

“IN SOLITUDE I BROOD ON WAR”:  
BERTRAND RUSSELL’S 1939  
AMERICAN LECTURE TOUR

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An important American lecture tour undertaken by Bertrand Russell in April 1939 has been largely ignored because of the long-standing embargo on tour letters sent by Russell to his third wife, Patricia. Taking advantage of the embargo’s recent expiry, this paper provides annotated transcriptions of twenty-four letters sent by Russell to Patricia and others during the tour and analyzes topics such as his family relationships and interactions with a wide array of individuals. Most importantly, Russell’s tour letters demonstrate his evolving viewpoint on pacifism and his evaluation of the tense international situation as World War II approached.

Scholars have carefully documented many aspects of Bertrand Russell’s exile in America from 1938 to 1944, most notably his lectureship at the University of Chicago, his short-lived appointment to the College of the City of New York, and his tumultuous tenure as a lecturer at the Barnes Foundation. Nonetheless, important events that occurred during Russell’s six-year residence in the United States remain largely unexamined. Perhaps chief among these is his extended lecture tour in April 1939 conducted immediately after negotiating his three-year appointment to the University of California at Los Angeles. Ronald Clark’s comprehensive biography of Russell devotes less than a paragraph to this tour “which took him round the usual frenzied circuit, a combined marathon and obstacle race which, with its appointments, impromptu interviews and tight schedules, was

a tough course for any man of sixty-six.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Ray Monk provides a cursory overview of Russell’s “exhausting”<sup>2</sup> lecture schedule, only noting newspaper reports of a small number of his talks dealing with the international situation and the looming spectre of war in Europe. And Caroline Moorehead briefly notes that Russell “took off for a lecture tour to raise more money”<sup>3</sup> in addition to including a snippet from his autobiography about a moment of relaxation on the banks of the Mississippi River during the tour.

The paucity of sources documenting this tour stands as the most compelling explanation for these biographers’ traditional neglect of Russell’s activities in April 1939. Russell’s correspondence with his successive wives during his many lecture tours provides the most detailed insight into his actions. His American speaking circuits in 1924, 1927, 1929 and 1931, for example, are documented extensively through correspondence with his second wife, Dora Russell, that has been open to scholars for decades. Research into the lecture tours undertaken by Russell in the second half of the 1930s, however, has been hamstrung by the long-standing embargo on the correspondence between him and his third wife, Patricia (commonly known as “Peter”).<sup>4</sup> But the lifting of this embargo in 2009 five years after Peter’s death has allowed a treasure trove of correspondence to become available to researchers. This rich source has already resulted in a detailed analysis of Russell’s previously undocumented 1935 lecture tour of Scandinavia,<sup>5</sup> and these unseen letters also provide extensive insights into his 1939 American tour. This article provides annotated transcriptions of all twenty-four letters found in BRACERS (the online catalogue of the Russell Archives) for the period of the tour, including nineteen to Peter. This correspondence provides a fascinating picture of Russell’s personal and political views, most notably his attitude regarding the utility of pacifism after the breakdown of the Munich Agreement.

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<sup>1</sup> CLARK, *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> MONK, *Bertrand Russell, 1921–1970*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> MOOREHEAD, *Bertrand Russell*, p. 427.

<sup>4</sup> Born Marjorie Helen Spence (1910–2004), Peter was first employed by Dora Russell in 1930 as a governess to John and Kate Russell. An affair between Peter and Bertrand Russell quickly blossomed, and they eventually married in January 1936 after Russell had divorced Dora.

<sup>5</sup> MICHAEL D. STEVENSON, “‘No Poverty, Much Comfort, Little Wealth’: Bertrand Russell’s 1935 Scandinavian Tour”.

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Russell faced an uncertain future in the United States after his seven-month appointment at the University of Chicago expired in March 1939. Although he found the intellectual environment stimulating, he recounted that "the time in Chicago was disagreeable. The town is beastly and the weather was vile."<sup>6</sup> Russell's biographers have erroneously indicated that he left Chicago for California accompanied by Peter and their son, Conrad, with the appointment to UCLA finalized. It appears instead that Russell was undertaking a final round of speaking engagements before he would be forced to return to England in April or May 1939 after his residency permit expired. With the assistance of William Feakins, his American lecture agent, Russell spoke regularly in the Midwest while employed by the University of Chicago, and as late as 18 March 1939, speaking dates were being added to Russell's itinerary that was scheduled to commence in Sacramento, California, on 20 March and end on 19 April in Saratoga Springs, New York. But Russell's fortunes changed dramatically on 31 March, when UCLA unexpectedly offered the three-year contract. "The whole thing happened suddenly yesterday in a great rush," he informed Gamel Brenan, "as I had to leave for Los Angeles in the evening and alter all our plans for years in a few hours" (**Let. 2**).<sup>7</sup>

#### TOUR ITINERARY

With Peter and Conrad now established at the San Ysidro Ranch in Montecito (near Santa Barbara), Russell embarked on his lecture tour and spoke in eleven locations beginning on 3 April in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and ending in Brooklyn, New York, on 25 April (see the table overleaf). The full administrative details of the tour's organization are incomplete because Russell's correspondence with Feakins during the lecture circuit has not been located. When he left Los Angeles, it appears that nine engagements were definitely arranged, and Feakins scheduled his debate with Maurice Hindus in Baltimore on

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<sup>6</sup> *Auto. 2*: 217. See GARY SLEZAK and DONALD W. JACKANICZ, "'The Town Is Beastly and the Weather Was Vile': Bertrand Russell in Chicago, 1938–1939".

<sup>7</sup> Russell left California to commence his tour after speaking at UCLA on the evening of 31 March (see "Bertrand Russell Considers Democracy Only Hope for Future of Civilization", *California Daily Bruin*, 3 April 1939, pp. 1, 4). This report is found in the Russell bibliography at B&R D39.06, but many more reports and interviews turned up in my research that are new to Russell studies; some are cited below.

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12 April shortly after the tour commenced. The only other lecture stop not mentioned in the pre-tour scheduling was Nashville. Russell noted on 4 April, however, that “terrific preparations” (**Let. 5**) for his lecture there were being made and that he had telegraphed organizers

RUSSELL’S LECTURE SCHEDULE, APRIL 1939

<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue or Location</b>	<b>Topic<sup>8</sup></b>
3 April	Baton Rouge, LA	University Theatre, Louisiana State U.	“Which Way to Peace?” (n. 58)
5 April	Nashville, TN	Neely Auditorium, Vanderbilt U.	“Power and Propaganda” (nn. 13, 22)
8 April	Cleveland, OH	City Club	America as future world dictator (nn. 18, 19)
10 April	Dayton, OH	NCR Auditorium	“War and Propaganda” (n. 14)
12 April	Baltimore, MD	Lord Baltimore Hotel	Chamberlain, Munich, and pacifism (debate; n. 23)
14 April	New London, CT	Connecticut College	Eloquence and propaganda (n. 15)
16 April	Boston, MA	Ford Hall	“Why I Am Neither Fascist Nor Communist”
17 April	Philadelphia, PA	Bellevue–Stratford Hotel	America as future world dictator (n. 17)
18 April	Gloversville, NY	Jewish Community Center	“Dare We Look Ahead?” (world government; n. 10)
19 April	Saratoga Springs, NY	Skidmore College	“Power and Propaganda” (n. 10)
25 April	Brooklyn, NY	Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences	“Science and Philosophy”

<sup>8</sup> Note numbers are to the footnotes below that cite reports of the tour lectures concerned.

that Peter and Conrad were not coming with him; the Nashville engagement, therefore, was likely arranged before he left California.

Precise details about the speaking fees Russell received through the Feakins agency cannot be ascertained, although he hinted at the remuneration levels in several tour letters. He sent \$175 to Peter after his third tour lecture in Cleveland on 8 April, \$250 after his fourth lecture in Dayton on 10 April, and \$400 after his sixth engagement in New London on 14 April. He also indicates that he was "sending cheques to Chicago" (**Let. 16**) for deposit in an account on which Peter could draw. This partial information, therefore, hints that Russell was compensated adequately for his efforts.

Full transcripts or manuscripts of Russell's lectures and debate are not extant. In the Bertrand Russell Archives, a single outline in Russell's hand telegraphed to Feakins on 29 March 1939 reads as follows:

Dare we look ahead. Can war be prevented. Munich policy become psychologically impossible. Economic blockade effective against Japan but against Germany would probably mean war. England France Russia not strong enough to prevent war. America could by economic support of democracies. War will temporarily destroy civilization in Europe and end democracy there whoever wins. America will be future cultural centre. Airplanes make national states obsolete. In long run, sole hope is one international authority with sole armed forces. World must grow much better or much worse.<sup>9</sup>

This outline probably corresponds to the lecture delivered at Gloversville on 18 April, although elements of its text such as the differing outcomes of economic blockades against Japan and Germany are found in press reports of several other speeches. Newspaper accounts of Russell's lectures have been located for nine of the tour stops. For lectures delivered in Baton Rouge, Nashville, Cleveland, Dayton, and Philadelphia and the debate in Baltimore, multiple newspaper reports published in each of these cities allow a detailed indication of Russell's public views to be ascertained.<sup>10</sup> Press accounts of lectures delivered

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<sup>9</sup> Russell to Feakins, 29 March 1939, RA3 Rec. Acq. 1,378 (Internet print of original).

<sup>10</sup> Single reports of Russell's lectures delivered in Gloversville and Saratoga Springs are: "International Government Urged by Lord Russell as Way to Keep World Peace", *The Morning Herald*, Gloversville and Johnstown, NY, 19 April 1939, p. 3; and "Power Depends on Propaganda, Says Lecturer", *Skidmore News*, 14, no. 21 (27

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in Boston and Brooklyn have not been found. Interestingly, these were the tour stops that did not feature topics directly related to the international situation in 1939. Russell's views on his rejection of communist and fascist ideologies were well documented in his writings during the interwar period.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, his description of his "Science and Philosophy" lecture in Brooklyn as "a queer vague subject on which I have not hitherto spoken" (**Let. 23**) is somewhat puzzling given his frequent writings on the topic going back to the pre-World War I period.<sup>12</sup>

#### LECTURE THEMES

Apart from the stand-alone lecture topics delivered in Boston and Brooklyn, Russell developed three primary topics during his tour. He addressed the subject of propaganda at Nashville, Dayton, New London and Saratoga Springs. He had expressed a consistent interest in propaganda throughout the interwar period, most notably in its capacity to inflame patriotic and nationalist sentiment and promote militarism. Addressing his Nashville audience, Russell expounded the view that the virulent propaganda machines of totalitarian states would be a leading contributing factor to the decline of fascism. In Germany, the substitution of rigid Nazi ideology for scientific truth would ultimately prove counterproductive, since leading German scientists had fled the country. "In twenty-five years", he noted, "this will mean that their engines of war will be so far behind those of the nations which have encouraged free thought that the totalitarian government will have caused its own defeat."<sup>13</sup> In Dayton and Saratoga Springs, Russell addressed the psychological underpinnings of propaganda and its use to validate and empower national governments. Propaganda was useless, he believed, unless it could magnify collective passions and discourage individualism to produce alarm in a national population. "Fear is a terrible passion which produces cruelty,

April 1939): 1, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Russell condemned communism in *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* after he visited Russia. In multiple essays published in the 1930s, he criticized fascism and planned to write a book on the subject before abandoning the project. See BRETT LINTOTT, "Russell's Aborted Book on Fascism".

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, *The Problems of Philosophy*.

<sup>13</sup> "Dictators Doomed, Russell Declares", *Nashville Tennessean*, 6 April 1939, p. 13.

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and I believe", Russell warned, "we shall see much of that cruelty in the very near future."<sup>14</sup> But he did not despair completely, and he advocated that children should be taught from an early age to identify propagandistic eloquence. "Expose them to eloquence", Russell counselled his audience at Connecticut College, "and bring them up to look upon it with suspicion. Teach them the dangers of its great persuasive force. Get them into the habit of resisting the destructive emotions it can arouse."<sup>15</sup>

Russell's second tour theme concerned the role of the United States in the deteriorating international situation and America's global dominance in the aftermath of any European conflict. In his pacifist writings before his University of Chicago appointment, he had traditionally criticized the concept of collective security and endorsed strict American neutrality towards any potential war in Europe. Collective security, he then believed, "has ceased to be a method of preventing war and has become, instead, a method of making sure that any conflict, wherever it originates, shall become a first class great war."<sup>16</sup> In April 1939, however, Russell now hoped that America would announce its intention to ally itself with England and France to deter war. "If the United States makes it plain that it will be on the side of European democracies in case of an outbreak of war in Europe," Russell informed his audience in Philadelphia on 17 April, "Hitler and Mussolini will hesitate before taking any steps that would lead to a conflagration."<sup>17</sup> But regardless of America's decision to either intervene in a European war or remain neutral, he forecast the establishment of a world government dominated by the United States in the aftermath of Europe's destruction. "Inverted Columbases"<sup>18</sup> from America, he communicated to the City Club in Cleveland on 8 April, would restore civilization in Europe and "enforce disarmament and democratic governments"<sup>19</sup> on any nation receiving economic assistance from the United States.

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<sup>14</sup> "Lord Bertrand Russell Believes War Inevitable", *Dayton Journal*, 11 April 1939, p. 3; reprinted in STEVENSON, ed., "Lecture on War and Propaganda".

<sup>15</sup> "Greatest Single Menace", *Hartford Courant*, 15 April 1939, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> RUSSELL, "Collective 'Security'" (1937); *Papers* 21: 496.

<sup>17</sup> "U.S. Holds Key to Peace, Bertrand Russell Says", *Philadelphia Record*, 18 April 1939, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> "Bertrand Russell Urges World Pact", *New York Times*, 9 April 1939, p. unknown.

<sup>19</sup> "Russell Pictures World Rule by US", *New York Times*, 9 April 1939, p. 26.

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The third primary topic addressed by Russell concerned the 1938 Munich Agreement and Neville Chamberlain's conduct of British foreign policy. "I think the peace of Munich is abominable", he had informed a Chicago lecture audience in December 1938, but he emphasized that he supported the pact "solely on the grounds that it was not so bad as a great war."<sup>20</sup> In the pages of *The Nation* in February 1939, Russell launched a more spirited defence of Munich—and his own pacifism—and claimed that Hitler's absorption of the Sudetenland was "a forcible remedying of injustices perpetrated at Versailles"<sup>21</sup> by vindictive Allied leaders. Despite Hitler's violation of the Munich Agreement in March 1939 with his takeover of the rest of Czechoslovakia, he refused to change his mind about Chamberlain's actions in 1938 and the necessity of preventing a destructive European war. The moment Hitler had expressed designs on traditionally non-German territories in central Europe, Russell informed his Nashville audience on 5 April, Chamberlain had "bestirred himself"<sup>22</sup> to broker the Munich non-aggression pact that preserved the peace. In his most important engagement of the American tour in Baltimore on 12 April, Russell vigorously defended the British prime minister as being "more misunderstood and unjustly criticized than any man I know." Chamberlain, in his view, was "activated by a guiding motive—the peace of the world. He is a sincere man and believes what he is saying." And in countering the arguments of his debate opponent, Maurice Hindus, Russell claimed that the recent collapse of Czechoslovakia need not imperil peace: "I don't think the harm that Hitler can do in Eastern Europe would be as great as if a first class war should come."<sup>23</sup>

#### INSIGHTS INTO RUSSELL'S LIFE AND WORK

Russell's correspondence during his April 1939 lecture tour supplements the themes developed in the published accounts of his speeches and provides additional insight into his life and political views. First, his letters afford scholars a comprehensive view of his relationship

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<sup>20</sup> "Munich Peace Better Than War—Russell", *Chicago Daily News*, 10 Dec. 1938, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> RUSSELL, "Munich Rather Than War" (1939).

<sup>22</sup> "Russell Sees Little in Nazi Propaganda", *Nashville Banner*, 5 April 1939, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> "Chamberlain Is Defended by Lord Russell", *The Sun*, Baltimore, 13 April 1939, p. 24.

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with his immediate family. Although his marriage to Peter experienced strains during their sojourn in Chicago and was to nearly end in separation in the autumn of 1939, Russell maintained during the tour that his relationship with his wife was strong. “I am *very* happy about you and me”, he wrote before he reached Louisiana, noting further that “Everything is working out as well as we could possibly hope—I have feared for our happiness in each other, but I don’t any longer” (**Let. 3**). Russell also revealed that the security of his three-year contract at UCLA would allow for the apparently mutual goal of having more children to be achieved. Throughout his letters, Russell expressed his intense devotion to Conrad. Although he failed—to his considerable embarrassment—to remember Conrad’s birthday in time to send a gift, he nonetheless longed to see Conrad’s “bright face” (**Let. 12**) and “envied all the men out with their children” (**Let. 19**) he encountered during his visit to Boston. Furthermore, he maintained a keen interest in the welfare of John and Kate Russell, his children with Dora Russell who both attended school in England. With the threat of war looming in Europe, he worked diligently to bring his children to visit him in California in the face of Dora’s opposition to any transatlantic travel plans involving John and Kate.

Secondly, Russell’s American tour letters document in rich detail his interactions with a remarkable range of personal acquaintances, some of whom are familiar to Russell scholars and some of whom have been previously largely unknown. He renewed his contacts with some of his oldest friends dating back to the 1880s and 1890s, including his mentor and erstwhile collaborator, Alfred North Whitehead, and Lucy Donnelly, one of his most stable long-term relationships. The letters provide new evidence concerning the complex and sometimes turbulent friendship Russell maintained with Freda Utley, who on one occasion could bolster his belief in pacifism before his Baltimore debate with Hindus and who a short time later could stir him to accuse her of pro-Germanism. Although Russell claimed he possessed “no errant philandering impulses” (**Let. 3**) and seemed to avoid the sexual entanglements that marked his earlier American tours, he nonetheless met several women with whom he had been sexually intimate, including Rhoda Rypins and Miriam Brudno. Perhaps the most detailed account of his interaction with a former lover concerns Alice Crunden, a former benefactor of Beacon Hill School. Russell provides a comprehensive portrait of Crunden’s sad and turbulent life: “most of the

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time she is a wreck, morally and every way” (**Let. 20**), he noted, trapped in a loveless and abusive marriage and addicted to cocaine. And scholars can only speculate about the nature of the personal interactions Russell enjoyed during the tour with a host of individuals, including “masses of College Presidents and [M]ethodist ministers and a Colonel” (**Let. 12**) during his stay in Dayton and “a crowd of young people” (**Let. 21**) with whom he viewed a screening of *Withering Heights* in New York.

The third insight gained from Russell’s correspondence relates to his keen interest in political, cultural and social affairs during the tour. His biographers have frequently portrayed him as a harried, aloof and disinterested itinerant speaker concerned only with monetary gain during his American exile.<sup>24</sup> But the April 1939 letters puncture this depiction of Russell’s mindset and reveal his full engagement with current events, particularly the international situation. He proved completely up to date, for instance, in his knowledge of Italian designs in the Mediterranean and German intentions in South America. He analyzed for Peter the break-up of the Munich Agreement and referenced Britain’s subsequent 31 March 1939 guarantee in his lecture at Dayton. Most importantly, he communicated with Franklin Roosevelt the day of the American President’s peace overture to European dictators. “Never before have I felt moved”, Russell informed Roosevelt, “to express such feelings as now master me to any possessor of power” (**Let. 17**). Russell additionally provided a host of observations about various matters at his tour stops, including the rigid system of racial segregation in Louisiana and the validity of air-raid precaution policies in Britain. And his seemingly inexhaustible supply of anecdotes from works of literature and non-fiction ranging from Charles Dickens’ *Martin Chuzzlewit* to Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* is on full display.

The most critical matter addressed in Russell’s tour letters concerns his views regarding pacifism. One of the major uncertainties in his political thought concerns the precise date when he actively supported war against Hitler and abandoned pacifism as a valid response to the Nazi threat. Russell’s most eloquent—and frequently belittled—declaration of pacifism contained in *Which Way to Peace?* recommended a “simple, straightforward, and intelligible” national programme

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, MONK 2: 222.

calling for Britain to disarm, shed its colonies and announce its intention to refuse to participate in any conflict. This should be supplemented by an individual commitment "TO ABSTAIN FROM FIGHTING, AND FROM VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION IN WAR BETWEEN CIVILIZED STATES."<sup>25</sup> Russell maintained this pacifist position through the Munich Agreement and into the early months of 1939. But he definitely renounced his pacifist convictions in a letter to Kingsley Martin dated 13 May 1940,<sup>26</sup> and he informed Robert Trevelyan six days later that "I find that this time I am not a pacifist, and consider the future of civilization bound up with our victory."<sup>27</sup> Exactly when Russell abandoned the pacifist view before May 1940 remains uncertain. He hinted in September 1940 that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939 had forced him to support war against Hitler,<sup>28</sup> and he admitted to Constance Malleson in October 1939 that "I find myself thinking, first, that it was hardly possible for England to avoid the war, and second, that it is desirable we should win. This makes thorough-going pacifism difficult."<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, he maintained in December 1939 that "I try hard to remain a pacifist," although "the thought of Hitler and Stalin triumphant is hard to bear."<sup>30</sup>

Russell's April 1939 tour letters—particularly those to Peter that were previously embargoed—demonstrate convincingly that he was conflicted about his advocacy of pacifism well before the start of the Second World War. "I still think it would be better to let Hitler conquer Europe than to fight him," he informed Olivia Holt, "but that is a Utopian policy" (**Let. 7**). Russell also expressed to Freda Utley his "doubts about pacifism" and his desire to be "more decisive in my opinions" (**Let. 13**), and he confided to Peter that pacifism, "right or wrong, is not practical politics since Chamberlain gave up appeasement" (**Let. 19**). But Utley ultimately proved the catalyst for restoring Russell's anti-war convictions: "she confirmed me in pacifism, which at bottom", he maintained, "I always come back to." Russell also described his debate with Hindus as the crowning moment of his tour: "After defending Chamberlain I set out the whole case for pacifism....

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<sup>25</sup> RUSSELL, *Which Way to Peace?*, pp. 146, 223. Upper-case is adopted in the original.

<sup>26</sup> Russell to Martin, 13 May 1940, RAI 811, box 6.32; *Auto.* 2: 233.

<sup>27</sup> Russell to Trevelyan, 19 May 1940, RAI 710, box 5.50; *Auto.* 2: 240-1.

<sup>28</sup> Russell to Murray, 6 Sept. 1940, RA3 Rec. Acq. 71g; *Auto.* 2: 248.

<sup>29</sup> Russell to Malleson, 15 Oct. 1939, RA3 Rec. Acq. 596.

<sup>30</sup> Russell to Trevelyan, 22 Dec. 1939, RAI 710, box 5.50; *Auto.* 2: 239.

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I spoke better than I have ever spoken before, all the better because I shared the doubts and hesitations of the audience. People said they could see me thinking as I spoke. I quite convinced myself, at any rate” (**Let. 14**).

Russell’s tour letters printed below are faithful transcriptions of the original correspondence located in the Russell Archives at McMaster University.<sup>31</sup> It is apparent that some letters are lost. He informed Peter late in the tour that he had written a letter to her “every day” (**Let. 21**), but no letters are extant in the Russell Archives dated 6, 11, 17, 18 and 19 April. Similarly, Russell’s letters to non-family members he references in the tour correspondence were not found. Unlike those of other periods in their relationship, Peter’s letters to him during the tour are not in the Russell Archives. Some of his frequent allusions to their contents, therefore, cannot be explained. Nonetheless, a remarkably thorough picture of the tour can be gained from the extant letters printed here, and the detailed annotations provide contextual information regarding the people, events and places Russell describes.

## Letter 1

SOUTHERN PACIFIC, ARGONAUT

I.4.39

*My Darling—*

*I am in the desert of Arizona, surrounded by giant cactuses—horrid! All well with me—I slept very soundly. The mixture of business and emotion<sup>32</sup> was difficult last night. As to the former: I need a holiday in early May, best not in Los Angeles. You & I could go somewhere nice—but I shall need at least 2 weeks which is perhaps too long to leave Conrad.<sup>33</sup> Further: There is no real reason to spend the time May–Sept. in Los Angeles—we could get a*

<sup>31</sup> Three letters printed here are previously published. **Letter 2** to Gamel Brenan on 2 April 1939 appears in *SLBR* 2: 359–60. **Letter 7** to Franklin Roosevelt on 15 April 1939 is published—among other places—in *BR A* 1: 130. **Letter 18** to Kate Russell on 15 April 1939 appears in *SLBR* 2: 360–1. It is possible, though not probable, that one additional letter extant in the Russell Archives might have been written during the American lecture tour. Russell wrote to W. B. Curry, the headmaster of Dartington Hall, the English progressive school John and Kate Russell attended, an undated letter that responded to a letter from Curry dated 3 April 1939. Curry replied to Russell’s undated letter on 24 May, indicating that Russell’s letter was probably sent after he had returned to California. The letter is printed in *SLBR* 2: 362–3.

<sup>32</sup> Russell had been offered the three-year lectureship at UCLA only on 31 March.

<sup>33</sup> Conrad Russell (1937–2004), Russell’s younger son and only child with Patricia.

furnished cottage in lovely country, e.g. S. Barbara. Meanwhile an unfinished house near university can be got ready. What do you think? I shall wholly acquiesce in anything you decide.

Apart from John & Kate,<sup>34</sup> all is well with us. As regards you & me, our last moments were very happy ones, & I have gone away with my troubles quite wiped out. You were infinitely comforting at the last.

Don't overwork & get bumps.<sup>35</sup> There is no hurry.

Love to Conrad.<sup>36</sup>

## Letter 2

SOUTHERN PACIFIC, ARGONAUT

*In train to New Orleans*

*April 1, 1939*

*My Dear Gamel*<sup>37</sup>

*Thank you very much for your letter.*<sup>38</sup> *During the Munich crisis I wrote to you saying I wondered if I should ever see you again,*<sup>39</sup> *which you*

<sup>34</sup> Russell expressed concern for the welfare of his two older children with Dora Russell, John Russell (1921–1987) and Katharine Russell (b. 1923), throughout the letters written during his lecture tour. Russell had sought unsuccessfully to bring John and Kate with him to the US in 1938. He redoubled his efforts in this regard after moving to California, and eventually, in July 1939, the Chancery Court granted his request—over Dora's opposition—for John and Kate to visit for the summer holidays (see Tylor to Russell, 24 July 1939, RA2 760). With the outbreak of war in September 1939, the children remained in America, John until 1943 when he joined the Royal Navy, and Kate until the summer of 1944.

<sup>35</sup> It is not clear what medical condition—perhaps a skin problem—would be brought on by overwork. Evidently, Peter did not adhere to Russell's warning, as he expresses in **Letter 13** his condolences for the appearance of the problem.

<sup>36</sup> The following pencil text in Peter's hand appears on the back of the fourth page:

tel house agent

cable Plaisance (the Chicago hotel in which the Russells had resided)

tel S B. house agent

address to Feakins

Piatt (Donald Ayres Piatt, a Professor of Philosophy at UCLA)

Wm. (possibly William Clark, a lover of Peter's in Chicago)

B. change address

Mama.

<sup>37</sup> Gamel Brenan (1895–1968), wife of the British author Gerald Brenan (1894–1987). Russell and Peter became closely acquainted with the Brenans after visiting them in Spain at Yegen in 1933, and Russell subsequently developed an intense passion for Gamel. Although it appears that she never reciprocated Russell's sexual feelings for her, they remained in frequent contact until her death. For an overview of their relationship, see KENNETH HOPKINS, "Bertrand Russell and Gamel Woolsey".

<sup>38</sup> See RUSSELL, *Auto.* 2: 210–11.

<sup>39</sup> Following Adolf Hitler's threat to annex ethnic German areas of Czechoslovakia,

probably thought absurd. But now I have more rational grounds for the doubt. I have accepted a 3-years' appointment as professor at Los Angeles, so we shall not come home this summer, & probably not till 1942. By that time, if we are all still alive, you will have forgotten us or gone to live in the Sahara.<sup>40</sup> It makes me sad, as I had been day-dreaming about walks with you in Savernake forest,<sup>41</sup> & talks that would have been important to me.

I shall try to get my children to come out to America for summer holidays. They don't want to live here. I hate the exile but the financial argument is overwhelming, as I should be sorry if Conrad couldn't be educated. Also America is really a better country to be young in, in these days of war scares.

The whole thing happened suddenly yesterday in a great rush, as I had to leave for Los Angeles in the evening, & alter all our plans for years in a few hours.

I am very glad your book is coming out. Please send it over with an inscription.<sup>42</sup> I am also glad you & Gerald liked "Power".<sup>43</sup> What he says in his letter ~~is what I~~ say about the work I ought to do is what I say when I am drunk.<sup>44</sup> When sober I know I can't do such things. But I am grateful for

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) flew to Hitler's home at Berchtesgaden on 15 September 1938 to start negotiations partitioning Czechoslovakia. That same day, as he waited with Peter in London to embark for the US, Russell wrote a farewell letter to Gamel Brenan, noting that "God knows whether we shall ever meet again in this world of madness" (see *SLBR* 2: 356).

<sup>40</sup> Russell's mention of Gamel Brenan's potential move to the Sahara Desert seems to be either a private reference or a generic one to an out-of-the-way location.

<sup>41</sup> Savernake Forest was a privately owned yet publicly accessible land tract in Wiltshire near the town of Marlborough. Russell had stayed with the family of Maud Burdett in Wiltshire in the 1890s and mentions the forest to his future first wife, Alys, in a letter in August 1894 (see *SLBR* 1: 44). After Gamel Brenan left Spain with her husband in 1936, they purchased a home in Aldbourne near the forest. In the letter Russell responds to, Brenan says: "We must have picnics in Savernake Forest".

<sup>42</sup> Using her maiden name of Woolsey, GAMEL BRENAN wrote *Death's Other Kingdom* (1939), a fictional account of village life during the Spanish Civil War. Russell's copy is inscribed: "For Peter and Bertie. With much love from Gamel Woolsey."

<sup>43</sup> RUSSELL's *Power* (1938) argued that power should form the basis of social theory, but the book, as Russell later recalled, "fell rather flat" (*Auto.* 2: 193).

<sup>44</sup> This letter from Gerald Brenan is not found in the Russell Archives. Brenan indicates in his autobiography that he had made a similar request of Russell: "Since he had read widely on history, politics, and sociology, and held strong views on them, why did he not apply his talent to writing a moral tale in the manner of *Candide*? There was a place for such a book in every century and he had more to draw on than Voltaire had had because, unlike him, he was an original thinker. But he replied that he could not write a story of any sort as he had no imagination or powers of invention" (BRENAN, *Personal Record*, p. 264). Russell had experienced little success in

his letter.

You know my affection for you. It was always warm, but leapt up to a much higher point when you & Gerald returned from Spain in the early days of the civil war.<sup>45</sup> I wish you all a (sic) happiness, though I cannot hope to "influence your felicity" as they say in *Jane Austen* of blessed memory.<sup>46</sup>

Goodbye.

Yours ever

B.R.

### Letter 3

pmk/2 April, San Antonio | SOUTHERN PACIFIC, ARGONAUT

Sunday April 2, 1939

On the Rio Grande.<sup>47</sup>

My Darling—

This journey is dull—I think the Lord was very anxious to rest the seventh day, & couldn't be bothered with the inside of America. By midnight Friday we were in the desert, & are barely out of it yet. It gets gradually better—one sees occasional skinny cows with their ribs sticking out, like Joseph's lean kine.<sup>48</sup>

I find from the natives that "Grande" has 2 syllables, a matter about

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writing fiction, beginning with "The Perplexities of John Forstice" in 1912 (unpublished in Russell's lifetime) and culminating with the release of *Satan in the Suburbs* and *Nightmares of Eminent Persons* in the 1950s. Ray Monk has described stories in *Satan in the Suburbs* as the "weakest attempts at fiction ever written by a Nobel Prize winner for Literature" (MONK 2: 346).

<sup>45</sup> Gerald and Gamel Brennan had fled Spain in October 1936.

<sup>46</sup> In Chapter 12 of *Pride and Prejudice*, the influential novel of JANE AUSTEN (1775–1817) first published in 1813, the male protagonist, Fitzwilliam Darcy, attempts to thwart the development of an emotional attachment with Elizabeth Bennet: "He wisely resolved to be particularly careful that no sign of admiration should now escape him, nothing that could elevate her with the hope of influencing his felicity; sensible that if such an idea had been suggested, his behaviour during the last day must have material weight in confirming or crushing it."

<sup>47</sup> Russell viewed the Rio Grande at El Paso, Texas, the only stop at the Argonaut's route touching the river border between the US and Mexico.

<sup>48</sup> According to Genesis 41, the Egyptian Pharaoh dreamed about seven "ill favoured and lean fleshed" cattle devouring seven healthy cattle. Joseph, the son of the Hebrew patriarch Jacob and sold into slavery by his half-brothers, was summoned from prison and forecast that the thriving and lean cattle referred respectively to seven years of plenty and seven years of famine in Egypt.

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which you & I have sometimes had words. It is not much of a river.<sup>49</sup> The temperature here yesterday was 93, & today seems equally hot, but the train is cooled with great blocks of ice.

For the first time for years, the news seems hopeful. Hitler & Musso are both singing small. This will encourage opposition to them, probably Musso will change sides for Jibouti & a share in the Suez Canal,<sup>50</sup> & perhaps everything will gradually quiet down. I listen to the talk: everyone hates Hitler, despises England, & thinks Chamberlain still pro-Nazi.<sup>51</sup> They are excited about the Germans wanting Patagonia,<sup>52</sup> which I don't believe.

I am feeling happy about all the important things—if war doesn't come I don't even mind much about John & Kate, whom we can see very pleasantly in the summer. I am very happy about you & me, & very full of love. I must in New York see Rypins, Mrs. Mann, Miriam Brudno,<sup>53</sup> but I have

<sup>49</sup> Nearly 1,800 miles in length, the Rio Grande flows south from headwaters in Colorado's Rocky Mountains before turning southeast near El Paso to eventually drain into the Gulf of Mexico. Storage dams built on the river in New Mexico beginning in 1915 and the diversion of water for agricultural irrigation drastically reduced the flow of the river below El Paso before the Rio Grande was partially replenished by inflow from the Rio Conchos at Ojinaga, Mexico. For historical flow levels of the Rio Grande, see MICHAEL E. LANDIS, "The 'Forgotten River' of the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo", pp. 27–31.

<sup>50</sup> In a speech delivered 26 March 1939, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini indicated that he would be willing to cultivate relations with England and France if Italy was allowed to participate in the tolls committee of the Suez Canal, gain control of the East African port city of Djibouti in French Somaliland, and protect the rights of Italians living in Tunisia (see "Mussolini's Plan Believed Balance", *New York Times*, 28 March 1939, p. 4).

<sup>51</sup> Chamberlain was viewed by many as having sold out Czechoslovakia through the 1938 Munich Agreement to appease Nazi Germany.

<sup>52</sup> When Russell started his tour, international newspapers published accounts of a secret German diplomatic document calling for the Nazi annexation of the region of Patagonia shared by Chile and Argentina in the southern tip of South America (see "Argentine Inquiry Nets Six Germans", *New York Times*, 2 April 1939, p. 43).

<sup>53</sup> Russell stayed with Rhoda Belle Rypins (née Kellogg, 1898–1987) and her husband, Stanley Rypins, in both San Francisco and New York during his tour of the US in 1931. Russell "had a slight affair" (to Dora Russell, 23 Nov. 1931, RA3 Rec. Acq. 1,027) with Rypins in San Francisco and informed Dora of her influence on him in New York: "Mrs. Rypins has made my time here pleasant. She is not beautiful, but kind and generous and with a very nice nature. I get so lonely on these tours that I am grateful for kindness" (29 Nov. 1931, *ibid.*). In his 23 November 1931 letter, Russell indicates that Dora met Stanley Rypins, a sociologist and English scholar, during her visit to Russia in 1920.

Russell started an affair with Miriam Brudno (1908–1992), a Cleveland bookseller, in 1929 during his American tour conducted that year. Although he appears to have kept his word to Peter and did not sleep with Brudno during his 1939 tour

no wish to & no errant philandering impulses. None the less, I ought to have their letters.<sup>54</sup>

You & I must have a fortnight's real honeymoon when I get back. It will be delightful, & is quite justifiable as I can't settle down to work without a rest. And now we can go ahead with enlarging the family without the worry of long journeys at awkward moments—Feakins<sup>55</sup> wired that he has made an engagement for me in Baltimore, Foreign Policy Ass,<sup>56</sup> April 12. I don't know the fee. I have written to Tylor<sup>57</sup> & to John & Kate.

My dear Darling, I think we have every reason to expect a great deal of happiness. I am doubtful, however, whether we ought to live near the university or out in the country. Remember that your health is vital to everything, particularly more children. Wherever we live, we will give out that we can't manage dinner parties, on account of your health & my work. Whatever you decide I shall approve.

*I worked out a future budget, which was less cheerful than it might have*

(see **Let. 22**), he resumed his sexual relationship with her in 1950 following his estrangement from Peter, and they even appear to have contemplated marriage. But this possibility quickly evaporated, as Russell indicated in a letter to Brudno early in 1951: “Thank you for your letter. Every time I remember our last evening together and the plans we made, my heart aches. You are in my mind whenever I am not thinking of work, and when you are in my mind I am sad, not only because I have missed a great happiness, but also because I feel I could have helped you to bring to fruition the great possibilities that I felt in you when you were young, and that I am sure exist” (29 Jan. 1951, RA3 Rec. Acq. 1,104).

It is not clear if Russell's reference to “Mrs. Mann” refers to Katia Mann (née Pringsheim, 1883–1980), wife of the famed German novelist, Thomas Mann. They had moved to the US in 1938 when he took up a temporary teaching position at Princeton University. With his wife accompanying him, Thomas Mann embarked on a US lecture tour of his own between 7 March and 18 April 1939 (see DONALD PRATER, *Thomas Mann*, pp. 291–6), so any potential rendezvous between Russell and Katia Mann would have occurred during the final days of Russell's tour when he stayed in New York. The full extent of Russell's relationship with Mann is not known. There is only a single letter between them, dated 1955 and from Mann, in the Russell Archives; home movie footage reveals they attended a party in Malibu in 1939 or 1940 (see [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hr\\_ViW2rNt4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hr_ViW2rNt4)). No reference to Russell is found in KATIA MANN's memoirs, *Unwritten Memories*.

<sup>54</sup> Letters from Rypins, Mann and Brudno apparently written at this time are not found in the Russell Archives.

<sup>55</sup> William B. Feakins (c.1872–1946) acted as Russell's lecture agent for his American tours beginning in 1923.

<sup>56</sup> Created in 1918, the Foreign Policy Association sponsored public events in American cities—primarily in the New York City area—discussing international affairs.

<sup>57</sup> Louis Tylor of Coward, Chance & Co. was Russell's solicitor in England beginning in 1935 and ending in 1966.

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been. It made me think we shall have to stay in USA for at least some years after 1942, & might therefore aim at something permanent. This affects location & furniture. Even if we sometimes return to England it is not likely to be permanent as we shall wish our children to grow up in America.

Be happy, Beloved. Everything is working out as well as we could possibly hope—I have feared for our happiness in each other, but I don't any longer—particularly as we shall have lovely work together. Kiss Conrad for me. I have tried to get a picture p.c. of an engine for him but failed. All my heart, dear Treasure.

B

#### Letter 4

pmk/3 April, Baton Rouge | MISSOURI PACIFIC LINES

April 3, 1939

My Darling

I must write before reaching Baton Rouge, as after that I shall have no free moment till tomorrow. I woke as we were crossing the Mississippi, which here is really impressive. Otherwise the country is dull. Two journalists met me at New Orleans & talked while I breakfasted—both very stupid.<sup>58</sup> There is obvious poverty everywhere here. I want to go out by the “Colored” Exit

<sup>58</sup> Only one of these journalists can be conclusively identified. An account of this interview (“Philosopher Gives New Slant on European Crisis”, pp. 1, 4) appeared in the 3 April edition of the *State Times*, one of the two daily newspapers in Baton Rouge, under the byline of Jerry T. Baulch (1913–1985). Baulch graduated from the School of Journalism at Louisiana State University and worked for the Associated Press for most of his career. Three newspapers provided an account the next day of Russell’s 3 April speech at Louisiana State University. Two accounts with no byline appeared in Baton Rouge’s *Morning Advocate* (“Lord Russell Says Germany Wouldn’t Fight if She Knew She’d Have to Face America”, pp. 1, 2) and in New Orleans’ *Times-Picayune* (“U.S. Can Avert War, Declares English Leader”, p. 5). The third article covering Russell’s speech appeared in *The Daily Reveille* (“Russell Says New League Peace’s Road”, pp. 1, 8), the Louisiana State University student newspaper, under the byline of Hal Ross Yockey (1920–1967). Yockey’s career in journalism cannot be fully charted, but he was credited with articles appearing in the late 1940s in a newspaper in Biloxi, Mississippi, and in New Orleans night club reviews in *The Billboard* magazine. Since the same company in Baton Rouge published the *Morning Advocate* and the *State Times*, it is probable that Baulch also wrote the report of Russell’s speech appearing in the *Morning Advocate*. Furthermore, the placement of the report of Russell’s speech in the *Times-Picayune* and no account of the 3 April interview there indicates that the second journalist was not from the *Times-Picayune*. Finally, Russell’s reference in the next letter to the “very young” journalist with whom he spoke on the morning of 3 April certainly matches the age profile of Yockey. It is plausible, therefore, that the second journalist was Yockey.

& sit in the “Colored” waiting room,<sup>59</sup> but should be lynched if I did. Southerners think negroes smell unless they are servants. The countryside is dotted with miserable little wooden cabins inhabited by vast couloured (sic) families. Up in the sky, just now, I saw a big ship. First I thought I was mad, & then I realized that the river is above the surrounding country. For social life, see *Martin Chuzzlewit*.<sup>60</sup>

*All well with me. Journey not the least tiring. Love.*

B

**Letter 5**

pmk/5 April, Nashville | LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD, THE PAN-AMERICAN

*April 4, 1939 evg.*

*My Darling*

*Nothing from you reached me at Baton Rouge—I don’t know whether anything should have. The people there were very kind & took a lot of trouble to give me a good time. The Professor of math<sup>61</sup> & his wife (both painters, she professional, he amateur)<sup>61</sup> drove me about the country showing me old Southern mansions, still inhabited by the old families, who are reduced to showing themselves at 50 cents a visitor. The architecture is pleasant, & the gardens absolutely lovely. The country-house atmosphere reminds one of England. One old lady has a needle-work screen (which we saw)<sup>62</sup> worked for an ancestress by Martha Washington.<sup>63</sup> Before the Civil War they were*

<sup>59</sup> Under a variety of state and local laws enacted across the American South in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a system of racial segregation in public facilities prevailed that would not be ended until the 1950s and 1960s.

<sup>60</sup> In CHARLES DICKENS’ 1844 novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*, the title character and his manservant travel to America and purchase a disease-ridden swamp from an unscrupulous land speculator. Dickens also describes the social inequality and frontier roughness that marked the US in the decades before the Civil War.

<sup>61</sup> Russell was chaperoned by Norman Eby Rutt (1900–1991), who earned a doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania in 1928 and taught in the Mathematics Department at Louisiana State University from 1936 until his retirement in 1966. Rutt married Anna Emilie Hong (1889–1984) in 1931. She earned fine arts undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Washington and Columbia University and headed the Art Department at Northwestern University from 1926 to 1931; her artwork was featured in exhibitions around the US.

<sup>62</sup> Russell inserted this phrase.

<sup>63</sup> Following the death of her first husband, Martha Washington (née Dandridge, 1731–1802) married George Washington, the future first President of the United States, in 1759. Although the screen mentioned here by Russell cannot be identified, Martha Washington was a talented embroiderer and needleworker.

*all enormously rich.*<sup>64</sup>

*They took me onto the dykes that hold in the Mississippi—I got a sense of peace looking at the big river & the endless woods—I wished you were there.*<sup>65</sup>

*The man is a topologist, & said to be very able, but shy. I have never before known a mathematician who could paint, which he does quite well. The weather is pleasantly warm, the vegetation lovely, but the swamps are depressing & suggest malaria.*

*In the evening I dined in New Orleans with a very young journalist who interviewed me yesterday. He writes stories, not yet published, in the style of Chekov (he hopes). His father was a prison warder. He is conceited & too cynical, but I rather liked him.*<sup>66</sup>

*The people at Nashville are making terrific preparations for my entertainment, & were expecting you till I telegraphed to say you were not with me. The South is overwhelmingly polite.*

*I shall be glad when I begin to hear from you. Goodnight Beloved.*

B

## Letter 6

HOTEL HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN.

April 5. 1939

*My Darling*

*I had no chance to post enclosed on the way here, & now I have your 2 letters, which are a great joy. I entirely agree about Maria<sup>67</sup>—she was already driving me wild by her dictatorial views as to what we must like—I am glad you agree about not being at Los Angeles in the summer. If John & Kate come, we must get them to bring Sherry.*<sup>68</sup>

*Tomorrow I am to lunch at Andrew Jackson's house The Hermitage.*<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Many Southern plantation owners generated remarkable wealth from the agricultural slave economy. John Burnside's Houmas House Plantation in Louisiana, for example, produced sugar on 20,000 acres of property and had 2,200 slaves working when the Civil War broke out in 1861.

<sup>65</sup> Russell provides a more detailed explanation of this event in *Auto*. 2: 217–18.

<sup>66</sup> Russell appears to have warmed to one of the two “very stupid” journalists he had met the previous morning in New Orleans. No record of short stories published by either Jerry Baulch or Hal Yockey emulating the style of the famed Russian writer Anton Chekhov (1860–1904) can be located.

<sup>67</sup> The identity of “Maria” cannot be determined; she was most likely a servant in the Russell household.

<sup>68</sup> The Russells' pet Irish Setter.

<sup>69</sup> Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) served two US presidential terms from 1829 to 1837.

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*People here v. kind but unexciting. All well with me—At Baton Rouge I heard praise of Huey Long.<sup>70</sup> He taxed natural resources, especially oil, & gave proceeds to University—they had been going to invite me to a job if I hadn't already had one.*

*Sorry no more time. Dearest Heart I hate being away from you—We will have a happy holiday when I get back, & think only of each other for a fortnight at least. Goodbye dear Treasure.*

B

Letter 7

HOTEL HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN.

April 6, 1939

*My dear Mrs Holt<sup>71</sup>*

*Thank you very much for your kind invitation, which I accept with great pleasure. Please give my love to Freda<sup>72</sup> & tell her I am delighted to have the chance of seeing her.*

*I fear my time will be short. I shall be coming from Dayton O. ~~New York Philadelphia~~, but I do not yet know quite when; I will try to arrive early in*

He had purchased a cotton plantation to the northeast of Nashville in 1804 and built The Hermitage between 1819 and 1821, a Federal-style mansion extensively renovated in 1831. Rebuilt following an 1834 fire, The Hermitage had operated as a national historic museum since 1889.

<sup>70</sup> Huey Long (1893–1935) served as a populist governor of Louisiana from 1928 to 1932 and as a member of the US Senate from 1932 until his assassination. Originally a strong supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt's reform efforts to end the Great Depression, Long broke with Roosevelt and was planning his own presidential run at the time of his death.

<sup>71</sup> Olivia Holt (née Cauldwell, 1895–1979), the daughter of prominent architect and playwright Samuel Milbank Cauldwell, married L. Emmett Holt Jr. (see **Let. 11**) in 1921. She probably sent Russell an invitation to stay with her in Baltimore on the advice of Freda Utley (see n.71), who had first met the Holts during a 1938 lecture tour she conducted and who then received considerable assistance from them when she emigrated to the US the following year.

<sup>72</sup> Winifred Utley (1899–1978) experienced a radical shift in ideological outlook during her career. After joining the British Communist Party and marrying a Soviet trade official, she emigrated to Moscow in 1930 and published a series of books criticizing capitalist practices in the United Kingdom and Japan. But after the imprisonment (and ultimate execution) of her husband during Stalin's purges, Utley returned to Britain in 1936 and became a bitter foe of communism. Russell first met Utley in 1924 and the pair developed a warm friendship that "stood the test of time despite some fierce altercations and temporary estrangements" (UTLEY, *Odyssey of a Liberal*, p. 72). Utley stayed periodically with Russell and Peter at Telegraph House between 1936 and 1937, and Russell frequently solicited job opportunities for this "very able economist" (to Gilbert Murray, 6 Nov. 1939, RA3 Rec. Acq. 71E). Each mention of "Freda" in Russell's letters printed here refers to Utley.

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the<sup>73</sup> ~~middle of the~~ day. I am to be at the Lord Baltimore Hotel at 6.45, for dinner at 7; I hope you & Freda will come to the dinner? From Baltimore I shall have to go to New York by a not too early train the next morning.

Would you be so very kind as to tell the Foreign Policy Ass. that I am staying with you, otherwise it will engage me a room at the Lord Baltimore Hotel.

The Debate was arranged without my being consulted, & I don't know exactly what differences there will be between Hindus<sup>74</sup> & me. I still think it was right to try the Munich policy, but it failed, & I no longer feel any hope of peace unless, just possibly, by frightening Hitler. However, perhaps points of difference will turn up. I still think it would be better to let Hitler conquer Europe than to fight him, but that is a Utopian policy.

Yours sincerely

Bertrand Russell.

I am alone: wife & child have stayed in California.

## Letter 8

pmk/7 April, Cincinnati | LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD, THE PAN-AMERICAN

April 7, 1939

My Darling

I have nothing to write about, having spoken to no one since I wrote last. I am nearing Cincinnati, where I part from my dear ticket that started from Chicago. I have grown quite sentimental about it.

The Life of Alexander I is much more interesting than a detective story.<sup>75</sup> I learn that Joséphine died a most appropriate death: through a chill caught by wearing a diaphanous dress to fascinate the Czar.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Russell wrote "New York" above "Philadelphia", which he deleted; then he inserted "Dayton O." and deleted "New York". He also inserted "early in the" and deleted "middle of the".

<sup>74</sup> Maurice Gershon Hindus (1891–1969) emigrated from Russia to the US and established a reputation during the interwar period as a leading expert on the Soviet Union. Initially viewing Stalinism with some measure of sympathy, he became a critic of the Soviet government in the Cold War era after spending several years in the USSR during the Second World War.

<sup>75</sup> Alexander I (1777–1825), Emperor of Russia from 1801, played a critical role in the defeat of Napoleon. Russell surely refers here to MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE's *The Enigmatic Czar* (1938). It had been reviewed in *The New Republic* in October 1938.

<sup>76</sup> Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763–1814) married Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796 and became Empress of France in 1804. Divorced by Napoleon in 1810 for her failure to produce an heir, she retained her title and lived in relative luxury at Malmaison outside of Paris. She died four days after catching a chill during a walk with Alexander I (see PALÉOLOGUE, p. 214), who was in Paris following Napoleon's abdication.

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*The European situation is very grave—I see the official betting is even odds on a war this year.<sup>77</sup> I don't think it will happen for a month or two at least.*

*Tennessee was cold, nice country, good manners, stupid, pious, brutal. The intellectual level at the university, even among the young, very low.*

*I am about to cross Jefferson's beloved Ohio.<sup>78</sup> Excuse handwriting—train v. shaky. I am bored, but quite all right. I shall be glad to be with you again Sweetheart. Goodnight Beloved*

B

**Letter 9**

pmk/7 April, Cincinnati | LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD, THE PAN-AMERICAN

April 7, 1939

*My dear Lucy<sup>79</sup>*

*My wife, I believe, has written to you about our changed plans, & that I alone shall be coming to Philadelphia. I shall be there one night, the 17<sup>th</sup>, coming from Boston. On the 18<sup>th</sup> I speak at Gloversville N. Y, wherever that may be. I will let you know the time of my arrival as soon as I can. I wish I did not have to stay such a short time.*

*Excuse handwriting. The train shakes terribly, & now-a-days I am seldom out of trains.*

<sup>77</sup> A reference to "official" betting odds on the likelihood of war was not located. Events that contributed to the "very grave" situation in Europe were Italy's invasion of Albania and Spain's signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact, both of which occurred on the day Russell wrote this letter to Peter.

<sup>78</sup> In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826), author of the American Declaration of Independence and future two-term US President, described the Ohio River: "The Ohio is the most beautiful river on earth. Its current gentle, waters clear, and bosom smooth and unbroken by rocks and rapids, a single instance only excepted" (p. 12). Originating in Pennsylvania, the Ohio River flows west to become the major tributary of the Mississippi River and forms the border between the states of Ohio and Kentucky. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad ended at Cincinnati, so Russell would have written this letter in Kentucky before crossing the Ohio into that city.

<sup>79</sup> Lucy Martin Donnelly (1870–1948) taught English at Bryn Mawr College, the women's educational institution outside Philadelphia, from 1896 to 1936. She enjoyed a remarkably warm friendship with Russell after first meeting him in Paris in November 1894, and in 1925 she introduced him to Edith Finch, who would become his fourth wife in 1952. Russell had sent a postcard to Donnelly on 29 March 1939: "Much looking forward to seeing you. Very kind to have family who will arrive morning of 12<sup>th</sup>. Will let you know exact time later. Wish I could be longer with you" (RAI 710).

*I look forward to seeing you.  
Yrs aff*

B.R.

**Letter 10**

pmk/8 April, Cleveland | HOTEL CLEVELAND, CLEVELAND, OHIO

*April 8, 1939*

*My Darling Love*

*Your letter of two days ago reached me this morning, which was rather quick. All that you say about the Kohlers<sup>80</sup> is rather sad. Celeste is a queer person.<sup>81</sup> I think she must have very little physical sexuality.<sup>82</sup> I am sorry for K,<sup>83</sup> who has loved her too completely for such a long time. I still think his devotion to you<sup>84</sup> was not the sort of thing that had often happened to him. You must have found the situation<sup>85</sup> very awkward, poor Darling.*

<sup>80</sup> Walter J. Kohler, Jr. (1904–1976) was a member of the family dynasty controlling the Wisconsin-based Kohler Company, a manufacturing firm that specialized in plumbing products and furniture. He was Governor of Wisconsin from 1951 to 1957. Celeste Kohler (1900–1974) had a long association with Russell. Born Marie Celeste McVoy into a wealthy Chicago family, she entered a turbulent and abusive marriage in 1922 with Edward Holden, a Canadian businessman; their daughter Jaqueline was born in 1924. To facilitate her divorce under English law in Canadian courts, Celeste Holden enrolled her child in Russell’s Beacon Hill School from 1928 to 1930 and contributed funds to the school beyond the regular tuition. Holden met Kohler in New York in 1931, and they married in November 1932 after her divorce was finalized. The Kohlers had two children before divorcing in 1946.

<sup>81</sup> Despite this assertion, Russell’s extant correspondence with Celeste Holden indicates he enjoyed a warm relationship with her. She met Russell on several occasions in England while her daughter resided at Beacon Hill School, and she seems to have accompanied him on his return to England in December 1929 after his American lecture tour, during which Dora Russell had informed him of her child conceived with another man: “I want to thank you for having made the voyage a joy instead of a misery. The most seemingly extravagant things I said fell short of the truth. I had left behind me a great happiness and was approaching a sharp discomfort; left to myself, I should have brooded all the way. As it was, the finding of a real friend kept me from that folly, and your sympathy made the jagged edges of my life less painful. I am grateful, and more than grateful” (21 Dec. 1929, RA3 Rec. Acq. 254).

<sup>82</sup> According to her husband’s biographer, Celeste Holden was “an attractive, intelligent, sophisticated, and outgoing socialite” who, after her marriage to Kohler, “reveled in the constant swirl of social events” (THOMAS REEVES, *Distinguished Service*, pp. 99, 130).

<sup>83</sup> “K” was Walter Kohler’s common moniker.

<sup>84</sup> The full extent of Walter Kohler’s relationship with Peter is unknown. It is probable that they met in Chicago through Celeste Kohler while Russell lectured at the University of Chicago during the 1938–39 academic year.

<sup>85</sup> In the absence of Peter’s letter to Russell describing this “situation”, it is unclear if Peter referred to an episode that occurred in Chicago or if the Kohlers had visited

*I am glad of what you say about cottage & garden;<sup>86</sup> it sounds delightful. Never mind about five months. I am desperately anxious that John & Kate should like California. It may save their lives if they do.*

*I enclose \$175, & will send subsequent lecture fees unless I need them for cash. I suppose you have started a bank account somewhere, & you will be needing money. I enclose also a cutting<sup>87</sup> to make you glad I am no longer in Louisiana. I saw no lovely ladies, but the flowers & trees there are quite heavenly. Here it snowed hard all through the time of my speech. Ugh! How I hate this region.*

*I met the Foreign Policy man who organized my previous speech here<sup>88</sup>— he was very gloomy about war. I still feel some doubt as to whether it will really come.*

*I think I must learn to drive a car. We ought to live in the country, both for Conrad's sake & for yours; also I should infinitely prefer it.*

*Goodbye my dear Treasure. I count the days till I am with you again. Bless you.*

B

Letter II

pmk/? April, Cleveland | HOTEL CLEVELAND, CLEVELAND, OHIO

*Easter Sunday (April 9), 1939.*

*My Darling Love*

*No telegram, so I assume nothing drastic has happened. I doubt if you know my itinerarary:*

<i>Apr.</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>Dayton</i>
	<i>11</i>	<i>Travel to Baltimore: address c/o L. Emmett Holt Jun<sup>r</sup>,<sup>89</sup></i>

Peter during Russell's lecture tour. Kohler's biographer does not mention Peter, nor does he indicate Walter Kohler's presence in California in April 1939.

<sup>86</sup> Peter evidently informed Russell about Leandro Cottage, "a comfortable creeper-covered cottage, set in a fine, green garden" (MONK 2: 229) in Montecito which served as the Russells' home from April 1939 until they moved to Los Angeles and lived at 212 Loring Ave. Peter had indicated in a letter to Paul Schilpp that she had rented Leandro Cottage, although she would have preferred to live in the Berkeley area (9 April 1939, RA3 Rec. Acq. 176).

<sup>87</sup> Not found in the Russell Archives.

<sup>88</sup> Russell had addressed the Cleveland Foreign Affairs Council on 24 February 1939. The Chairman of this organization was Brooks Emeny (1901–1980); it is possible that Emeny was the person referred to here by Russell.

<sup>89</sup> Pediatrician Luther Emmett Holt, Jr. (1895–1974) specialized in child nutrition; he worked at Johns Hopkins University from 1922 to 1944 before moving to New York City as the Director of the Children's Medical Service at Bellevue Hospital.

- 6 Boulder Lane, Baltimore Md.  
*There I see Freda. I shall be there 2 nights.*
13. *At Alice Crunden's,*<sup>90</sup> *one night.*
- [Don't sleep here] 14. *New London: address*  
*c/o Prof. Frank E. Morris,*<sup>91</sup>  
*Connecticut College, New London, Conn.*
- 15, 16. *c/o Mr. David K. Niles,*<sup>92</sup>  
*Ford Hall Forum Inc., Little Building,*  
*Boston, Mass.*
- April 17. *Bryn Mawr.*
- 18, 19 *c/o Prof. Henry T. Moore*<sup>93</sup>  
*Skidmore College,*  
*Saratoga Springs, N. Y.*

*On the 19<sup>th</sup> I return to New York & stay with the Crundens.*

*On the 26<sup>th</sup>, as early as possible, I start home—where you & Conrad are is home.*

*I have a day here with nothing to do. Last night I was interviewed by a lady journalist<sup>94</sup> & dined with a Jewish family, but today I am supposed to be gone to Dayton. Although solitude is boring, I prefer it to company. The*

<sup>90</sup> Russell apparently conducted an affair with Alice Crunden (née Tweedy, 1892–1951) during his 1924 lecture tour that formed the basis of a “valuable friendship” (see *SLBR* 2: 265, 286, 286 n.5). The daughter of a wealthy Milwaukee railway magnate, she married Walter M. Crunden, a St. Louis businessman, in 1914 and generously supported Russell’s Beacon Hill School by donating \$1,000 in 1929 (see Dora Russell to Russell, 11 Oct. 1929, RA2 710).

<sup>91</sup> A Yale-educated philosopher, Frank E. Morris (1889–1963) taught at Connecticut College for Women, a private liberal arts school in New London, from 1917 to 1954. After admitting men for the first time in 1969, the institution shortened its name to Connecticut College.

<sup>92</sup> David K. Niles (1888–1952) played a prominent role in the administration of the Works Progress Administration during the 1930s and served as an administrative assistant to Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman from 1942 to 1951. The Ford Hall Forum was established in 1908 and featured regular lectures by public figures, many known for radical or controversial views. Niles became the Associate Director of the Forum in 1921 and later served as its Director.

<sup>93</sup> Henry T. Moore received his doctorate in psychology from Harvard University in 1914 and served as the President of Skidmore College from 1925 to 1957. Founded in 1903 as a women’s institution, Skidmore became a four-year liberal arts school in 1922 and did not admit men to its regular undergraduate programme until 1971.

<sup>94</sup> Regine V. Kurlander (1896–1987) was a journalist for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Her engrossing two-part interview with Russell—reprinted in several outlets in the US and Canada—appeared in the *Plain Dealer* on 15 April (“You Can Be Glamorous If You Try”, p. 14) and 17 April (“You Can Be Glamorous”, p. 12).

*Jew was chairman at my meeting, which went off well. It was the same Club<sup>95</sup> which years ago told me I could speak freely as it was men only, & then, as I started, said it would be broadcast.*

*Lecturing does seem to me a silly business.*

*I keep on alternately hoping & worrying about John & Kate. If war holds off till they come, I have hopes of being able to keep them. But the whole European stage is set for war more than ever. I try not to realize it except intellectually, but I don't succeed all the time.*

*Dear Heart I want to be with you. Thank God we have Conrad safe—*

*B.*

## Letter 12

pmk/10 April | THE BILTMORE, DAYTON, OHIO

April 10, 1939

*My Darling*

*Here I am at the end of my day in Dayton, where cash registers<sup>96</sup> & Frigidaires<sup>97</sup> come from. All went off well here—I dined with masses of College Presidents & Methodist ministers & a Colonel—the last quite pleasant. I enclose \$250. I miss you dreadfully, & I miss Conrad's bright face—I do love the boy, & the sight of him makes me happy. I am finding company & solitude equally irksome—company bores me, & in solitude I brood on war.*

*Tomorrow I see Freda—next day I have to try & maintain the pacifist case against Maurice Hindus, which will be difficult. My only chance is to be completely sincere, & avow my doubts. John apparently has none.<sup>98</sup>*

<sup>95</sup> Russell spoke to the City Club of Cleveland, formed in 1912.

<sup>96</sup> Founded in 1884 by John Henry Patterson, Dayton's National Cash Register Company was the world's largest producer of mechanical and electronic cash registers.

<sup>97</sup> General Motors founder William C. Durant purchased the Detroit-based Guardian Refrigerator Company in 1918. Renamed the Frigidaire Corporation, production was moved to Dayton in 1921, and more than seven million Frigidaire refrigerators were sold before the outbreak of the Second World War.

<sup>98</sup> In John Russell's letters to his father at this time, he maintains a belief in pacifism that contrasts Russell's wavering position. He had "always been in favour" (18 March 1939, RA2 710) of Chamberlain's appeasement policy, but he indicated two weeks later that he might perform alternative service if war broke out: "I do not know what I should do if war broke out. I might be willing to drive an ambulance, which would relieve war-like feelings, but if I was logical, I might say that from the moment the government declared war I had stopped supporting its policy, and would therefore not support it in any way in war" (Easter 1939). But John quickly began to express similar doubts to his father's: "I think it is clear that if I stay in England, I ought to offer alternative service. It would obviously be better for us to

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*My train goes at 12.30 a.m., i.e. in the middle of the night. I must stop. Bless you Beloved—How competent you are being. I love you.*

B

**Letter 13**

pmk/12 April, Baltimore | SIX BOULDER LANE BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

*April 12, 1939*<sup>99</sup>

*My Darling*

*It was good to get a letter from you this morning—it seemed ages since I had heard, though it wasn't your fault. I am interested in all you say about Conrad, but rather jealous of Mr Parker. I shall certainly have to learn to drive a car. The cottage you have taken sounds very nice. I shall probably like the coloured maid. I always find the coloured servants in America nice.*

*I am sorry you have had to work so hard that you have got bumps. I have had an easy time, as there have been such long gaps between lectures.*

*Freda is shocked by my doubts about pacifism, which are perhaps a weakness. I wish I could be more decisive in my opinions. I have to debate with Hindus, & am relying on him to annoy me.*

*The Holts are pleasant. She is very executive & on endless committees, but as yet still fairly human. He is a scientific medical man. He spent some months in Germany last year, & thinks that, outside concentration camps, the average level of happiness is higher in Germany than in America. He discounts anti-Nazi talk heavily. It must be said he & his wife are ultra Conservative.*

*Re permit to stay in U.S., must get something in writing from University fast. I thought I should have had something before this. If you feel like it, you might write to Reichenbach<sup>100</sup> about it, but you needn't. It can wait till I get back.*

*Sweetheart, it won't be very long now before you have a husband to supplement house, car, & cook. I wish you were not nervous about the air—in that case I would return by air—but I won't do so without your permission.*

*I enclose letter from Freda.<sup>101</sup> No time now for more. I do long to be back with you & Conrad—& I still want a honeymoon with you alone before settling down to work. All my love.*

B

win than Hitler, and it is quite true that pacifism is futile in a war" (10 May).

<sup>99</sup> This is the first letter Russell addressed to Leandro Cottage.

<sup>100</sup> Hans Reichenbach (1891–1953), distinguished German empiricist philosopher and probability theorist, had joined the UCLA Department of Philosophy in 1938.

<sup>101</sup> Not found in the Russell Archives.

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**Letter 14** pmk/13 April, Philadelphia | PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD, THE PRESIDENT THE CONGRESSIONAL  
At Wilmington Del. on way to New York  
April 13, 1939.

My Darling

I had a nice time at Baltimore—my host & hostess were agreeable, & it was very nice seeing Freda. She is very intelligent—she confirmed me in pacifism,<sup>102</sup> which at bottom, when I can forget the chess-board, I always come back to. I had to debate with Hindus, who was in Prague all though last year's crisis, & made a savage attack on Chamberlain. After defending Chamberlain I set out the whole case for pacifism, particularly in relation to U.S. I spoke better than I have ever spoken before, all the better because I shared the doubts & hesitations of the audience. People said they could see me thinking while I spoke. I quite convinced myself, at any rate. Hindus wanted America to keep out because he hates England. It was annoying having to agree more or less with him. He is a horrid man, & was abominably rude to Freda (who asked a question)—he addressed her sneeringly as "my dear lady". It made me furious.

I wonder what Chamberlain is going to say.<sup>103</sup> I sat at dinner next an eminent lawyer just back from England & France. He had seen a lot of important people who talked defeatist talk about our weakness as against the Axis, & wanted to continue the policy of appeasement.

Freda thinks pressure from U.S. government has caused Chamberlain's more bellicose attitude.<sup>104</sup>

All well with me. I was encouraged by the success of my speech, the more so as I had spoken badly at Dayton.

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<sup>102</sup> In her memoirs, UTLEY recounts her role in reaffirming Russell's pacifist beliefs before his debate in Baltimore with Hindus: "As it turned out Russell surpassed himself that evening in Baltimore by his refutation of Maurice Hindus' arguments... For this I take some credit. Walking in the Maryland woods with Russell and Olivia Holt the afternoon before his lecture I asked Bertie whether he was about to repudiate the views he had expounded in his *Which Way to Peace?* In the future there were to be times when he would get mad at me for playing back to him the record of his former convictions. But on this occasion Bertie, who enjoyed himself most when shocking people, laughed with me in Maryland.... A few days after his memorable debate with Hindus, Russell wrote to thank me for having renewed his faith in his own beliefs at a critical moment" (*Odyssey of a Liberal*, p. 168).

<sup>103</sup> Chamberlain addressed the House of Commons on 13 April to provide the British Government's appraisal of the Italian invasion of Albania that had commenced on 7 April (see "Albania: Mr. Chamberlain's Speech", *The Times*, 14 April 1939, p. 6).

<sup>104</sup> Chamberlain had announced on 31 March 1939 that Britain had guaranteed Poland's independence and would come to its aid if attacked.

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*Goodbye Beloved. I long to be back—I hope you are now resting & getting over the bumps & not having nightmares. All my heart.*

B

### Letter 15

MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

*April 14, 1939*

*My Darling*

*Only time for a line to thank you for lovely letters & photographs & such a nice letter from Kate.<sup>105</sup> Her “phantasy” seems to me excellent. What an interesting mood she is in.*

*Alas I didn’t realize how near Conrad’s birthday<sup>106</sup> was—I am sending him something, but too late.*

*Will write more in train. Very tired of being away. All my heart.*

B

### Letter 16

pmk/15 April, Boston | HOTEL BELLEVUE, BOSTON

*April 15, 1939*

*My Darling*

*I am so ashamed of having let Conrad’s birthday overtake me. I did the best I could by air mail & special delivery so I ought to be only one day late.*

*At last I have some time to spare. The Crundens had a dinner party & a play & kept me pretty full occupied. Dr. Cox<sup>107</sup> lives in the apartment—Alice says she is thinking of separation, but undecided. Edwina<sup>108</sup> passionately hates the man. Tells me before the maid that he gives Alice morphia, & then asks the maid if he gave it this morning, to which the maid says yes. Alice looks quite old, & is not very coherent in her talk. She is, I think,*

<sup>105</sup> Kate Russell’s 5 March 1939 letter to Peter remains under her father’s embargo in the Russell Archives.

<sup>106</sup> Conrad Russell was born on 15 April 1937.

<sup>107</sup> After divorcing Walter Crunden, Alice married Gerard Hutchinson Cox (1877–1951) in 1937. Cox received his medical degree from Columbia University in 1903 and practised otolaryngology; his first marriage had ended in divorce five days before he married Crunden (see “Mrs. Alice Crunden, Bride of Physician”, *New York Times*, 9 Oct. 1937, p. 22). Although Russell provides a description of a poisoned relationship in several letters to Peter while he stayed with the Coxes during this tour, it appears that Cox and Crunden remained married until his death.

<sup>108</sup> Little biographical information can be located about Edwina Crunden (born c.1915), Alice Crunden’s only child from her first marriage. From this letter and **Letter 20**, it appears that she may have suffered from a heart ailment.

still fond of Dr. Cox, though she says he is very sadistic. It is all very uncomfortable. Alice says Edwina can't live more than 2 years, but Edwina looks blooming. There is such an atmosphere of madness about the house that I don't know what to believe. Dr. Cox seems a perfectly ordinary professional man. The situation is not quite what Edwina caused us to suppose, though probably all she said was true. They all, in loud voices, say indiscreet things about each other.

Americans are apt to be very mad. Mrs Holt at Baltimore was considering whether to go to law with her brother-in-law: it was a ghastly story; her sister shot herself in the presence of her young children.<sup>109</sup> The Kohlers<sup>110</sup> are very sane compared to most. Alice Crunden's mother married a gigolo who got \$800,000 out of her in a year, & is now penniless.<sup>111</sup>

The people at New London (a methodist (sic) girls' college) expected you & had a lovely bouquet for you. I enclose the note that went with it.<sup>112</sup>

I shall see the Whiteheads<sup>113</sup> tomorrow. I have seen Sheffer, who is a dear, & very clever. He used to be mad, but seems now fairly sane.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Details of this family tragedy cannot be fully verified. It appears that the sister of Olivia Holt referred to by Russell was Pauline Starbuck, who died in 1935. A 1937 probate notice for the estate of Holt's aunt mentions Olivia and her other sister, Catharine, as beneficiaries, as well as two Starbuck children (see "Wills for Probate", *New York Times*, 14 May 1937, p. 46). Biographical information about Pauline's husband (Olivia Holt's brother-in-law), Charles Starbuck, was not located.

<sup>110</sup> See **Letter 10**.

<sup>111</sup> Edna Crunden (née Bradley, 1870–1936), Alice's mother, married theatre impresario Raymond W. Moore—twenty years her junior—in 1935 after her first husband had died in 1929. Moore unsuccessfully sued his wife's estate (valued at over \$1 million), apparently dissatisfied with the life interest payment on a principal of \$100,000 left to him. Court documents showed that Moore received \$517,000 in gifts from Edna to support his theatre enterprise in Dennis, Mass., before their marriage, with an additional \$112,000 given to Moore during the marriage's short tenure. Instead of the interest income, the court in 1938 awarded Moore nearly \$104,000 in cash, which, according to Russell, he had squandered less than a year later (see "Moore Estate Near Million", *Milwaukee Journal*, 11 June 1938, p. 6).

<sup>112</sup> Not in the Russell Archives.

<sup>113</sup> Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), Russell's mentor at Trinity College, Cambridge, and co-author of *Principia Mathematica*, left England in 1924 to become Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. In 1891, he married Evelyn Wade (1865–1961), a woman who exerted a profound influence on Russell's life. After seeing her suffer through illness in 1901, Russell experienced a dramatic conversion that temporarily possessed him with a "sort of mystic illumination" (*Auto*. I: 149).

<sup>114</sup> Henry M. Sheffer (1883–1964) is best known as the discoverer of the "Sheffer stroke", a binary truth-functional operator used by Russell in the second edition of *Principia Mathematica*. Sheffer taught at Harvard University from 1917 to 1952, achieving the rank of full professor in 1938. Sheffer first met Russell at Cambridge

*I will see about getting permission to stay in a day or two. I think you should get the furniture out. Very likely we shall stay in America for ever. And we must get Sherry.*

*How much does the Chinese picture cost that you liked? We must certainly join a Club to get the use of a nice beach. Glad about Pam<sup>115</sup> staying. Don't have doubts about another child—I want one very much. Finance will arrange itself now that we are in America. As you have no new bank, I am sending cheques to Chicago. If people don't mind cheques on a Chicago bank, we can wait till autumn for a new bank. ~~Please~~ It is sad about the topaz ring,<sup>116</sup> but not as sad as the other's loss would have been.*

*I am very well, & the bite healed up.<sup>117</sup> Everybody remarks how young I look, including Joy's mother,<sup>118</sup> who was at my meeting in Baltimore. This morning journalists fell upon me while I was having breakfast in bed, & continued, with brief intervals, till 12.30.<sup>119</sup> But they don't tire me.*

*I am told there is a letter for me from you. I am having it brought by a messenger boy. It hadn't occurred to anybody, till I asked, that I might like to see it.*

*Letter just come, with charming snap-shots. The place looks delightful. I do long to be with you, & also to see Conrad again & hear him say Diddy-Dod. No, he isn't at all stupid!*

*[Since you have a bank account in S. Barbara I enclose \$400. I am glad you have, as otherwise cheques might get lost.]*

*Nor are you stupid either! But, however, I shall be glad to be allowed to be stupid. I am sick of pontificating.*

in 1910, and the two corresponded frequently thereafter until 1929. As Russell indicates, Sheffer experienced numerous nervous breakdowns throughout his career (see MICHAEL SCANLAN, "The Known and Unknown H. M. Sheffer").

<sup>115</sup> Few biographical details can be found concerning Pamela Campbell, but she was Conrad Russell's governess.

<sup>116</sup> Details of this incident involving a topaz ring were not found.

<sup>117</sup> Presumably, an insect bit Russell at some point during his tour.

<sup>118</sup> Joy Corbett attended Beacon Hill School; her mother, Una Corbett, had also attended Russell's address in Baltimore during his 1927 American lecture tour (see Corbett to Russell, 3 Nov. 1927, RA3 Rec. Acq. 1,185).

<sup>119</sup> Records of these morning interviews have not been located, except for that by Julius Kaplan ("Earl Russell in Blue Pyjamas Talks Marriage, War, Peace", *Boston Evening Transcript*, 15 April 1939, sec. 1, p. 2). Russell did conduct a dinner interview with a college journalist at the Ritz Hotel while in Boston (see "Bertrand Russell sees U.S.A. Dictator after Next Conflict", *The Harvard Crimson*, 17 April 1939, p. 1). In a "The Talk of the Town" column, ROGER ANGELL [1920- ] hinted who the college journalist was, and confirmed it was he in a 1970 letter to K. Blackwell.

*I will get back as quickly as I can, but I doubt if I can get a train the night of my lecture. If I can, I will.*

*Sometimes I can't send letters by air-mail—when I am in trains. That is why my letters sometimes miss a day.*

*Goodbye my sweet lovely Darling—the pictures of you & Conrad make me so homesick for you—*

B

**Letter 17**

HOTEL BELLEVUE, BOSTON

*April 15, 1939*

*My dear Mr. President*<sup>120</sup>

*At the risk of being held guilty of unpardonable impertinence, I cannot resist expressing to you my profound gratitude & admiration for your peace plea to Hitler & Mussolini.<sup>121</sup> In so far as a humble professor can, I have worked for peace before the Great War, during it, & ever since; to this cause I have sacrificed all conflicting loyalties. Never before have I felt moved to express such feelings as now master me to any possessor of power.*

*Yours respectfully*

*Bertrand Russell.*<sup>122</sup>

**Letter 18**

HOTEL BELLEVUE, BOSTON

*April 15, 1939*

*Address: Leandro Cottage, San Leandro Lane,  
Montecito, Santa Barbara, Cal., U.S.A.*

*My dearest Kate*

*Peter sent me your letter to her, with your "Fantasy", which I thought very good indeed. I love the way in which you feel about things. Do you realize that I am reserved & shy just as you are, & that your ways of acting & thinking give me great happiness, & fill me with a profound affection over & above what I naturally feel as your father. I have wanted often to*

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<sup>120</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), American President from 1933 to his death. Russell had previously expressed admiration for Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives that attempted to lift the US out of the Great Depression.

<sup>121</sup> On 15 April 1939, Roosevelt sent diplomatic notes to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini asking for a pledge that neither Germany nor Italy would attack a list of thirty countries in Europe or the Middle East for a period of ten years. In return, Roosevelt promised to pursue disarmament initiatives and secure access for all nations to vital raw materials. Hitler responded with a derisory speech on 28 April.

<sup>122</sup> Roosevelt replied on 18 April: "It was very kind of you to write me that fine letter approving the course which I took. I do appreciate it indeed" (BRA I: 130).

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*say this, but couldn't get it out.*

*Your letter, though written March 5, only arrived a few days ago. I am amused by your vicarious sinfulness, & glad you are so much enjoying yourself.*

*I haven't seen the cottage Peter has taken in California, but I know the neighbourhood, which is quite lovely—sea, woods, torrents, & great mountains completely without human inhabitants. If you & John come out for the summer, I am sure you will enjoy it. If you & John were living in America, I shouldn't have a care in the world. The job I have at the University of California means that I shan't be short of money for the next three years—after that they won't keep me, as I shall be 70. But it seems fairly easy to pick up money in America.*

*Did Peter tell you that we crossed a river & I asked the attendant what it was, & he didn't know, & it was the Mississippi? Otherwise, I am liking the Americans. And I admire the President more than any other politician.*

*Americans have a great merit, from your point of view, that by being kind & uncritical they cure shyness. I found that when I first came here in 1896.<sup>123</sup>*

*I am touring the country lecturing. I have been in New Orleans, Nashville (Tennessee), Cleveland (where Rockefeller came from<sup>124</sup>), Dayton (where cash registers & frigidaire are made), Baltimore (where I saw Joy's mother), & a lot of other places. It is tiring & very boring, but it is nearly over now.*

*Perhaps, after all, there won't be war. I feel happier about it than I did.*

*Conrad is 2 today.*

*Goodbye, dear Kate.*

*Your loving*

*Daddy*

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## Letter 19

pmk/16 April, Boston | HOTEL BELLEVUE, BOSTON

*April 16, 1939*

*My Darling*

*I haven't time for a proper letter, but will do my best. I saw the Whiteheads & stayed to lunch—they are grown very old, but were friendly & I*

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<sup>123</sup> Russell visited the US in 1896 to meet the relatives of his first wife, Alys Pearsall Smith, and to lecture on non-Euclidean geometry.

<sup>124</sup> John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) founded the Standard Oil Company in 1870 and became the symbol of American oligopolistic capitalism—and a frequent target of Russell's pointed critiques of the corrosive power of business leaders in the US.

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enjoyed seeing them. Mrs Whitehead asked about Crompton's death<sup>125</sup>—she was devoted to him, & hadn't heard much. I saw Sheffer again also. Then I walked back to Boston—a pleasant walk along the Charles River<sup>126</sup>—but I envied all the men out with their children.

I have hopes of there being no war. Roosevelt has shown so clearly that if there is he can't be counted on to be neutral. If there is none this year, perhaps there never will be. I think America taking sides is the only thing now that can do any good. Pacifism, right or wrong, is not practical politics since Chamberlain gave up appeasement. The Whiteheads have a grandson at Bedales,<sup>127</sup> just John's age. They are being painfully reminded of their son who was killed at 18.<sup>128</sup> I am told by Sheffer that one main reason they were glad to come to America was to get away from the places where he had been. He was a dear bright jolly boy—I loved him—

Must stop. Goodbye Beloved—We must cherish each other & Conrad—

B

## Letter 20

MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

20.4.39

My Darling

Now I will try to write a proper letter in answer to all yours. It was so delightful getting them, I have hardly been able to pay attention to things here. I loved the account of Conrad's monologues, & I loved the photographs. You look so lovely, Darling—you put other women completely in the shade—And Conrad enjoying his train is too delightful. I showed them to Alice, in addition to her two, to prove you had made good use of her money. She discovered I still have the dressing gown you bought me when we stayed with her, so she is giving me a new one. See the advantages of my penuriousness.

I have had no letter from the U. of C. but I will try to deal with the

<sup>125</sup> Crompton Llewelyn Davies (1868–1935), Russell's long-time friend and solicitor.

<sup>126</sup> The Whiteheads lived in the Ambassador Hotel at 1737 Cambridge Street in Cambridge near the Harvard campus. It is interesting to speculate the route Russell took along the Charles River to return the several kilometers to the Hotel Bellevue at 21 Beacon Street in Beacon Hill. Neither hotel exists today.

<sup>127</sup> The grandson mentioned here by Russell was Eric Whitehead (b. 1921), the only child of Alfred Whitehead's younger son, Thomas North Whitehead. Founded in 1893, Bedales School is a co-educational public school located in Steep, Hampshire.

<sup>128</sup> Eric Alfred Whitehead (1898–1918), Alfred Whitehead's older son, was killed in action during the First World War.

residence question<sup>129</sup> without that.

*Edwina took me a walk in Central Park this morning to explain the situation. Her heart is not really very bad. I had avoided the subject, as her mother said E. didn't know; she introduced it, saying it was a joke that her mother told everybody of this awful secret, which is a delusion. Alice was horrified when Crunden (after she had divorced him) married again;<sup>130</sup> she is jealous of Edwina, & tied to Dr. Cox by drugs. I think all this is true, as I observe the jealousy, & incoherence from drugs. At moments Alice is her old self, but most of the time she is a wreck, morally & every way. It is most tragic. Sinus trouble is the excuse for the drugs, chiefly cocaine.*

*I am sorry you have no money. You can get money from the deposit account in Chicago. I enclose a letter you can complete, sign, & send.<sup>131</sup>*

*I won't write about war. We will talk about it. I feel that you need me, you get so unhappy. I long to be with you & give you the sort of comfort that comes of being together & feeling alike. But it will be some little time before I can start working.*

*About Sturgis:<sup>132</sup> if possible I should like something in writing from U. of*

<sup>129</sup> Russell set in motion the matter of extending his family's residency permits during the final days of the tour.

<sup>130</sup> Information on Walter Crunden's second marriage following his divorce from Alice was not located. Crunden apparently had little personal regard for Russell, calling him "a rather sneaky little cad" (undated letter [but before his divorce from Alice] from Crunden to Rockwell Kent, Kent Papers, Archives of American Art, on-line collection at <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/rockwell-kent-papers-9557/more>).

<sup>131</sup> The enclosed note, on Mrs. Cox's letterhead, stated: "Dear Sirs | Kindly transfer the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ from our deposit account to our current account at \_\_\_\_\_ | Yours faithfully | Bertrand Russell."

<sup>132</sup> George Sturgis (1891–1944) was the nephew of American philosopher George Santayana, who used Sturgis as the intermediary to send Russell £1,000 per year beginning in September 1937 (see *SLBR* 2: 352–3) to assist him in overcoming his financial difficulties. Although Russell knew that Santayana was his benefactor, he continued to maintain the fiction that the donation was anonymous. In February 1939, while Russell was still at the University of Chicago, Peter Russell wrote to Sturgis asking if Santayana's assistance could be continued if her husband turned down academic employment to allow him to concentrate full-time on philosophical work (RA2 710). Sturgis replied on 10 March, indicating that Santayana would be willing to make payments of \$5,000 in two installments during 1940, but that it would be "imprudent to count on them after 1940" (*ibid.*). After he returned to California, Peter contacted Sturgis to inform him of Russell's three-year appointment at UCLA: "Will you please tell his anonymous friend that he can be independent, and convey to him my husband's great gratitude, and my own, for assistance which made a very great difference in our lives" (2 May 1939, *ibid.*). "I told you from the first that he is an absolutely honest, fanatically honest, man ...", was Santayana's

C. before writing to him. But if you think that too rude you can write now. Glad you smoke a pipe. In the picture with it you look quite professional. I have lots more to say but must get ready for dinner. I ache for you & Conrad. Bless you.

B

**Letter 21** pmk/21 April, New York | MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK  
April 21, 1939

My Darling

How clever you are at getting a letter to me every day. It is very nice getting so much news of Conrad. I don't write much about the international situation, because it is so likely to change before you get my letter.

I reacted against Freda when she was here the other night: her pacifism is too pro-German, & it is bound up with hatred of Stalin, together with shreds of Marxism. She did drink too much, & became unduly self-depreciative. Her pro-Germanism makes me understand how there may have really been pro-German plots in Russia.

Last night Edwina took me & a crowd of young people (mostly from Chicago) to see a movie of *Wuthering Heights*.<sup>133</sup> The views of Yorkshire moved me, & would have moved you still more.<sup>134</sup>

I have set in train the matter of the permit to stay, but I wish I had something in writing.

I must & will learn to drive a car, if only to keep Conrad's respect. What a beast the driving-test man must be. Every one connected with official authority in USA tends to be disagreeable.

I find I can leave New York 11.40 p.m. after my lecture in Brooklyn. I travel by a train that has no extra fare—Feakins says it is quicker, as the grand train is a day later. Both Feakins & Alice Crunden advise against the air, which I regret.

There is no news—I haven't yet begun seeing people here other than Alice

response to Sturgis on 21 May 1939 (*Letters of Santayana*, 6: 240).

<sup>133</sup> This 1939 film adaptation of Emile Brontë's novel *Wuthering Heights* set in the Yorkshire moors starred Laurence Olivier as Heathcliff.

<sup>134</sup> Patricia Russell was from Yorkshire, as indicated in an unflattering description provided by Constance Malleson: "This bloody wife of BR's, by the way, is a Yorkshire woman! I don't know from what village she comes: Her mother was a village school teacher; or maybe it was in some small town. The father was an office clerk. I really think that swollen head, and swollen bank balance, have a good deal to do with her dictator tendencies" (to Carrie Webster, 28 June 1949, RA3 Rec. Acq. 1,620).

& Edwina.

*Goodbye Beloved. I will comfort you when I come.*

B

**Letter 22**

pmk/22 April, New York | MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

*April 22, 1939*

*My Darling*

*Your letter of April 20 came this morning. I don't know why you had none from me. I have sent an air mail letter every day. You are better than I am making a letter arrive every day, but I don't know what I do wrong.*

*I'm sorry it was pneumonia John had. It is rather worrying. I am glad you wrote to him against staying in England. Probably he has grown so used to the threat of war that he no longer believes war will come.*

*I imagine it is easier to learn to swim at Conrad's age than later. I hope you will have got the green paint off before I come! I am glad about the "colored" maid.*

*Conrad is a ruffian. I think you must be stern about talk in the night unless he is ill, but I should give him a long rational explanation about how you & Pam need sleep, even if he can't understand it. The tone of voice of a rational explanation has a good effect. His phobias are queer, but I think all imaginative children have them.*

*I am very glad you are sleeping well. I will willingly obey you about bath-ing-dress etc. That is just what I want.*

*Yesterday I had a hectic time with Feakins,<sup>135</sup> showering you with telegrams needed for the permit to stay. I don't know if it will be possible to put it through, because I have nothing from U. of C. I telegraphed to the President of U. of C.<sup>136</sup> about it yesterday. But they think that if I sign enough documents & take enough oaths the matter can be completed after I am gone. I hope so. Poor Feakins looked so ill & old that I asked what was the matter, & he has diabetes badly.*

*I lunched in a restaurant with Mrs. Rypins but had not the faintest inclination to flirt with her. She hated Russia,<sup>137</sup> & though very anti-Nazi,*

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<sup>135</sup> Russell presumably went to the William B. Feakins Inc. offices at 500 Fifth Avenue to take care of this personal business.

<sup>136</sup> A copy of this telegram to Robert Sproul, the UC President, is not found in the Russell Archives. Russell would soon develop a "profound aversion" (*Auto.* 2: 218) to Sproul for his autocratic and ultra-conservative managerial style.

<sup>137</sup> It is not certain when Rhoda Rypins visited the Soviet Union, but she did copyright a play in August 1937 titled "Maybe in Russia: a New Play in 3 Acts".

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said that going from Moscow to Berlin was like going from hell to heaven. In Moscow no one spoke freely; in Berlin many quite freely talked against the Govt. She said their friends here refused to go on knowing them because of her attitude on Russia.

I also saw Miriam Brudno, whom I kissed because I always used to. But I did not like her as much as formerly; I felt her father's faults<sup>138</sup> in her, & her looks have gone off.

I am glad to be finished with both. The people who belong to those old unhappy days are no use to me.<sup>139</sup>

I have tried to see the Nortons,<sup>140</sup> but they are away till Monday. I will get on (to) the Flexners.<sup>141</sup>

When you write about Conrad it gives me such a longing to see the little man that I can hardly bear it.

The woman Whitehead sent to see me wants me to contribute to a symposium on Freedom.<sup>142</sup> All the big-wigs have agreed, but I feel like refusing.

Edwina goes to St. Louis today. Dr. Cox, from snobbery, is oilily polite to me.

Goodbye Beloved. No need of many more letters, thank goodness.

Your

B

<sup>138</sup> Miriam Brudno's father, Emil Brudno (1878–1958), was a physician in Cleveland. His "faults" remain undetermined.

<sup>139</sup> Russell's mention of "those old unhappy days" seems to refer to his tumultuous relations with Dora Russell since 1929 when she disclosed she was carrying another man's child. His correspondence during his American lecture tours in 1929 and 1931 reveals the strains of his marriage at the time and the temporary relief provided by American women such as Rypins and Brudno.

<sup>140</sup> With his wife Margaret Norton (née Herter, 1894–1985), William Warder Norton (1891–1945) founded a publishing company in 1923 and acted as Russell's American publisher from 1927. The friendship that developed between Russell and Norton frayed in 1942 when the latter refused to provide a large advance for *A History of Western Philosophy*, prompting him to move to Simon and Schuster.

<sup>141</sup> Helen Flexner (née Thomas, 1870–1956), a cousin of Russell's first wife, Alys Pearsall Smith, met Russell for the first time in 1894 while travelling in France with Lucy Donnelly (see **Let. 9**); like Donnelly, she developed a lifelong friendship with him. She married Simon Flexner (1863–1946), an internationally renowned pathologist and head of the influential Rockefeller Foundation, in 1903.

<sup>142</sup> Probably the woman was RUTH NANDA ANSHEN (1900–2003), to whose *Freedom: Its Meaning* (1940) Russell contributed "Freedom and Government" (*Papers* 10).

**Letter 23** pmk/23 April, New York | MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK  
*Sunday April 23, 1939*

*My Darling*

*I got your angry telegram this morning. I was surprised by it. The job is complicated & difficult to complete in the time; I don't want to stay here beyond Tuesday; Feakins has a lawyer on the job, & it would save a little time to send facts straight to him. He & I drafted the telegrams jointly—if they were peremptory that was only to save money. You say Pamela doesn't want an extension; is she leaving us in August?<sup>143</sup>*

*I have no news—yesterday I did nothing, beyond preparing my Brooklyn lecture, which is on Science & Philosophy, a queer vague subject on which I have not hitherto spoken. I hate these days of idleness, because there is nothing to distract me from impatience. I wonder whether you will be able without inconvenience to bring Conrad to the station on Saturday morning. It will be nice if you can—but not if it involves bringing Pamela.*

*I still think the war situation is clearing up for the moment—at any rate I shall be surprised if there is war before August, & there is some chance of there not being one at all. But it is all guesswork.*

*Goodbye. Love.*

B

**Letter 24** pmk/24 April, New York | MRS. GERARD H. COX, 136 EAST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK  
*Monday Apr. 24, 1939*

*My Darling*

*Passports & 3 letters from you this mg., including one after you sent the passports. Very quick.*

*I don't wonder you were angry with Feakins. The telegrams were not as agreed. Should have had my signature, & the draft I saw said "passports" not "passport".*

*How curious that Colette is going to Rodborough.<sup>144</sup> I don't think things*

<sup>143</sup> Pamela Campbell evidently did not leave the Russells' employment in September 1939; she is documented to be with them in autumn 1940 when they moved to Little Datchet Farm outside Philadelphia after Russell had accepted the offer to lecture at the Barnes Foundation (see PETER BLAKE, *No Place Like Utopia*, pp. 38–9).

<sup>144</sup> Constance Malleson ("Colette O'Neil") (1895–1975) was a British actress who became one of the most influential women in Russell's life after they met during the First World War. Born Lady Constance Annesley, she married the actor Miles Malleson in 1915; they divorced in 1923. She had written to Russell on 3 April 1939—a letter which reached him during his tour—indicating that she was going to Rodborough, Gloucestershire, where his parents had lived for most of their marriage in

are the same this time as last, & I should be willing myself to work in A.R.P.<sup>145</sup> I didn't feel that until lately. Do you remember the leaflets we distributed against A.R.P.?<sup>146</sup>

I think it very likely I shall not want to go away at all. I certainly shan't for some time. My mind is very tired, & I can't think, but find it difficult not to. Walking & bathing are the only thing for the moment. Conrad will be a very good medicine. I don't feel I could stand one extra day of work. Except our few days in California, I have been hard at it since September, & before that I was busy a long time. My mind will be no good till I have had a really good rest.

Don't worry too much about our projected book.<sup>147</sup> It will not be exactly the book we originally planned, but better & more important & less topical. For my lectures, we don't have to finish much before term begins. I thought of starting with old Liberalism—Locke<sup>148</sup> etc.—in my lectures, & only later reaching the romantics. I must read Montesquieu,<sup>149</sup> which I have never done. Should like to buy him.—Last letter. Be kind to me when I come if I seem stupid. It won't last long. Seeing Flexners & Nortons today. All my love, Darling.

## B

a manor originally purchased by Lord John Russell in 1855.

<sup>145</sup> Air Raid Precautions (ARP) programmes had existed in the United Kingdom for much of the interwar period. They gained strength and urgency under the National Government of Stanley Baldwin. Baldwin's ARP circular published in September 1935 invited local authorities to build air-raid shelters, and the Air Raid Wardens' service created in 1937 recruited more than 200,000 volunteers before the War.

<sup>146</sup> Russell had been a vociferous critic of ARP civil defence measures in 1935 because they provided, in his view, a hopelessly false sense of security for civilian populations in a future war that would be dominated by the use of chemical weapons and the indiscriminate use of air power. Absolute pacifism, Russell argued, was the “only sane policy” (*Papers* 21: 33) in the current circumstances. It is interesting to note his change of view by 1939 and that engaging in ARP activities now constituted an acceptable form of alternative service. No other reference to Russell and Peter distributing anti-ARP leaflets is known.

<sup>147</sup> Russell refers here to the book that developed into *A History of Western Philosophy* published eventually in 1945. It is not known when it ceased to be a joint project.

<sup>148</sup> John Locke (1632–1704), the British philosopher who in 1689 published one of the classic defences of empiricism—*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. His foundational work on liberalism is the second *Treatise on Government* (1690).

<sup>149</sup> French political philosopher Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755), proposed in *L'Esprit des lois* (1748) that liberty could only be guaranteed through a system of government emphasizing a division of powers. Russell's library has no works by Montesquieu.

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