else will come into it. For the first time he made me think there will perhaps be war. If no one else comes in, it will not be very serious, & Italy will be beaten in the end, though with difficulty. Then, I suppose, Mussolini will fall – I have bought a book called “De Luther à Wagner” because I liked the title.³⁴ I haven’t had time to read it yet.

The Congress is still rather dull. Carnap³⁵ dominates it. Perhaps it will be better tomorrow. My Darling, take care of yourself. I feel you got overdone on Sat. & Sunday. I am longing to be home with you – I feel lost without you & the world seems full of perils. Now I have managed to get my letter written so I won’t write again tonight. Goodnight my Treasure.

Your B

ill-fated attempt to cross the Antarctic land mass from 1914 to 1917. After resigning his military commission, he moved to Japan in 1919 and remained there during the interwar period. Information about Dora Russell’s relationship with Orde-Lees or the other personal details mentioned by Russell in this paragraph cannot be confirmed.

³³ See note 22.

³⁴ N. Klugmann and Michel Dumesnil de Grammont, *De Luther à Wagner: essai de psychologie ethnique* (Paris : J. Vrin, 1931). It is uncertain if Russell purchased both volumes of this work. The title is not in Russell’s library in the Russell Archives.

³⁵ German logician Rudolf Carnap (1891-1970) was one of the founders of logical positivism. Carnap emigrated to the United States in 1935 and took up a position at the University of Chicago in 1936; he was instrumental in securing employment for Russell there during the 1938-39 academic year.

Letter 5

[Envelope postmark indecipherable]

Thursday evg. Sp. 19, 1935

My Darling – There is no letter from you this evening; perhaps it will come later. – Today has been a social day – lunch with a Duke, a Baron, & a lovely Marquise, tea with a Count & Countess (the latter American).³⁶ The Duke was just like Clive Bell: he flattered me in exactly the same way. He had read “Sceptical Essays” – nothing else of mine, I think – & kept quoting it & trying to get me to talk in the same vein.³⁷ The lovely Marquise was dull, the Count rather interesting. From the Congress, there were a Frenchman, an Italian, & a German.³⁸ We talked politics, & all agreed. It is a tribute to math^{al} logic that almost everybody at the Congress, so far as I have been able to discover, takes the same sort of view on international questions; at any rate one can discuss them without heat. The exceptions are the Jews, who want war against Hitler, at least if they are Germans. The French say that France will not only remain neutral if we fight Italy, but will not go to war with Germany about Austria or the Baltic States unless we do so also; Russia would not be considered sufficient ^{^ as an ally}.³⁹ The danger of a general war is therefore perhaps not very imminent.

Dorothy Harvey has written inviting me to come to tea, but I shall not go.⁴⁰

The ablest man here, I think, is a Pole named Tarski;⁴¹ next, a German named Reichenbach, who has a job at Constantinople.⁴² So far as I have discovered, there

³⁶ These five individuals cannot be identified.

³⁷ British art critic Clive Bell (1881-1964) was part of the Bloomsbury Group and, like Russell, a conscientious objector during World War I. Years earlier, he had informed Russell that he had read all of his books—including *Sceptical Essays* (George Allen & Unwin, 1928)—and felt a “gratified vanity” if he could understand a single book in its entirety (22 September 1928, RA1 710, Box 5.03).

³⁸ These three individuals cannot be identified.

³⁹ In the original letter, Russell wrote “as an ally” above the inverted “v” that was adjacent to the period at the end of this sentence.

⁴⁰ Dorothy Harvey (née Dudley, 1884-1962) knew Russell initially through the latter’s involvement with her sister, Helen. Russell and Helen Dudley began an affair in 1914 that Dudley believed would lead to marriage; she traveled to England after World War I broke out to pursue the relationship before Russell essentially abandoned her. Harvey’s son had also attended Beacon Hill School, the experimental academy Russell opened with Dora Russell in 1927. The letter from Harvey to Russell is not located in the Russell Archives.

⁴¹ Among many academic accomplishments, Alfred Tarski (1901-1983), Polish logician and mathematician, provided the first comprehensive formulation of a theory of truth. Russell had a high opinion of Tarski’s ability; apart from W.V.O. Quine, Russell wrote that “no other logician of his generation ... seems to me his equal” (Russell, *Autobiography* II (George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 225).

⁴² Hans Reichenbach (1891-1953), German empiricist philosopher and probability theorist, had accepted a position at Istanbul University in 1933 after being dismissed from the

is only one German from Germany, a pathetic old man named Scholz,⁴³ with a romantic devotion to Principia Mathematica – I wrote about him before. I promised to send him a signed photograph, & any letters from Frege that I can find, as he is bringing out an edition of them.⁴⁴ He makes the impression of a man who has survived a shipwreck in which all his family have been drowned.

I quite agree with what you say about an agenda for the trustees' meeting; also that it cannot be till after Scandinavia.⁴⁵

I hope all is well with you. Goodbye my Treasure – I shall be very glad to be back with you – it has seemed a terribly long time. This is the last letter. All love.

Your B

&

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University of Berlin in the wake of the Nazi rise to power. He later emigrated to the United States in 1938 and taught at UCLA for the remainder of his life.

⁴³ Heinrich Scholz (1884-1956), German theologian and logician, was professor of philosophy at the University of Münster beginning in 1928. It is uncertain why Russell refers to Scholz as a “pathetic old man” here, since he professed “very considerable admiration” for Scholz after the German academic’s death (Russell to Wilhelm Keller, 17 July 1959, RA1 750 Box 11.15). Scholz had switched from studying theology in 1921 to focus on logic after reading Russell and Whitehead’s *Principia Mathematica*.

⁴⁴ Scholz had secured the transfer of the literary estate of Gottlob Frege (1848-1925), one of the founders of analytic philosophy who had a great impact on Russell’s own work, to the University of Münster in 1935 and planned to publish an edition of Frege’s letters and papers. Russell duly transferred the original copies of his correspondence from Frege to Scholz in November 1935 after he returned from his Scandinavian tour. Scholz ultimately failed to complete this project after much of the Frege collection was destroyed in an Allied bombing raid in March 1945.

⁴⁵ The affairs of Russell’s two children with Dora Russell were administered by court-appointed trustees. Peter wrote to Russell on 17 September indicating that Crompton Llewelyn Davies, Russell’s lawyer, had sent an agenda for the next meeting of the trustees to allow Russell to “agree with him beforehand on a policy in all matters which Dora may raise.” Since Davies was unable to meet Russell the weekend after he returned from Paris, Peter thought the meeting should wait until Russell returned from his Scandinavian tour that would commence in the first week of October.

A Trio of British Homes and a Refuge: 1944-1949

Sheila Turcon

McMaster University

Russell returned to Britain shortly after D-day in June 1944. He had been away since the autumn of 1938. His wife Peter and son Conrad had travelled across the Atlantic before him. Arriving at the “northern shore of the Firth of Forth ... I got a night train to London, arrived very early in the morning, and for some time could not discover what had become of Peter and Conrad. At last, after much frantic telephoning and telegraphing, I discovered that they were staying with her mother at Sidmouth [Devon] ... I went there at once.”

Russell was now to take up a five-year lectureship at Trinity College. The appointment came with rooms in College. Leaving his family he found “that the [Trinity College] rooms were altogether delightful; they looked out on the bowling green, which was a mass of flowers ... but the problem of housing Peter and Conrad remained. Cambridge was incredibly full, and at first the best that I could achieve was squalid rooms in a lodging house. There they were underfed and miserable, while I was living luxuriously in College” (*Auto*. 3: 16). It was a recipe for marital conflict if there ever was one.

Daphne Phelps also remembered the Russells’ return in 1944. She had stayed with the Russells in America. “Peter and Conrad arrived during a lull in the bombing and came to stay in my London flat. I remember his half-brother John, later the fourth Earl Russell, turning cartwheels on my bomb-site garden in the uniform of a naval AB [able seaman] to amuse Conrad, then about five. There seemed to be real affection between the three. Bertie followed in a still later convoy, and they rented a flat in Marylebone” (*A House*, pp. 177-8). She is correct about the flat although the Russells did not rent it in 1944.

Grosvenor Lodge, 6 Babraham Road, Cambridge

As soon as Russell was confident in receiving money from his lawsuit against Barnes he bought a house (*Auto* 3: 16). He wrote to his publisher Stanley Unwin about purchasing a house on 4 August 1944 and asked for an advance of £500, which Unwin sent him. By now Peter and Conrad had lived in a series of temporary places in the United States and in England. Peter must have been pleased to have a new home to decorate despite the constraints of post-war

Britain. There is no correspondence outlining her decorating choices. On 21 August Russell wrote to Elizabeth Trevelyan that he had purchased a small house “but can’t get into it for another month.” The exact date of purchase and the seller are not known. He described the house on 20 September to Constance Malleson as “small & commonplace, but the garden is nice. It is practically in the country, & the country near is pleasant. I had to buy as there is nothing to rent....” On 30 September he wrote to daughter Kate, who was still in the United States, that Peter was making nice rooms for her and John. He wrote to Constance Malleson again on 8 December 1944 that: “[it] is rather far to walk [to Trinity College], but there is a bus every 12 minutes ... Conrad flourishes and likes his school and our garden.” Grosvenor Lodge was located at 6 Babraham Road, south of the city centre. It was built around 1929 (Internet: capturingcambridge.org).

Russell did not choose to join his wife and son in the autumn of 1944 once they had moved into the house, but chose to live at Trinity College. He told Constance Malleson on 20 September 1944 how much he liked the experience. “I dine in hall & enjoy seeing dons I used to know 30 years ago. George Trevy [Trevelyan] is much mellowed, very friendly, & nice.” Trinity College gave him a refuge from life in a house “not yet habitable for me” (letter to John Russell, 30 Sept. 1940). On 8 December he wrote to Constance Malleson: “I lecture on Philosophy and Politics to the many, and on scientific method to the few.”

The couple were photographed by K. Hutton both inside and outside the house for a *Picture Post* article in 1945 (*Bibliog.*: C45.06). An inside photograph was captioned “A Fireside Recital. In slippers by his fireside, Bertrand Russell reads poetry to his wife.” Russell is standing while Peter is seated on a sofa; an oriental rug, bookshelves, and a standing lamp surround them.



Bertrand Russell with his wife Peter at Grosvenor Lodge, 1945

It was at Grosvenor Lodge that Russell “wrote most of my book on *Human Knowledge, its Scope and Limits*. I could have been happy in Cambridge, but the Cambridge ladies did not consider us respectable. I bought a small house at Ffestiniog in North Wales with a most lovely view. Then we took a flat in London” (*Auto*. 3: 16). The actual situation was more complicated than this brief overview.

On 14 April 1945 Russell asked Clive Bell to visit them in Cambridge. “Peter is prevented by war-time household ties from going out except on rare occasions.” This seems odd.

Peter wrote to Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams on 15 October 1945 that they had sold Grosvenor Lodge that day. They will be moving to Wales, near the Crawshay-Williams¹. This meant that Peter had been in the house for barely a

¹ The Russells had met Rupert and Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams through Amabel Williams-Ellis when they visited Portmeirion in the late summer of 1945 (*Russell Remembered*, p. 1).

year, Russell less than that. A letter from Russell to Stanley Unwin on 6 December 1945 merely states that he is selling the house. A week later he told Gamel Brenan that Grosvenor Lodge had been sold. They did not have to move out until August. Russell told his daughter Kate Tait on 11 January 1946 that he had bought a cottage at Ffestiniog and he would be leaving Grosvenor Lodge on 31 July.

Russell puts a different gloss on the situation at Cambridge than he does in his *Autobiography*. Writing to Gamel on 7 February 1946, he tells her “as soon as Peter got away from Cambridge she began to feel better. Slavery to housework has caused her to feel a gradually increasing envy of me—my work, my friends, my success, my popularity.”

Once again Russell turned to Trinity College for refuge from a complicated life, living there during the Michaelmas term. From Trinity, he wrote on 13 October 1946 to Constance Malleson: “... I shall not be here after Christmas but with Peter in a tiny flat in London. This is a change of plans which became unavoidable.” He expands on this in his letter to 8 December 1946: “My job here continues, & I shall be here one night in every week during term; the rest of the time in London in winter, N. Wales in summer.”

The last letter that Russell wrote from Grosvenor Lodge was dated 4 April 1946.

Dorset House, Gloucester Place, London

On 8 November 1945, Peter wrote to Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams who was helping her find a place in Wales that she had been London looking for a flat while Russell was doing the Brains Trust. There was nothing to be found and she theorized that perhaps she would have to live full time in Wales with Russell living in College during term time. On 15 December 1945 Russell wrote to Gamel that he and Peter were planning to get a pied-à-terre in London. Hotels were impossible to get in London, so a flat in London would be necessary. It is not clear when the Russells sub-let a flat from Sidney Cowen. Cowen signed a lease with Metropolitan Housing Corporation on 29 September 1945 for unit no. 27. The yearly rent was £240, payable quarterly. Unit no. 27 was on the seventh floor of Dorset House (Bertrand Russell Archives, Rec. Acq. 1343).

Dorset House is a block of 185 flats in the Marylebone area of London. Built in 1934-5, the building occupies a complete street block. Dorset House is considered to be “one of the most impressive Moderne style [buildings] in central London” (Historic England website). There was also a restaurant in the building. The first letter that Russell wrote from his flat, no. 27, was dated 8 December 1946. He spent more time at this London flat than he did at Cambridge, writing of his weekly train journey there. On 25 June 1947 he described the flat to Kate Tait as

having a living room, bedroom, kitchen and bath. The living room had a divan bed.

Invitations to visit the London flat went out to Grace Wyndham Goldie of the BBC in January 1948 and to writer-journalist J.L. Hammond and his wife in March. Russell explained he would be at the flat from 20 April to 21 May. He told Simon and Schuster that he would be at the flat after October, elaborating to Gamel Brenan that he would be there all winter (10 July, 18 Aug. 1948). The Russells employed a cook at Dorset House, Lena Walsh. Her daughter, Mary Chesters, wrote to Russell around 1967 to thank Russell for the happy memories. Russell allowed Mary and her sisters to use the bathroom as they did not have one at their own home. Her letter reveals Russell as a generous employer, treating the cook's children to many excursions. In late 1948 the Russells moved from no. 27 to no. 18; the reason for this move is not known. The last letter Russell wrote from this address was dated 22 April 1949.

Russell may have kept up the lease to help support his social, intellectual, and political activities in the capital, but also as a kind of back-stop in case of unpredictable developments in his family life. He had a connection to this property until 1951. On 5 July of that year L.P. Tylor of Coward, Chance & Co. wrote that: "The flat was duly let as from 24th June ... dilapidations etc. amounting to £100.8.1 [are owing]. Perhaps you would kindly send a cheque direct to the Landlords." On 17 March 1952 Russell wrote to Tylor asking him to inform Guardian Assurance Company that he no longer had a flat at Dorset House.

Kenneth Blackwell received an email from Nick Hopewell-Smith on 22 November 2010. He saw Russell's third floor flat when it was put up for sale six years before that by a retired Warner Brothers executive. Presumably this was no. 18. It was "virtually unchanged since the 30's, complete with the original (quite terrifying) electric heaters and built-in electric clock and the original butler's quarters."



Dorset House, Gloucester Place, London

Penralltgoch, Llan Ffestiniog, Merioneth, North Wales²

Russell and Peter had considered buying a property in Wales when they sold Telegraph House in 1937. They did not, settling instead at Amberley House near Oxford.

On 10 October 1945, Peter wrote to Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams about her excitement in moving there. “My favourite occupation is playing with houses, and I have done so many only to move and leave someone else to enjoy them that I can imagine no greater delight than having a place to alter and make perfect over a period of years.” Because of her poor health she could not undertake major renovations. In the same letter she wondered about a school house suggested by Elizabeth. “The school house – I really don’t know about this. It sounds just [like] what we want, if it could be enlarged, but there is the problem of permits ... could it be camped in for a summer ...?” On 15 October, since Grosvenor Lodge had been sold, Peter suggested that the process might be sped up by using an agent. On 23 November upon returning from Wales, Peter wrote: “Bertie says that I keep pointing out the drawbacks of the cottage ... but I really think he will like it.” On 11 December she wrote: “We have got the cottage! I have sent off a deposit to-day

² BR and Peter spelled their house’s name “Penralltgoch”. The Crawshay-Williams spelled it “Penrallt Goch.”

... We can't of course start work on it until the purchase is completed." She asked if a room would be available at the Pengwern Arms from 3 to 8 January. On 15 January 1946, Russell wrote to his friend Gamel Brenan that "we have bought a derelict cottage in Wales, & hope ultimately to retire from the hubbub. I want to write a system of philosophy & an autobiography, & then die." The "derelict cottage" was in fact the school house.

On 6 February 1946, Russell wrote to Gamel that "Peter has been sent to a nursing home in London & wants me to be with her during the time I can spare in London ... She attempted suicide & very nearly succeeded, & threatens to make further attempts unless I succeed in comforting her". Russell asked the Crawshay-Williams on 17 February 1946 to look after Peter who would be staying at the Pengwern Arms until the cottage is ready. "My wife, who has been in a nursing home, is now back here [i.e. Grosvenor Lodge], but by doctor's orders is going to Wales tomorrow. She has been very ill indeed and now needs a complete rest from household, parental and wifely cares ... Conrad and I will join her when the Easter holidays come". On 22 February he wrote to Gamel telling her that "I can never again live in the same house with Peter when I am working, as she wears me out, but I hope to be able to manage Conrad's holidays with her, for his sake." On 10 March 1946 Russell wrote Kate that "Peter is gone to live in N. Wales, and we shall only be together during Conrad's holidays. In the autumn I shall get rooms in College. As the family disintegrates, your affection is an increasing comfort to me." On 25 April 1946 Russell told Kate that Peter was in Wales "to get the work done on our house."

Although the cottage was purchased in late 1945, Russell's first letter from this location was written on 9 August 1947. Russell told Kate on 15 June 1947 that Peter would be in North Wales furnishing the cottage. It had taken over a year to make the structure habitable. Rupert Crawshay-Williams wrote:

During most of the year 1946 the Russells were doing up and adding on to the house. It stood 200 yards down the hill from Ffestiniog with one of the finest views in the whole of North Wales, looking across a deep valley to the Moelwyn mountains on the right and westward down the valley to Portmeirion and the sea. It had been the village school in the grounds of the 'big house'. The big house had been occupied during the war years by A.S. Neill's Summerhill School ... The school-master's living quarters were attached to the village school itself..." (*Russell Remembered*, p. 17).

After several delays Russell visited the house.

Inside ... the architect and the builder were waiting. Russell walked in, said good-morning, and – immediately, without any other preliminaries, without any working up of steam – he boiled over into a furious denunciation of everything that the builder and the architect had done and not done. His face got red, his voice rose an octave, he banged the builder's flimsy table ... Elizabeth and I were ... stunned. (*Russell Remembered*, p. 18).

Constance Malleon visited the cottage in 1948 as she was moving back to Britain from Sweden. She first wanted to live in Scotland but was persuaded by the Russells to look in North Wales. She visited the Russell cottage on more than one occasion, even living there briefly, and described it in two articles possibly first published in Sweden. The articles were gathered with a third describing Russell's life at his home in Richmond (not yet purchased), and published as "Three Portraits of Bertrand Russell at Home." The cottage was named Penralltgoch and she makes it clear it was a former school house. The décor was light and bright, as were many of Russell's other homes. "The main feature of the living room is the immense Welsh granite fireplace ... All the many windows were curtained in thickly woven stuff the colour of ripe corn. A large green sofa faced the open fire, and two roomy armchairs flanked it ... Book shelves ... ran the whole length of the room ... The floor was covered in that attractive coarse Norfolk matting ... The walls – all white, in common with the whole cottage interior had only one picture." (p. 168)



Penralltgoch, Llan Ffestiniog, Merioneth, North Wales

Neighbours, in addition to the Crawshay-Williams, were Arthur and Mamaine Koestler. They lived "in a converted farm-house about two miles from Ffestiniog" (*Russell Remembered*, p. 20). Will Durant recollected visiting Russell in Ffestiniog. We "found him smoking his pipe in rare content, in a room whose walls were almost completely covered with neatly shelved books (*A Dual Autobiography*, p. 273).

On 17 March 1949 Peter poured out her frustrations to Elizabeth about Colette being in her cottage. "Bertie, you know, is so vague and doesn't understand how one can love a house so much." On 26 April 1949 Russell wrote to Kate that he and Peter had agreed to separate. "For at least the next 2 months I shall be here and she will be in London." The cottage, which had cost Russell £3,000, belonged to Peter; Russell had signed it over to her to avoid death duties (Constance Malleson to Phyllis Urch, 17 March 1949). After the separation, Russell wanted to keep Penralltgoch. He asked the Crawshay-Williams to secure it for him. They attempted its purchase, using intermediaries so Peter would not know it was Russell who was attempting to buy it. They offered £3,425 to start going as high as £4,000. Peter, however was suspicious. On 5 August 1950 the Crawshay-Williams's wrote to tell Russell "... the very disappointing news that Peter had sold Penrallt Goch to somebody who is supposed to be a friend of hers" Rupert Crawshay-Williams last wrote to Russell about the house on 2 February 1952: "The solicitors who acted for you, via us, over Penrallt Goch have at last sent a bill, which I enclose." The bill is not extant.

Although Russell had to leave Wales in 1950, it was not the last time he would live there.

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Sheila Turcon is retired as an archivist from Research Collections at McMaster University. She continues to edit Russell's letters to Constance Malleson and to assist with BRACERS.

Sheila is compiling condensed versions of her articles on Bertrand Russell's various residences and houses. They are to be published in pamphlet form by the Mill Memorial Library at McMaster.

Russell, Ellsberg, and Doomsday Machines

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Russell's anti-nuclear "war", and a plea to philosophers

Shortly after the advent of the H-bomb (early 1950s), Russell began work to make the public aware of the new threat to humankind's survival. He was at times frustrated and doubtful that a peaceful, non-nuclear world could be brought about in time to avert disaster. But he never gave up the struggle or the hope. In one of his last philosophical essays ("The Duty of the Philosopher in this Age") he appealed to philosophers—those committed to reason and the value of human civilization—to embrace a duty to work for peace and the "preservation of Man."

If they do ... their life will be arduous and painful, but illuminated always by a hope as ardent as the Christian hope of heaven. Given time, this hope may be realized.

But he asks: "Will the present rulers of the world allow the necessary time?"

And answers: "I do not know." (CPBR v. 11, p. 463)

A quarter-century later, it seemed that this hope might be realized. The Cold War wound down and longtime enemies agreed to reduce bloated nuclear stockpiles. It was an achievement due in no small part to Russell's work after 1955 and recognized as such in 1995.¹ Sadly, those ardent hopes for human preservation have since greatly dimmed.

The ongoing nuclear threat and Ellsberg's revelations

Despite large nuclear reductions, humanity's demise is again as likely as Russell feared 60 years ago. This is the unavoidable conclusion of Daniel Ellsberg's *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner*.²

Perhaps Ellsberg's most disturbing revelation is the secret nuclear war plans of the late 50s and early 60s which, contrary to common understanding, envisaged a pre-emptive first strike, a nuclear attack designed to leave the enemy so damaged that its response, if any, could not inflict "unacceptable damage." Ellsberg says the policy did not change throughout the Cold War and likely remains the Pentagon's *modus operandi*. Such a strike was to be "all out," decapitating the enemy's command and control, destroying hundreds of cities, airfields and missile bases, thus assuring any Soviet retaliation would be relatively light and damage "acceptable."

¹ The Pugwash Conferences (and BRS HM, Joseph Rotblat) co-founded by Russell in 1957, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995 for its important work in ending the Cold War.

² London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

The top-secret plan that Ellsberg saw (as a RAND-Pentagon analyst and advisor to President Kennedy and Secretary McNamara) targeted the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe with an expected death total of 600 million—including 100 million NATO allies. No one except the Joint Chiefs knew of the plan, not even Kennedy, until a year into his presidency, and then because Ellsberg insisted with the Joint Chiefs that the president should have full details on expected deaths.

But these shocking figures were *low*. No account was taken of: the effects of *non*-U.S. warheads (the Soviet response would also kill scores of millions in Western Europe and in the U.S.); deaths from intense city fires outside the blast areas; and nuclear winter—a climate-cooling phenomenon caused by many nuclear explosions, first hypothesized by Carl Sagan et al. in 1983 and confidently confirmed this last decade. Nuclear explosions and resulting firestorms expel millions of tons of smoke into the stratosphere, where, unlike nuclear fallout, it remains indefinitely, blocking the sun, cooling the earth, and causing crop failure and worldwide famine. The true death totals, including the Soviet response and fire deaths, amounted in the 1960s to one billion, and the consequent nuclear winter, to over 3 billion, that is, about 98% of the world's population, perhaps 7 billion today. The US and Russia's deployed strategic warheads³ would more than suffice to bring about a catastrophic nuclear winter and what philosopher, and 1987 BRS peace award recipient, John Somerville, called "omnicide"—the killing of everything.

Russell's warnings dismissed

Russell, in his efforts to raise public awareness of the nuclear danger, was dismissed as outrageous ("the wickedest people ...") or wildly alarmist ("... an end to the human race") by many who knew better, or should have known, among them Edward Teller, the father of the H-bomb.⁴

An instructive example of mainstream misinformation is Russell's protracted exchanges on the dangers of accidental nuclear war with the editor

³ The U.S. and Russia have (combined stockpiles) 93 percent of the world's approximate 15,000 warheads. The other seven nuclear powers together have about 1000. A major superpower exchange today-- of the sort Ellsberg says was planned throughout the Cold War--with arsenals of several thousand deployed weapons would surely cause a globally disastrous nuclear winter.

⁴ In the Russell-Teller debates, internationally televised on Edward R. Murrow's "Small World" (Feb 21, 28, Mar 6, 1960), Teller dismisses Russell as "very greatly exaggerating" the dangers of nuclear war. The debates were shown, courtesy of David Blitz, at the BRS AM at Plymouth State University, 2004.

In the early '80s Teller was also the father of the whimsical "Star Wars" anti-ballistic missile defense system that he proposed to Ronald Reagan. It was Reagan's insistence on such anti missile systems (then outlawed by treaty) that infamously killed a near agreement (with Gorbachev) on *total* nuke disarmament (Reykjavik 1986).

(John Fischer) of *Harper's Magazine*.⁵ The editor rebuked Russell's well supported warnings on the dangers of accidental nuclear launch, denying claims that U.S. missiles "rest upon warning systems of a few minutes," insisting they have "elaborate safeguards," that an accidental launch is "virtually inconceivable."⁶ Russell's *Harper's* exchange anticipated Eric Schlosser's 2014 exposé of decades of Pentagon disregard for nuclear safety. (Russell set Fischer straight on his objection to Russell's description of nuclear war as "genocide"; Russell says it is "a simple matter of definition... the murder of hundreds of millions is genocide.")

It's remarkable that Russell's "great exaggerations" 60 years ago, turn out today to have been essentially correct.

Lies and Secrets

Ellsberg reveals two "secrets" long hidden or denied by the U.S. government sources.

Why the U.S. rejects a "no first use" policy

U.S. has always rejected a "no first-use" pledge--unlike China, India, N. Korea (in 2017), and Russia (from 1984 until 1993 when Yeltzin revoked the pledge after NATO's creep eastward). So why the U.S. rejection?

Ellsberg argues *it provides the basis of credibility for making tactical nuclear threats* (secretly, publicly, by media) *to win concessions from rival states*. All U.S. presidents since 1945 have "used" nukes in this threatening way⁷ despite the egregious violation of international law.⁸

Delegation of nuclear authority, and doomsday machines

One of the least known, but most dangerous secrets is that U.S. presidents have never had sole authority over the use of nuclear weapons. It has always been delegated away from the president and the Pentagon to generals and their subordinates outside Washington, and on military bases abroad.

This arrangement is supposed to discourage a Soviet first-strike (on Washington), which would decapitate central command and control (and the president), thus making communication and retaliation impossible. Delegation *away from Washington* would still allow the U.S. effective retaliation to such a strike, and would serve as a deterrent against such a strike—*provided the enemy*

⁵ See my *Yours Faithfully*, *Bertrand Russell*, pp. 341-47. The collection includes many such highly instructive public letters on the nuclear peril.

⁶ Russell obtained much of his information from the *Mershon Report* (1963, which he cites) and Pugwash scientists. See my review of Schlosser's *Command and Control* in *Russell* (Summer 2014, pp. 84-91).

⁷ In his *Doomsday* (Ch. 20) Ellsberg gives many examples, explicit and implicit. Obama may be an exception. He was attracted to the idea of "no first use", although his military advisors apparently talked him out of it.

⁸ United Nations Charter Art. 2(4) (1945) and UN Res. 36/100 (1981)

knew that U.S. nuclear authority had been delegated. This has always been a secret, although its secrecy makes a surprise attack more likely—and doomsday as well.

The term “doomsday machine” appeared in Stanley Kubrick’s 1963 dark comedy *Dr. Strangelove*.⁹ In the film’s nail-biting crisis a B-52 bomber is loose on an unauthorized mission (caused by a psychotic Air Force general) to “nuke” Moscow. The U.S. president desperately tries to stop/intercept the bomber before it gets to its target, especially after he’s told by the Soviet ambassador that the Soviets have recently pre-delegated nuclear authority away from Moscow to a secret “doomsday machine” pre-set to launch automatically a full nuclear retaliation on the U.S. once any nuclear bombs explode on Moscow. Despite Soviet help, Moscow is hit and it is doomsday for all. The lesson? Do not make a secret of delegated nuclear authority—whether or not through an automatic system.

The Soviets actually had such a secret doomsday machine (“the Perimeter”) in the last decade of the Cold War.¹⁰ The machine was never dismantled.

What now?

Ellsberg realizes, as did Russell in his call to duty, that any solution must include renewed public nuclear awareness.

A final moral observation, which Ellsberg expresses and with which, I’m sure, Russell would agree: that to prepare for the use of nuclear weapons, is preparation for, and willingness to risk, omnicide—the murder of all. There is no moral justification for any person, or any nation, to have that kind of power. Our goal must then be to eliminate nuclear weapons “under strict and effective international control.”¹¹ Meanwhile it is timely and paramount to reduce superpower arsenals to the levels of the other seven nuclear states, and then all nuclear arsenals to levels below the threshold of a catastrophic nuclear winter, as close to zero as possible.



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⁹ Also see Russell’s *Has Man A Future?* (Penguin, 1961), p. 70.

¹⁰ In the early-80s the Soviets, fearing a U.S. first strike from highly accurate MIRVed ICBMs and the Bush Sr./Reagan talk of “winning a nuclear war”, actually built their “Dr. Strangelove” machine to automatically respond to a nuke attack on Moscow. The Peace-keeper ICBMs (great euphemism!), decommissioned in 2005, each had 10 independently targetable warheads, each of 300kt force--25 times that of the Hiroshima nuke.

¹¹ Art. 6, 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.



Russell's eyeglasses and case, his Nobel Prize medal,
and original CND pins

Courtesy the Library, McMaster University

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