

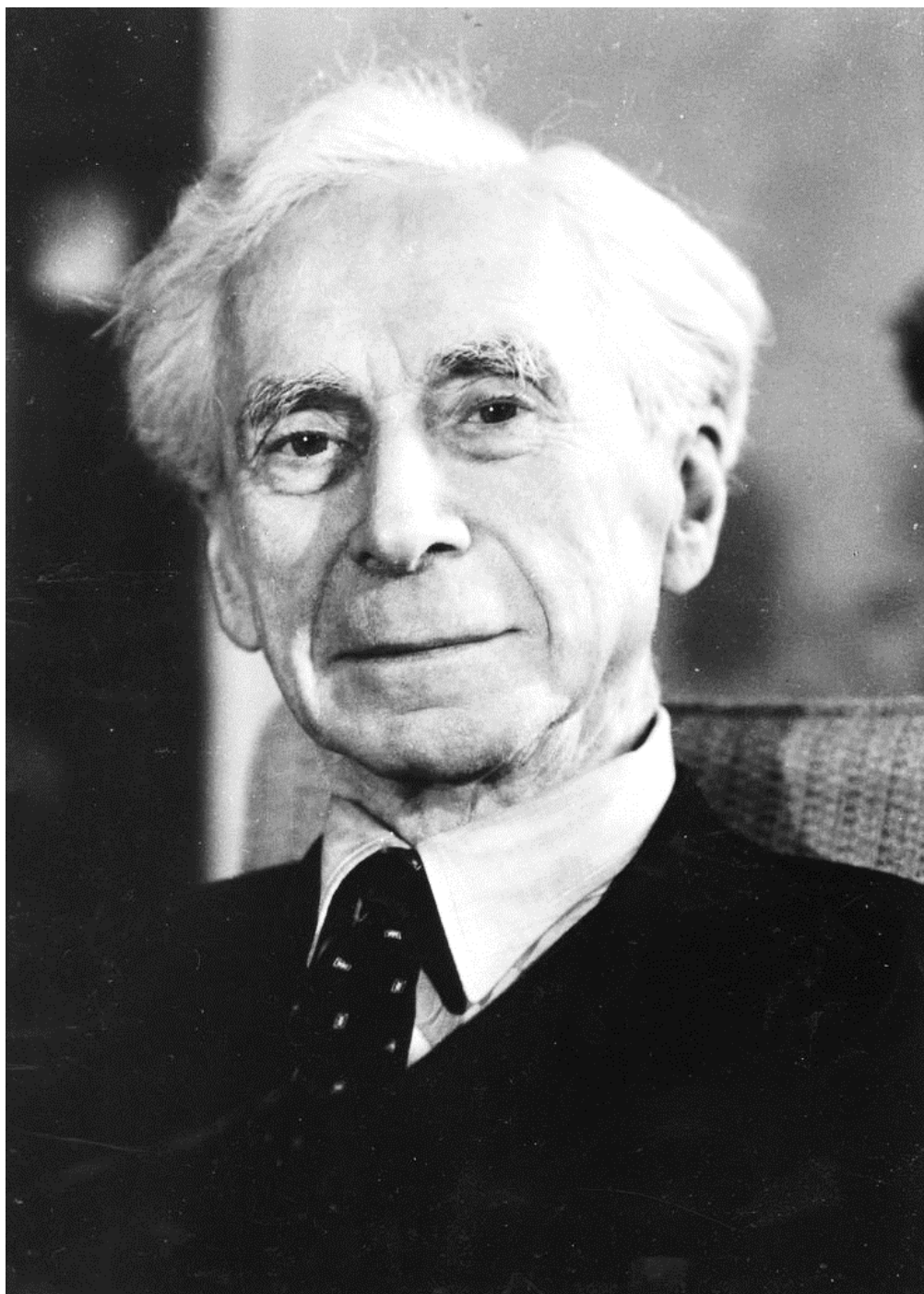
The Bertrand Russell Society

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# BULLETIN



*New Home for the Bertrand Russell Research Centre and Archive*

## 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 biannually 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.bertrandrussellsociety.org/bulletin/](http://www.bertrandrussellsociety.org/bulletin/).

Renewal dues should be paid on or by January 1st each year. One's membership status can be determined by visiting [russell.mcmaster.ca/brsmembers.htm](http://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 D. C. Elkind, Treasurer, Bertrand Russell Society, 703 18th Avenue, Unit 5, Coralville, Iowa 52241, USA. The treasurer's email address is [brsocietytreasurer@gmail.com](mailto: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* lists elected and appointed officers of the Bertrand Russell Society.

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# THE BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY

Tim Madigan, President



## Philosophy and Post-War Russell

### Call for Papers for the 2019 Meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society

The Bertrand Russell Society (BRS) will hold its annual meeting at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, from Thursday, June 20 to Saturday, June 22, 2019.

If you are interested in presenting a paper at the meeting, please contact Professor Tim Madigan, President of the Bertrand Russell Society, at [tmadigan@rochester.rr.com](mailto:tmadigan@rochester.rr.com)

Special emphasis will be given to Russell's activities in the post-World War I era, his return to philosophy with the publication and reception of *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*, his new theory of mind in "On Propositions: What they Are and How they Mean," and the various works leading up to *The Analysis of Mind*, and Russell's emerging and changing philosophical and political attitudes at the end of the war and his release from prison.

But we welcome papers on any aspect of Russell's personal life and his thought, work, and legacy. We also welcome proposals for other activities that might be appropriate for the meeting (for example, a master class on an

essay by/about Russell). The abstract should be no longer than two paragraphs. The deadline for submission is April 2, 2019.

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

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

Thank you. We hope to see you at the meeting!

“The good life is one inspired by love and  
guided by knowledge”

# PRESIDENT'S CORNER

Tim Madigan

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The 45th annual Bertrand Russell Society conference, held from June 22 to June 24, also commemorated the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Bertrand Russell Archives at McMaster University. A brand-new home for the Archives and Research Centre was launched at the beginning of the conference, allowing attendees to see the wonderful new facilities which will, one hopes, encourage renewed interest for Russell researchers from around the world. Speakers at the grand opening of the new home included McMaster University President and Vice Chancellor Patrick Deane, University Librarian Vivian Lewis, Honorary Archivist Kenneth Blackwell, and Director of the Bertrand Russell Research Centre Nicholas Griffin. Members of the Society for the Study of the History of Analytic Philosophy, whose conference overlapped with that of the Russell Society, also attended. A good time was had by all.

After the opening ceremony and barbecue (including a cake with Russell's profile on top) it was time to get to work, and the conference proper began with a talk by Carl Spadoni, former Director of the William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections at McMaster University, on "Russell and the Birth of the Campaign for Nuclear Development." It was a nice way to begin a conference with a focus on Russell's philosophical and political activism, in particular his imprisonment one hundred years earlier for his opposition to World War I. This was ably discussed by the Centre's Senior Research Associate Andy Bone, who spoke on "Russell and the Other DORA: the Legal and Political Background to His Prosecution under the Defence of the Realm Act in 1918."

Other talks relating to Russell's activism included David Blitz's "Russell's *History of the World in Epitome (for Use in Martian Schools)*", Stefan Andersson's "Richard Falk and the Russell Tribunals", and Ray Perkins' "Russell's Hopeful Plea to Philosophers and the Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner." John Lenz, our newly elected Chair of the Board, gave a fascinating talk about two Greek anti-war activists, Grigoris Lambrakis and Manolis Glezos, who participated in the famed CND Aldermaston march in 1963, visiting Russell in Wales immediately afterwards. That same year Lambrakis was assassinated by the Greek government (the basis of Costa-Gavras's well-known 1969 film *Z*). Glezos, a World War II resistance fighter, is still alive and, at 95, still fighting on behalf of



human freedom—a very Russellian figure. (See John Lenz’s article about the Greek Left in this issue.)

Other talks relating to the ongoing work of the Archives and Research Centre included Sheila Turcon’s “On Working in the Russell Archives” and Michael D. Stevenson’s “‘The Iowa Lady’: Bertrand Russell and Helen MacLeod Fiske, 1931-1932” which utilized newly discovered letters to provide insights into Russell’s complex interactions with women (including his second and third wives, as well as the mysterious Fiske) during the early 1930s. And, in keeping with the centennial theme, Kenneth Blackwell gave a presentation on “Russell’s Autobiographical Insights in Brixton Prison, 1918”, focusing on the Archives’ newly digitized prison letters. Tony Simpson from the Russell Peace Foundation spoke on the tortured relationships that Russell and Lady Ottoline Morrell had with novelist D.H. Lawrence during the early months of the First World War, and the influence this had on Russell’s commitment to preventing another such war.

While several of the talks related to Russell’s activism, his work in such areas as technical logic, educational theory, mathematical theory, ethics, and popular philosophy was well represented too. In keeping with Russell’s international focus, we were delighted to have presenters from Canada, England, Mexico, Sweden, and the United States gathered together. As has become a tradition, the final session of the conference was a master class led by our former president Alan Schwerin, in this case on “Did Russell Experience an Epiphany in 1911?” Schwerin raised the question—based upon correspondence found in the Archives—of whether or not Russell’s commitment to certainty underwent a major transformation in that year, based in part on his deep emotional connection to Lady Ottoline.

All in all it was a wonderful Russellian weekend. Appropriately enough, this year’s Bertrand Russell Society Award was given to the Archives for its exemplary work in keeping alive the memory and influence of Lord Russell. Ken Blackwell accepted it on behalf of the Archives at the annual banquet.

I encourage everyone reading this to attend the 2019 annual meeting, which will be held at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst under the auspices of newly-elected Vice President Kevin Klement, from Thursday, June 20 to Saturday, June 22, 2019. And do make it a point to visit the new home of the Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre as soon as you can. Tell them “Bertie Sent Me.”

# EDITORIAL ASIDES

## *and a Note about RA4*

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It’s been a good year for Bertrand Russell studies, for the Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre, and for all who take an interest in Russell’s life and work. The opening this June of a new physical home for the Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre [BRARC] is described elsewhere in this number of the *Bulletin*. That event alone made 2018 a stand-out for Bertie and for Russell studies.

But as we know, there’s more to being a Russellian than working in archives and universities and institutions. Beyond all the paper and the organization necessary to our work, there’s just plain...life in all its complexes and complexities, individuals and their interest in matters Russellian. Members of the BRS continue to swim in two streams, as Russell himself did—the writerly/philosophical stream, and the social/political stream.

In 2018 Russell attracted the attention of artist-activists (see the articles by Mears and Filosi). Meanwhile Russell continues to be the subject of intensive archival research (see Landon Elkins’s second instalment in the saga of his work at the Russell Archives), of philosophers (Landini), of historians (Lenz on Russell and the Greek left), and of writer-archivists (Turcon).

In this number of the *Bulletin* and in the next, we publish work from a variety of artistic and scholarly disciplines. It’s a something of a coup to have in this number not one, but *two* articles on Russell in 21<sup>st</sup>-century theatre.

Although we can’t guarantee every issue of the *Bulletin* will feature so broad a range of articles as this one, that is our plan. Bertie’s interests in painting, music, the theatre—all deserve attention in this *Bulletin* (and elsewhere).

Last June your editor conducted a group interview with the five Russellians who gave us the Brixton letters in the middle months of 2018. An edited version of that interview will appear in the spring 2019 *Bulletin*. Meanwhile this *Bulletin* reprints most of a newspaper article about a long-serving Russellian



known to all of us, or nearly all of us—Ken Blackwell. Unsurprisingly he was one of the five Brixtonians, the five BRARC colleagues who made the Brixton letters a fascinating summer-long journey.

We plan to publish in spring 2019 one or two additional new pieces about people who work in our field, giving an idea of the origins of Russellian research, writing, and political action in Europe and North America. Your editor is on the lookout for papers on Russell studies and development in South America and Asia; there are one or two in the pipeline, but more would be welcome.

There's plenty of room for news and writing from our members and friends across the globe. Please think of writing for us. Bertie would approve.

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## *Notes about RA4 and the Russell Research Centre*

The first, second, and third major accessions to the Bertrand Russell Archives at McMaster occurred between the late 1960s and 2018. The catalogue of the First Archives was published in 1967 (Continuum), the Second Archives in 1992 (Thoemmes), and the Third continues electronically. Now the Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre have received RA4—a large and intriguing treasure-trove from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in London. There'll be more about RA4 in the next *Bulletin*.

Meanwhile, for the convenience of our readers, here's part of Andy Bone's recent note about the year's work at the Bertrand Russell Research Centre (the full text is at <http://russell.mcmaster.ca/2018note.htm>).

*[Andrew Bone on the work of the Russell Research Centre in 2018]*

*2018 has been a busy and productive, if not momentous, year in the life of the Bertrand Russell Research Centre. The most significant development has been the movement of the BRRC from the ground floor of Mills library to magnificent new quarters across from one of the main entrances of McMaster University. The Bertrand Russell Archives have made the same journey and now occupy the ground floor of the same custom-converted, former residential building, with the BRRC located on the upper storey.*

The [grand opening](#) of the new Bertrand Russell Archives and Research Centre took place on 22 June. The event was presided over by the university president, Patrick Deane, and attended by McMaster staff, faculty, students and retirees. Russell scholars from around the world were also present as the opening ceremonies had been timed to coincide with the annual meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society, held at McMaster in 2018. The BRRC's Ken Blackwell was presented with a special award in recognition of his half-century of service to the Russell Archives and Russell Studies.

The BRS's AGM took place over the weekend of 21–23 June, following immediately after the seventh annual conference of the Society for the Study of History of Analytic Philosophy (19–21 June). The Centre's Nick Griffin was one of the keynote speakers at the SSHAP conference, with a talk entitled "Russell's Book on the Elements of Logic". Both conference programs, including abstracts of papers presented, can be viewed [here](#) and [here](#).

At the BRS meeting, the Russell Archives were named as recipients of the BRS's annual award, to mark fifty years of dedicated custodianship of the Russell collection. Many other activities and events have been coordinated around this important half-centenary, "The Year of Russell", by the BRRC and the McMaster University Library—not least the formal opening of the new building. The signal research contribution of the BRRC to these celebrations has been the preparation of a scholarly, digital edition of [Russell's prison correspondence](#) from Brixton in 1918. For four-and-a-half months in the spring and summer, each of Russell's letters—some officially sanctioned, but many more smuggled out of prison by his visitors—was released exactly 100 years after it was written.

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On 22 September the [2018 Bertrand Russell Peace Lecture](#) was presented by Dr. Andrew Bacevich, Professor Emeritus of International Relations and History at Boston University. Entitled "What Hath Trump Wrought?", the lecture examined the significance of the Trump presidency from the conservative perspective of a longstanding critic of American foreign policy. The previous day (21 September), International Peace Day, Dr. Bacevich participated in a panel discussion of current prospects for peace.

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# Digging in at the Bertrand Russell Research Centre

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*Editor's note: In the previous Bulletin, Landon Elkind explored ("Digging in a Library Basement") the early stages of his acquaintance with the Bertrand Russell Archives. In this follow-up essay, Landon writes about the Russell Archivists and about holdings that helped him in his work on logical atomism. Since Landon's first essay appeared, the Archives have moved from the basement of the Mills Memorial Library to the main floor of a new archival home—hence the changed language of the title.*

In this concluding segment, I begin with the Bertrand Russell Archives itself. That means talking about the Archives staff, and about its holdings.

The staff were the most important feature of my visit: they were kind and that was worth more than any rare or revealing document, even about Bertrand Russell. Ken Blackwell, Bev Bayzat, Bridget Whittle, Renu Barrett, and Myron Groover were all terrific and patient with my *many* requests.

One neat fact about the Archives at McMaster University was that they allow folks to handle documents without gloves. I did not at all expect to have the feeling of touching Russell's papers, which he held in his own hands about a century ago, with my own hands. That was a remarkable feeling for a first-time archival visitor!

I want to include among Archival staff the people upstairs in the Russell Research Centre, Andrew Boone, Arlene Duncan, and Sheila Turcon. All extended many kindnesses to me. Chief among them was being invited to daily coffee chats: anyone who knows my rates of coffee consumption and garrulousness will understand what a treat coffee and conversation is for me.

The Archives hold tens of thousands of records relating to Russell—143 meters of textual records. Even the online BRACERS database of just Russell's correspondence has 133,000 records with over 44,000 correspondents. There are also other documents and artifacts related to Russell's life, and in keeping with the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebration of the Archives, some are referenced elsewhere in this issue of the *Bulletin*.

Russell's personal library lives on in Archives. The books remain in the order in which Russell put them. One of the most impressive (to me, at any rate) was an edition of *The Principles of Mathematics* signed by Ludwig Wittgenstein.

The Archives were directly and crucially important in my own work on logical atomism. The chiefly important documents were (1) unpublished materials

clarifying what Russell's logical atomism is, and (2) unpublished materials clarifying Russell's evolving notions of a complex and of a fact. I have space to discuss only (1).



*University Hall, Gordon Square in London,  
where Russell gave his logical atomism lectures*

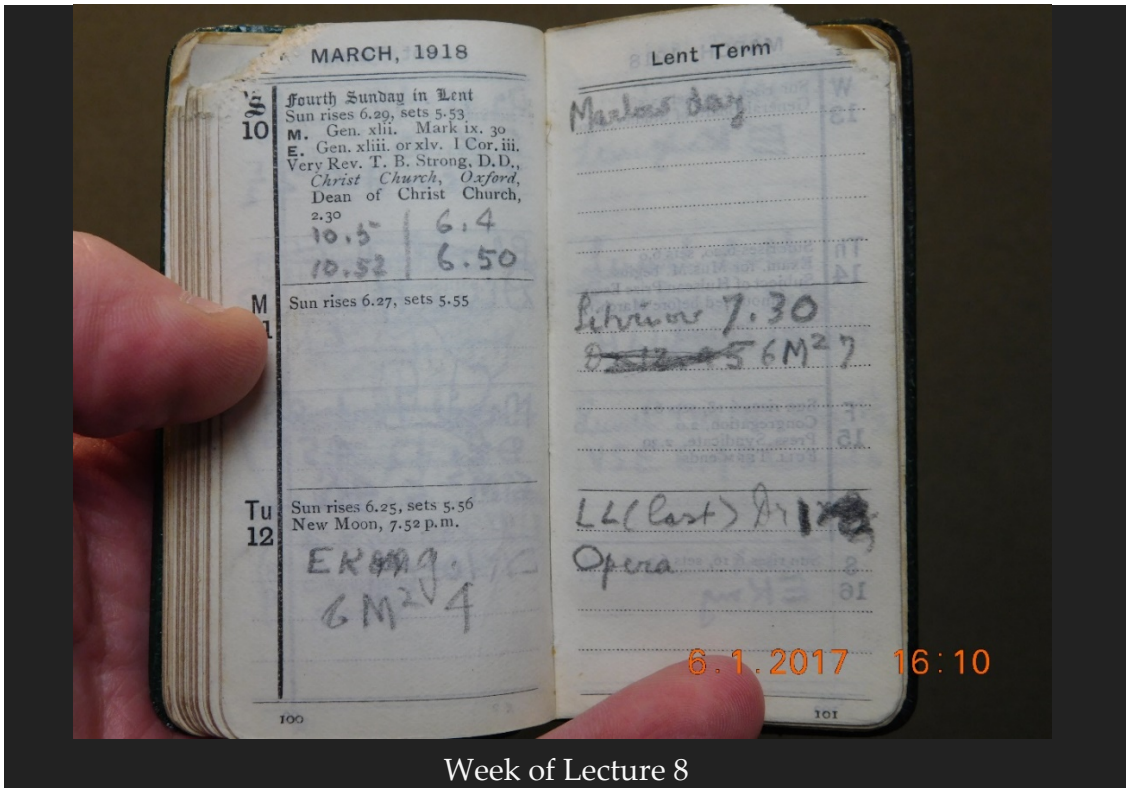
To set the stage, Russell's logical atomism is widely understood by scholars as the combination of two views, one in metaphysics and one in epistemology. The metaphysical view is that there are unanalyzable simples composing all other things. The epistemological view is that knowledge requires the analysis of ordinary objects into clearly-known and simple entities. There will

then be a perfect match between statements in an ideal philosophical language and the structure of the facts described by those statements.

In my PhD thesis I argue that *logical atomism*, as advanced by Russell, is rather a *logical view*. A logical atomist claims that we need a powerful logic to solve—in some cases, to dissolve—philosophical problems: a higher-order logic, with all its ontological commitments and its non-tautologous theses, is required for studying philosophical problems—say, truth-maker theories, grounding, and composition of ordinary objects.

All well and good—except, where is the evidence for this claim? Well, I marshal the published texts in my dissertation! Please read it when it finds a publisher. But my archival work last summer turned up fascinating corroborating evidence for my thesis.

The neatest evidence came from Russell’s pocket diaries. Russell’s logical atomism is most widely known through his weekly logical atomism lectures in University Library on Tuesday, January 22, 1918 to Tuesday March 18, 1918. In Russell’s pocket diaries, he describes his appointment to give each logical atomism lectures as “LL” — or “**Logic Lectures.**” After the last lecture, Russell rewarded himself: he went to the opera!



Week of Lecture 8

On their own, these pocket diaries are not hugely significant. But taken together with his published writings, they underscore the main thesis of my dissertation: *these are logic lectures, not acquaintance lectures or ontological-simples lectures*. The unpublished materials I found support the view that Russell's logical atomism is a logical view. They show that Russell saw his own logical atomism lectures as a work of logic. (In my view, the winter 1918 logical atomism lectures are companions to the fall 1917 lectures on the foundations of mathematics that became *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*. This is a slightly riskier claim I hope to defend at a future Russell Society meeting.)

I hope soon to write a follow-up to Robert C. Marsh's 1956 letters to Russell about the distinction between a fact and a complex in 1918. This and much else in my future work on Russellian matters began with the Graduate College at the University of Iowa and the T. Anne Cleary fellowship that made this discovery, and many others, possible.

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## *This Evil Thing* in the United States

Michael Mears  
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*This Evil Thing*, a play about Britain's World War I conscientious objectors, written and performed by myself, toured this spring to nine American states, and presented at seventeen different venues.

The play features among its stories that of Bertrand Russell's involvement with the pacifists and the No-Conscription Fellowship during the First World War.

It is ironic to think that just over 100 years ago, as a result of his tireless work and agitation for the conscientious objectors (C.O.), and his public speeches to large crowds, sometimes outdoors, where he would put the case for immediate peace negotiations, Russell had been denied a United States passport, thereby preventing him from taking up an invitation from Harvard to lecture there in early 1917.

But here he was in 2018 (in the guise of my portrayal of him and with the aid of my own passport), entering the United States to argue once more in favour of peace and the rights of C.O.s; passionately urging Prime Minister Asquith to ensure that none of the C.O.s shipped to France would be executed. '*Will They Be Shot?*' was the heading of his letter to the *Herald* in May 1916 – and that phrase rings out in the play as Russell tackles Asquith directly.

Before I set off in early March, I did wonder how the play with its British subject matter and stories would be received in the United States, where it seems there is more knowledge and interest in WW2 than WW1.

I felt that certain phrases and words in the play might have to be tweaked to help an American audience. I couldn't guarantee, for example, that everyone watching would know that 'Cambridge' referred to the university. At another point in the play, in the garden at Garsington Manor, Russell comments on Asquith's 'plus-fours' – I thought I'd best spell out for non-golfers that these are in fact 'baggy golf breeches'. One phrase that I forgot to alter however was Russell describing being snubbed by some of the dons at 'high table'.



'Is that like high tea?' one American friend asked me. Well, not exactly, but I suppose it's in the right area.

In the United Kingdom version of the play I keep Judge Sir John Dickinson's sentencing of Russell (to six months in Brixton Jail in 1918) very brief – but in the United States I thought it worth adding these comments of the Judge: *'You have insulted by deliberate and designed sneer the army of America, a great nation that is closely allied to us!'*

Russell later wrote that he had never 'felt anything equal to the concentrated venom of the magistrate – it was a blast of hatred, quite astonishing.'

Despite my concerns, *This Evil Thing* exerted a powerful spell on American audiences, who were stimulated afterward into discussing their own situation, in the First War and up to the present day. I hadn't taken into account the numbers of C.O.s who would be present in my audiences – C.O.s from the Vietnam War era (in their late 60s and early 70s), and one or two even from the Korean War era. There were also a fair number of 'war-tax resisters', some who had withheld symbolic sums in protest at United States military spending, others who had withheld significant amounts – and suffered the consequences as a result. One hundred years after Russell had been stripped of his lectureship at Cambridge, denied the right to travel abroad, and been imprisoned for articles he had written, here I was among American pacifists who were equally willing in many cases to risk their livelihood and freedom.

The tour of the play was set up and sponsored by the Center on Conscience and War (CCW) based in Washington DC. Among other tasks they work tirelessly to help guide young men and women in the United States military who have developed a conscientious objection through the complex paperwork, documentation and procedures necessary to disentangle themselves and receive a discharge.

The presence of some of these young men and women in the audience also added a frisson to the performance. One young man gave a moving account in the Q and A afterwards of how he had become increasingly troubled by his work on drone operations, to the point where he felt that enough was enough and needed to get out. The CCW helped him achieve this.

All in all, it seemed to me that 'conscientious objection' was a far more 'live' issue than in the United Kingdom. I was astonished to learn that young men of 18 have to 'register' and that failure to do so can, in certain states, affect their entitlements to further education grants, driving licences etc. - and that on the

registration form there is no provision to state that one is a C.O. (if that is the case).

I wonder what Russell would have had to say about that. In Britain in 1915 we had a national registration scheme – but it would be impossible to imagine such a thing being accepted in the UK today.

It was a wonderful experience performing the play in places as varied as Mennonite Churches, Quaker Meeting Houses, University Theatres, a Catholic Worker dining room (in South Bend, Indiana), and at the Buffalo History Museum.

And in the Q and As after performances I made a point of highlighting Russell's numerous American connections – and mentioned, for example, his long letter to President Woodrow Wilson, urging him to initiate peace talks.

In every scene in which Russell appears, I felt his 'international' appeal, if I may call it that. His scenes are always well received in the UK, but I was pleased to see how his erudition, razor-sharp intellect, and wry wit travel very well – always accompanied by his pipe.

For the scene in Brixton Jail, when Russell is describing the comforts of 'First Division' treatment, such as flowers and furniture, I take a little bit of dramatic licence and have him offer some of the chocolates that he has received (probably from Ottoline Morrell?) to members of the audience.

This moment always goes down well. As does the extemporised line I give Russell, as he reassures those who have taken the chocolates – 'They are *genuine*.'

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*Michael Mears has been working as a professional actor in the UK for over three decades including spells with the National Theatre, Royal Shakespeare Company, Peter Hall Company and in London's West End. He has also written eight solo plays for the stage and BBC radio. He lives in London.*

*La conquista della felicità* —  
The Conquest of Happiness: A Dialogue  
between Bertrand Russell  
and Cassiopea

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“The Conquest of Happiness. A Dialogue between Bertrand Russell and Cassiopea” is a theatrical performance first staged in the summer of 2017. The show is a production of TrentoSpettacoli, a theatrical company founded in 2010 and based in Trento, in the north of Italy. The show was written and is directed by Maura Pettoruso and stars Stefano Pietro Detassis.

Bertrand Russell’s ideas sometimes invite theatrical presentation and sometimes resist it. In the case of *Conquest*, the “origin story” deserves to be told, since it is not self-evidently the case that the *Conquest of Happiness* was meant to be staged.

After performing several shows together, Maura, Stefano and I, the general manager of TrentoSpettacoli, in spring 2016 felt the need to construct a new one. During a dinner discussion, the name of Bertrand Russell came up. To me, a graduate in philosophy at the University of Milan in 2006, the thing could not but please. I considered that Russell’s ideas did indeed suggest a theatrical form: his depth of thought, openness of mind, dedication to a cause, ability to live his/your own time, and to have an impact on the world — all were suggestive.

Maura, who is responsible for writing the script, began to read every book available in Italy by and about Bertrand Russell. We met philosophy and mathematics professors and scholars all around Italy, and began to imagine a dramaturgical path through the life of Russell. Our idea was to speak, through his thoughts and words, about us and our time, about a ‘conquest of happiness’ that perhaps our time has lost.

In spring 2016 we involved in the project Maria Paola Di Francesco, a set designer who thought and realized in theatrical practice the imaginary clod of earth on which we would place Russell, in a hypothetical post-mortem journey in the silence of the infinite spaces of the universe, to be illuminated by Alice Colla, our light designer. The script was ready, and so were the *mise en scène* and the costumes. Rehearsals began in our small theatre, which would take us to June 2017 to debut at the Asti Theatre Festival in Piedmont. The play excited and involved people and made them think. It seemed to us a touching tribute to one of the greatest thinkers and personalities of the twentieth century, and at the same time an invitation to live our times in fullness and authenticity, without renouncing anything, keeping faith with ideas and yet maintaining a tension *vis-à-vis* a concept of happiness, ours/yours and everyone else's.

It was a message we then offered in a month of re-runs in our 50-seat theatre in Trento—Spazio Off—sold out for all 20 evenings. Bertrand Russell brought us luck, but above all, thanks to his thought, we managed to meet a new, curious, passionate audience. Now the show will go to Milan in March 2019, and one day we would like to take it abroad. Who knows?!



*THE CONQUEST OF HAPPINESS*

*A Dialogue between Bertrand Russell and Cassiopeia  
with Stefano Pietro Detassis*

*scenes and costumes Maria Paola Di Francesco*

*light design Alice Colla*

*organization Daniele Filosi*

*script and direction Maura Pettorruso*

*a TrentoSpettacoli production*

*with the support of Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities  
and of Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Trento e Rovereto*

EDITOR'S NOTE

Readers will find a video (in Italian) for this production at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bNiqsYFfQYU&feature=youtu.be>

There is a complete website, with descriptive texts and photos, at

<http://www.trentospettacoli.it/la-conquista-della-felicita/>



# Quine's Neo-Grelling Way of Paradox is an Indexical Liar

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In Quine's paper "Paradox," we are offered an opportunity to consider a disturbing paradox.<sup>1</sup> It is this:

"yields a falsehood when appended to its own quotation" yields a falsehood when appended to its own quotation.

It is discussed in his book *The Ways of Paradox* and offered as a new way.

Quine notes that it is "on a par" with Grelling's (1908) semantic paradox of *Heterological*. I doubt he meant to say that it is on a par with the Grelling. He meant to say that it captures what the Grelling had hoped but failed to do without engaging in equivocation. Recall that Grelling hoped to generate a paradox simply by assuming there is a property *Het* (being Heterological) as follows:

a predicate expression exemplifies *Het* if and only if it denotes a property it does not exemplify.

Thus for example, "is long" has the property *Het* because "is long" is a predicate expression and it is not long. Similarly, "is monosyllabic" exemplifies *Het*. In contrast, "is short" does not exemplify *Het* because "is short" is a predicate expression and is indeed short.

Nowadays the Grelling is widely regarded as little more than an equivocation on the meaning of "denotes." Any such notion is quite naturally tied to the fixed devices of some or other specified language.<sup>2</sup> One requires "denotes-*L*" where *L* is a fixed list of primitives from which predicate expressions can admissibly be formed. So modified, the Grelling assumption is that for each *L*, there is a property *H* such that:

a predicate expression of *L* exemplifies *H* iff it denotes-*L* a property it does not exemplify.

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<sup>1</sup> See Quine (1962).

<sup>2</sup> See for example Myhill (1979), p. 89



Accepting this assumption, however, yields no paradox whatsoever. In a desperate effort to salvage a paradox, one might try out the assumption that there is a property  $H^*$  such that for every  $L$ :

a predicate expression of  $L$  exemplifies  $H^*$  iff it denotes- $L$  a property it does not exemplify.

But there is no good reason at all to think this assumption should be true. No Grelling paradox arises. That is, the Grelling involves an equivocation and is thus easily dismissed. Long lost to history, in 1906 Russell's own take on the semantic paradoxes offered by Richard, König/Dixon and Berry was to dismiss them as equivocations in just exactly this same way.<sup>3</sup> These are not genuine ways of paradox.

This is not to say that indexical Liar paradoxes and descriptive Liar paradoxes were thought by Russell to be justly dismissed in this same way. That was Tarski's idea, not Russell's. Indeed, before *Principia Mathematica*, Russell couldn't embrace true- $L$  as a semantic relation. Russell had held at that earlier time an ontology of propositions with 'truth' and 'falsehood' genuine properties (that are, as he put it, as primitive as the whiteness and redness of roses). This militates against his regarding 'truth' as a semantic relation. So while Russell dismissed paradoxes based on equivocations of "denotes," "names" and "refers" he was not prepared to similarly treat Liar paradoxes by invoking true- $L$ .<sup>4</sup>

The engaging and inviting point is that Quine's neo-Grelling (if I may so call it) is quite remarkable if indeed it is able to evade entirely the equivocation that infests the original Grelling. More amazingly still, if successful, it would offer a way of paradox without exploiting self-reference induced by the use of an indexical (as does the typical indexical Liar: *This sentence is false*). Quine's neo-Grelling seems, therefore, to be in a very special category and deserves special attention—if it were successful.

There is a needling worry that Quine's paradox is not successful at being unique. I do not have in mind the interesting concerns raised by Boolos (1995)

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<sup>3</sup> See Russell (1906a), p. 185. This paper was not published, but the same point occurs in Russell (1906b), p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Russell seems never to have discussed the Grelling. I have, however, a *seeming* memory of discovering something relevant to the Grelling in the *Collected Papers*. It was independent of the important reviews reproduced in vol. 10 of Ramsey's papers. Unfortunately, I cannot now recover it. The Grelling cannot be formulated in *Principia* because, according to Whitehead and Russell's intended nominalistic (modern "substitutional") semantics for its bindable predicate variables, a *wff* " $\psi^{(o.(o))}(x^o, \varphi^{(o)})$ " is interpreted in the semantics as standing in for a *wff* that puts " $\varphi^{(o)}$ " in a predicate position. But obviously the *wff* "denotes ( $x, F$ )" does not put the expression " $F$ " into a predicate position. See Landini (1998).



about mating quotation marks. Boolos accepts that the Quine paradox is quite unique indeed; and he thinks the feat is performed by quotation itself, which is doing the work otherwise done by the use of an indexical producing self-reference. I have a much simpler point in mind. Quine's neo-Grelling exploits an entirely colloquial use of "yields ...when..." What exactly does this phrase mean? Clearly what Quine intends it to mean an instruction. We are to form a *wff* by appending a given predicate expression to its quotation. This is why Quine's paradox merits characterization as a neo-Grelling. For example, if one forms a *wff* by appending "is short" to its quotation one gets:

"is short" is short.

This *wff* is true. While appending "is long" to its quotation one gets:

"is long" is long

This *wff* is false. But once we see what instruction is intended, we see as well that notion of "yields ... when..." that Quine invokes is elliptical for the following more careful expression which it disguises:

is the predicate expression of the false *wff* resulting from appending this predicate expression to its own quotation.

Thus, Quine's neo-Grelling paradox is just a colloquially disguised statement of the following:

"is the predicate expression of the false *wff* resulting from appending this predicate expression to its own quotation" is the predicate expression of the false *wff* resulting from appending this predicate expression to its own quotation.

Now, nothing in spelling out Quine's paradox in this way undermines it being a genuine paradox. The above is indeed the result of just such an appending—provided that the indexical "this" as used is hitting its intended target. Hence, if it is true, then it is false. If it is false, then either it is not the *wff* resulting from the appending or it is not false. But since clearly it is the *wff* resulting from such an appending, it is not false (i.e., it is true).

The upshot is that Quine's neo-Grelling paradox is none other than an indexical Liar in disguise. The disguise is simply produced by his colloquial use of the phrase "yields ...when..." As such, Quine's neo-Grelling does not deserve *special* attention at all. That is, it is not a unique new tack among the *ways of paradox*.

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# Russell's Homes: 41 Queen's Road, Richmond

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Russell's son John and his family were, according to Russell

...living near the Park in a tiny house,<sup>1</sup> much too small for their family of three little children. My son told me that he wanted to give up his job and devote himself to writing. Though I regretted this, I had some sympathy with him. I did not know how to help them as I had not enough money to stake them to an establishment of their own in London while I lived in North Wales. Finally I hit upon the scheme of moving from Ffestiniog and taking a house to share with my son and his family in Richmond. (*Auto*. 3: 69)

In fact, Russell was forced to leave Wales because the house belonged to his wife, Peter, and she chose to sell it to Michael Poston, an economic historian (*Russell Remembered*, p. 44). Russell's move to a new house was the upshot of multiple causes, some connected with the end of his third marriage, some with his children and grandchildren and their difficulties.

Returning to Richmond, where I spent my childhood, produced a slightly ghostly feeling, and I sometimes found it difficult to believe that I still existed in the flesh.... I had hoped vaguely that I might somehow rent Pembroke Lodge and install myself and my family there. As this proved impossible, I took a largish house near Richmond Park, turning over the two lower floors to my son's family and keeping the top two for myself. This had worked more or less well for a time in spite of the difficulties that almost always occur when two families live at close quarters. (*Auto* 3: 69, 70)

On 9 July 1949 Russell wrote to Constance Malleson that

John plans to take a house & let off flats, & in that case I may join in with him to keep the rent in the family. He gave up his job in the Civil Service in order to write, & has at the moment no income. He is absolutely set on writing, & I think will write well, but needs financial help. If I take a flat in his house, I shall be totally independent.

Independence—familial, social, political, intellectual—was crucially important to Russell.

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<sup>1</sup> John's house was at 19 Cambrian Road, which ran from Queen's Road toward Richmond Park. This street is close to the house Russell purchased.

Most details of the purchase of the Queen's Road home in 1949 are not known. John wrote to his father on 12 January 1950 that

It is melancholy that the repairs to the house are going to take so long; but when we went over it with the builders it was obvious that it could not be done properly in a short time; and that it would not be habitable until all the repairs were done, and the damp out of it.

On 3 March Russell wrote to his daughter Kate that "Some optimists maintain that the Richmond house will be habitable before I die." On 11 March John wrote to his father again saying that a target date to move into the upper two floors was 23 March. He had been answering job advertisements. John hoped for a job paying £10 a week by June. In the meantime, he needed financial assistance.

On 21 March 1950 A.P. Tylor of Coward Chance & Co. wrote to Russell that the builders' original estimate for their work was £2,179, not including "the various fittings which have had to be put in hand and which have been selected by John and Susan." Costs had now risen to £2,783, including costs for the bookshelves. Not included was fencing for the garden and putting the garden in order. John planned on paying £100 a year in rent as well as "two thirds of the electricity bills and one half of the rates."

All of these were significant sums. For comparison, a University of London lecturer might earn £400/year in the early 1950s. The average annual salary of *all* UK workers was just over £100/year.<sup>2</sup> Russell's disbursement of £2,783 for house improvements, incurred after paying the original capital cost of the home's purchase, is noteworthy.

John, Susan, and their three daughters moved in before Russell. On 7 April 1950 Susan wrote:

We were wondering if you would like to come to stay here in three weeks' time... John and I are *very* anxious to have you here, and start our house running all together.... We expect to move downstairs at the end of two weeks, and expect to have completed the essential furnishing at the end of three weeks.

That same day John wrote his father to say the phone was in as were the bookshelves. He asks for £388 to cover basic furnishings and a "fence for the back garden where the wall is down...."

Russell wrote to his daughter Kate on 11 April 1950:

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<sup>2</sup> See <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8374130/Facts-about-Britain-at-work-in-the-Fifties.html>.



I am going to Richmond on May 1<sup>st</sup>. I think I shall like it. John & Susan are very glad to have more room; the children were terribly on top of them. I find John's company very agreeable ... He would be utterly sunk if I did not help him financially.

He followed up this letter on 21 May: "It is very nice living here – we have a lot of good talk, & I love the children." This is at odds with a statement in his *Autobiography*: "I suffer also from entering into the lives of John and Susan. They were born after 1914, and are therefore incapable of happiness ... If I had not the horrible Cassandra gift of foreseeing tragedy, I could be happy here, on a surface level. But as it is, I suffer" (12 May 1950, *Auto.* 3: 89).



Queen's Road photographed in 2012 by Sheila Turcon

During his time at Queen's Road, Russell was often away on lecture tours or other extended travel. From June to August 1950 he was in Australia lecturing.

John wrote him on 7 July from 1 Daleham Gardens, London, telling his father that he was “having a complete rest from everything – no Susan, no children, no job ...” Susan was in Harlech. John was in “analysis, calming down, and feeling steadier ...” He had written to “Susan yesterday suggesting she look for a furnished bungalow or cottage in Wales for the summer, with the aim of sending the children & Griff <the nanny> & Frances <the maid?> to her, for the summer.” John noted he was concerned about war and thought his family would be safer in Wales. The family reconnection on Queen’s Road had been fractured for the moment; it is not known who was maintaining the house but presumably domestic staff kept an eye on things.

In autumn 1950 Russell was in America to lecture. While there he visited his daughter Kate in Washington, D.C. and renewed his acquaintance with Edith Finch. He was in the United States when he learned he had won the Nobel Prize for Literature. In December 1950 he travelled to Stockholm for the Prize ceremonies.

In 1951 Edith moved into a flat at 6 Paradise Walk, London SW3. On 24 May he wrote to Edith about the many extramarital affairs of John and Susan. “I alone am stable but I feel giddy with all these changes.” Susan was in Paris, he does not say where John was. The autumn of 1951 Russell went to America on a lecture trip; it was his last time there. Edith accompanied him to Greece in April 1952.

On 28 May 1951 he told Edith that he had “a secretary 6 days a week, & am just starting an autobiography.” During his period of residence at Queen’s Road Russell published a number of books: *Unpopular Essays* (1950), *The Impact of Science on Society* (1951), *New Hopes for a Changing World* (1951), *Satan in the Suburbs* (1953), and *Nightmares of Eminent Persons* (1954). Most of *Portraits from Memory and Other Essays* (1956) was written during the Queen’s Road period. Also dating from this time is the pamphlet *Man’s Peril from the Hydrogen Bomb* (1955; first broadcast on 30 December 1954).

Julie Medlock, his American literary agent, visited him in Richmond. She described the house as “a four-storey cream coloured brick house<sup>3</sup> set behind a low brick wall and a white wooden gate, in a small garden with a flagstone path...” (Medlock, p. 49). The top two floors where Russell lived contained:

a commodious bedroom and bath, a small booklined study, and another book-lined living room which faces the deep back garden. From its huge window, one glimpses trees and lawns, neighbouring English houses and gardens, the steeple of a nearby

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<sup>3</sup> When I photographed the house in 2012 it had red brick walls, as did all the neighbouring houses. The most likely explanation for Medlock’s mistake is that she confused this house with Pembroke Lodge.

church, and a great, changing, expanse of sky. The furnishings are simple, comfortable, worn. There is heavily-laden desk, a daybed stacked with papers and books yet to be read, and, grouped around the fireplace, a tea-table, sofa, and two deep armchairs with lamps beside them for reading ease. (Medlock, p. 50)

Russell's love for children shone through. John's three children visited and he amused them with stories and tea cakes. He thought "They give me hope for this world ...." (Medlock, p. 51). He and Medlock also visited the nearby Richmond Park.

Staff at the Queen's Road house included Lillian Griffith, the children's nanny, and a Mr. Weatherley. In a letter of 30 October 1952 to Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams, Edith mentions a maid called Dinah<sup>4</sup> (*Russell Remembered*, p. 73). When Russell told Dinah Avery that he was going to marry Edith, "She expressed the warmest sentiments about you" (letter to Edith, 22 October 1952).

A valuation of the house contents was done in June 1956 by Hampton & Sons Ltd.<sup>5</sup> It gave a room count: on the top floor were a front bedroom, back bedroom, cistern room and kitchen; on the first floor a right back room, bathroom, right front room and library; on the ground floor a hall, front bedroom, back bedroom and cloakroom; in the basement, a hall, right front room, back room, kitchen, and a passage cupboard.

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<sup>4</sup> Christopher Farley noted that Dinah was the cook (30 December 1957).

<sup>5</sup> RA 2, 762.113146. The valuation was done because Russell did not want to take all his possessions to Wales.





Credit: Sheila Turcon

Russell wrote to Peter Blake, whom he had first met in the early 1940s at his Pennsylvania home, Little Datchet Farm. He told Blake on 30 July 1951, "My life has settled down into one which is comfortable and happy, except in one respect, that <my son> Conrad refuses to have anything whatever to do with me."

Another visitor was his friend Nalle Kielland, who had sent her children to Beacon Hill School. She wrote about her visits to Constance Malleson:

I can well understand that B. wanted to give them <his son's family> a proper place to live, so that John could possibly do his other work out of office hours ... In a way they live apart now, B. has his own servant to look after him, and the others have their ménage apart ... B. with young children is a wonder. He enjoys them, and they adore him of course ....

Nalle also noted John's odd behaviour of constantly playing an accordion, not realising this was the start of a descent into mental illness from which he would never recover (16 Jan. 1952). She made two further visits, meeting Edith there in February 1953, finding her "charming and friendly." Russell and Edith had married on 15 December 1952.

In connection with John's and Susan's behaviours, events in the latter months of 1953 were telling:

At Christmas, 1953 ... My son and his wife decided that, as she said, they were 'tired of children'. After Christmas dinner with the children and me<sup>6</sup>, they left, taking the remainder of the food, but leaving the children, and did not return" (*Auto* 3: 70-1).

Edith's tenancy at 6 Paradise Walk was terminated on 12 February 1953. She and Russell decided to maintain a *pied-à-terre* in London renting a flat at 29 Millbank SW1. Russell agreed to a standing order for rent payment on 14 February 1953. The reason for this decision is not known; presumably they enjoyed their quiet time away from Queen's Road. In June 1952 they let Julie Medlock stay there during the Queen's coronation. She noted it overlooked the Thames and was near the Tate Gallery and the Houses of Parliament (Medlock, p. 175). In March 1953 Russell invited the Crawshay-Willamses back to Millbank for a drink after dinner at Hatchett's.

Nalle Kielland returned to visit in January 1954. "Edith looks well after his house, I think, which he needs, the 3 girls were home for the holidays ... He read to the children every evening" (5 Jan. 1954).

But by 14 March 1955, Dr. Desmond O'Neill wrote that John, who was living with his mother, Dora, was "at times quite helpless and childlike" and required "almost continuous care." In June 1955 John was in Holloway Sanatorium in Virginia Water, Surrey **where he was visited by O'Neill on the 6<sup>th</sup>** as Russell was preparing to move to Plas Penrhyn. **[sentence deleted; part moved up]**

On 22 July 1956 Russell wrote to Dora.

As regards 41, Queen's Road, I know how John loved the house at first and I hoped that he and Susan would settle down there, but it became evident that Susan would not settle anywhere. Both she and John left the house ... without even telling me that they were doing so. Some months after ... I asked John point-blank if he thought of coming back and he said he did not ... You seem to blame me for having sold the house, but I cannot understand on what ground. John and Susan had both refused to live there, and, without them the house was unnecessarily large and awkwardly planned for a single household.

With Russell's new responsibilities—the support of John and his children—the sale of Queen's Road was a way to raise capital.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Edith had the flu.

<sup>7</sup> Russell's divorce from his third wife had been costly. Queen's Road represented the last of his capital.

After a sale to Dennis Rosen fell through, the house was sold to a Mr. Seales in July, with a closing date of 10 August. In the earlier sale, Russell was willing to leave £2,000 on mortgage at 5 ½ %. (Dictated letters of 2 June and 10 July 1956). Moving to Russell's new home, Plas Penrhyn<sup>8</sup> in North Wales, was handled by Harrods Ltd. in nearby Barnes. Packing began 2 July and unpacking ended 6 July. A carpenter from the Harrods Building Department took down the book-shelves and divided them into manageable sections. Russell wanted to be at his new home to receive the goods<sup>9</sup> on 5 July. His possessions were insured for £4,000.

I visited the house in 2012. Queen's Road is a busy street and it was not possible to stand in it to get a photograph of this rather tall house. I noticed a plaque on the house: "Bertrand Russell / Philosopher / Lived Here / 1949-1956". It is not an official blue plaque and was perhaps affixed by a later owner.<sup>10</sup> The 1949 date refers to the date of the purchase by Russell, not the date when the Russells moved in.

The Queen's Road joint family living experiment had ended. Russell was about to begin his final chapter in Wales, his birthplace.

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<sup>8</sup> Rupert and Elizabeth Crawshay-Williams found the house in 1955 after two years of looking (*Russell Remembered*, p. 101).

<sup>9</sup> Many of Russell's possessions from Queen's Road, valued at £630, were sold through Hampton & Sons in June 1956 to avoid transportation costs. They are described in RA2, document 762.113146.

<sup>10</sup> It is not possible to read the plaque from the sidewalk.





Credit: Sheila Turcon

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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. She has recently published in condensed form the first fourteen articles in her series on Russell's homes as The Homes of Bertrand Russell (McMaster University Library Press, 2018).*

# Bertrand Russell and the Post-War Greek Left

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In 2012, George Kalpadakis published (in Greek) *Bertrand Russell and the Post-Civil-War Greek Left*. He told the BRS of the book in July 2017, and I have just translated it for Russellians. The author told me he wanted to chronicle “BR’s contributions to the causes of justice and democracy in Greece.” (The freely available pdf version of the Greek book is at <http://www.openbook.gr/bertrand-russell-kai-metemfyliaki-ellada>.)

Russell had a substantial influence on two legendary figures, two well-known Greeks of the past century, Glezos and Lambrakis.

Bertie’s connection to contemporary Greek politics and society came as something of a surprise. I found limited narrative sources for the connection in Russell’s *Autobiography*, vol. III (1969). To this might be added the excellent chapter “CND and Greece” by Peggy Duff (a founder of CND) in her *Left, Left, Left* (1971); Lawrence Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb* (2009), although good work was derived on this topic from Duff; Spokesman Books’ (BRPF) 2014 translation of *Lambrakis and the Greek Peace Movement* by Panos Trigazis with a preface by Manolis Glezos. Kalpadakis’ book, also prefaced by the remarkable Glezos, is earlier (and cited in Trigazis), but translated only now. There is a helpful chapter on Glezos (with an interview) in *The Full Catastrophe* by James Angelos (2015). Glezos still figures in the news.

There are also many unpublished letters and statements by Russell. I have been going through them in the new Russell Archives, with the help of its highly pleasant and helpful librarians.

It was an honor to translate Glezos and to learn of his connection with Russell. In 1941, Manolis Glezos and another teenager climbed the rocky Acropolis guarded by German soldiers and tore down the Nazi flag. This is one of the



most heroic acts in all of Greek history, including ancient Greece, today commemorated by a moving plaque on the site. Glezos lives today, a legendary symbol of the Resistance. Picasso drew for him (1959) the dove of peace flying over the Parthenon. It turns out Glezos was among the admirers of Russell who brought the CND peace movement to Greece in 1963.

To be sure, earlier anti-nuclear groups existed in this politically self-aware country, and Russell was not the only foreign supporter/activist in the anti-nuclear movement. Indeed, Russell's account of his visit to Greece in 1952 is rather dull (*Autobiography* III); remarkably, he shows no interest in the Cold War politics of the country, but writes as a typical tourist. (Sheila Turcon suggests Russell was getting away from troubles at home with his son John at that very time.)

Greece had just been through a deadly civil war. The Communists lost as Western backing buttressed centrist and right-wing forces. Russell seems to take for granted Greece's re-absorption in the Western sphere. (Byron's philhellenism can be seen the same way, earlier.) But Greek authorities considered peace a "subversive idea" and a sign of communism. In 1951 a 22-year-old was judicially executed for collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal for Peace.

Russell got involved in Greece through his support for political prisoners. These were former communists and leftists who had lost the civil war, even after leading the resistance against the Nazis. Russell did not take sides in the internal politics of Greece; as I noted, he assumed Greece was and would remain Western, but he regretted that British and American forces pulled its government to the Right. Peggy Duff writes, "In Greece, the peace movement was something more .... It was also a campaign for human rights ...."

Russell fought for the rights of minorities against the majority who held power. He championed Greek leftists because they were persecuted for "their political and religious opinions." In his *Autobiography* he links his work for Greek political prisoners with, in the next sentence, helping Palestinian refugees. (Although the Archives contain boxes of such papers, no researcher has taken full advantage of their contents.) In the tradition of Mill and Voltaire (rather than of Che Guevara, as Ray Monk claims), Russell defended free speech, free thought, and the individual against authority. Also important for him (since WWI) is the premise that it is easy to attack one's enemies, but we should criticize faults in our own governments. As abuses arose in Greece he became harsh in his attitudes to Greek, British and American government policies.

Russell's own work moved to supporting the growing antinuclear movement in Greece. In the words of Peggy Duff (a founder of CND), this movement "for a

time, was extraordinarily effective." Wittner writes, "The antinuclear campaign made one of its dramatic debuts in Greece."

Inspired by the CND and the annual Aldermaston marches, some young leftists in Athens formed what they called the "Bertrand Russell Youth League for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace." A Russell Society of Greece formed in 1962-63! It was independent of any political parties. It had an office in downtown Athens right behind the university, it published an anthology of Russell's works (entitled in Greek *What I Believe*), and featured Russell on the cover of the periodical *Roads to Peace (Dromoi)*.

One of the members was Manolis Glezos. He writes:

... all of us who experienced the horror of the Second World War and ... (the) Cold War ... feel the heated voice of opposition to irrationality. Bertrand Russell was, for all Greeks, not only the unyielding adversary of war, but also the free thinker, the pure guileless philhellene. We first heard his voice when, from 1945 on, he publicly condemned British and American politics towards Greece. We knew him to be a supporter of political prisoners. And our paths crossed with him in the campaign for nuclear disarmament. [A] group of Greek students ... responded immediately to his call and formed the Bertrand Russell Youth League for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace.

Four of its members marched in the Aldermaston march in April 1963, including Glezos and Lambrakis. They were given the second international position (behind Japan) in honor of the resistance.

They went on to meet Russell at his house in Wales. Glezos had reservations. After all, like Russell, he was suspicious of authority; and Russell was an authority-figure. Some felt "the good Lord" might be too elitist, or at least too elite, to be a man of the people. As Norman Birnbaum told me with a sneer a few years ago (2012), "he wrote letters to the *Times*." Glezos answers this nicely:

Despite my own private reactions, my reservations about titled nobles – 'what business do I have with a lord', on the one hand, and on the other my opposition to every leading figure, I was eager for the meeting, because the pacifist philosopher had stood by the side of the Greek political prisoners.

He describes their meeting:

Russell received us lying down on a chaise lounge. The elderly man, despite being absolutely up-to-date on the state of affairs [or 'the police state'] in Greece, wanted to learn still more and to be equipped with more arguments in his struggle to put an end to the 'humiliation of the Greek people,' as he emphasized. The discussion circled around and around the subjects of nuclear disarmament and how to overcome 'human folly,' as he put it. His calm style, the depth and breadth of his reflections impressed me. I understood, absolutely, why the specialness of

Bertrand Russell lies in the fact that both his scientific presence and his activism had the aim, not to mark him out as a leader, but to awaken the consciences of human beings to a movement of collective self-awareness, so that the fate of humanity would depend on themselves and their will alone.

Glezos appreciates Russell's exceptional commitment and support. He knows the power of thought to improve the world; it is important to see that this underlies "street-fighting" (so to speak). He sums him up:

Defiant in the face of any form of power, devoted to the worship of the Free Man, with a very broad worldwide perspective of freedom for all of humanity. All these things seem like a fantasy vision. However, he strove and he fought for it to be realized.

That's the good news. The bad news is what happened in Greece. Dr. Gregory Lambrakis had carried the "Greece" banner at Aldermaston. The Greek Russell Society planned a similar march a month later, from Marathon to Athens in April 1963. The great composer Theodorakis composed a song for it; the poet Ritsos was involved.

A photo shows Lambrakis with the banner "ELLAS" flanked by two peace symbols (then called the CND symbol). But he was the only person able to march. The Greek government banned the march. They thought peace activists were communists. They wanted American bases, missiles, and money. The police mistreated about 2,000 protestors and arrested many and would not let anyone march or even get to the starting-point. Lambrakis had immunity as an MP but was roughed up by the police and could not finish.

Near the Marathon mound two banners read, "Russell and his followers out of our sacred soil", and "Keep the communist march out of Marathon". Right-wing protestors chanted "Down with Peace!"

Russell's representative, Pat Pottle, was injured and hustled out of the country. He wrote, "I was kicked and hit in the face...When it was realized I was English and was representing Bertrand Russell, their methods changed and they gave me coffee, cigarettes, and sandwiches." Russell complained strongly in letters to the press and statements (there are many).

Yves Montand played Lambrakis in the classic political movie, *Z* by Costa-Gavras. Why? A month after his failed Russellian peace march, Lambrakis spoke at a peace rally in Thessalonika. The movie shows this as a CND rally. On leaving he was assaulted by a hired thug. The government and police refused to protect him and were later found to be complicit in the murder and its cover-up. The martyr's funeral, Wittner writes, "erupted into the largest peace demonstration in world history." The government fell.

Russell spoke out, throughout. He claimed, "Such is the state of terror in Greece that it was necessary to appeal to me by telephone to find surgeons who would treat the injured (man)." He accused the Greek government of complicity, as many Greeks rightly suspected, and blamed British and American Cold-War policies.

In England, the Greek government complained to the British government about "the systematic anti-Greek propaganda of communists and fellow-travellers here, including Lord Russell ...." At the same time, mid-1963, he was involved with large-scale protests of the visit of the King and Queen of Greece to London (they are related to the British royal family). "The King and Queen of Greece are absolute rulers; the elections to the Government were rigged...." (Paradoxically, he almost never spoke out against the British monarchy.) Russell equates the British government's support of autocratic regimes in Greece and South Vietnam as early as June 1963.

Greek admirers of Russell did conduct two large peace marches in 1965 and 1966—each with half a million people. In 1967 Tariq Ali brought a message from Russell but the march was banned. The movement was quashed. Exactly four years to the day after Lambrakis' aborted peace march, just nine days after Russell called for a democratic Greece "without military dictatorship" (4/12/67), the brutal regime of the Colonels took power (1967-74), as a direct consequence of all this tumult.

The Colonels eventually fell. The current Greek government (SYRIZA) is associated with Glezos, the resistance-fighter and Russell-admirer, except that now the resistance fights EU-imposed economic austerity. The same filmmaker, Costa-Gavras, is making a movie about that 'as we speak,' while the deposed Greek king lives in exile in London, the godfather of British Princes William and Harry.

The Bertrand Russell League of Youth for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace played an active role in Greek politics, during the tumultuous events of the 1960s. This story moves from the Nazi flag—to the dove of peace--to the peace symbol. But peace lies ahead; we are not there yet. All the more reason to say Russell's sense of hope is as much needed as ever.

The general lesson remains: to be suspicious of authority and authorities! Russell shows the power of thought. His thoughts had positive effects in action, "action based on contemplation" (1912). He spent more time working for a better world (rational, that is) than he did on logic. "What the truth on logic is does not matter two pins if there is no one alive to know it" (1964). "Remember your humanity."

*I gratefully acknowledge permission to quote from unpublished documents in the Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University Library.*

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*John Lenz teaches in the Classics Department at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.*



Γιώργος Καλπαδάκης

# Ο ΜΠΕΡΤΡΑΝΤ ΡΑΣΣΕΛ ΚΑΙ Η ΜΕΤΕΜΦΥΛΙΑΚΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ Μανώλης Γλέζος



Η  
σκέψη  
των  
συναδέλφων

Cover art : George Kalpadakis,  
*Bertrand Russell and the  
Post-Civil-War Greek Left*



# In the bosom of Bertrand

Jeff Mahoney

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*by and with the author's permission*

Ken Blackwell's is a remarkable story. He became fascinated by Bertrand Russell after reading an article about him and his anti-nuclear stance in the 1950s. He read more about Russell, becoming more and more fascinated, to the point where Bertrand Russell turned his life around. He traveled to England, met the great philosopher/mathematician/peace activist, and somehow ended up with a job as his secretary. Ken returned to Hamilton and McMaster 50 years ago to look after the Bertrand Russell archive that the university had just acquired.

It's been a good week for Ken Blackwell, Bertrand Russell torch-holder, archival virtuoso, chronic job withdrawal sufferer (he's come in to work "volunteering" virtually every day since he retired in 1996.)

"Another letter has been found," he tells me the other day, and I half expect him to hand out cigars. "Handwritten."

New letters never cease to excite Ken, even though there are already 130,000 in the Bertrand Russell Archives at McMaster, about 40,000 written by Russell, the great philosopher/peace activist, the rest written to him.

There are correspondences with Einstein, John Lennon, John Kennedy, Nikita Khrushchev — all manner and means of people, high, low, in-between.

There are 1,900 just between Russell and Lady Ottoline, a mistress of his, some written to her from Brixton where Russell was imprisoned for pacifist activism during the First World War.

The letters and vast archives of which they're part now have more than a room of their own; they have an entire house; yet more reason for Ken to come in.

Friday was its grand opening — the new Bertrand Russell Archives and Bertrand Russell Research Centre building, a repurposed home, corner of Forsyth and Sterling. The archives had been in the basement of Mills Library.

Friday was also the start of the 45th annual Bertrand Russell Society Annual Meeting/Conference, being held in Hamilton at McMaster, partly in honour of this, the 50th anniversary of the archives. So, yes, a good week for Ken Blackwell.

“It’s nice to have all these people together who speak the same language,” he says. And that language is Bertrand Russell.

We’re in the vaults where materials are stored in rows of climate-controlled shelving space behind sliding doors with wheel handles. Conference visitors stream in to see the archives in their new home.



Credit: Barry Gray, The Hamilton Spectator

Ken Blackwell in the vault of the  
newly renovated Bertrand Russell Archives

There’s Yi Jiang, for instance, visiting from China. He’s founding an institute of analytic philosophy (the kind Russell’s known for) in Beijing.

Ken's 75, and since his early 20s, he's looked after the archival collection, among the largest ever assembled around the work and life of a single person. But then, Russell was like 10 people crammed into one identity.

McMaster University acquired the archives in 1968, after Ken had spent two years organizing them. A Texas university offered Russell's literary agent £100,000 for them. The agent, unsure about the value, asked Ken how much it was worth.

Ken said, "Double that." And that's what the archives eventually fetched.

Many were bidding, including Harvard. When McMaster, under the direction of chief librarian William Ready, outflanked them all, it was to the tune of a cool US\$480,000.

Ready tapped on a lot of big private money to make it happen, including Cyrus Eaton.

With the deal done, Ken was asked to manage the archives. He knew them — and Russell — better than anyone. (Still does arguably, always acquiring, adding to, cataloguing, fine tuning and editing the holdings.) So he repatriated himself, Hamilton 1968, a city he barely knew, having grown up in Victoria.

It was in Victoria, 1963, that Ken, 20, read a book about the Cuban Missile Crisis, with the world still shuddering from the apocalyptic chill of that Cold War contretemps. Of course, we somehow survived; instead of nuclear annihilation, we got a crop of stilted TV docudramas featuring toothy actors with stagy Boston accents trying to out-Kennedy each other. But some good resulted too: "Unarmed Victory" by Bertrand Russell, the book Ken read, about Russell's efforts to intervene.

Ken had never read anything by Russell before; he's read everything since.

"Unarmed Victory" didn't just change his life, it changed his major (from commerce to English/philosophy) and, at length, his geographic co-ordinates. From west coast Canada to Wales, where he travelled, just to meet Russell, who almost on instinct, it seems, asked Ken to sort out some of the papers in his basement.

That's how Ken, at 23, came to be involved, soon authoritatively so. It's hard to grasp the enormity of what he undertook. Russell was almost ridiculously prolific.

Philosopher/mathematician, he reshaped 20th century philosophic thinking. His was also a Cassandra voice of early, far-sighted nuclear disarmament advocacy.

He protested for peace. He was agnostic, a thorough critic of prevailing sexual mores and had several open affairs.



Credit: Barry Gray , The Hamilton Spectator

### Volumes of the Collected Papers in the Library of the BRARC

Russell, grandson of a British prime minister, had radically freethinking, atheistic parents; his mother conducted an affair with the children's tutor with his father's consent. Russell's godfather was the philosopher John Stuart Mill.

Russell wrote so many books, letters, articles and essays on so many subjects (*Marriage and Morals*, for instance) that the bibliography listing all his works, the one Ken prepared, runs to three volumes.

Russell being an inexhaustible source, new materials are always being found. And Ken, being of indefatigable ardour, seems always there to scoop them up.

And we — anxious over fresh nuclear pistol-cocking and other falsifications —  
always the better for it.

&

*Jeff Mahoney is a columnist with the Hamilton Spectator.*

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