Supplementary Letters 1946–1960

This PDF is one of a series designed to assist scholars in their research on Isaiah Berlin, and the subjects in which he was interested.

The series will make digitally available both selected published essays and edited transcripts of unpublished material.

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Supplementary Letters 1946–1960

The following letters do not appear in the second volume of Berlin’s correspondence, *Enlightening: Letters 1946–1960*. They are mostly late discoveries which might have been included had they come to light in time. More annotation may be provided later, but for the time being the texts are made available here for the convenience of readers. Abbreviations and other editorial apparatus mostly follow the conventions adopted in the published volume, including those listed here. Archival sources are listed at the end of the PDF (and in some cases at the foot of letters).

The four published volumes include for the most part only letters written by Berlin, but where we have the other side of the correspondence, and have been able to secure the necessary copyright permission, the online supplements will also include a selection of letters written to Berlin, chosen for their interest and the light they throw on the context of the exchanges: see for example the letters from George Kennan in this supplement.

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*Letters from George Kennan* © Princeton University 2021

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TO DIANA COOPER

15 November 1946 [manuscript] New College

Dearest Diana,

Like everyone else I seethe with frustrated indignation – frustrated because there is no one in particular I can vent it on. Personal feelings apart, it seems to me idiotic that precisely at a moment when the General is returning & no one here has any real links with him, this change shd be made. No doubt there is some splendour in leaving at a moment of apogee, with nothing but golden opinions falling in a golden shower on one’s head – with not a cross word from any party or interest or person, and you can continue to live an enchanted life at Chantilly, still it is a lunatic act on the part of the Foreign Office – I know nothing of the facts, no doubt one mustn’t jump to unsupported conclusions – but *prima facie* it does seem queerly irresponsible. I have become a remote & ineffectual don & should have views. Like Sir J. Simon, I am inclined to say that
my blood literally boils. It will cool a little if & when due recognition occurs. I have no animus against Sir O. Harvey – he is a nice, gentle, inoffensive high minded liberal with a Chinese expression – & all I remember of him in Washington is that he addressed an American official called Dr Berle, an enemy to England & the head of the State Department’s Secret Service – under the impression that he was talking to me. A really absurd cross purpose talk occurred – you will agree nothing is ever funnier – on the lines of “I have often read your telegrams, you know”. Dr Berle who suspected as much went green & said “really?” – ‘oh I am not in the American Department, of course, but they come round, you know, they come round’ etc. & finally turned to his other neighbour & said “What an intelligent man Mr Berlin seems to be”. Consternation. Explanations. Frightful embarrassment. My name always lands me in things of that kind. I have at last obtained my lunch with Mr Churchill who was very genial & sang musical hall songs after lunch: he spoke with some warmth about Lord Halifax & indicated certain weak spots – I long to repeat the magnificent turn on all this when I see you – when oh when will that be? – when in a mild fit of loyalty I said ‘but hasn’t Lord H. always led a rather sheltered life?’ he said ‘don’t you be too sure about that’ & enlarged on this too in sweeping strokes. I have just returned from Ditchley where there were: The Straights, Joe Alsop, Judy M. & some Americans. I don’t believe that our plot is going too well: so at least the new Mrs T. whispered in a tense manner: yet they seemed to me getting on like houses on fire. Joe’s newspaper articles of 1946, much blown upon at the time, have become the official policy of the United States: & he is justifiably pleased. I really like him very much: he was piqued at being told by Judy that he talked more than I do: apart from that all went off without a hitch. Ronnie is deliciously happy: & Marietta is sweet & good. But I cannot see her getting off with Ronnie’s friends in Society: & I am not clear what the effect of that will be. Judy was charming: gay, very amusing, full of irony & very very quick. I wish Joe wd act for his own & the general good. Victor too I saw, & he is conspicuously happier than ever before: Tess is very sweet & gentle & nice to one, but embarrasses me as some high minded Wykehams do: the air loses oxygen, breathing becomes difficult, the forces of life ebb, & loquacious as I am, the words cleave to my mouth. In short I have an idea that she is perhaps, dare I say it, a prig: tremulous, sensitive, lovelorn, devoted, anxious, public
spirited, and governessy, uneasy, tortured & a prig. Terribly in love, in a sense very happy, terrified of Barbara, passionately anxious for Victor’s friends no longer communicate with her, filled with rumours of what Barbara says of her (I don’t doubt it is unrepeatable) & in some queer way devitalizing, not in relation to Victor, who is obviously unpersecuted & at peace, at least relatively, but vis a vis me for example. Perhaps I am no good with the insecure or the oversensitive. I like her well enough to have a sort of abstract respect for her donnish qualities: but I am uncosy with her. I wish it weren’t so. Oxford is bleak & cold & not itself yet – there is an atmosphere not of slow recovery but of a breathing spell between two crises. It is very extraordinary about Dr Dalton: ‘they have shot our fox’ said a Conservative M.P., I feel genuinely terrified of Sir S. Cripps’s ruthless honesty & tenacity of purpose, & think with wild longing about Italy & France, Paris and Rome and Chantilly from which I feel fatally divided by the cold dank grey mist which is much older than the College rooms it sits on & has long killed any possible enchantments of the Middle Ages or anything else. And I hear Evelyn W. has written a book on corpses. But when does J. Julius come? & when shall I see you?

My love
Isaiah.

TO DIANA COOPER

21 January 1947 [manuscript]

New College

Dear Diana,

And now I am in bed with ’flu, and it could not be more melancholy. Yesterday I had to decline Lady C.’s summons because I had to lecture at 12 – far too many people come, not a word do they understand, but lecture rooms tend to be warmer than their sordid unheated lodgings – they are reduced to the condition of the emaciated haggard students in Dostoyevsky or V. Hugo – the kind that have burning eyes & buy rusty pistols for political assassination – only ours aren’t very spirited. I am sure John Julius is better off in Strasbourg at the moment. Any joke any lecturer makes is wildly well received, so that I kept mine in fits of easily purchased laughter & felt deeply ashamed afterwards for currying favour at the expense
of the dignity of the subject. After that God, quite rightly I must add, punished me by shooting sciatica into my shoulder & some unknown virus into the rest of my system. But if by some strange luck I were to visit – on Friday for example, wd you be there, in London I mean, could I visit you in the Dorchester at tea time? it may alas not be possible but I shall swallow a much larger quantity of much stronger drugs if it is. The thought of Paris is infinitely remote in this very H. G. Wellsy atmosphere – the procession of dull shiny reputable remorselessly boring remorselessly information-avid faces thoroughly well adapted to modern life, with spare parts & contractable frames, not hard nor soft but like something out of plastic not exactly bogus, not exactly genuine good dependable bakelite with not a spark nor a glimmer anywhere. Oh dear I cd go on like this too long. If Friday is no good don’t, I pray you, trouble to answer. I shall probably continue ill – All my love & to L. de V.

Yours

Isaiah.

Your Xmas card was very like my colleagues: Particularly the Ouistiti, proprement dit.¹

In the autumn of 1947 Winston Churchill asked IB to read and comment on a proof of Book I, ‘From War to War, 1919–39’, of The Gathering Storm, the first volume of Churchill’s six-volume personal history of The Second World War (London, 1948–53). IB wrote some comments on the proof itself, but also submitted an overall report, which appears as an appendix to this supplement, and is the subject of the following letter.

TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

15 November 1947 [manuscript] New College

Dear Mr Churchill

I enclose my scattered comments. I apologize for their unorganized character, & greatly hope that the dry & sometimes pedantically critical fashion in which they are written will be taken by you as

¹ ‘Marmoset, properly so called’.
evidence of the occupational infirmities of my trade rather than as
donnish strictures. I enjoyed reading the text more than I can say, &
admire it vastly: & took it that you only wanted me to give frank
comments wherever I thought that improvements could be made. I
shall, if I may, return the actual text next week, with a good many
marginalia: & I shall then try to compute by how many words the
book could be shortened if the passages I have marked with a star
were relegated to appendices. I do wish to say again how greatly I
esteem this honour which you have done me – & how much I
enjoyed the delicious luncheon with which you started me off on
this delightful labour.

yrs sincerely
Isaiah Berlin

TO WINSTON CHURCHILL
22 October 1948 [manuscript]

Dear Mr Churchill,

I should like to thank you for your kindness and sending me the
first volume of your great book, and to take this opportunity once
again of saying how greatly I appreciated the honour of being
consulted by you in connection with it. I read it with the greatest
admiration and enjoyment.

yours sincerely
Isaiah Berlin

In the autumn of 1949 IB reviewed Churchill’s second volume of War
memoirs, Their Finest Hour (London, 1949). The review appeared in
the Cornhill Magazine and the Atlantic Monthly (and may be found
as ‘Winston Churchill in 1940’ in PI). On 24 December Churchill sent a
telegram from Chartwell saying he had read the review with great pleasure,
and sending Christmas and New Year greetings.
TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

3 March 1950 [manuscript] New College

Dear Mr Churchill,

This is but to apologize for not writing to you earlier to say how deeply I appreciated your very kind telegram to me on the subject of my Cornhill & Atlantic article. I enjoyed writing it more than anything I have ever done, & am very glad that you did not think too ill of it; I did not dare send you the final version for fear that you might rightly think it unworthy of its subject.

yrs sincerely

Isaiah Berlin

CHAQ/2/2/29, fo. 2

On 12 February 1950 Kenneth Clark wrote to IB:

Dear Isiah [sic],

I have been immensely impressed by the leading article on Schiller – the most brilliant thing of its kind I have read, & far the best criticism of Schiller.

For some reason I have a fancy that you will know the name of the author. If so could you be very kind & put it on a post card.

Sorry to bother you

Yours,

KC

IB’s reply follows.

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TO KENNETH CLARK

n.d. [>12 February 1950; card]  

New College

Dear K.

I haven’t the least idea. I thought it very good myself – the best sort of Ideengeschichte, it begins to be clever & interesting & not flashy for the opening lines & then becomes better & better – who could it be – Eddie not Miss Butler, not any Professor of German; Mr Willey not any professor of philosophy – if you do discover I’d love to know: I wish it cd have been me (I?) – I wish I thought I cd ever say things like this – almost the profoundest thing said was something about the transformation – drastic act – of spiritual & intuitive experience into moral currency & the iron curtain between sense data and Jenseits – which prohibits symbolist clairvoyance as the effect of the great Kantian reforms: is it an obvious platitude that the establishing of an official barrier between the sayable & the unsayable, the 2 worlds: the Procrustean effects of this frontier: & the battle of the 2 wor[l]ds is almost the most important phenomenon of our age? may be.

yrs

Isaiah B.

4 ‘History of ideas’.
5 Probably Edward Charles (‘Eddie’) Sackville-West (1901–65), music critic and author; later (1962) 5th Baron Sackville.
8 ‘The beyond’.
HUMPHREY SUMNER

14 March 1950

New College

Dear Mr Warden,

When I returned in the spring of 1946 from my wartime post in Washington, you were good enough to ask me whether I had any thought of working in the field of Russian history, and I remember saying that my interest had indeed been turning in that direction from philosophical studies, and that I had intimated as much to my colleagues at New College, as early as 1944. As, however, the pressure of teaching was exceptionally heavy during the post-war influx of undergraduates, I felt obliged to put off consideration of any such change until the crisis was over. During the succeeding three years we spoke once or twice about a plan, to which I was increasingly attracted, whereby I should devote a greater part of my time to the study of certain selected aspects of nineteenth-century Russian history. In 1948 I accepted an invitation to go to Harvard University in 1949 to lecture on the social and intellectual antecedents of the Russian Revolution, and in the course of 1948–9 articles by me dealing with various aspects of this subject were published in the *Slavonic Review*, the *American Historical Review* and other periodicals, principally in the United States. The six months during which I lectured and held classes on this topic at Harvard (I had conducted a class on it in the previous year for the Modern Languages Faculty at Oxford) served to make it clear to me that a definite shift in my interest had occurred, and that although I continued to be much interested in modern philosophy (on which I went on writing and lecturing), I should prefer to undertake as my main task a specific study in the field of Russian history in the nineteenth century.

As I began to accumulate material for my lectures and classes on the history of radical movements in Russia prior to 1917, I realised how little systematic work, even in the form of isolated monographs, had been done in this field, either in Russia or beyond it. The Russian Revolution is probably the most important event of the twentieth century, yet the amount of serious work accomplished in any country to analyse its causes and examine its antecedents and roots in the past, even in the most general fashion, is remarkably
small. I had for many years taken a good deal of interest in the history of ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in particular acquired a certain degree of acquaintance with Marxist thought and practice in the course of the research made necessary by writing a volume on Karl Marx in the Home University Library, before the war. While looking for information on the influence of Marxism, by attraction and repulsion, on Russian thought and practice, I found that surprisingly little had been done even in the Soviet Union and in Soviet terms to describe, let alone account for, this phenomenon. It seems to me, therefore, that what needs writing is the history of the major developments, social, political and intellectual, which led to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. It appeared to me that in order not to go back too far into the past, the proper beginning of such a study should lie in the social and intellectual ferment of the 1830s and 1840s; and after studying the material of which there is far more in the great libraries of the United States than, e.g., in the British Museum or the Bodleian, I came to the conclusion that I should like in particular to attempt a history of Russian radical thought against a background, and indeed foreground, of the social, economic and political facts with which it is, perhaps, more closely bound up than in other countries.

My present plan is this: to devote the first volume of such a study to the life, doctrines and circumstances of the great critic Vissarion Belinsky, who is one of the central, and in some respects the most commanding, figure in the early period of the various movements which culminated in the Revolution. There is no work on his thought and influence in any non-Russian language, and indeed nothing authoritative in Russian since the standard life written in conditions of political control in the 1870s. The book I contemplate would be a full-length study embodying, so far as possible, everything of importance that later scholarship has made and is making known about the man, his environment, the circle of his friends, and the crucial effect which his views had upon Russian – and indirectly European – writing and thought. Further volumes of this study would deal with the conservatives, liberals and radicals of the 1840s, 1850s, 1850s and 1860s, the revolutionaries and their enemies of the 1870s, and the Marxists and Populists of the 1880s and 1890s, culminating in the Revolution of 1905. The last volume would, perhaps, deal with the lull before the final storm of 1917. I should like to make clear the fact that I do not propose to confine
myself to the history and analysis of ideas and movements, but to
treat in considerable factual detail the concrete social, political and
economic changes with which they are interwoven. Nevertheless my
main emphasis would rest upon the development of social and
political movements and doctrines – and the activities of the most
important individuals concerned with them – rather than upon
social and economic history as such.

At present I do not look beyond 1917 – indeed, even this
programme seems to me ambitious enough. I should have no
difficulty in finding a suitable publisher for the four or five full-scale
volumes of such a study, since I have had offers from more than
one firm prepared to undertake a long-term project of this kind.

It is clear to me that I cannot undertake such work if I continue
to teach as full-time tutor at New College, with the requirement of
devoting, apart from University lectures and classes, a minimum of
fifteen hours a week to giving instruction in a subject unrelated to
the topic of my research. It is for this reason that I venture to apply
to my old College for a Research Fellowship which would make it
possible for me to realise the scheme outlined above. For, without
the degree of leisure and financial assistance with which a
Fellowship of this type would provide me, I could scarcely hope to
achieve more than small fragments of the complete design. On these
grounds I beg to make a formal application for an appointment
which would enable me to pursue the programme of research and
publication in the field of Russian history (and the history of
European ideas)* outlined above.

Yours sincerely,
Isaiah Berlin

* See Appendix 2 (a).

APPENDIX
There are certain further considerations which I feel obliged to place
before yourself and the College.

1. Should my proposal commend itself to the College, I should
have to make some provision for obtaining access to Russian
material not available in this country or elsewhere in Western
Europe. Since the archives of even the Prague – let alone the
Moscow and Leningrad – libraries are not likely to be accessible to
Western scholars within the easily foreseeable future, they cannot
but turn to the very rich collections of the United States – contained principally in the Library of Congress in Washington, and also at Harvard, Yale and California. When I was at Harvard in 1949 I received an invitation, subsequently confirmed, to visit that university at regular intervals in order to lecture and give instruction on the history of Russian social movements in their relation to the West. This proposal attracted me because, apart from the stimulation afforded to any researcher by the opportunity of discussing the subject with adequately qualified students and colleagues (of whom there are many more in the United States than in England), this arrangement could also provide me with the dollar funds which would at once enable me to work in United States libraries, and adequately supplement the emolument provided by a Research Fellowship – should the College be disposed to grant one – which, I assume, would be substantially smaller than the stipend I at present receive from New College. I should not wish to go to Harvard every year, but perhaps once in two, and occasionally once in three, years. This appears to me to be an almost essential condition for the success of the plan I have outlined, since the Russian collections in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and that in Helsinki, suffer, particularly since the war, from gaps in essential material, and I see no other reliable possibility of obtaining adequate dollar funds. An arrangement with Harvard would also enable me to collaborate in a large project for the translation of Russian texts and documents of the nineteenth century in which, when I was there in 1949, it seemed possible for me to participate with eminent scholars in the field of Russian studies. If this part of my plan is approved I should normally expect to spend a minimum of four and a maximum of five terms out of every six in Oxford; at times I might miss a Harvard year altogether and remain in Oxford for seven or eight terms out of nine.

2. I must also make clear that I have certain commitments to publishers which I should wish to fit in with the general scheme outlined above. I have undertaken to write:

(a) a volume in the Oxford History of Europe (to be published by the Oxford University Press) to be entitled The History of Ideas in Europe 1789–1870. The editors of this series have invited me to carry the account to the present day, but if my main project is approved by the College, I should not wish to do this, as it would delay the Russian volumes too greatly.
(b) a volume in a new (Penguin) series dealing with the doctrines of major European philosophers, to be devoted to Bishop Berkeley. This should not take long, perhaps the long vacation of 1952.

Of these (a) would blend quite happily with my main subject of study and indeed would complement it in, I hope, a fruitful manner; while (b) is in process of being written and would not seriously interfere with it.

If my general scheme is approved I should hope to complete the first volume of the Russian series, i.e. that dealing with Belinsky and his times (approx. 1830–48), by the summer of 1953; although it may take a little longer, depending upon the accessibility of Russian material, and the general physical conditions of work at Oxford. The basic outline of this book is contained in the notes which provided the substance of my Harvard lectures, but these will of course need amplification and a great deal of additional detailed research.

3. I should not like, if these proposals meet with approval, wholly to cease from teaching, and still less from lecturing, in the University. I should wish, if my application is accepted, to be permitted to continue to teach philosophy to four or five pupils in New College, as this is a subject in which I continue to feel interest – and thus to remain a Lecturer of New College; and also to lecture in the University on such subjects within my ken as may be considered useful by the Sub-Faculties to which I belong, as well as on my chosen field in Russian history. For I should wish to continue to participate as fully as is compatible with my main task of research in the general life of the University.

Isaiah Berlin

On 19 June 1950 George Kennan wrote to IB:

I have been meaning for a long time to write to you about your Foreign Affairs article, which made a deep impression on all of us here. When I was sojourning in the hospital in April I began to dictate a letter to you, but I did not finish it at the time and I have never been able to finish it since. I send it along to you here without any attempt to dress it up more tidily.

9 ‘Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century’, Foreign Affairs 28 (1950), 351–85; reprinted in L.
FROM GEORGE KENNAN

26 April 1950

Dear Isaiah,

It is now several weeks since I read your article in *Foreign Affairs*, but it has required the monastic seclusion of the Naval Medical Center in Bethesda to enable me to write you about it. As a place of academic retirement the Naval Medical Center is unparalleled. It provides a genuine ivory-white tower, on the 16th floor of which people like myself are accommodated. Except for a few moments at noon and at vesper time, when an electric carillon puts out hymns in stentoriant tones which vibrate for miles across the lawns and rooftops of Maryland suburbia, things are relatively quiet. Finally, among the personnel of the place, who must number in the thousands, there is an innocent and childlike unawareness of all intellectual interests except medicine – so great that it provides a solitude without loneliness and without melancholy, uniquely suited for purposes of contemplation.

Numbers of us here read your article with excitement and gratitude, and recognized in it one of the really important statements about our own times.

What I am about to say is not by way of dispute. It is simply that I feel the urge to say some further things in the light of what you have said.

It seems to me that your conclusion was laconic, and almost perfunctory, when taken in relation to the rest of the article.

There is so much more that can be said, it seems to me, about the weakness and fallaciousness of modern totalitarianism. It rests, as you have indicated, on the recognition that man’s nature is susceptible, under certain favorable circumstances (one of which is the exclusion of competing influences) to almost any amount or manipulation by other men. Where these circumstances and the requisite techniques and unscrupulousness are present, it is possible to make of the individual man a hero, a villain, or a rag – the ease of the operation being in the ascending order.

The totalitarians have recognized this possibility and they are distinguished from other people, I believe, in their uninhibited readiness to make use or it for political purposes.
Now the great weakness of this practice lies in the fact that the people who grasp for these handles by which the nature of man may be manipulated are themselves men; whereas their action in undertaking to manipulate human nature implies that they have some superhuman platform – some Archimedian ‘place to stand on’ – outside and above this world or malleable human frailty, a platform from which they can intervene as outsiders in the world or the human subconscious. But of course they do not really have any such platform. They are arrogating to themselves powers which are the powers of gods, in the sense that the readiness to use them implies an immunity to those human weaknesses of which they are taking advantage. And yet, formidable as these men may be in their schooled depravity and in the atrophy of those faculties which cause other people to hesitate, to shrink and to ponder at points in life, they are emphatically only men. Like the rest of us, they must experience passion and illness and death. Their bodies, like our own, begin to be subject at a certain point in life to a process of disintegration which ends in death. Their faculties are no more independent of these bodily changes than are those of the rest of us. Above all, they are not themselves immune from the curious labor of the subconscious, striving to improve for us the outer aspect of our personal world, and impelling us to act upon the impulses of which we are not aware and to rationalize this action in subjective delusions.

Perhaps the national element enters into this. Perhaps it is easier for Germans or Russians than it would be for us to kill the nerves or conscience. Perhaps the resulting insensitiveness reduces the necessary area of self-delusion through the subconscious mind. But that such things as vanity, jealousy, ambition and fear still plague them is evident. Above all, as I say, disease and death remain, and the anti-social impulses or passion; and as long as these great monsters are at hand, surely the human animal must always tremble a little in the presence of his own carnal frailty and mortality. And with that trembling must go those human qualities which are, as I say, amenable to manipulation. But here, of course, there will be no one to manipulate; for the one thing no man can do is to manipulate his own psychological nature.

By consequence, a society in which it is thought that problems have been caused to disappear in order that they may not have to be solved can be, in reality, only a fake. Its foundation is still not really
stronger than that of the most muddled and ineffective individualistic society. For what has happened there is only that the weaknesses of the many have been absorbed into the weaknesses of the few, leaving the body politic with all its eggs in one basket, and with that basket woven out of reeds no stronger, or not significantly stronger, than those out of which each of us bewildered individuals in our less purposeful world weaves the little basket in which he carries his spiritual paraphernalia. But many baskets are stronger than one, or a few; and in a world where each man marches with his own, the quality of self-respect is at least preserved.

What I have just said rests, as I see it, on the logic of the intellect and not of the heart. Actually, the latter, which is of course a personal thing, speaks to many, myself included, as loudly as does the former about the ultimate Impossibility of the totalitarian theory. I really believe that this thing that the totalitarians have done – this taking advantage of the helpless corner of man’s psychic structure – is the original sin. It is this knowledge which men were not supposed to develop and exploit. It was this desecrating curiosity, I believe, which Milton really had in mind as his reason for the fall of man and his eviction from Paradise. For when a man’s ultimate dignity is destroyed, he is killed, of course, as a man. This exploitation of his weakness is therefore only another form of taking human life arbitrarily and in cold blood, as a result of calculation and not of passion. It is thus the crime of which Raskolnikov made himself guilty and for which his prostitute friend enjoined him to ‘kneel down and kiss the earth you have defiled’. The success of civilization seems somehow to depend on the willingness of men to recognize that by taking advantage of this Achilles’ heel in man’s moral composition, they shame themselves as well as others; on their readiness to refrain from doing so; and on their sticking to the rational appeal which assumes – perhaps in defiance of the evident – that in the long run each man can be taught to rise above himself. Perhaps this is the supreme make-believe. If so, I am persuaded that it is an indispensable one, and the inexorable price of human progress. In any case, it is surely our reason for clinging to the belief that questions are important, are susceptible of solution by rational processes, and should be so approached and solved.

My second point relates to the relative chances of success of the two outlooks.
There is no question about the efficacy of the totalitarian approach, to the individual man, where physical power is established. The soul lives in the body and can be killed through the body, for all purposes of this world. The individual can therefore always be eliminated if he cannot be brought to obedience. But most people will obviously accept obedience if it becomes indisputably evident that the alternative is elimination, and painful elimination at that.

With respect to large masses of people, the same is true where the possibilities of genocide exist. Genocide is physically a much more difficult operation than murder, but not, as we have seen, outside the realms of possibility where the numbers of people concerned are in the millions and not in the tens of millions. Here, too, extinction can be made the alternative to obedience, and thus obedience can be in large measure assured.

But when we get into the larger masses of people, I am not so sure. There seem to be both physical and political limits even to genocide. They are ample ones, and they still allow for actions too appalling for comprehension, including the establishment of Hell and Purgatory on earth, in the most literal and serious sense. But they are limits, nevertheless.

And beyond them, we don’t know what the possibilities of prolonged mass influence really are. One of the highly significant things to know about our world would be the effects on people over a long period of time of a continued unscrupulous exploitation of the irrational sides of their nature. I hope, for example, to find someone in this country who can tell me what changes, if any, are ascertainable in the reactions to modern commercial advertising of the present generation, which has been immersed in it as long as it has been conscious of anything at all, as compared with our own generation, who were taken unaware by it and unquestionably deeply affected. Is skepticism rising? Is the capacity to react to the advertising appeal being atrophied? The same question is pertinent in the political field. When I left the Soviet Union, in 1946, I had the impression that the young people were different from the young people of two decades ago in that country. For this present generation, the doctrine was no longer a live and exciting thing which opened up to you new vistas of outlook and conduct; its recital or acknowledgement was a ritual in which everyone was expected to participate on occasions, some more frequently than
others. It was not that you challenged the ritual or were indignant about its intellectual content, any more than the Sunday morning congregation in the Episcopal Church of any wealthy American city is indignant about passages of the Lord’s Prayer which might not stand close analysis in relation to what most of them will be doing the rest of the week. Acceptance of the ritual is just simply the sort of thing one does. If one fails to do it, one stamps oneself, in the case of our young Soviet citizens, as a dangerous character, a likely criminal if not an actual one, and brings trouble upon oneself and one’s intimates. But one simply does not bother to reflect on the relation to reality of that which one repeats. It may be right; it may be wrong – who knows? ‘They’ – the bosses – have their reasons for saying it; Soviet power is a fact; ‘keep your mouth shut and sit nicely’.

If what I have said is true, then there is at least an evolution in the relationship between masses and elite in the totalitarian society. There is also an evolution, as we can clearly see in the relationship even between the rulers and those – the party members – who hold themselves out as the enthusiasts. In Germany and in Russia the same phenomenon has been apparent: the gradual death of the party as a real factor on the political scene, its conversion into a glorified Beamtenbund: a framework within which one seeks security and more rapid promotion. The vital function of providing the source for recruitment into the small conspiratorial Olympus of power shifts from the party to the secret police and above all to the secret police army: the SS or the border guards. It is in these dark and hidden depths that the spirits are raised and trained who will some day compete for supreme power. But the organic connection between regime and people, and even between regime and party, has been lost. People acquiesce, but do not believe; and around the central conspiratorial group there grows a great political loneliness – a loneliness ominous to the point of despair.

What does this portend for the future? I wish we knew. The experiment in Germany (I am not sure that the Italian one was a fair one) terminated by violence from without before we could see what it was doing to itself. But I cannot get rid of the suspicion that these men who have reared their power on the beshaming of the nature of other men and on the destruction of their faculties for

10 ‘Official association’.
independent judgment and free will will be found to have destroyed something no less essential to themselves and that their power will eventually perish as the victim of its own extravagance.

Suspecting this, I find myself less worried than I think you are by what you point to as the dilemma, in your concluding passages. Perhaps it is because we have experienced less of it upon our own backs – in any case, I think those of us in America who think about these things at all are less afraid of ‘planning’ as an introduction to totalitarianism. I think I speak for others when I say that we see the only vital and important distinctions in human behavior as distinctions of method, not of objective. Nature, it seems to me, has prescribed our objectives for us out of its own good judgment, and has decreed that we shall desire to remain alive, generally speaking, as long as possible and to multiply our kind – simple and clear objectives, if not very inspiring. About all that we can do nothing, nor about the infinite ramifications of all that in the workings of the human ego. What we can do is to make sure that the pursuit of those objectives, in whatever sublimated forms they may appear, is conducted with methods characterized by a due humility in the sense of a recognition of our mortal weaknesses and susceptibility to error, and by a considerateness for all that in the human personality which we recognize to be clear and more dignified and more hopeful. Provided method accepts and clings to these restraints, I see no reason to fear the objective, whether it be a planned economy or the chaotic freedoms of American life. That there are dangers in one, as in the other, I concede; but I insist that they are the dangers of methodology and not of aim. The completion of endless forms and the submission to a high degree of organization, commensurate with technological progress, is a nuisance, which we have brought upon ourselves by our pursuit of the scientific to the exclusion of the emotional. And it brings us close to the brink of temptations of a far more serious sort. But it is not yet the end, and I think there is still time and space for us to halt and to adjust ourselves this side of the precipice. [unfinished]

TO DIANA COOPER

1 June 1950

New College
Dearest Diana,

Better to be understood than more intimate and not read; consequently, I dictate. Poor Jimmy Smith, with whom I spent a weekend together with John Julius at Beccles, who complained that he did not enjoy himself at all because he did not understand a word that had been said although God knew all the other guests said enough and in very loud voices. The other guests were the Hoffs, John Foster, Joe Alsop and Juliet Duff and me, so that you can imagine that in fact there was a good deal of talk and appalling and enjoyable singing till 3 a.m. (John Julius can report to you).

To resume: The Elba plans look very gloomy. The villa offered us by Dottore Ferretti is at once primitive and expensive, so all hope now is concentrated on the village of Lerici. I did have a wild glimpse of hope scotched by a charming postcard from your friend Miss Jenny Nicholson, who said she would be occupying her own villa in September and offering to find other accommodation, then when I explained the poverty, more of my friends than of myself (as dons go I am not rich, but not poor), another postcard extinguished our hopes by saying how expensive Portofino was. So what we hope for is that dear Miss Willis, an ex-headmistress with a 1910 attitude to Italians, will find us something as she promises to do near the Hotel Shelley e les Palmes, in the village off which the poet was drowned. None of us four dons is at all like Shelley; Mr. Dick even less than I, if you see what I mean. If Lerici fails I don’t know what happens, Corsica I expect or Brighton. Connect, connect, says Mr E. M. Forster in all his novels; I shall do my best to connect with you in September if you are anywhere in Italy. The prospect looks grey at the moment.

Israel was splendid. The President is not enormously affable about his government, nor they about him; Mrs President snubs them fairly openly, and is a little like an Anglo-Indian lady who prefers to have as little to do with the natives as possible (for goodness’s sake do not repeat this or I shall get into grave trouble all round), but the political pattern is very like what would have happened in Russia if Lenin had not arrived upon the scene, and upset things; the same naive and touching political theorising; enormous inefficiency; everybody very nice to everybody; no corruption at all, but nothing done unless you know the Minister personally and there are 75,000 persons who know not only the Minister but his aunts in Odessa, and sister-in-law in Cleveland,
Ohio etc.; laws somewhat lax, nobody punished much as it is assumed that nobody means any harm, and all their records in the war have been very good, and you cannot punish people for killing other people with their cars as after all they are decent good people, hurrying to their wives so as to be in time for the Sabbath evening meal, and it was a genuine accident which might have happened to anybody. I found it charming, and particularly the domestic atmosphere in which anybody may be offered any job, and things can only be done not by graft but by persuasion, as for example in Oxford; a system I understand.

There is one business item: there is a man there called George Weidenfeld who edits Contact with Nigel Nicolson etc., who is for the moment a very amiable and competent Viennese factotum of the President (Raimund and Liz are friends of his), who is engaged in promoting a Festival in 1951, I imagine for a lesser and at [a] different season from our big British one. The official reason for it is some grave scientific conference about ‘The Battle with the Desert’, to which various rural scientists, agronomes, agrosophers, agrologists etc., hydrologists, hydrologers and hydronomes etc, will be invited. But to deck this out a little there is to be a series of concerts by the Palestine Orchestra, Koussevitsky, performances of plays by their two famous theatres etc., and they wish to make a success of that particularly. The secretary of it is the duly virtuous Edwin Samuel, son of Herb, who is a naive good man, although Weizmann thinks he is a sinister money-grubber. Be his character what it may, he is an honourable, and so lends some respectability to his partner Mr Evzerov, who I think made a fortune by selling charms and talismans in Siberia enabling ladies to have children of whatever sex they desired. Given that half these women would have children anyhow, or even a third, and that half of these children also will be male or female, if you sell your talisman for £1 and it costs less than 5/- to make, you cannot fail to make a profit. Thus enriched he came to the Holy Land and set up as a promoter and is very successful. He is to sell debentures in the Festival. Edwin Samuel thought that the purpose of it ought to be explained to the investors before they bought the debentures; ‘No’, said Mr. Evzerov, ‘I do not do so. First to sell, then to explain. That is my principle.’ But this is an aside. The point is, will you like to help them promote their cultural activities and be an adviser, for I presume some rich reward, and in any case go and have a look at the field of
operations when the weather is not too hot in June or September or October, or even be interviewed in Paris by the very personable, agreeably ironical Weidenfeld? I think you will probably find it genuinely entertaining, and they are all very sweet and worth helping. Anyhow if you would even consent to discuss it, I could telephone and tell them. They sent me a cable weeks ago asking if I would approach you, but I have been regrettably remiss about this.

Staying with the President was living in a land-locked lamasery with much worship but no contact. He was invited to change his name as all his Ministers have done to some heroic Biblical Ben David, or Ben Saul, or Ben Jephtha, but declined on the ground that he had something to lose by this, which did not make him more popular. He asked his Foreign Minister what being the Prime Minister [sc. President] entailed and was told it was a kind of symbol; he asked how one symbolised, and was told that if he did not like the job they could always abolish the post. How monstrous they are, how ungrateful. They are all very small-scale but very appealing and full of childish imagination. The En Geb music festival in a large unpainted hut on the shores of the Sea of Galilee in which the pianist is expected to play to the bourgeoisie from nine to eleven p.m. and the colony with explanations of when Chopin was born etc. from 11 to 3 a.m. is just what I like. I wish I could see you, and tell you how odd and un-twentieth century and comical and touching all this is.

I must stop, I must stop, and go and mind your son and be his moral tutor.

Yours ever,
Isaiah.

<Next time I write in MS: this is too orderly & frigid.>

TO LEONARD SCHAPIRO

12 August 1950 [manuscript]
Grand Hotel, Vevey, Vaud, Suisse.

Dear Leonard,

[...] I must begin by sincerely and warmly congratulating you on having achieved a genuine addition to knowledge; & one which I have not seen remotely recorded anywhere else, since all other
meticulous & scholarly work on 1917 is done either from a self-justifying (Miliukovo-Kerenskian) point of view, or, at best, from Trotskyist or Leninist anti-Stalin zeal. Whereas you are most scrupulously impartial – if you show any ‘tendency’ at all it is to be too indulgent to Trotsky whose consistency & brilliance obviously stand out in contrast to the zig zags, muddle & second rateness of all the others on the one hand, & the almost cynical utilitarianism – dare one say it opportunism – of Ilyich himself. How differently Carr’s coming oeuvre will read! & what a nuisance it will be to look at the reviews which praise him for exact & unbending scholarship. But to work! Only once more I shd like to say what a solid & valuable piece of detailed research this is, & how good the bibliography: I fear you might easily have got a doctorate in Oxford for the 4 chaps & 4 more in Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Columbia or each of these in turn. But soyons sérieux. I remember your caveat about small criticisms being timely now, & larger suggestions in November. I cd not sort them out. Here is the farrago.

1. Are you meditating a preface? it cd be v. useful for the reader if you tied your chapters, each of which can stand on its feet as a treatise on its particular topic, by saying how these streams fed opportunism in the post-1918 years. I shd advocate – but this is only a random suggestion that you begin by giving a v. rapid coup d’oeil of a crucial moment – sometime in the twenties – say during the chute of Trotsky or before the fatal Party Conference at which Stalin so coolly read out Lenin’s will, or some such moment, classified the oppositional elements, & then promised to take the reader back to the mountain streams of 1917 which fed these rivers. Otherwise there is not enough connection between the chapters, too few links, each story starts ab ovo. And do you intend to print the footnotes & references at the back or at the foot of the page? I am a passionate advocate of the latter: looking up is a nuisance, & little numbers break up the print anyway: or else no numbers at all, & an appendix with reference to pages, but not to lines, which prop up the text: a kind of Quellen Kapital. This is what I mean by mingling trivialities with serious points.

2. Perhaps this is too much outside the scope of what, after all, is a specialist monograph, but wd not chap I profit by a kind of map of where everybody was in 1917: or at least where they began by being: you let quite a lot of this emerge in the text, but it wd be admirable, & no one has done, to have at least the left wing parties –
from Kerensky leftwards – arranged in some sort of pattern: say by analysing the tendencies in the Central Soviet: Trudovius[?], S.Rs of the Right, of the Centre, of the Left; S.D.s who were on speaking terms with the Kadets, & S.D.s who were not; benevolent Fabians of the Prokopovich–Karpovich–right wing Bundist (Leshchinsky) sort; Revolutionary icons like Kropotkin, Vera Figner, Breshkovskaya, etc. Plekhanov & Zasulich; silly pacific SRs like Avksentiev & Zenzinov, & terrifying ones like Savinkov & Rutenberg; etc. etc. Is this too impressionistic for your rightly more precise technique? it will never be done except by learned & earnest vulgarians like Wolfe who is a typical East side ex-communist & not intelligent, or fastidious enough, nor as privy to the atmosphere as even you or I […]

[Here a long list of specific points follows.]

As you see I've nothing to quarrel with in your story: but only want occasional amplification or qualification. It seems to me admirable, as I said: but I must now add that I know little about this period: & have learnt most of it from you. I hope you can read my writing & that this is all not too chaotic. […] I saw Prokopovich & Kuskova yesterday. Most, most moving. And the stories about Vera Figner – the horror even now at her extremism – wonderful.

yrs,

Shaya

TO GEORGE KENNAN

31 January 1951 [manuscript]

Dear George,

What is the good of my saying to you however truthfully, however much in the Muscovite (rather than Petersburg) tradition, that I have sinned, feel grief, offer deep ‘heavenly’ bows & genuflections to you, for not replying & not replying & keeping my letter to you under lock & key, oppressed by the thought of its worthlessness?
16 February 1951
This is becoming very like the diary of a Lishni Chelovek\textsuperscript{11} out of Chehov or some less kindly satirist: and I had better not go on: if I wait a second longer this won’t ever go off, but it will be found in the chaos of my posthumous papers, a symbol of general incompetence and inability to finish anything, even a letter. So no more of this, and only a repeated expression of my gratitude & hope that when I come to Harvard in September it will be possible to see you and continue this conversation in conditions of physical, if not moral, comfort. Will you be in Washington or Princeton? I shall, at any rate, try & communicate; I don’t know if you have had any occasion to modify any part of either your Rede an der Russischen Nazion\textsuperscript{12} or Mr X: I am a 100% supporter of both; the former is not, I take it, under fire: the latter, I feel, may be: but even from this curiously remote, isolated, & alas, increasingly isolationist vantage point, I see no evidence against ‘containment’ – only for it; I am sure you are absolutely right; that U[nle] J[oe] won’t strike out unless the game is far more worth his candle than it can possibly look to him to be at this moment; & that if we persist in rearming & not aggressing, the ‘modus non vivendi’ will go on: & so I continue to preach your gospel as best I can and if you are inclined to revise, – continue to adhere to the ‘original purity’.

yrs ever
Isaiah B.

\textsuperscript{11} ‘Superfluous Man’. The concept of the ‘superfluous man’ was given its familiar name by Turgenev in Dnevnik lishnego cheloveka (‘Diary of a superfluous man’): see entry for 23 March 1850. The term was also used as a catchphrase by Dostoevsky in Zapiski iz podpol ya (‘Notes from Underground’, 1864).

\textsuperscript{12} ‘Address to the Russian Nation’, alluding to J. G. Fichte’s 1806 Reden an die deutsche Nation, and perhaps a reference to Kennan’s American Diplomacy, 1900–1950 (London and Chicago, 1951).
TO EDWARD WEEKS

15 October 1951 [manuscript postcard]  
Harvard

This is just to say that I am hiding from you, having in the meanwhile grown serious, withdrawn & unreadable: so might Odysseus have informed Circe, Calypso etc. that he had lost all taste for travel and was in their vicinity again purely in the interests of the Ithacan olive trade.

yrs

Isaiah Berlin

FROM GEORGE KENNAN

12 December 1951 [carbon]  
n.p.

Dear Isaiah,

Thank you so much for your note. Don’t tell me you I said so, but I think your ignorance of economics, if real, will be a great advantage to you in talking to the group I have in mind.

I’m going to come at you soon with an invitation to come to Princeton for one of the four weekends beginning with and following that of January 25. I cannot tell you which it will be. I can promise you only an immunity from large and solemn discussion groups. Except for three or four hours in which we will lay claim to your time and attention, you may feel free to do precisely what you please on a winter weekend in Princeton; and if there is nothing you please to do, you don’t have to take any longer.

The gentlemen from the London Observer have already written asking to come up here and see me. Feeling sorry for them, I have uncertainly assented. I don’t mind their looking at me, but as for facts about me, I would much prefer that they turned to my friends and acquaintances.

Yours,

[George K.]

Edward Augustus (‘Ted’) Weeks (1898–1989), editor, Atlantic Monthly, 1938–66; frequent solicitor of contributions from IB, but successful only twice, with pieces on Churchill and Roosevelt, published in 1949 and 1955 respectively.
Dear George,

I have written to Ed[ward Meade] Earle & suggested myself for March 7 & till the foll. Monday when I have to go back & deliver my 5th Flexner Lecture (My God: what blood & sweat & tears: all the words seem meaningless to me: fortunately most of them are inaudible to the audience, though only a few cads actually say so) – I hope (a) that he E.E. is not too unwell even to receive such a message (b) that you wd be there if I came bracket (c) that if it is inconvenient I shall be told so curtly, since I gladly take ‘no’ for answers.

I talked to your bankers, duly; & they were very affable & kind & I thought most responsive & intelligent & I am grateful to you for arranging it, though I had cold feet just before, they seemed so important & knowledgeable.

I talked to Wasson about the publication of Akhmatova’s verses in N.Y.:14 Fainsod has now shown me a copy: I must say, it upset me. It can only do the poor lady harm, & she is not in a condition, if still alive, to suffer much more: was this publication really necessary? Couldn’t they have decently waited till demise? I feel a strong personal affection & real romantic feeling for her, having, I think been almost the only visitor from the West allowed to see her – I must have told you [about] the extraordinary meetings I had with her in the Sheremet’ev palace on the Fontanka in Leningrad.

Now: I shd like to see you & take up (secretly & privately) if you’ve a moment, certain theses of yours which seem to me inconsistent, at least prima facie: i.e, (1) that in human disasters it is not so much individuals as the human predicament that is to blame (perhaps this is not your position at all but Butterfield’s: he, like Marx, Carr etc. shifts all blame on to the back of unavoidable impersonal entities – “the predicament” – which God sends & we can survive only by His grace: do you say that? possibly not. Certainly not as firmly as Butterfield whom I’ve never met but he

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seems to me to be of no value as a pensée: anyway I think I am reading him into you, I don’t know why. I apologise & withdraw (2) that skills & techniques & diplomatic competence can manipulate people’s fate: in its extreme form it is what Col. Beck believed. Also Talleyrand: & that doesn’t allow enough to ‘the predicament’, feelings, imponderables etc. (3) that men are by nature good & too much manipulation destroys the manipulators & so saves the manipulated. However I must not babble aimlessly: what this comes to is that I shd love to see you if not on that 2nd week-end in March (does the spring come to Princeton then?) at some other time; but when?

I’ve worked quite hard & fairly fruitlessly this time. I’ve seen “nobody” – not Adam Watson, Chip [Bohlen] for 25 minutes, etc: I feel virtuous but somewhat starved & plaintive: do, I beg you, make it possible to see you. Have you looked by any chance at O. Utis in Foreign Affairs?15 Is it all wrong? Sorry to be so chaotic, Russian, discursive. And I hope to see you soon.

yrs ever
Isaiah Berlin

FROM GEORGE KENNAN

20 February 1952 [carbon]

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Dear Isaiah,

Earle’s letter to you of February 19 rested to some extent on a misunderstanding, for which I take the blame. I am indeed going to be in Princeton those days, but I am expecting Barbara Ward as a house guest and the Franks as academic guests for that weekend. This is already a rich diet of English intellectualism for us simple frontier folk, and if you are to be added to it I fear we shall suffer like the country cousin from a surfeit of big city amenities.

Could you perhaps come a day, or half a day, earlier so that some of us could meet with you on Friday afternoon? Then perhaps you and I could have a chance to talk privately on Saturday afternoon, as there are some things I would like to discuss that way.

I believe Annelise\textsuperscript{16} and I will be having some people in for Saturday evening to meet the Franks and Barbara, and hope that you can join us.

I read the Otis [sc. O. Utis] paper, as you can imagine, with intense interest and appreciation. In so far as there may be a conflict between it and what I wrote for \textit{Foreign Affairs} last year, I gladly concede that yours is the stronger and better founded view. I had not meant to imply that the Soviet system should be expected to change drastically and suddenly as a consequence of its own contradictions, but rather to express incredulity that it could be immune from the law of change, particularly in a world context of which rapid change is so conspicuous an element.

Your observations on the party line are penetrating and extremely illuminating. I hope to be able to show you, when you come here, the text of a lecture I delivered earlier this winter in Paris, in which I came to very similar conclusions, but with regard to disciplinary relationships between Stalin and his top advisers, on the one hand, and the influential levels of the bureaucracy, on the other. Where you were thinking of the relations between the Kremlin and the wider public, I was thinking of relationships within the influential portions of the apparatus of power; but the similarity of conclusions is striking.

Very sincerely,

[George K.]

\textbf{TO GEORGE KENNAN}

24 February 1952 [\textit{manuscript}]

Princeton

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter – before anything else I shd like to say briefly – only because the train I have to catch for Annapolis is about to go off in 10–15 mins time – that I have only just, I am ashamed to say, finished your book on American diplomacy with the greatest admiration, agreement and delight in its style & contents. Had I read it I shd not have uttered the, I now believe, rather \textit{frech} [cheeky] sentiments I expressed so gaily and foolishly to you in my last letter.

\footnote{Kennan’s Norwegian wife Annelise Sørenson Kennan (1910–2008).}
Your disinterment of Mr [Alfred Edward] Hippisley [1848–1939] and his epoch making influence; & your protest against formulae, laws of Nature & Juridical straitjackets and above all the sad, wise juxtaposition of ideal frameworks and moral indignations on the one hand with delicate intricate texture of actual human relations – & the dreadful havoc which young angry nations – like enraged infant Herculeses can wreak so nobly yet so disastrously (and usually beyond recall) is very deeply felt, illuminating & unanswerable: you know Aristotle (but you mustn’t think I am an Adlerite or Hutchinsite17 – far from it!) once said that the only decisive judgment – whether of theory or practice – lies in actual inspection of the concrete situation:18 syllogisms (+ all the medieval interpretations) don’t help at all. – I’d love to talk with you about this and other such topics: and I am much moved by the awful prospect of your week-end & its surfeit – let me do nothing to increase the social embarras – I’m going to stay with Oliver and Barbara Franks next week-end anyhow, and they won’t be too pleased, I daresay, to find me once again popping at them from every corner – and Barbara Ward is a jolly handful of competence and spell-bindingness in herself (so, I am told is her husband; but she’s the goods) so – I’ve told Earle that I shall try & come in a quieter season. I wd not suggest coming at all – Pascal once said that all troubles arise because men will not ‘rester tranquillement dans une chambre’19 but will bustle – save that I don’t want to seem discourteous to Earle who had written me fairly pressingly before his illness & asked me for a fortnight. So I’ll try to come for 2 days mid-week (it is all in Earle’s hands) and give as little trouble as I can: & sit in a room so far as possible. I am here for a few hours to-day to see [Ernst] Kantorowicz whom I haven’t seen since 1937 or so. But the train is puffing and I am off.

yrs ever,
Isaiah Berlin

18 Cf. IB’s ‘The concrete situation is almost everything’, CTH2 19.
19 Pascal wrote ‘tout le malheur des hommes vient d’une seule chose, qui est de ne savoir pas demeurer en repos dans une chambre’ (‘all men’s misfortunes come from one thing: not knowing how to stay quietly in a room’). Pensées, VIII ‘Divertissement’, 139 (Lafuma).
TO DOUGLAS VEALE

16 March 1952 [manuscript]  

As from Bryn Mawr College

Dear Veale,

When Mr J. L. Austin asked me to act as one of his referees in his application for the White’s Chair of Moral Philosophy, I agreed to do so without hesitation, but with a certain natural embarrassment; for certainly he should need no recommendation or assessment from me, rather the other way about.

Ever since I first met him, on his election to All Souls in 1933, I was made aware that I was becoming acquainted with a man of stupendous, at times frightening, intellectual power; and as I came to know him more intimately this impression increased. It became clear that Austin was a philosopher of the very first order, the most distinguished philosophical personality of his time. Certainly none among my contemporaries or juniors, and only a few among my seniors, have made a comparable impact upon the thought of their own generation of thinkers, both in Oxford and, to some degree, beyond. It is not only that Austin possesses a mind of such lucidity, rigour, and analytical force as has been given to relatively few philosophers of his generation, but that he unites with these qualities a very rich and very disciplined imagination, and above all a quality of ‘first handness’ – the sense of direct vision of a problem or a theory or a method of thought – which makes him much the most original as well as the most articulate and stimulating teacher and thinker of the post-1930 generation.

The almost universal feeling among his contemporaries in Oxford who discussed philosophy with him both before and after the war was that, whether one agreed or disagreed with his reasoning, one inevitably left him intellectually enriched – he almost always either made a direct & sometimes wholly original contribution to the topic or caused a ferment of ideas in the minds of his collocutors in the best Socratic Oxford tradition. And despite the

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great strength and obstinacy of his personality, and his vehemence and occasional passion, he was (and is) seldom dogmatic in the sense [of] remaining imprisoned in some stubbornly held framework of ideas or pet theory of his own.

One of the things which astonished some of those who tended to look on him as an exceptionally gifted and influential philosopher, but also as somewhat over-emphatic in the statement of his own ideas or his own criticisms of the views of others, was the manner in which he adapted himself to almost every point of view held by students of the subject whom he regarded as capable and in earnest; thus visiting Americans, from hard boiled logicians of the school of Carnap to aestheticians and followers of the later Whitehead, found Austin much less dogmatic & more inspiring than other philosophers in Oxford, prepared to go into everything which looked in the least interesting or genuinely troubling, from every point of view, and possessing an astonishing flexibility of mind, imaginativeness, intellectual tolerance, as well as, of course, an extreme acuteness and a unique capacity for exposition.

Of his influence on his fellow teachers it is scarcely necessary to speak: in my time he has transformed the standards of discussion, and won the admiration and devotion of many of his junior (and senior) colleagues, without enslaving the more impressionable, or becoming (as might have been the case with someone vainer or less intellectually scrupulous) the centre of a cult & acquiring disciples moulded into the same uniform pattern.\(^\text{22}\) His ascendancy can thus be attributed not merely to his superb mental powers and gifts, nor to his intellectual morality – his absolute, sometimes over-meticulous, honesty, and sternness towards anything muddled or slipshod (which used to terrify the more tender minded, though it does so, as far as I know, no longer), but also to the fact that, unlike e.g. such eminent rigorists as Prichard\(^\text{23}\) or in a different fashion Joseph,\(^\text{24}\) he is scarcely ever blind to the positions or terminology of others – if he perceives a genuine issue, he does not seek to do away with it because it cannot be squared with a given system of thought.

\(^{22}\) Here and in point 4 below the implied contrast is principally with Ludwig Wittgenstein.


or language, or has not been expressed in suitable words, but deals
with it, as often as not, on ground selected by his interlocutor,
without seeking to translate into what too often to the propounder
of the problem seems a distorting medium.

The result of this has often been a degree of illumination to
persons who suppose themselves to differ widely from him on many
cardinal points: and consequently a degree of disinterested (and still
growing) admiration on the part of young philosophers who differ
a great deal among themselves. If he has a vice it is an almost too
great desire to convince his opponents in argument – he will not let

He has published relatively little, & that, although it seems to me
to be of outstanding quality, has on the whole been inferior to his
lectures, his classes & his private conversation. His range is wide –
it embraces all logic and epistemology, and ethics and (in classes &
in private) political philosophy and aesthetics also. He is, of course,
a superb classical scholar, & this has given authority to his lectures
on the ancient philosophers.

Perhaps it might be helpful to enumerate the specific respects in
which he seems to me to have contributed to Oxford philosophy,
even apart from the most important respect of all – the expression
of new ideas of high originality and power and influence.

1) He is one of the creators of the Origins of Epistemology Paper
in P.P.E., hitherto innocent of Plato & Aristotle, whereby certain of
the dialogues of Plato & treatises of Aristotle, as well as Aquinas,
17th century rationalism, Mill, Boole & Frege were presented as a
coherent sequence. The text of Frege he translated superbly.25 and

25 Austin’s translation of Gottlob Frege’s *The Foundations of Arithmetic: A Logico-
Mathematical Enquiry into the Concept of Number* was published in Oxford in 1950.
he lectured in vast detail on Aristotle’s Categories & the De Interpretatione.

2) Similarly he lectured with great and & illuminating minuteness (according to all reports) on parts of the Nicomachean Ethics,26 & also on selected points in Plato’s Republic.27 His Aristotelian scholarship seems to me prodigious, especially when one considers his other preoccupations [and] attainments.

3. He made a wholly original contribution to Moral Philosophy with his theory of Performatory Expressions:28 and in the classes which he held with Mr H. L. A. Hart of New College on moral & legal responsibility he developed some exceedingly striking conceptions, which only the old Oxford disease of overdeveloped self criticism prevents him from publishing.29

4. His occasional informal gatherings attended by other tutors have communicated an impetus to the subject which is difficult for me, who have attended them, & perceive their effects, to over-emphasize. And I shd like to stress again that despite his dominating intellectual stature he neither cows his colleagues too much nor turns them into unconscious imitators; the intellectual light & life he is able to generate is something the like of which I have never quite seen elsewhere: and this without the tiresome mannerisms & exacting demands of a mystagogue. It seems impossible not to be deeply impressed by his philosophical talent: this is, so far as I know, true of every philosophical visitor to Oxford who has met him.

In short I consider Mr Austin a uniquely gifted philosopher, teacher, lecturer & organizer. He owns a great fund of wisdom about practical affairs & also of kindness and sweetness & generosity, which blend curiously with his shyness & austerity & authority of manner, but for which his beneficiaries among the younger tutors have good reason to feel grateful; I shd almost go so far as to say that on occasion Mr Austin displays the quality of


27 ‘The Line and the Cave in Plato’s Republic’, reconstructed from Austin’s notes by J. O. Urmson, was added to the third edition (Oxford, 1979) of the Philosophical Papers.


29 See ‘A Plea for Excuses’ in Philosophical Papers.
philosophical genius: but even if I am mistaken in this, I feel sure that no more distinguished and penetrating & fruitful figure of his age is to be found anywhere in [the] English speaking world: his interest in ethics both ancient & modern is very genuine and has existed and developed since first I met him some twenty years ago: and his election wd seem to me to add great glory to a famous chair, & give Austin greater opportunities than he now has to advance philosophy in England.

yrs sincerely

Isaiah Berlin

Reader, they elected him.

TO JOHN SPARROW 30

2 May 1952

Dear Mr Warden,

I understand that I am required to present a biennial report of the research work done by me in terms of the undertaking which I gave when appointed to the Research Fellowship which I hold at present, and this I should like to submit. I was appointed in the summer of 1950 and since that date have accumulated material for both sides of the work upon which I am engaged:

(a) The Antecedents of the Russian Revolution;

(b) The History of European Thought from 1789 to 1870.

In connection with the first of these, I have gathered material for and drafted some three chapters of the first volume which is to deal with the Russian Radicals, in particular Belinsky during the ’30s and ’40s of the last century. I have prepared a first draft of these chapters and have lectured on the subject at Harvard during the last four months of 1951 (in accordance with the arrangements explicitly proposed in my scheme of work submitted in 1950 to Warden Sumner), and I have accumulated notes for the rest of the first

30 A fair copy of this letter was prepared by All Souls and headed ‘College Report Made to Warden and Research Fellowships Committee in accordance with By-Law IV, Clause 8’.
volume, which, of course, will need much expanding and reinforcing, before the first draft of the entire volume is prepared.

With regard to the second field of study, I have prepared a complete first draft of a book on political ideas between 1760 and 1830, some of which I delivered in the form of lectures, in the first months of this year, at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania (an institution kind enough to invite me to deliver lectures on the Mary Flexner Foundation in 1952). I propose to occupy myself for the rest of this year with the preparation of this material, which the Oxford University Press is to publish as a book, it is to be hoped some time next year. The title of it has not been finally decided upon, but it is, in effect, to deal with some among the most influential schools of political thought during the Romantic Age, three of which – the views of the German Romantic philosophers, of St Simon, and of De Maistre and Görres – have not, as far as I know, been adequately dealt with by any English writer (or in the English language), at any rate during this century. This book will cover part of the same field as, and is in the nature of a preliminary study for, the larger work on this subject which I have promised to the Oxford Press as part of their European series, and will be published under the joint auspices of the Oxford Press and the Mary Flexner Foundation.

Besides the work on the Russian Radicals and on the political ideas of the West, I have published a long essay in Oxford Slavonic Papers on the sources of Tolstoy’s view of history in Russian and Western European thought, which bears directly upon the Westerner–Slavophil controversy in Russia in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the last century. This essay has stimulated some discussion among Russian historians and I have devoted some time to scholarly controversies connected with this topic.

I have also written, but not published, a separate study of the views of de Maistre, which I may use as an introduction to a selection of his works which I may perhaps edit for Messrs Blackwell in their well known series of political classics, some time next year; I have also published critical notices of various works in the Slavonic Review, the Journal of Slavonic Studies etc., and contributed articles on Russian topics in Italy and the United States, notably on foreign affairs. In addition to this I have also performed my full functions as University Lecturer in this university, by lecturing and holding classes (one with Professor G. D. H. Cole), and had a small
number of pupils in New College according to the original plan submitted by me to the College.

Yours sincerely,

Isaiah Berlin

TO EDWARD WEEKS

3 October 1952

All Souls College

Dear Ted,

I have had a troubled summer, partly because of the illness of my father, partly because of the chaotic nature of my life, which means that when I do have to get something done it is always a crisis and a mad scramble, and so I have not been to Italy or indeed anywhere but Aix-en-Provence, where the music was astonishingly inferior, no doubt due to the French desire for economy, which makes them import a grotesque-looking conductor from Baden-Baden, who looks like a caricature schoolmaster whose face first registers a hideous sternness, then sentimental rapture, while the orchestra played in a well-trained, mechanical, absolutely dead fashion after months of rehearsal, with supreme disregard both for the conductor and the music, in a state of continuous terror about false notes etc. On the stage two elderly Wagnerian sopranos, still young but already obsolete, repressing their hideous great voices to sing in Don Giovanni.

I originally said I might write about this in the Manchester Guardian or broadcast in the BBC, but in view of this thought it kinder to say nothing and was duly thanked for this by the cultural attaché of the French Embassy, who was justifiably terrified of reactions. Consequently I have nothing to write about music, except the two Toscanini concerts which I attended, plus rehearsals, and about which I have feelings almost too deep for words. I could later in the year if that suited you write a kind of chronicle of books and artistic events in Europe generally – largely anything that comes into my head – you could print it or not, and in any case anonymously. Next year I really shall tour Europe, listen to music in April and in the summer, and request you to defray my not very great expenses as arranged. About Toscanini and his reception in London I really could perhaps say something.
Now, there is quite a different matter which I feel ought to be of interest to you. One of my colleagues here, Hugh Trevor-Roper of Christ Church, whom you will know as the author of The Last Days of Hitler, and may have met besides, and who is certainly the sharpest detective of facts to do with the Nazis and virtually infallible as a scrupulous (and mordant) student of the most detailed aspects of contemporary history, has just been in to see me to say that he is anxious to publish about two thousand words on a man called Kersten. I know very little about the last days of Hitler, when this man and the late Count Bernadotte were involved in the abortive peace negotiations. Trevor-Roper’s view is that Kersten is a good man and Bernadotte (although posthumously canonised after being murdered by Jewish zealot in Palestine) is in fact an impostor.

He says he can demonstrate this in possibly about two thousand words, and that the only groups of people who know about him are (1) the Swedes, who are inhibited by his Royal blood; (2) the Jews, who are inhibited by the fact that they killed him; (3) Himmler’s entourage, who are inhibited by the fact that they do not wish to proclaim their Himmler connections; (4) in addition to this there are the Dutch, who have had a report about all this prepared for some special commission but do not wish to publish their finding because they do not want trouble with Sweden. They are said to be recommending Kersten for the Nobel Peace Prize, which according to Trevor-Roper is incompatible with approval of Bernadotte. Kersten’s memoirs, published in English in the United States, apparently have little relation to anything he may have written, as he speaks no English, and the original (again according to Trevor-Roper, if I understand him alright) have not been published.

Now I do not of course know anything about any of these facts, and am not myself desperately interested, but Trevor-Roper is a scrupulous researcher and a brilliant writer – he wishes to publish his story quickly in order to help the Dutch in their support of Kersten, and he is aware that this may give pain to Bernadotte’s relations, particularly to his wife, who is, as you probably know, an American heiress. On the other hand the story will certainly be at once a serious piece of work and mildly sensational in its implications, and inevitably involve you in some controversy, which I imagine on a historical question treated by a recognised authority, as Trevor-Roper certainly is, you would not mind too much.
If you are interested would you cable or write by air mail to H. Trevor-Roper, Christ Church, Oxford? He is a very competent businessman and his text is unlikely to be longer or shorter or earlier or later than he promises. If you do not want it, he will probably send it to Harpers, which has expressed a desire to publish his work in general, though it may not want to cast a shadow on the memory of Bernadotte. I feel quite sure that Trevor-Roper is in fact right, and that Bernadotte was in certain respects deeply phoney, though I have no evidence of this, and it does not of course excuse his brutal and gratuitous murder. I should think that in England Trevor-Roper would like his piece published by the Daily Telegraph or the Manchester Guardian. The New Statesman would print it automatically, but it would be discounted as a piece of left-wing or anti-German or anti-something propaganda, although Trevor-Roper himself is a staunch old-fashioned reactionary Whig, or at least likes to think of himself as such.

I am very glad you are doing these things for Ed Prichard – I wish you would send me a copy of the Atlantic now and then, as it is not otherwise available here. I did borrow the last issue and read Holmes’s letters with great interest – I was fascinated in the wrong kind of way, but fascinated nevertheless. I thought Laski’s own letters were the sincere, lively, embarrassingly bogus and vulgar things you would expect – at least I would. You may have thought more highly of him than I, and Holmes’s slightly ironical attitude towards Laski’s gush, plus the desire not to offend and to treat him as the frivolous, amusing, lively, affectionate, ultimately trivial man that he was also fascinated me. However, not a word of this to Felix, who knows what I felt about Laski, but does not like to be reminded of it.

I hope the piece on Toscanini does him justice. I look upon him as literally the greatest man in the world, and nothing but undiluted veneration and self-prostration is enough. The man who could write and write about him, and tells the story better than anyone I know is the musical manager of NBC, Samuel Chotzinoff; he has just been in London with Toscanini and I have had a really absorbing time listening (for once) without interrupting to his stories. He tells them with great humour. I saw John Russell for a moment; I hope your ears were burning.

yrs ever

Isaiah (Berlin)
TO EDWARD WEEKS

23 December 1952

Dear Ted,

Thank you very much for your letter. I am in the throes of writing, or thinking about, my piece for you now – it ought to reach you some time in January. Roland is very funny about the seven plumbers and a banker.

Let me send you two Churchill stories for New Year.

1) While travelling to Strasbourg by the night ferry from London over the Channel. A terrific bump on the ferry. Frantic ringing of bells from Mr Churchill’s compartment. Steward enters to find a broken whisky bottle.

   Mr Churchill: ‘As you see, the bottle broke. We need more liquid nourishment. Could you bring us two more bottles?’

   Steward says ‘Yes’, and begins hurrying out. Mr Churchill stops him. ‘Was that a serious accident? Are very many dead?’

   The story might be entitled ‘First things first’, and is not for reproduction.

The second story is about Reynaud, who talked to Churchill for three-quarters of an hour, with great earnestness, about the past, present and future of France. At the end of it Mr Churchill said: ‘Obviousment’ – interesting word.

Thank you very much for your suggestion about the solid nourishment for me. If your thoughts did turn to that direction I do beg you not to send it to me in London now but to Oxford towards the end of January, where I can share it with one or two equally hungry mouths (not that any of us are remotely that, but I am on the move at the moment and I can’t bear solitary feasts).

God bless you, Merry Christmas, etc. I shall not sign this for earlier delivery.

Yours ever,

TO JOHN SPARROW

25 December [1952; manuscript]

49 Hollycroft Avenue

My dear Warden,

This is a formal little note to you to say that after a highly complex correspondence with Harvard & Princeton I shall have written to them to say that I am ready to visit Harvard in 1953 (autumn) & Princeton Institute for Advanced Study (the Woodwardeum) in the spring of 1954 & early summer; but that all this [is] provisional as I must first obtain your permission (I do not need the University’s). My desire to go back so soon – after four terms of Oxford – is non-existent: in fact it is a bore & a nuisance (why wd I not have used those terms to Warden Sumner? to Henderson, yes,) but the Russian books are there: so are the chaps to talk to: I shd like Belinsky & his circle (the title seems foolishly esoteric & Beachcomberish) to be ready by say 1955 at the latest: sooner or later I’d have to go to Harvard & the Lib[rary] of Congress & New York Pub[lic] Lib[rary] to look at the stuff, which has been damaged by bombs in the B.M.: better earlier than later. The thing is that I go to U.S.A. regularly to supplement my £750·0·0 p.a. & the practice is not utterly remote from this: God knows I bate being away; I love living in All Souls; I hate any uprooting; & do this, for once, purely in the interests of “getting on with my work” to use the by now sacred formula of the dear President of Corpus in re Dummett. But if you see objections wd you be so very kind to let me know soon: for by Jan 15 or so Harvard, at least, (Princeton can wait) ought to know: And six–seven months seems to me the minimum for looking at all the relevant books. Then not return to the U.S. for 3–4 years at least, if then or ever.

yrs respectfully.

Isaiah.

PS What are the real reasons for going to America in September? as opposed to the reasons?

1) Not money. I know that one of our colleagues will not believe this. But it means as little to me as to – as to yourself. And anyway
I spend it all there, almost. And I disliked my last visit to those excellent people more than I enjoyed it.

2) What then? Answer: the connection. If one does Russian history in any form it is the only place where there are facilities – books, catalogues, persons. And I don’t want to have to cadge dollars from Rockefeller or go on lecture tours like dear old ALR. My Harvard liaison is a reasonably honest way of turning an honest dollar. There is a kind of gentleman’s agreement (Burdon Muller is very sharp on how much more binding that is than a contract) about irregular visits between me & Harvard; if, because I loathe the thought of going, I break it, I shall (a) feel awful (b) be cut off from my ‘stuff’. (I hope you have plenty of time & don’t mind all this chat. It is a very exaggerated & misapplied method of carrying on our “complete candour” traditions). So I ought to go. What other thoughts occur to me? I can’t deny that I wondered if about 1954 there wd not be a vacancy for a Chair for which I shd apply. That wd confine my movements across the ocean; but also, to some degree remove the reason for them; I mean if I got it: & I would not want to be in Oxford during the season of election. My last absence was a great success, I thought. Is it improper for me to say all this? yes, surely, in a way. And talking of Chairs: have you any influence with Stuart Newton Hampshire? He may be applying for the Cambridge Chair in Morals: & they might give it to him: I would if I were they: & it really will make him unhappy & disimprove (as Ian Little might write) his work: will he listen to you or me on this? but only to Hart? & is not Hart just as goosey? & what about our poor bruised, concussed, unhorsed old Knight? But I am on dangerous ground. And have you had a dreadfully embarrassed Xmas card from Quinton? – But I stop

IB

TO JOHN PLAMENATZ

Boxing Day [1952; transcript of missing (MS?) original]

49 Hollycroft Avenue, London NW3

Dear Plamenatz,

I have read about 50 pp. of your book on Marx etc., and with deep interest. I quarrel with something literally almost on every page: your generalisations are much bolder and more dogmatic than
Popper’s – your attacks sometimes, however valid, like Joseph’s: like a professional philosopher’s: and don’t allow for the de facto intelligibility of much that is stated in loose, obscure, and maddeningly bogus language: however I could supply you with details later. Of course I think this, like all you write, is worth publishing; in this case, like Tolstoy, even if one thinks your strictures too oversimplified, the questions you put are genuinely ‘fundamental’ and force one to rethink answers, half-nonsense usually – which one has swallowed a long time ago and repeats semi-mechanically. It is all wonderfully fresh, authentic, relevant, and Emperor’s New Colthes’ish: But what I want to know is: what am I to do? Do you wish me to write you a letter which you could send on to Longman’s, or what? I can either write you a general letter of 2–3 small pages like these, or a list of major points and reflections thereon (I am now determined to read it all, I think it reads so well and so spontaneously, without the usual Marxological patina) – please tell me.

IB

PS The Russian bits seem to me at once oversimple in part, and splendidly clear, and in parts genuinely devastating. Of course it ought to be published: I could make one or two suggestions about revisions here or there.

TO EDWARD WEEKS

25 February 1953

All Souls College

Dear Ted,

First let me thank you for your magnificent gift. It arrived intact and gave enormous pleasure not only to myself but to numerous avid friends. Thank you very much indeed.

And secondly a far – to me at least – less agreeable point. As you know, I have been preparing for you for some time a piece about the late Dr Weizmann. Since then I have seen his widow in London – she is very pathetic and melancholy – she is a genuinely distinguished but not very popular old lady who has never affected to love or admire the majority of her husband’s followers, who naturally in their turn repay in something like kind. She is respected,
but not loved, and having always pleaded what Trotsky used to call
the magic of distance between her husband and his followers (and
this did indeed save him from being turned into small change by
them – he was very democratic and she protected him by snobbery),
she is now paying for it by solitude and a sad life in a large house,
unloved, unhonoured and unsung. I suppose she will devote the rest
of her life in guarding and haunting his mausoleum. At any rate she
does not want me to write the article. She feels that no short piece
will be adequate, that more has to be known about him, that if a
piece like that is written, it will serve as an excuse for not writing
something larger – I can think of perfectly conclusive arguments
against all these; nevertheless she really was adamant.

I am one of the feel people upon whom she looks as a friend
(and indeed I am, so far as in me lies), and I do not wish to give her
any pain or even a moment’s uneasiness. Consequently I had in
effect to promise not to write the piece. I am very sorry indeed about
this – there is a lot I should like to say – and now I am afraid it will
have to wait for another opportunity, for I do intend to write it
somewhere, somewhen yet, when you shall certainly have the first
refusal of it if we are both alive at the time. I feel great guilt about
it, nevertheless, although it is really not my fault. I do not think that
it is worth destroying an old friendship, particularly when one of the
friends is really rather pathetic and isolated – for the sake of
presenting the world with yet another vignette. I am sure you will
understand – I feel remorse and guilt notwithstanding. But I
promise I shall write something for you in the course of this year –
less than that I cannot do, try to do something I mean. I shall go to
Italy in the spring and that will surely make some sort of impact and
cause me to be indignant about something, or enthusiastic about
something else. I may go to one of the musical festivals in the
summer. I shall produce something, I shall honestly try.

How have you been doing with the Trevor-Roper bombshell? He
is very gleeful about it here and keeps on coming into my room
with new angry communiqués from Sweden or Washington or the
London Legation. He is a terrific sleuth and likes blowing up
established reputations. In Bernadotte’s case I feel that he must be
right. He was a very smooth, blown-up, bogus character.

I have been invited to attend a conference by the Ford
Foundation together with T. S. Eliot, Arnold Toynbee, Karl Barth,
Karl Jaspers, Monsignor de Lubac, C. S. Lewis and R. H. Tawney,
not to speak of Heisenberg and some other pious figure. What can I possibly be doing in that galère? I cannot help feeling that it would merely be compromising to be associated with a group of out-and-out reactionary figures of this sort. Only Tawney has some degree of intellectual and social conscience amongst them all. If there is anything more awful [than], or as awful as, the muddle-headed, cheap or weak or silly left, it is the pompous, complacent or else unhappy, persecution-ridden, dogmatic right. I admit that if I was invited to confer with Kingsley Martin, Michael Foot, Julian Huxley, the late Laski, J. B. S Haldane etc., I should feel much the same. It is clear that there is no real place for me among the people who count in the modern world. Must I really attend?

Yours ever,
Isaiah B.

TO HERBERT BUTTERFIELD

15 May 1953 [manuscript]  All Souls

Dear Butterfield

I owe you several apologies, I really do. Firstly I said to you, as I expect & hope you do not remember, when I first met you last year, that I was going to submit my L.S.E. Auguste Comte Lecture for your comments before I delivered it – since I was going to say something in it about what I understood of your views on moral judgments made by historians. And so I would have done if I had had a text before I delivered my lecture. But although I collected a number of disjected fragments, I had, of course, no continuous narrative when I spoke on the 12th before a much too distinguished audience. So there was nothing to send to you; I did make some references to your views: & Oakeshott who presided over me, said to me afterwards that he thought I had not got them right, or at least quite right; & it may well be so, & I may have traduced you terribly. In that connection, besides pleading guilt, I shd like to make amends by sending you the MS. of my lecture before publication (it is still in a dreadful mess: & I half talked & half read & it all seemed to me a terrible fiasco, but it is over & that is, thank God, that) since I am most profoundly anxious not to attribute to you any view which you haven’t stated in your essays which I genuinely much admire, even
though I disagree with at least two doctrines which I think I culled from them. If I did misrepresent you in any degree (it was only a few sentences) I am sorry for it: but my words will not be remembered by anyone for long: so there is perhaps no need to worry overmuch about that.

That is one thing. The other is that I read in the *Manchester Guardian* of the 13th, to my great horror, that I had “opposed … three classes of determinists – teliologists (sic) metaphysicians and scientists – plus Professor Butterfield who severally think that history proceeds along inevitable lines and that therefore no historical judgment is possible’. Whatever I may have done, I certainly did not either believe you to be, or describe you as a determinist of any kind: & the M.G. account is a travesty: & I am almost inclined (& at a word from you wd immediately set myself) to write & testify that you are not, or at least that I do not consider you, or ever described you as being, an adherent of historical determinism. I spoke only of your view of historical moralizing: & if I was wrong, it was not in the ways implied by the M.G. reporter.

Still, I am the accidental cause of a misrepresentation: I cannot feel altogether guiltless: so I grovel to you again. Will you forgive me? & allow me to send you a typescript of my lecture before publication? or wd you rather not be so imposed upon?

Yours sincerely
Isaiah Berlin

GBR/0012/MS Butterfield/B/81

TO HERBERT BUTTERFIELD

18 August 1st Sept. 1953

Hollycroft Avenue

Dear Professor Butterfield,

I feel dreadfully guilty about not replying to your most interesting and delightful letter, which it was very good of you to write. I delayed doing so largely because I wanted to finish the text of the lecture which was the occasion for it, and send it to you to look at – by which time alone I thought I would know my own mind about the issues which you raised. But of course I don’t, even now; I do enclose a copy of the lecture before publication, in case I have said something untrue and unfair about your views, in which case I
should be grateful if you would tell me; and I shall try to amend it duly. But the lecture is dreadfully long, and I fear very verbose. Perhaps you would rather not read it: I should not, in your place, have either the time or inclination to do such a thing; it is no service to anyone one likes and respects, whose time is limited, to deposit a sudden burden of this kind on his shoulders. So if I don’t hear from you, within say a week or so, to the effect that you think something imperatively demands to be changed, even without saying what it is (in this, your first warning signal), I shall send it to the LSE, wash my hands of it and, with a sinking feeling, depart for Harvard (I sail on 10 September). Please forgive me for putting upon you so.

I am most grateful to you also for sending me your last book,\(^{31}\) which I read with interest and admiration. I wish my lecture had half its elegance or its feeling or its enviable moderation of tone. I am not a good writer and am an over-vehement and careless talker, and you are neither. But regarding the main issues I think that you are right – that we do start from positions which are not in the end reconcilable at all. You believe that it is arrogant and ignorant and dangerous to condemn, denounce, and fight campaigns on moral issues. I, on the whole, do not. Not but what I did once write a piece\(^{32}\) in which I tried to say that the trouble of our time was not too little faith – as everyone in America seemed to be thinking – but too much; that different people pursued different ideals and the same people pursued incompatible ideals; and that a civilised society was one which made all this less costly than fanatical and barbarous ones; that human ends, being ultimate, had to be tolerated as such; and other Mill-like things like that, for which I was duly trounced anonymously by E. H. Carr in *The Times Literary Supplement*, who coupled me with Russell and accused us both of a *surtout pas trop de zèle\(^{33}\)* attitude and damned us as propagators of a ‘new scepticism’.

I don’t know about Russell, but certainly I believe in the insolvability of problems of basic moral principle – or rather that they are not real problems in the sense in which factual ones are (which do seem to be soluble in principle or else not problems at all) but represent attitudes to life and not enquiries with their special techniques. So, to that degree, I think I should be inclined to

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\(^{31}\) *Christianity, Diplomacy and War* (London, 1953).

\(^{32}\) ‘Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century’: see note above.

\(^{33}\) See LA 236/5.
applaud you every time you urge understanding, an atmosphere in which disagreements need not lead to bigotry or efforts at mutual extermination; the danger of indulging in the application of general principles to specific situations – of vivisection of human beings because of some fixed idea of how things ought to be; and ad hoc solutions, each in its own time and place, none hoping for finality. And I feel pro-Niebuhr on this, and agree with him that democracy is best because it is the most flexible, the least tidy, and therefore makes the most allowances for incompleteness of solutions and inevitable human fallibility (in an empirical, unreligious sort of way I believe in original sin, if that is the strict contradictory of perfectibility).

But whereas you think, unless I mistake you profoundly, the influence of individuals upon affairs has been exaggerated; and that the more we know, the more uncontrollable factors we find at work in history, and that we don’t know much, and make a double mistake, when we blame or denounce, of exaggerating the part played by individuals and of our knowledge of what that part must have been, I am continually impressed (a) by how much greater is the influence of individuals and moral ideas than is allowed for in impersonal, e.g. Marxist or theologically or economically inclined, histories, or, for that matter, those which stress biological or other non-rational factors – surely the twentieth century, with its Hitlers and Stalins, carries that lesson against the lesson of the nineteenth; and (b) by the fact that we cannot divorce knowledge of fact from moral judgement, that we judge as we judge on the basis of whatever is the best knowledge available, and that to abstain from judging morally distorts the picture; that we have, both as historians and as human beings, a duty to understand and explain as far as we can, but that to understand is not to excuse, but, as a Dean of Christ Church once observed in my hearing, ‘When a situation looks black it is usually the case that upon closer inspection it turns out to be blacker still.’

This is perhaps too pessimistic; but I do not see the connection between explanation and justification which is usually thought to exist; when we meditate about our own motives we sometimes blame ourselves more sharply, not less; why then should we withhold this from others? Save on the grounds of charity, which is a virtue indeed, but not necessarily compatible with truth or justice, except on interpretation of the word – ultimately a religious one –
which is precisely, I suppose, what I do not share with you. I do not believe that a view of the world which denies the right to moral judgement to all save Divine Omniscience is a truer view of the facts than one which does not; a different view certainly, and one whose depth, coherence and nobility I recognise; but not one which does justice to ordinary human experience, it seems to me; within that precarious calculation of right and wrong by which most men guide their lives something is lost and something gained in every view compared with every other. But the extent of such loss and gain, and the point at which awareness of it inclines us towards one view rather than another, seems to me part of the fundamental outlook of every individual, and not therefore capable of being judged in terms of some other outlook – an ultimate set of standards beyond which one cannot in principle go.

People whose ultimate judgements differ too widely from our own we cannot communicate with profitably. What we call objective in an outlook is the fact that it belongs to a sufficient degree to a general system of attitudes within which there are publicly accepted criteria which make public intercommunication possible. And this system, in terms of which we do in fact argue with each other, seems to me to take a large number of moral standards and rules for granted – they may vary at different times and in different places, but so may everything else, and we are as we are, and the fact that we might be different, or that other people might be or will be, doesn’t seem to me to alter this. To try and eliminate these varying moral standards when we are discussing human beings and their acts, to put them in a temporary bracket as it were, refuse to raise moral issues, seems to me impossible, i.e. to invite us to use ordinary words in such contracted senses as to make them lose a great part of their flavour and meaning. In the sciences we do this by consciously idealising and abstracting. In ordinary thought surely we cannot.

I apologise for carrying on at such length, and so, I fear, lamely and obscurely, but most of all do I apologise for inflicting my lecture upon you. It is a poor response to your letter and your book, I do beg you not to spend time either from your labours or your pleasures unless you think that I have been outrageously unjust – in that case I appeal to your understanding and charity, inconsistently, since I myself profess not to attach such value to these attributes as you so generously do.
Yours sincerely,
Isaiah Berlin

(The text has come out so terribly long that it really is monstrous to expect you to read it at all – let alone in a hurry. If you do I shall, of course, be very very grateful: but I sail, alas, on Sept. 10, & shall have to send the text in before that. So if I hear nothing from you, I shall understand perfectly.)

GBR/0012/MS Butterfield 122/6

TO DIANA COOPER

[early January 1954, manuscript]

49 Hollycroft Avenue

Dearest Diana,

I really do write from a full – but I really mean an empty – heart: for my father died a fortnight ago – I was just in time from America to talk to him – & since my family is the closest knit I know, the effect is one I cannot face at all. I go through a large number of tasks mechanically but with a kind of frenzied attention to impersonal detail & this fills the days: & I hope that some substitute for life – some temporary scaffolding – some automatic routine will offer a corridor to you too until the new level is reached and a quite different life begins. I know, I know that words are useless and even a burden: & that the world is for a moment depopulated: also that quite aside from all your love & your devotion and the unique intimacy and bright colour & warmth and unheard of combination of public glory & valour with the most vivid, unexhausted, personal private qualities – what is most impossible to believe is that such a source of life – such love of life and appetite for all its riches, is no more. I won’t go on – for fear that some untoward word will touch painfully by some accident & give you a twinge unintentionally – but I can’t resist saying that never have I met anyone in whom public life killed so little – nothing – who retained what is best – a full & intense inner life, capacity for passionate reaction to what alone is real – what human beings do, feel, think – in fact an inner personality and a soul so quick, so undead, in the midst of public concerns; who else ever did? nobody in England: in every other case large bits were atrophied & offered up & destroyed: The Duff remained a full,
unsurrendered human being, with full luxuriant control of his infinitely generous resources – and still played a really unforgettable part on the public stage, and stood up and fought and defended what he believed in and struck at what he thought hateful, when others either temporized or ran or took refuge in being private individuals & hid inside small cosy worlds which were duly shattered – the combination of public courage and splendour and the rich and passionate private life – that was to me, as it must have been to others, a great miracle, and proof of the nonsense talked by those who excuse the white sepulchres of public life on the ground that they cannot help it – & sacrificed their private faces to some public goal. He really has lived out a wonderful life – for he so plainly not only adored you, but being married to you, and every instant, every nuance, everything – but the last days must have been fearful for you, & no doubt you acted with splendid nobility & efficiency in a great crisis – but at some uncounted expense. Where will you live now? in England I do hope: & a new life. But it must have been a unique relationship between husband & wife – with perfect complimentarity – export – import – & I do see that awareness of the splendour of it and the immense sea of love, admiration, affection, wonder, delight by which you were surrounded is for the moment a substitute for nothing: I apologize for this incoherent letter: I am in an abyss myself: very unrecovered: & in some sense I am writing about myself: & the destruction of a world. But what I want to convey is that there is nothing to say but that all my affection, devotion, love, admiration, are at your indefinite disposal, at all times, and that you must not dream of answering this unless you feel an independent wish to write: and that here I shall be, till March, trying to rebuild my smaller world, if wanted. And that I hope I shall be: & once again, as so often, to send you every possible healing prayer & again my love.

Yours,

Isaiah.
TO HERBERT BUTTERFIELD

10 April 1954 [manuscript]

All Souls

Dear Professor Butterfield

I am ashamed of having delayed in sending the answer to your letter (for 6 months!) I did, as you see from the date, write it in Harvard in October; then I pottered with the MS. of the lecture; then my father died and I had to return to England suddenly in mid-course, & my life after that was led among accountants & lawyers & business men, & very odious I found it. I only returned to the infinitely more attractive (& difficult) world of theory quite recently, & re-read your letter, & eliminated from the MS (a) all references to anyone’s thinking that men seek to do good but achieve evil & (b) all references to yourself in this connection – I do hope that such references as, out of genuine interest in & respect for your views and because of the stimulation which I derived from them, I could not & did not wish, to suppress, do not seem to you misleading. I altered as much as I could; you will not mind the result, I now feel sure. Thank you again for your letter: & I apologize once more for my unconscionable time in answering.

Yours sincerely

Isaiah Berlin

GBR/0012/MS Butterfield 531/B/83

TO JOHN SPARROW

4 May 1954

All Souls

Dear Mr Warden,

I submit herewith my account of my work as Research Fellow of the College for 1952–3.

In the course of these two years I have published the following:

1. A small book entitled *The Hedgehog and The Fox* dealing with certain problems in the philosophy of history, with particular reference to the views of Tolstoy and de Maistre, founded upon an article which I had published in vol. 2 of *Oxford Slavonic Papers* somewhat earlier. This essay is concerned with both the subjects which I undertook to study – the history of Russian social and
political ideas and general ideas in Western Europe in the 19th century.

2. I have also published as part of the proceedings of the Columbia University Conference on Russian Intellectual History, a somewhat lengthy treatise on the political views of Herzen and Bakunin which is to form part of a volume of essays on Russian topics which I hope to publish in the course of next year.

3. I am at the moment correcting the proofs of the Auguste Comte Memorial Lecture entitled ‘History as the Culprit’ which I delivered at the London School of Economics last year, which is to come out as a separate publication in, I hope, a few weeks’ time.

4. Furthermore I have in MS about three-quarters of a book dealing with the origins of modern political ideas in the romantic age – the substance of which was delivered at Bryn Mawr College in 1951 and broadcast by the BBC in the autumn and winter of 1952–3. I hope to complete the MS in the course of this year and the book should be published by the Oxford University Press in 1955 (if I can finish it by August, possible earlier than that).

5. I have also completed in the first draft some eight chapters of my projected book on the intellectual origins of the Russian Revolution to be entitled (provisionally) “Belinsky and His Circle”.

6. I have published critical notices in Mind, the American Review of Philosophy, the English Historical Review, and the Times Literary Supplement (front page article) all dealing with the history of ideas.

I have fulfilled my duties as University Lecturer by giving public lectures and classes, and teaching the required number of pupils, as Lecturer of New College.

I lectured at Harvard in the autumn term of 1953 and should have proceeded to Princeton where the Institute for Advanced Studies had kindly invited me to stay for an indefinite period in 1954, and which I should have liked to do as there are Russian texts of interest to me in the United States unobtainable in Europe, but for the fact that my father’s death in December of 1953 necessitated my return to England. I have unfortunately had to give up a good deal of my time to settling his estate during the first months of this year, which has seriously interfered with my academic work. However, this is now virtually over, and I propose to spend this term in preparing my book on political ideas for the Press as well as my normal academic duties.
I have also examined in the B.Phil. examination in politics during 1952–3 and in the College Fellowship examination in 1952, and am to do so once again in the autumn of this year.

Yours sincerely,

Isaiah Berlin

TO JOHN SPARROW

1 November 1954

All Souls

Dear Mr Warden,

In connection with your statement at the College Meeting about the International Congress of the Historical Sciences to be held in Rome on 4–11 September 1955, I have received an invitation from the Slavonic section of this Congress to attend these meetings and perhaps to read a paper. I am not sure whether I shall do the latter, but in any case I intend to attend the Congress itself. I cannot quite tell what the expenses entailed by this will be: the registration fee is 3,000 lire, the hotel accommodation should cost about 16 or 17,000 lire, and the transport about £25 – in all about £40. I should not expect the College to defray the whole of this of course, but should be exceedingly grateful if some portion – whatever is thought appropriate by the College – could be granted to me. My purpose in going (apart from the problematical paper which I may or may not deliver) is the value of the intellectual stimulus and technical information obtainable from meeting with scholars in one’s own subject, which is peculiarly useful to those working in my field, since information and bibliography in it is very unsystematic (owing to the irregular information received from the Iron Curtain countries), so that any opportunity of meeting with the dozen or so persons concerned with my subject is most eagerly to be embraced. I very much hope that the College will not think this an unreasonable request. If it should wish to be represented by me officially together with Ernest Jacob and anyone else who may go, I should of course feel honoured to accept this mandate.

Yours sincerely,

Isaiah Berlin
On 16 November 1954, soon after they had met and talked at a mutual friend’s, Arthur Koestler wrote to IB with a request. In his Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917–1949 (London, 1949) he had broached the subject of the ‘self-liquidation’ of Jewry in the Diaspora; he remembered that IB had attacked his position in the Jewish Chronicle, and he wanted to use IB’s piece as the starting-point for a new essay.³⁴ ‘Your attack’, he wrote, ‘was the only one which could serve as a basis for serious discussion.’ But he could not remember the title or date of IB’s article, and wondered if he might borrow it.

TO ARTHUR KOESTLER

18 November 1954

All Souls

Dear Arthur,

I remember our conversation about my articles well; and I wish I could send them to you, but I have no copy here. The whole thing was reprinted in something called The Hebrew University Garland: A Silver Jubilee Symposium,³⁵ of which I do possess one copy in London, and which I think you could obtain easily by telephoning to either the Jewish Chronicle or the Friends of the Hebrew University, who in some ways sponsored it. You will be amused to hear that in an attack upon my article written by a man called Himmelfarb in one of the latest copies of the New York Journal Commentary,³⁶ I am regarded as your direct disciple, though somewhat milder in my views and more cautious, but holding an identical position with you as against that of the writer. It may be worth your while to look at that. It was described to me in an apologetic letter by the editor as ‘impertinent and resentful’, which it is, perhaps. At any rate, I do not think it worthy of an answer, nor will you when you read it. My articles originally were called (and in the Garland too) ‘Jewish Slavery and Emancipation’. The only difference that I remember between the

original articles printed in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the complete thing – which was originally written as a contribution to the Hebrew University publication – is that one or two references to T. S. Eliot were softened\textsuperscript{37} by me as the result of protests by him that I had misunderstood his position, which to some degree I think that I had. […]

Yours ever,
Isaiah

*Koestler got hold of the book and wrote to IB on 25 November describing his essay as ‘truly admirable’. He added: ‘I feel that the difference in our approaches is small.’*

**TO ARTHUR KOESTLER**

30 November 1954

All Souls

Dear Arthur,

Thank you for your note. I agree that our differences are not great and all that substantially I complain of both with regard to your views and those of Eliot is that you demand tidiness and order, whereas I am daily becoming more and more obscurantist and cling to Kant’s proposition that ‘Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made.’\textsuperscript{38} The obscurantist bit is that I shall go further and say ‘and should not be made either’. However, we can talk about that when we meet. […]

Yours ever
Isaiah

[[…]]

**TO EDWARD WEEKS**

30 November 1954

All Souls College,

Dear Ted,

In default of works of my own – you would not, would you, wish to reprint a eulogy, about 3,000 words, which I wrote on Dr Weizmann, finally, under hideous pressure from something called

\textsuperscript{37} In fact, removed. See L2 278/3.

\textsuperscript{38} See L1 72/4.
the Jerusalem Post? I assume not – I send you a peculiar work by my friend, and your friend, Hugh Trevor-Roper. He obviously thinks it is rather hot stuff, and so it is. Do you think it publishable? By yourself? I enjoyed reading it, and I share the fundamental sentiment, that is to say, I think Toynbee a very nice, kindly, sweet, decent man and would not like to attack him myself in public, because of the kindnesses which he has shown me in the past. On the other hand, I regard his last four volumes as really rather abominable. The first four volumes I enjoyed reading – I haven’t really read them seriously since. They were like the product of a clever Wykehamist, which indeed he is. Rather like those stimulating intellectual games that very civilised, very enjoyable young men can play, of the form ‘How many Queens conquered huge territories before they were thirty-five years of age?’, or something of that kind, which needs considerable knowledge and is very gay in its own way, but is not serious, all the same. The facts, as everybody knew, were thin, the history pretty general, the pattern odd, but the whole thing was as agreeable as a very high-grade and high-brow game of patience, played by an exceptionally skilled and imaginative but ultimately frivolous undergraduate, perhaps of genius.

The next four volumes were straight ultramontane propaganda, and were obviously moving uneasily towards some far-off, divine, but on the whole Roman Catholic, solution. The last volumes had something which the previous volumes have not had, which is a strong note of unction or sanctimoniousness, which seems to me detestable and which is, I suppose, the product of the heavy adulation of the poor man in the United States.

Here, as you know, nearly every reviewer condemned the last four volumes in pretty trenchant prose. The only person to praise [them] was Christopher Dawson. But not only Trevor-Roper but such mild learned men as G. F. Hudson (in the Twentieth Century) and Patrick Gardiner (in Time and Tide) have not even troubled to damn it with faint praise, or praise it with faint dams, but condemned it, in my opinion justifiably, outright. And the TLS contained a pretty devastating front page on him, written by, I think, an American, which was damaging in every one of its charitable lines. Toynbee doesn’t mind, any more, I suppose, than Muhammad would have minded poor reviews of the Koran. Nor, I imagine, would St Luke have been much shaken if someone had pointed out
that his Gospel had been found wanting by some highbrow Roman reviewers.

This is obviously how Toynbee now thinks of himself – the stuff is straight sermonising, and will die as the last heavy brick in the already dead temple of huge, cosmic, circular constructions, beginning, I suppose, with Hegel and the Romantics and proceeding along this dreary path through Comte, Houston Stewart, Chamberlain, Danilevsky, Spengler (which I myself find much more exhilarating than Toynbee: unscholarly view of facts but much livelier ideas), Lewis Mumford etc. etc. So far from thinking Toynbee a pioneer, something new and exciting, I think he is the last, fortunately the last, link of a long and on the whole useless German metaphysical school.

However, these are only my private views. I forward Hugh’s (slightly vulgar) piece, however, just in in case you think it possible to publish it. Or is Toynbee regarded as too saintly a personality to have that kind of thing done to him? There is no point in publishing it in England, where nobody takes him seriously anyhow; not, certainly, since the Reith Lectures, which have been a dismal failure in general, I fear. But America and England are much more different now, intellectually, than they have been, say, during the war. I have just reviewed Stevenson’s book for the Sunday Times, and, goodness me, here are sentiments which no European statesman would begin to differ from, which are almost platitudes, from Adenauer to Aneurin Bevan, and which yet are regarded in America as bold neutralist or semi-neutralist stuff, for knowing which a man might be eased out of the State Department. But what are platitudes in Europe are paradoxes in America; and this is something new.

Anyway, I won’t go on, and will simply wish you and your wife the best possible Christmas; and I have the best possible memories of seeing you both in England this summer.

Yours ever,

Isaiah B.

PS I don’t know why Hugh doesn’t send you the piece himself. But he feels a certain shyness. It is curious and not curious in his particular character.

39 ‘Calling America to Greatness’, review of Adlai Stevenson, Call to Greatness, Sunday Times, 5 December 1954, 6
TO JOHN SPARROW

17 February 1955

[All Souls]

Dear Mr Warden,

I should like to apply for re-election for the quinquennium 1955–60 to a Research Fellowship of the same class – the ‘Robertson’ – as that to which I was elected in the summer of 1950. On that occasion I undertook to work in two fields: Russian social and intellectual history, and European political thought. In the first of these fields I have published two overlapping studies of the origins and contents of Tolstoy’s view of history, and a study of the political opinions of Herzen and Bakunin; and have prepared for publication, in an English periodical (and later in book form), the substance of lectures I delivered for the Northcliffe Foundation at University College, London (they were subsequently, in part, broadcast by the BBC) dealing with origins of Russian radical thought in the ’30s and ’40s of the last century. The articles are due to appear in the course of this year; the book, if it is worth publishing, in 1956. In addition to this I have prepared for the press an English edition and translation of From the Other Shore, a book by A. I. Herzen; and have contributed notices and reviews to learned periodicals in England and the United States, as well as articles for two encyclopedias. I have also in draft nine chapters of my book on the critic Belinsky – the first volume of a projected history of the forerunners of the Russian Revolution; this last is to be ready in 1956–7. In my other field I have published an essay (Auguste Comte Memorial Lecture) on the inevitability of history under the auspices of the London School of Economics; and concluded the second draft of a book on Political Ideas in the Romantic Age, arising out of lectures delivered at Bryn Mawr College and later broadcast by the BBC. I meant to finish this book at the end of last year, but bad health intervened. I hope to have it in the hands of the Oxford Press by June of this year. I have also completed for publication an article on historical method (originally delivered as the first Elizabeth Morrow lecture at Smith College in the USA), and almost completed one on the Russian writer Prince V. Odoevsky.

Should the College re-elect me, I propose to devote myself during the next five years to the completion of the first, and work...
SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS 1946–1960

on, and I hope completion of, at least one other volume of my history of the Russian radicals and revolutionaries. As for the study of European political thought, I should propose to accumulate material for the volume on the history of European ideas from 1789 to 1848 for the Oxford History of Europe, commissioned from me by the Editors of this series, combined with general work in this and adjacent fields. I have carried out my duties as a University Lecturer, and Lecturer in Philosophy of New College, and I have examined in the College Fellowship Examinations thrice. I have also supervised a number of graduate theses, examined thrice in the BPhil, once in the Final Examination of Literae Humaniores (I am to examine in the PPE Final School this summer), and examined PhD theses in London and Cambridge. I have, in accordance with my original proposal to the College, twice been away to teach and lecture at Harvard and other American Universities, but propose, if re-elected, to do so at less frequent intervals and for shorter periods of time; and also to curtail, so far as practicable, the work of examining, but not necessarily my other College and University tasks.

Yours sincerely,

Isaiah Berlin

TO EDWARD WEEKS

25 February 1955

All Souls College,

Dear Ted,

Thank you for your letter of 9 February. I wish I was there too and could have met Mr Stevenson, about whom I wrote a very civil piece in the Sunday Times not so long ago. I have I am afraid been unwell for weeks but am slightly better now. Almost Rowland-like in my concern for my own sad health. However, I rose from my bed of sickness and went to a party given by Mr Aldrich for the opening of his new embassy and there gazed upon our Queen from respectfully close quarters for the first time in my life. She is tiny and dances like a pretty dwarf – so I expect did Queen Victoria – with a severe slightly marble expression about her face. The Queen Mother was once heard to observe that what a Queen needs are two
qualities – patience and anger. That is formidable enough. I think our Queen possesses them.

I wish I had something to send you – the piece on Dr Weizmann has appeared all over the place and must be too shop-soiled for you by now; I propose to publish four articles [based] on the BBC lectures on the origins of the Russian intelligentsia in Stephen Spender’s Encounter, starting May or June – one on the milieu in general, two on Belinsky, one on Herzen.\(^{40}\) The last is the best and not very bad. I do not know if you want to use that perhaps. Probably not. If not, do anything you like with ‘Historical Inevitability’: an extract might be better than by condensation. It had a mixed reception here, being attacked savagely by Mr Deutscher, who is a very uncompromising early Bolshevik, one of the few really fanatical Communists of our time; and from the Right by an unknown journalist in the Spectator, who found my thoughts insufficiently Christian. On the other hand I was compared to Acton by Encounter, and to Coleridge by The Economist, so I ought to feel on top of the world. So far as I know, nobody has taken any notice of it in the USA – I do not even know whether it is on sale there. Anchor Books did want to publish it in their periodical, but the London School of Economics forbade this and said that the Oxford University Press alone would peddle it. I propose to write an enormous piece of historic\[al theory\]\(^{41}\) for Ham Armstrong, I fear too stiff for you, but if I go and visit some musical festivals this summer I shall fulfil my promise and send you a musical chronicle.

Much love to you both,
Yours ever,
Isaiah

PS I shall probably be in Chicago this November, but breathe not a word of this to anyone, I beg of you.


\(^{41}\) Probably a reference to ‘The Sense of Reality’, now in SR.
Dear Ted,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 13th and for the chaser which arrived some weeks before and confused me somewhat. I have now looked at the piece and beg you despite your strictures to reproduce it as spoken. Much better, I do assure you, not to turn it into an article but to put in a footnote saying that this was delivered as a talk produced by the BBC to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Mr Roosevelt; that it is printed as delivered (which is almost true – true enough anyway), that it was addressed to a British and not to an American audience, but that nevertheless (if that is your opinion) it says things which are too easily forgotten in these days when people on both sides of the Atlantic seem to see nothing but the feet of clay. The advantage of saying all this (I mean in the footnote) is that the piece is then not a contrived article for American readers of the Atlantic Monthly seeking specifically to defend Mr Roosevelt against the latest charges, Yalta, etc., which makes it look like a piece of propaganda designed specially by a foreigner to assist the Democratic Party of the United States – which is highly improper and lends itself to obvious criticism and attack – but is an authentic document, reproduced unaltered, of what was being said in England out of all relation to current American politics.

For this purpose it is particularly valuable to reproduce all the peculiarities of the spoken work, including the perfectly sincere and in my view not at all exaggerated apology for not being an American expert, etc. etc., which is exactly what an Englishman speaking to the English (and not writing a commissioned article) would be liable to say. You can say what you like about me in your statement about who I am and why I should have been asked to deliver this particular talk by the BBC; but I think it would be best to let me show myself in my true colours and to reproduce the whole thing quite explicitly as something of interest precisely as a British document and not as a piece of Anglo-American hands-across-the-sea sermonising. On these grounds I do pray you to leave things intact and only embody the corrections which I made. Let the eye read this as a piece intended for the ear, and this will give it a peculiar flavour, which
for once could be risked by the *Atlantic Monthly*. Believe me, it will be much better so.

I do not think there is any point in saying much about Yalta. I did put it in a piece – you will observe on the last page – which more or less covers it. As for the *Listener*, they are a little cross with me for not letting them print the piece, but, as I told you before, I have made my choice of Paris and the apple is yours. I have no objection to publishing it somewhere in England – perhaps in some obscure publication like the *Political Quarterly*, which is edited by my friend Leonard Woolf, whom I greatly admire and respect; it will not be seen by many people here, but never mind. It is of greater value, as I am sure you will agree, in America.

Do reward me as well as you can, for I am very poor this year; and do send me something here – on which I shall pay tax even under Mr Butler’s admirable reduced rates – and about the residue we can haggle when I come to America in November. I shall enjoy writing begging letters when I come to America. In my letters to the *Listener* I have had to advance as my chief motive that of lucre and my own sad academic poverty. This they understand. Other reasons not.

God bless you,
Yours ever,
Isaiah B

TO EDWARD WEEKS

6 May 1955

Hotel Ruhl, Nice

Dear Ted.

Thank you for your cable. I hope the Roosevelt piece is not too naively eulogistic, but it reflects my feelings very truly. […]

Yalta: I don’t think much difference has been made: certainly not 300 words worth. I’ll add a footnote if you wish & enclose it herewith.

[…] The sun is shining, I am sorry Winston is gone without the adequate tribute in the press which he needs so badly & I send you my love

yrs ever
Isaiah
PS And *would* you say something about the article being literally the talk of the 12th April in London & not an article. It excuses the chattiness & the ‘Britain-oriented’ tone.

footnote:

This talk was prepared before the recent publication of the Yalta documents, but they seem to me to add nothing of significance to our knowledge of the President’s character or motives. In these days, when his detractors speak as if all that remained visible are his feet of clay, it is perhaps worth reiterating that his faults and errors as a statesman were the consequences of his virtues. He trusted the Soviet leaders and credited them with good intentions because the motives of those who denounced Stalin appeared to him prejudiced. He was certainly mistaken; but so were a very great many persons, both in the US and in Britain, whose uncritical enthusiasm for the Soviet Union also sprang from their (partly correct but, alas, misleading) belief that it had been misrepresented to them by reactionaries and ex-Communists. Mr Roosevelt’s breezy anti-imperialism, which occasionally took reckless forms, his belief that the Russians were at bottom good fellows, if a little rough, who could be cajoled into harmonious cooperation with the democratic world, and, above all, his conviction that personal contact between him and the head of the Soviet State could always settle everything – all these opinions came from too generous and simple a view of his own powers and of the human qualities of others. If he had lived, he might, as so often before, himself have provided the swiftest and most effective correctives of his own gigantic aberrations.

TO MARIETTA TREE

Thursday [1955; *manuscript*]

Mount Holyoke College, Mass.

Dearest Marietta,

How sweet & nice they all are here – friendly, kind, sincere intelligent and a balm to the wounded spirit – not that mine is specially wounded at the moment – still this beautiful courtesy & extreme moral genuineness are really delightful. So was New York – I do thank you & Ronnie: I am much too well treated – I always feel
like explaining that really my true nature is being mistaken – I am given too much more than my due – someone will subtract from it somewhere on some terrible day of judgement so as to get the reckoning just – that is Judaeo-Protestant Angst, if you like. But I did enjoy it all very, very much: including Mr. Lieberson whom I thought very exhilarating, amusing, intelligent & agreeable: not really gay inside – New York neuroses – but all the brighter for that: when he smiles it is a little mirthless, like Diana Cooper: that fascinated me too, George Barker (I say with quite superfluous malice) quietly feels that all depends on him now – unlike Harry Hopkins who used to muse about how a saddle maker’s son from Iowa got so far – that pleased me too. Sam B. alone retains unlimited humanity & with all his neuroses, a sense of proportion & interest in & love of other people. Evie I thought did look ill. But I must not say such things – cp. the Pam–Clarissa row – I am silent. Now for Chicago: I have spoken twice here already, & am to speak twice more: they are very kind, very disarming & exhausting to the highest degree. It is a very fine day but I must think about Coexistence & the Nature of Political Judgement. I never did ring John Russell. My thoughts are wandering I must collect them briskly and give value for money. Thank you ever so much – I’ll look forward enormously to liberty after Dec. 15 – it seems “we” sail on Jan 4 & cannot wait longer.

Much love
Isaiah

P.S. I hope I left you enough money? I sent no fewer than 4 cables –

On 6 February 1956 the American politician Paul H. Nitze wrote to IB with some questions about his Historical Inevitability, first declaring himself, with some tact, ‘full of admiration for the clarity of the ideas which emerge from a richer style than most Americans are used to’. He wanted to know whether the system-builders whom IB attacks were really determinists, or left a measure of room for human responsibility and freedom; he also asked about the scope of moral judgement in taking us beyond tradition and common sense. He enclosed a copy of a reply he had written to ‘some of the more extreme scientific determinists’ in the USA.
24 March 1956

Headington House

Dear Paul,

Thank you very much for your letter of 6 February, which I have read with [the] greatest possible interest. The questions which you ask are questions indeed. I have thought about them – not nearly long enough I fear: I think about things in leaps and bounds instead of, as one should, in a solid continuous way – and have a few reflections in my mind which I hasten to let you have. Let me deal with your points in order.

1. You say that the constructors of great systems do in fact leave some room for human responsibility and freedom. This is quite true. You also say that they are not complete determinists and that I too concede that human freedom is not limitless, and that consequently what one should ask [about] is the nature of the limits to freedom and therefore the extent of the area of responsibility. With all this I agree. My objection to the constructors of the systems is their methods: I do not understand the principles in accordance with which some of these, e.g. Spengler and Toynbee (whom I think inferior to Spengler), determine the frontiers between freedom and necessity. It seems to me there are two ways at least in which this can be done that are intelligible. The first, and the only one which seems to me valid for historians who regard history as an empirical study (as e.g. Toynbee, at least, claims to do), is to do it empirically: that is to say to adduce such empirical evidence as the sciences or common sense provide about what men can and what they cannot do. The questions how far e.g. geographical, ecological, physiological, psychological etc. factors produce this or that set of effects, and therefore condition human lives in this or that degree and in this or that fashion, seems plainly an empirical enquiry. And the findings of, let us say, criminologists or Freudians or agricultural economists with a historical flair seem to me to be thoroughly relevant and tend both to explain and to exonerate the behaviour both of masses and of individuals in various situations to the degree to which one regards their findings as valid.

With all this I have no quarrel. Indeed I tried to say something of the sort in one or two long footnotes in my lecture. Alternatively,
there are religious or metaphysical methods of drawing these frontiers whereby you claim some non-empirical means of detecting an unalterable plan in the universe, whether made by [a] personal deity or due to some metaphysical structure in the nature of things. I do not myself hold with this: but if this is spelt out openly, as, let us say, by Bossuet or by some other openly orthodox Christian historian who claims to be able to trace the finger of God in the unrolling of specific episodes in history, I can, still, I suppose, as an empirical historian, complain that such a revelation is not vouchsafed to me – or even object that some of the empirical facts which I do know contradict this and that the intuition is therefore – if it exists – at fault. If one’s a priori intuition collides with empirical findings, then, if one is to cling to it, one must with Hegel say ‘so much the worse for the facts’.

This heroic proceeding is not adopted by any decent historian, almost by definition. If on the other hand the a priori intuition is of a very general kind and simply declares that whatever occurs is necessitated, or is part of the divine plan, but that we do not know enough to determine what this plan, or any portion of it, is in any particular instance, then it is compatible with empirical history, with all empirical possibilities equally, and therefore sheds no light upon it, nor upon the frontiers between freedom and necessity. Whatever happens is foreordained; but we cannot tell what is foreordained, nor therefore what is necessary and to what degree man is free, or whether he is free at all. Since we are incurably ignorant of this we could behave as if we are free; this I take to be the position of Calvinism. The great system-builders take up neither of these positions: they claim that they can see a specific pattern in history, and then wobble about whether this is done on empirical evidence or on [the basis of] some kind of peculiar historical insight, which is theological, metaphysical, and yet not exactly a priori. They then proceed to talk in terms of vast impersonal forces, [and] claim that these are unalterable, but no one asks what their evidence for the working of these is – it is not the scrupulous accumulation of evidence of more modest claimants, say economic historians or psychologists, but merely, it seems to me, the arrangements of the facts in vague patterns.

When I say ‘vague’ I mean that for example Toynbee, with his Challenge and Response, treats almost any differences between a posterior state and an anterior state as either a response to a
challenge or a failure to respond to a challenge, whichever suits him best. It is impossible to extract from him any definite criterion of what constitutes a challenge, and what constitutes its response, so that one could by means of it check in terms of some set of facts not adduced by him whether indeed a challenge has been met by the appropriate response in accordance with the provided criteria of what is appropriate. I mean that the kinds of things he regards as typical responses to challenges in one situation are so different from the kinds of things which he regards as typical responses in others that there is not enough that is common between them to give any clear sense, or criterion, of the kind of situation describable as a challenge and the kind of situation describable as a response, save the mere fact that they are in fact different from each other, and that one is later than the other. I do not think this is an exaggeration. That is why his theory, when looked at closely, turns out [to be] nothing but a vast tautology – namely that things happen after other things in the way that they do, and that what happens is often very different from that what preceded it.

He then goes on to attribute historical situations to the working of these undefined and, it seems to me, indefinable factors. The morphology of cultures, which is Spengler’s stock-in-trade, similarly imposes some kind of determined pattern upon the human beings caught in these cultures, but again it is impossible to tell from him how one determines what enters into a morphology and what doesn’t, and to what degree human beings are free to alter it and to what extent these ‘inexorable’ forces cannot be opposed. Those who read these treatises not unnaturally begin to attribute human actions – or what they had previously been thought to be human actions – to the workings of these ‘forces’, which turn out upon examination to be nothing but semi-arbitrary arrangements of facts in aesthetically pleasing patterns, suddenly transformed into causally efficacious ‘forces’. My quarrel therefore is not that the system-builders are determinists – determinism may indeed turn out to be true – but that they are charlatans; that is to say that the bricks out of which they build their edifices, whether the determined sections or the free, are bogus; that what they claim to be revelations are not instruments of knowledge; that neither the use of Spengler’s nor of Toynbee’s frameworks helps us either to discover new truths, or to have a ‘deeper’ understanding of old truths, and that to the degree to which people have tried to use them as instruments for these
purposes, they have in fact been led into empirical blunders, as
demonstrated for example by Geyl and other critics; while the
antidote to this – the thesis that these schemata are not empirical
keys, but frames into which all facts necessarily fit, makes them
either too vague or empty tautologies.

2. Your second point is much more serious and strikes much
nearer home. I do not, of course, wish to maintain that determinism
is not true because it would be too bad if it were; on the contrary I
do specifically allow that it may in fact be true; I do think that the
case for it has not been rendered plausible – except by loose
extrapolation – let alone demonstrated; and that the science of
sociology, despite all hopes and promises, remains no more than a
programme, not an achievement, not even as much of one as, say,
psychology. Nor do I wish to say that determinism cannot be true
because to assume that it is goes too deeply against the ways in
which we think or speak. But I do say something very similar to this,
namely: those who easily assume that determinism may be true, and
argue for it, and regard themselves as such, do not in fact speak or
think as if it were in fact true, do not in fact practise what they
preach or what they believe themselves to believe. Determinism may
indeed be true; but nobody has yet faced up to the transformation
of our ways of thinking that the concrete – as opposed to the merely
theoretical – acceptance of this would entail. I tried to indicate that
a far greater revolution in our outlook would be required than the
conversion from, say, teleology to mechanistic causality; a
transformation so far-reaching, affecting so many of the most
pervasive and apparently fixed habits of speech, thought and feeling,
that we simply lack the imagination to be able to calculate the
consequences – to conceive of what a world in which determinism
was seriously taken for granted would be like (in which praise and
blame in the normal sense would be meaningless, it was absurd to
conceive of unrealised possibilities, the notion of choice was
inapplicable or unintelligible, etc.).

This certainly does not disprove determinism, nor do I, I hope,
represent it as so doing: but it does show what price the acceptance
of this theory involves: the number of and kind of accepted beliefs
and habits that would have to be overthrown if this view were
adopted. One must – I argue – consider the kind of reasons one has
for believing in determinism, and the kind of empirical evidence
which exists for obliterating claimed areas of human freedom, as
against the reasons and the evidence for the vast structure of normal beliefs and mental habits which would have to be upset. If determinism is true, upset of course it should be; but the mass and weight and type of evidence against determinism is seen to be much greater as a result of this argument than determinists commonly assume — it is not just one theory among many, with so much evidence for or against itself, the truth or falsity of which leaves the rest of our structure of thought and feeling relatively intact. And this, together with the absence of positive evidence for determinism, and failure of all efforts to construct a genuine human science, seems to me virtually conclusive; virtually but not literally. In theory determinism may still yet be true. If someone really were to write down at this moment something which would tally exactly with all that I shall record myself as having thought and felt etc. in let us say the next twelve hours — if protocols of this kind, minute and comprehensive, could be made on the basis of some new psychological or physiological doctrine founded on experiment — I should be shaken; if this became frequent, our outlook would, in due course, be violently transformed; more so than it was after the Middle Ages (the last really violent upheaval).

As for moral judgement, you say ‘there are moral issues for which tradition and common sense don’t give conclusive, or even very satisfying,42 answers’. This has, no doubt, always been true, and that is why there is at all times a liability to moral perplexity. But then you go on to say ‘It is the hope that cosmology, history, metaphysics and aesthetics may give some believable insights into purposes more general than the individual, the family, class, nations or culture [that sustains the interest of the student of these questions].’ Whose hope? Not mine. When in the famous argument Creighton urged Acton not to condemn the Borgias, but to consider that in their day the moral ‘climate’ was different, other moral and political considerations prevailed, etc., etc., even he was doing no more than to ask Acton, whether rightly or wrongly, to extend to the Borgias that measure of understanding which he would have extended to persons in his own time, bred in a different moral climate, with different sets of social influences prevailing, etc., etc., which still does not take us out of the bounds of common sense and tradition; and does not overrule the moral judgement of the individual,

42 Nitze’s word was ‘satisfactory’.
founded on whatever data he can find, with whatever light is available to him, by means of some super-personal purpose – some cosmic plan, to understand the working of which provides one with ‘objective’ values which put to shame one’s own ‘subjective’ personal reactions.

People have always existed who have attempted to maintain that what seems cruel or ugly or false or iniquitous in terms of current morality, or one’s own feelings, looks different if surveyed in terms of some timeless reality, or a vast historical pattern, or an aesthetic whole into which men or cultures are being moulded by forces greater than themselves. Such men are obviously not necessarily insincere; they may have before their eyes a genuine vision, as perhaps Napoleon or Hegel or Mussolini or Hitler or Marx genuinely had. Perhaps I ought to include Augustine and the authors of Genesis, and Toynbee too. But however this may be, the proposition that certain events must of necessity come to pass, or that certain forms of life are required by some universal pattern or harmony; or the belief that what seems unjust or outrageous in the normal sense of these words may yet be seen to be just or natural from some transcendent point of view; none of them alter the fact that, as we normally use words, and according to our normal ways of thinking and feeling, the ugly remains ugly, the unjust unjust, the cruel cruel, the immorally revolting revolting, and that the attempts to reconcile us to these things in the sense of some experience very different from the normal, or some invisible universe for which no empirical facts are evident (either for or against), runs directly counter to the only experience in terms of which moral epithets (and I should hold that we cannot do without them), however civilised it might to some people feel to do so, have any meaning.

I sympathise with you in your controversy with the scientific determinists, and understand well the force of your final onslaught upon them. I think that Dr [Adolf] Grünbaum’s dogmatic collection of ideals in terms of which all human actions and institutions should be judged is a very dreary, narrow and arbitrary selection. Ideals are many and they conflict at different times, and within the breasts of the same individuals; the only point I wish to make is that they are those of individuals and that to retract them, be what they may, in the name of some non-individual ‘values’, that is in the name of some vision of the cosmos which no individual inhabits, of the values of beings different from ourselves, whether below us or
above us, bestial or angelic, is to deny the possibility of a usable moral terminology and therefore of moral judgements of any kind. For all these must be founded upon such experience as we have and not on something transcending this. When Ivan Karamazov refused worlds upon worlds of human happiness as the price of the torture of his single child, he may have been mistaken; he was certainly being obstinate; but the force of his position, which seems to me irrefutable, in that his final judgement is founded upon his own moral experience and nothing else, for there is nothing else to found moral judgements on, and if something revolts those feelings or those experiences which we regard as relevant to forming moral judgements, then no amount of appeals to cosmological or aesthetic or metaphysical considerations which say that those experiences or feelings would be very different in other (‘transcendent’, ‘ideal’, ‘real’) worlds make any difference to this.

I should love to hear your reactions to this long and muddled letter, for which I apologise. I enjoyed our meetings very much and hope that we may meet again soon.

With the warmest possible regards,

Isaiah Berlin

Also in 1956 IB joined a committee set up to consider the possible development of Ditchley Park as a Centre for Anglo-American Studies. In this capacity he was sent a document about the project, on which he comments in these two letters to Wilfrid Knapp of the St Catherine’s Society, the committee’s secretary. The letters, held by the Ditchley archives, were kindly supplied in 2017 by the Director, James Arroyo, who writes of his delight that IB’s ideas match his own, adding: ‘The emphasis on an unusual mix of people that will generate some sparks and insights is what sets Ditchley apart to this day. It has always felt very close to Berlin’s concept of liberal democracy, and liberty as an active process, and it is great to see that it has the same DNA.’

Email to HH, 27 April 2017.
TO WILFRID KNAPP

16 November 1956

Headington House

Dear Wilfrid,

Here it is – too long, too verbose, but you must have known that when you asked me to respond. I still adhere to my original propositions – that the most important thing is to get together people who will strike sparks from each other – that the important thing is to get hold of a small nucleus of people who are already in some sort of touch and know about each other or wish to meet each other and then build the others round them, instead of mechanically proceeding to scatter invitations to worthy institutions asking them to nominate delegates who as often as not will simply be sent here on holiday or are regular attenders of conferences. The second thing is that it is important to bring all kinds of apparently irrelevant persons – such as literary critics or academics of various sorts – or literary journalists – or even musicians, not merely for the sake of ‘culture’ as such or the value of the contacts to the persons concerned, as because such persons circulate a great deal more widely, talk more, are more articulate, and mould opinion a great deal more effectively than politicians or businessmen suppose that they do (or Foundations for that matter). So do, if you agree, lend your support to it on this – I dread otherwise the prospect of a lot of dough-faced men, politely saying afterwards that it had all been very interesting, and in fact advancing things just about as much as any other Convention. Do let me [know] how things go on.

Yours ever,

Isaiah

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TO WILFRID KNAPP

16 November 1956

Headington House

Dear Wilfrid,

Thank you very much for the amended copy of the Ditchley Report, of which a copy was kindly sent me by Robin Davis. I have looked at it and read it carefully, and also Michael Astor’s comments, which he sent me. I was very sorry not to be able to avail myself of
Mr Wills’s kind invitation to lunch at Boodle’s last Thursday, when I gather an interesting and fruitful discussion took place.

I have only a few scattered thoughts which I should like to offer, for what they are worth.

1. The project seems to be well worth carrying through, even if it demands a good deal of trouble and expenditure of energy. Lack of contact between key figures in England and America still seems to be unnecessarily meagre, and the results of meetings between them often astonishingly fruitful. The actual results of such meetings, conversations and general association in a house as beautiful and comfortable as Ditchley seem to be likely to be even greater than the needs of formal papers likely to issue from conferences and conversations. I should value the result of informal contacts as being far greater than the impression made by conferences, reports, semi-formal speeches on and discussions of such reports by members of conferences etc. I can quite see that in certain fields — especially those of science and technology, conferences are the normal method of communication, and Anglo-American conferences could have the same beneficent results as similar meetings between specialists within a given country. But in certain other fields — the arts, education, and even economics and politics and social action, I am not sure that people do not get far more from casual private conversation with each other, interspersed with not over-prepared talks, which could easily be organised by the Director or the relevant Fellows of Ditchley, than from full-blown lectures and discussions by them. I should therefore be inclined to stress this side of things, as in this country at any rate far more productive and lasting impressions are made than [by] the more formal methods pursued on the Continent and the United States. Indeed this ties in with Michael Astor’s remarks about the influence of meetings in the great houses and salons in England in the nineteenth century. It seems to me that at any rate before the war more was achieved in the way of mutual understanding (for better or worse) by politicians who could come to stay at, e.g., All Souls — and I dare say at house parties too — than in the course of more formal contacts. What leaders of opinion and even technical experts above all often desire to do is to meet their opposite numbers in as easy an atmosphere as possible, with reasonable assurance that their remarks will not be quoted outside and that they can get a great many views off their chests and bees out of their bonnets without
fear of being pinned down about these, and cross-examined about them afterwards. This is certainly the case with lawyers who want to reform the international law, both public and private, with academics who are dissatisfied with methods of education or organisation, and whose influence, certainly between the wars – on public opinion both in England and America (I mean especially historians, social scientists, economists etc.) was far greater than is even now generally realised; and with other similar groups. I should therefore like to suggest that although specific subjects must no doubt be provided for such discussions, the widest possible opportunity be given for roaming all over the field in private conversation, at any rate so far as non-scientific groups are concerned.

2. With regard to Michael Astor’s remarks about an American v. British Director, I quite see there is much to be said for and against both these – perhaps an American long resident in England or an Englishman long resident in America would prove most satisfactory.

3. A further point which seems to me most important. The greatest good that Ditchley can, in my view, achieve is the creation of personal links between individuals in the two countries; if the enterprise is a success, it will create a pool of mutual good will and respect which – as was shown in London and Washington during the war – was the single greatest factor in bringing many good things to fruition. Once the thing gets going, once a certain numbers of persons have enjoyed and profited by meeting each other, this in itself will make it clear to the Director and his assistants as to whom it is advisable to invite, and with whom to discuss similar problems. But the beginning is bound to be critical, and the scheme is less likely to succeed if a mechanical choice is made of individuals or organisations, without scrupulous regard to who exactly it is who is being invited, and what their personal reactions are likely to be to one another. For this reason it seems to me more important to concentrate on suitable individuals than even on suitable topics for discussion or fields of study. Almost everything will depend upon the gift of the Director and his assistants for choosing persons to be invited. For this reason it seems to me crucial that they should, either out of their own experience, or with the advice of ad hoc small panels or individuals, be in a position to choose, at any rate, initially, those Americans and Englishmen whose meetings are likely to
prove the most rewarding. In matters of this kind it seems to me that it is the first steps that count; and if, for example, we want to promote a successful meeting of Middle Eastern experts or bankers or newspaper editors, or literary specialists (whose influence on young men in America is certainly greater than that of bankers), it is surely better to start with a small number of experts who really know each other and then ask them whom they would most like to meet, at any rate to form a nucleus, rather than formally get in touch with associations and official organisations and invite them to nominate ‘delegations’. To do this successfully will require great powers of imagination and wide social contacts on the part of the organisers – their enterprise seems to me to weigh more greatly than even the choice of topics and details of programming.

One final point. While of course it is desirable that papers should be written and published on important issues, it seems to be best that these be confined to live issues of great general interest – burning topics like the Middle Eastern situation, or policies vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, or Anglo-American atomic programmes or the like, where the impact of the written word really can make a difference to people anxious about an urgent problem in their own field. On questions either of narrower scope or smaller urgency, it seems to me not quite necessary to circulate final papers – accounts of actual discussions with précis of addresses, if intelligently done, would seem to me to suffice.

I am sorry to have gone on at such length, but the whole enterprise seems to me most timely and important.

Yours sincerely,

Isaiah

The next letter is in the Alan Pryce-Jones Papers at Yale, for a reason that is not immediately obvious. IB had told Hamilton about Pasternak’s novel Dr Zhivago in October 1956 (E 541–3). Presumably Hamilton wanted to publish the book, and showed the present letter to AP-J. The link may be revealed by the following undated letter from AP-J (then editor of the TLS) to IB, on TLS notepaper:
My dear Isaiah –

We spoke of your novel. If you can entrust it to me one day here I can have it photographed (microfilmed) immediately in the building, and can make myself responsible for the whole matter.

yrs
Alan P-J

In late 1957 IB secretly supplied a microfilm of the Russian typescript to Douglas W. Bryant at Harvard’s Widener Library. It is possible that this microfilm was made by AP-J.

TO JAMIE HAMILTON

23 November 1956

Headington House

Dear Jamie,

I really don’t know how to begin this letter, nor how to go on with it. I am most genuinely upset by my own latest outrage against you, and I can only throw myself upon your mercy and beg you to believe my story.

I was absolutely convinced, ever since you so sweetly invited Aline and me, when we met that night in Croydon, that it was dinner that you meant. Aline certainly so understood, and we never had a moment’s doubt about it. Even when your last letter arrived, with all those changes of personnel, all I took in was the date – which in any case was engraved upon my memory – and the words 1.15 must have been read by me as 8.15 because of the fixity of the pattern of expectation, by that time firmly set in my poor head. Perhaps if you had actually used the word ‘lunch’ – though there was no reason in the world why you should – this might have recalled me to a sense of the facts. But as it was, on the very morning before we set off we wondered whether you wanted us to wear evening dress or not; we set off in a great hurry at about 11 a.m. to lunch with my mother, and Aline did manage to ring your home before we left, but naturally enough the servant there could throw no light upon our problem.

We lunched peacefully with my Mama, all unknowing, and I actually arrived early at my Covent Garden meeting and was in that peculiar state of serene and untroubled innocence which often precedes – and sets off in high relief – the perpetration of some appalling crime, when Garrett came in, and in front of all my
colleagues, in the august presence of Viscount Waverley himself, informed me, in slow, penetrating detail, of what it was that I had done. I said, ‘Oh, but I have a letter which quite specifically says dinner’, but Garrett, Lord Waverley, the other awe-inspiring figures present, begged to doubt. As it turned out, with justice. I could hardly sit through the meeting; when I got to Claridge’s, where I was meeting Aline, I begged her to telephone to you, for I dared not face a conversation with you myself, I felt so wretched.

We dined alone, obscurely, and went to bed too early. But all jokes apart, I truly am most profoundly sorry that I made this muddle. That, coupled with prima facie insufficient gratitude for the splendid First Love – I echo David’s sentiments, the joys of the hero do indeed rather resemble his eldest son, and what he himself must have looked like before Eton – must just about finish me in your eyes. Please forgive me. I shall write a special letter of apology to

\[44\] sc. ‘jowls’?
Yvonne. God has punished me very rapidly, for I am full of small ailments today, which prevent me from keeping at least two other altogether less agreeable, trivial, but in their own way equally binding engagements. I wish you many happy returns of your birthday and none of my disastrous behaviour. I cannot go on beating my breast for very shame. Please forgive me. It is not Aline’s fault – her error was entirely derived from mine.

David Cecil’s eldest son, the actor
Jonathan Hugh Gascoyne-Cecil (1939–2011)

Now as to Pasternak. The situation is approximately this: I haven’t read the manuscript, but those who have – e.g. his sisters

45 He had in fact read it, at Pasternak’s request, after Pasternak gave him a copy at Peredelkino on 18 August 1956: ‘I began to read Doctor Zhivago immediately on leaving him, and finished it on the following day. [...] I thought it was a work of genius’ (PI3 394; cf E 539/3). His untruth to JH is explained by the fact that his great desire to see the work published was tempered by an overriding ‘moral responsibility’ not to expose Pasternak to the danger that he was sure would arise if the work first appeared in English translation. He was treading softly, in the hope that an Italian version would first appear from the Communist publisher Feltrinelli. For Berlin’s general attitude at this time towards the problem of the publication of the book see Paolo Mancosu, Zhivago’s Secret Journey: From Typescript to Book (Stanford, 2016). We are grateful to Professor Mancosu for help in elucidating the background to this letter.
who live here and another Russian – all swear that it is a work of stupendous quality. It contains both prose and poetry, is semi-autobiographical in character, is a kind of noble profession of faith and a message to the world, which the author most painfully and ardently desires to have published, whatever the political consequences to himself. The last letter to the sisters did beg them not to initiate an English translation, because there was a greater chance than before that in a truncated and emasculated form it might after all appear in Russian first. I don’t know what the chances of this are, particularly in view of the latest developments, which I should have thought probably mean a stiffening of the anti-foreign and anti-liberal line. But if it did appear in Russia, a translation could of course – of the Russian rather than the full text – appear in England safely, and perhaps the excised bits which had not appeared in Russia could be safely printed as an extra supplement after the author’s death (as was done in the case of Dostoevsky’s *The Possessed*, with the chapter called ‘Stavrogin’s Confession’, which you remember Virginia Woolf and Koteliansky translated in the 1920s).

If on the other hand you can buy the rights from Feltrinelli outright, an Italian version should appear as well (the reason for this being that it would be far safer for the author if something were produced in Italy, especially on the part of such a firm Stalinite as F. is supposed to be – if an English version alone appeared, I think the danger to which he would be exposed in Russia would be considerable, and I should not myself care to shoulder moral responsibility for this; but I should have thought that F. would be unlikely to sell you the rights without intending to make some use of the manuscript himself). Then I think you really will have secured a scoop. But I can only urge upon you what I have already dinned into Mark Bonham Carter – that the translator must be exceptionally good, capable of rendering prose as well as poetry – this is certainly findable in England.

46 George Katkov (A 218/1).
48 Cf. Manya Harari to IB, also dated 23 November 1956, Mancosu (previous note) 59.
Meanwhile (again this comes from a letter written by the poet to his sisters in Oxford),[49] as a result of the excessive interest taken in him by correspondents from Bulgaria and Uruguay, and Romania and Italy and Hungary and Yugoslavia and Norway, the state has decided to punish him, and the poem and short autobiography which were to have appeared in the Soviet periodical in October or November has been, at any rate temporarily, suppressed. So his position is not easy, and one must avoid doing anything to compromise him further. Once a translation of anything of his has appeared in a foreign language, a translation into another foreign language cannot conceivably make his position worse. That is the only principle I can think of by which one can decently guide oneself. Whoever could persuade Feltrinelli to publish the work in Italian – even if need be in an abridged form – and then publish a translation of it in English as well, would certainly be rendering a very considerable service to literature, and I daresay to freedom and justice as well. Pasternak would die happy and all would be well.

Although I have not read it, I feel quite sure that the work is something very exceptional indeed. It would be bound to be a political sensation even if it were artistically inferior. But I know Pasternak well, and there is no doubt that he is a writer of genius – the last great classical nineteenth-century poet still living. To have met him and talked with him both in 1945 and this year has certainly been the most moving experience of my life.

Please forgive me.

Yours ever,

Isaiah

TO LEONARD SCHAPIRO

6 February 1957

Headington House

Dear Leonard,

[...] As for Plekhanov, you ask why he should have carried on so long with Lenin when obviously the latter was intriguing, treating etc. I think the reason is that he wanted some ‘firm’ ally as opposed to all the soft characters whom he, perhaps too unreasonably,

[49] Letter of 4 November 1956, ibid. 76, from Family Correspondence (previous note but one), 385.
I suppose that whatever his faults may have appeared to be in the early part of the century, Lenin’s devotion to the Revolution and lack of personal vanity were fairly patent to everyone; and there is nothing so tempting to an imperious professorial figure, such as Plekhanov was, as the firm if brutal and ruthless ally in the world of loose Social Democratic rhetoric and Jewish intellectuals in various stages of personal and political neurasthenia. But of course he ought to have broken before. I am reading about the mid-nineteenth century in Russia now – the revolutionaries are foolish, pathetic, sweet, the reactionaries generally repulsive – the worst, easily, is Katkov, who was the prototype of all the Dreyfusards.

Yours ever,
Shaya

TO LEONARD SCHAPIRO

18 March 1957
Headington House

Dear Leonard,

[...] As to Plekhanov, vanity and an autocratic temperament doubtless had much to do with his political moves – but neurotic I do not think he was; I daresay he made a great many unjust charges during his life, but I do not see why you think that he destroyed ‘a sane stream’ in Russian life – do you mean among the Social Democrats or among potential Liberals, Conservatives etc.? However we had better talk about this when we meet. I feel our disagreements are probably much like those which went on in Russia from about 1840 onwards and now constitute objects of much careful and fascinated (if not fascinating) research.

Yours ever,
Shaya
TO JOHN LEHMANN

19 August 1957

Headington House

Dear John,

Forgive me for dictating from bed – I am under some queer spell which causes my eyelids to flutter and my addled brain to yield nothing but broken and disconnected fragments of what once may have been ideas. Otherwise I should have written by hand and coherently. Thank you for your congratulations. The whole thing is most embarrassing. I try to hide the awful prefix beneath my now most welcome professorship, as one hides a tie which one is not allowed to remove for fear of hurting feelings underneath a specially grown beard. So pray do not rub it in. I am low enough with it.

I am very grateful for the Turgenev piece\(^{50}\) – the whole thing is most handsome and gratifying, and the blemishes few, trivial and entirely my own fault. Yes, I think you may be right, Dr Leavis and Mr Wain will find it not quite full enough of high moral content. What boobies they are even when they are right, as they sometimes are.

Yours ever,

Isaiah

FROM GEORGE KENNAN

12 October 1957 [carbon]

Dear Isaiah,

The need for sympathy when things are going badly is a commonplace, but there is nothing like the need for sympathy in moments of triumph. I am now turning to you, as the only person in Oxford I can think of who could understand why I am so pleased and what it is that pleases me. I enclose a copy of *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn\(^{51}\)*, \(^{51}\) which contains:

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\(^{50}\) ‘An Episode in the Life of Ivan Turgenev’, *London Magazine* 4 no. 7 (July 1957), 14–24 (includes translation of Turgenev’s ‘A Fire at Sea’).

\(^{51}\) The journal *International Life*. 
1. Under a curious guise, a review of my recent book\textsuperscript{52} by S. Maiorov, of whose identity I am not sure but who, I think, is a senior Party ideological figure.

2. A symposium of papers read at a meeting of historians devoted to questions of Soviet foreign policy: one of these papers, by Berezkin,\textsuperscript{53} also refers (p. 17) to my book.

These materials suffice to confirm my satisfaction something which I have already began to suspect from the nature of the earlier reviews of the book. Down to the present day the historiography on the Russian foreign policy with the West, and particularly the United States, in the period of the Intervention and the Civil War, has remained largely in the hands of the Stalinist hacks who were at the peak of their success during the height of the anti-American campaign in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Party, a bit puzzled and worried to know what to do about all this, has recently placed their labors under the general direction of the relatively conservative (in the Communist sense) older authorities: [Vladimir Mikhailovich] Khvostov and [Isaak Izrailevich] Mints; but it is not going to revise anything in the structure of falsification which they have erected, the full preposterousness of which exceeds anything I have ever seen anywhere and which has to be seen to be believed.

It is clear to me, from the tone of this review and especially of the contributions to the symposium, that my own book has aroused the younger Soviet historians to a real movement of protest against the complete ‘propagandization’ of this phase of history, and that these older Stalinists are now worried and very much on the defensive. Berezkin’s statement that ‘among our comrades voices can occasionally be heard expressing doubt as to whether the role of the USA in the Intervention has not been over-emphasised in our literature’,\textsuperscript{54} coupled with the fact that all this is said in connection

\textsuperscript{52} Soviet–American Relations, 1917–1920: vol. 1, Russia Leaves the War (Princeton, 1956). S. Mayorov, ‘Vain Attempts to Distort History’, International Affairs [the English edition of \textit{Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn’}] 1957 no. 9 (September), 117–23, is not formally a review of Kennan’s book, but concentrates its fire upon it.


\textsuperscript{54} In the English edition, p. 18: ‘voices are sometimes heard among our friends expressing doubts as to whether US participation in the intervention is not too much emphasised in our literature’.
with my own work and with the strangely respectful manner in which, despite all outward indignation, they contrive to refer to me, convinces me that I have really succeeded in placing a bomb in their midst and in forcing them to take account of the voice of historical science from outside the borders of the Soviet Union.

Don’t let this be a burden to you. But, if you have a moment, glance this over and tell me if you don’t think I am right.

I was particularly interested to see that the book seems to have hit them hardest, ideologically, by its suggestion that the Soviet leaders were not sincerely interested in coexistence in these early years of their power. If you get Pravda, you may have noticed a most curious ideological article ‘Unter dem Strich’ [‘All Things Considered’], on September 30, which seems designed to demonstrate that far from revising Marx’s admission that revolution might come to England by means less than violent, Lenin was a protagonist of the same idea.

Forgive this intrusion. I knew you would understand my excitement. If I have really been able to jar these people with a book, I have done more in four years of scholarship that was ever able to do in twenty-six years of diplomacy.

Yours as ever,

[George K.]

TO EDWARD WEEKS

13 November 1957

Headington House

Dear Ted,

Thank you very much for that admirable volume, which contains so many things much more interesting than my own piece. It is a rare pleasure to receive something which has the attraction of being exciting and agreeable to read over and above the thrill of containing one’s own aging child enshrined like a crystal masterpiece in its pages. The compliment is great and I appreciate it.

I see that I am described as the Ritchie 56 Professor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford. It sounds eminently respectable and

55 Not found.
56 Presumably a mishearing of ‘Chichele’. The error was caught in time, so what IB was sent must have been a proof copy.
agreeable and I am entirely content to be that in those terms. It is true that there is no such chair in Oxford, neither a Ritchie Chair on any subject, nor a Chair of Philosophy tel quel. There is a Chair of Metaphysics, of Logic, of Moral Philosophy, or Natural Philosophy (that is Mathematics), and the Chichele Chair of Social and Political Theory, which in fact I occupy. I do not think that any celebrated Ritchie was educated here. Thackeray’s grandchildren, it is true, were called Ritchie, and they were here, and the eldest, who died recently, was a charming and civilised man, but no chair was called after him, though he deserved it better than some. So if there is a reprint of the book perhaps this pleasant fiction could be replaced by the sober truth. But if not, let it stand, to the confusion of future antiquaries of the institutions of this ancient university. After all, if such things had not been perpetrated in the Middle Ages, where would our present mediaeval studies be? Talking of which, Trevor-Roper has just delivered a most brilliant inaugural lecture, denouncing antiquaries and dead research in a splendid procession of elaborate sentences delivered before a packed assembly. Each sentence was an arrowhead and each penetrated the flesh of some unnamed but all too conscious victim dotted about the room. A most enjoyable occasion: you must ask Hugh for a copy of it. It is a little undergraduaty, but exhilarating.

I am glad your negotiations with Sir Maurice are a success.

I wish I were coming over this Christmas. I hope you have a very happy one and my warmest good wishes to you both and from Aline.

Yours ever,

Isaiah

P.S. A far worse blunder occur in my own text: when I say that a well known thinker says history is what Alexander did and suffered. The thinker is Aristotle. He says (most notoriously) nothing about Alexander, more’s the pity. The name should be Alcibiades & is so in the Cornhill version. If there is another edition you will alter this? I feel dreadfully ashamed.
TO EDWARD WEEKS

29 November 1957

Headington House

Dear Ted,

Thank you ever so much for your letter – I wish I was coming over, but I am not, only my wife is.

My full title is Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory in the University of Oxford. I am no longer a University lecturer, since my ‘translation’ to this more elevated realm, only a Fellow of All Souls College and Fellow of the British Academy (FBA for short), otherwise nothing at all. I should be much relieved if you put in Alcibiades.

I know nothing at all about Israeli writers – I may be there in the spring, but I cannot believe that Israeli writers are really much good – though this may be too pessimistic a view. I read Hebrew hardly at all, and the translations look terrible to me. There is only one really good writer, called Agnon. The rest are competent but pretty uninspired. As the purpose of the entire experiment was to ‘normalise’ the Jews and rid them of their neuroses, perhaps it is inevitable that art – which is the product of [a] certain sacred discontent – should fall by the wayside when the discontent is gone. At any rate that particular kind of discontent, which no doubt will one day reawaken, but is at present dormant. Or there may be some other explanation.

My love to Fritzy,

Yours ever

Isaiah

TO EDWARD WEEKS

27 May 1958

Headington House

Dear Ted,

I am afflicted by guilt at not having telephoned to you on that Tuesday morning, but we didn’t actually manage to return to London on that day, having had to go back on the night before, owing to family complications which sprang from the abnormal life which we are living, owing to the fate of my little niece. Still, I should
have rung you up from here, and then with various forms of fuss and worry it went out of my head. However, all was well in the end, save for the fact that I omitted to get in touch with you.

You asked about the Pasternak novel. The man to write about it in the Atlantic would be our old friend Nicolas Nabokov. He has read the novel in Russian\textsuperscript{57} and is in a state of wild enthusiasm about it, and when he is aroused you know he can write marvellously. Why don’t you get him to do it? There is not a very good article – but informative – about it in Encounter by Max Hayward, the translator, who is an interesting, able and remarkable man and an excellent translator, but who seems to me to have got the point of the novel somewhat askew. However, that is no doubt a matter of opinion. Nicolas was almost ill with excitement after he had read the novel and went about in a nostalgic dream for days and weeks. It is not so much that the novel casts a great deal of light on contemporary Soviet reality as that it talks about and describes things never described by any human being before. Moreover it is a work of genius. The first two hundred pages are not good, but after that it is incredibly good. But of course the person who really must write about it is Edmund Wilson. But for whom and when and at what length and from what angle, who can tell? He is very much a law unto himself, as I need not tell you.

With renewed apologies and fondest affection,

Yours ever,
Isaiah

TO GEORGE KENNAN\textsuperscript{58}

23 June 1958 \textit{[manuscript]} 

All Souls

Dear George,

For once I shall try & \textit{not} waste your time with a long screed: This is only to tell you that I agree deeply about Oxford being too hectic, formal, & unpropitious to spontaneous human relationships (as you so aptly & so brilliantly and so devastatingly put it) and that all my Russian ingredients rise up against this, but have lost the battle long ago, & I now feel that I can talk & listen in Harvard, Moscow,

\textsuperscript{57} See Mancosu (77) 166–9.

\textsuperscript{58} In Kristiansund, Norway, at the time.
Washington, anywhere but here; with consequent steady intellectual & emotional impoverishment – I grow poorer & poorer in a sense far more real & terrible than the Marxist.

Secondly let me tell you that you make me blush too violently by your praise: I have no self confidence, I am ashamed of virtually all that I do, and words such as yours (not that anyone has said anything like this to me before) make me wonder if I have taken you in in some dreadful way – concealed my deficiencies too successfully – that in itself being a yet further proof of my shortcomings – & yet, of course, I am not only profoundly moved & grateful, but most immensely pleased.

And now let me say to you, if I may, that you must know that your status is unique in the world. In Eastern Europe – Poland & elsewhere (and I am sure even the Soyuz) you are looked on as a pure and truthful man, seeking peace & justice, & with no hostile intent towards them. The vast mass not only of *intelligence* but I suspect even literate common people see you, as left wing Western intellectuals see Nehru, as the only independent, uncommitted figure, the last best hope. You really can do what nobody else can: in Warsaw, Moscow, probably Novosibirsk too. Like you I (ultimately) prefer the tormented, death conscious, peoples, producing works of genius out of their unhealable wounds, rather than the happy, adjusted Swiss (who are not happy) & excellent Scandinavians. But we shall be thought mad one day.

Love

Isaiah

TO FABER & FABER

n.d. [1958]

[Report on] *The Human Condition* by Hannah Arendt

I could recommend no publisher to buy the UK rights of this book. There are two objections to it: it will not sell, and it is no good. The author’s reading has evidently been wide, but her comprehension has too often been incomplete. Indeed the suspicion grows, as one

59 Chicago, 1958. Faber & Faber were considering publishing the book in the UK. A separate UK edition has never appeared.
reads these pages, that her inadequate command of English (a language she appears to have learned only in mature years, as a refugee in America from Germany) has led her into many of the problems which she attempts to solve in these pages.

The first part of the argument of this book rests on the curious belief that the means of the word ‘labour’ (or ‘labor’ as it appears in this American text) is somehow significantly different from the meaning of the word ‘work’. This notion appears to have been prompted in the author’s mind by a line in Locke about ‘the labour of our body and the work of our hands’. Instead of seeing this as an attempt (one of the rare attempts) of that pedestrian stylist to embellish his prose with a little elegant variation, Dr Arendt sees it as the adumbration of a distinction in reality: a distinction which she here sets herself to elucidate.

‘Labour’, she believes, means those efforts which are necessary for the maintenance of the human species; ‘work’ means those efforts which go beyond the minimal demands of survival, and which yield the durable goods and furniture of the world. Taken as lexicographical definitions, these definitions are, of course, simply inaccurate. Presumably one must therefore take them as prescriptive or stipulative definitions. But even if they are thus accepted, they are found to lead, not to greater clarity, but to greater obscurity. In the later chapters of the book the categories of ‘labour’ and ‘work’ are supplemented by a third category of ‘action’; action meaning not, as one might expect, doing things, but rather {as} being in some sort of quasi-personalist fusion with other people. This leads to such conclusions as the following (p. 230): ‘The instrumentalization of action and the degradation of politics into a means for something else has of course never really succeeded in eliminating action, in preventing its being one of the decisive human experiences, or in destroying the realm of human affairs altogether.’ The phrase ‘of course’ strikes an amusing note, does it not?

Subsidiary observations, as well as the central argument, illustrate the author’s characteristic weakness. For example (p. 43), she writes: ‘The unfortunate truth about behaviorism and the validity of its “laws” is that the more people there are, the more likely they are to behave, and the less likely to tolerate non-behavior.’ This sentence had me completely foxed until I realised that the author was using the verb ‘behave’ in the sense of ‘act civilly’ and must therefore
imagine that the word ‘behaviorism’ had something to do with civility!

A second example (p. 31): ‘What all Greek philosophers, no matter how opposed to polis life, took for granted is that freedom is exclusively located in the political realm, that necessity is primarily a prepolitical phenomenon [...]’. It is perfectly true that, in thinking of political freedom, all Greek philosophers ‘took for granted [...] that freedom is exclusively located in the political realm’ (what else could they think?); but political freedom has nothing whatever to do with necessity; it is opposed to constraint. Necessity is opposed to free will, and is not a problem of political, but of metaphysical, philosophy. Once more the author has got tied up in a false antithesis.

Speaking of moral virtue, Dr Arendt says (p. 75) that ‘the Christian demand to be good’ is ‘absurd’. Is it equally ‘absurd’ to demand that a book should be good? Let us hope she thinks so. Then she will not mind being told that her book is not good.

FROM GEORGE KENNAN

5 March 1959 [carbon]

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Dear Isaiah,

This is just a note to tell you that I have read, with customary respect and enjoyment, your inaugural address, and also suffered for you in the writing of it. I seem to sense that this was not easy; and I suspect that you were glad to lay the pen down when the moment came. But it is a valuable and perceptive piece. You were so right to define freedom only in terms of what government has no moral right to make people do.

But, with the example of this sprawling, careless, lethargic country before me – this 175 million people, stumbling thoughtlessly into self-indulgence, bad habits, decadence and political apathy – your cogent words about the evils of paternalism fill me with despair. I fully agree that there are natural limits beyond which power must never go; but if some men are not to do the thinking for others, I despair of where we shall get. The effect of a total laissez-faire is ultimately to create conditions which limit the

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60 Two Concepts of Liberty (Oxford, 1958); reprinted in L.
possibilities open for the individual no less cruelly than do the stricures of a benevolent despot. No single human will has said that I shall be deprived of servants, or restricted for purposes of transportation to the inferior device of the automobile, or shall put up with the evils of a permanent inflation, or be dependent for my bread and butter on a cultural life dominated by the advertisers and the mass media. Yet these are all requirements which the development of American society, under the law of laissez-faire, places upon me. Could the decisions of a Frederick the Great or even a modern Salazar (provided only he recognised the natural and decent limits of power you have defined) be less enlightened than these blind workings of a society out of control?

So much for political philosophy. Here, life is – compared to Oxford – serene, regular, full of health and sunshine. But I sorely miss communion with others, and yourself above all. I sometimes think I would accept again all the asperities of English life for the delights of sheer conversation. What throws me off is the recollection of the desperate intensity with which England seems to be trying to become like ourselves.

I dreamed recently that I was trying to talk with you but we were being constantly impeded by the roar and surge of some enormous cocktail party. How the good old subconscious does go to the heart of things!

Faithfully,

[George K.]

TO RICHARD L. SIMON61

16 February 1960

Headington House

Dear Simon,

Thank you for your letter of February 11. I have no idea what a Reader should look like and am quite certain that I have neither the capacity, the time, nor the desire to edit one ever in my life, for anyone, on any topic.62 Though the idea was kind, and I thank you for it. I think almost any competent and sufficiently [?] professor in

61 Richard Leo Simon (1899–1960), publisher, co-founder with (Max) Leonard Schuster (see PS) of the publishing firm Simon & Schuster.

62 He had in effect already done so with The Age of Enlightenment (1956).
the Russian section of the Slavic Department in an American University could do this quite well – or perhaps a professor of literature and a professor of history could do it in collaboration. Why do you not entrust it, for example, to Professor Victor Erlich and Professor D. W. Treadgold, both of the University of Washington, in the state of Washington? They are each competent in their own subjects and might produce a good book together. Alternatively Professor H. Seton-Watson of London assisted by some literary specialist, say Ronald Hingley of Oxford, would do the job well too; and I could mention many more. As for the outline which I enclose in return, I think your editors would have to settle their own selections – if I were reading such a book I should want as much Klyuchevsky as possible, and perhaps some Pokrovsky as a kind of Marxist counterbalance, but I should not include much E. H. Carr (which would bore all but a specialist reader) and certainly Souvarine and Shub rather than Deutscher – I should not exclude him but I should have to edit him most carefully in the interests of a reasonable degree of objective truth. And if one is to use Hare, his earlier book is quite a decent, lowish, second-rate performance and is immeasurably better to [sc. than] the one you have put in, which I have just reviewed as politely as I could – this has not been easy – it is not a book worthy of any anthology. Please be confidential about all this. I have no wish to hurt the feelings of any of these doubtless worthy men, some of whom I know and like, and some of whom I do not know. I assumed that you wished me to be candid –and above all I should not like to be quoted or mentioned with respect to this enterprise. I ought to add that if you are thinking about books about Russia, Maurice Baring’s works, novels, translations, essays etc. are an invaluable mine – he knew and understood far more about Russia than any of the authors mentioned in your list.

Yours ever,

Isaiah Berlin

PS My love to MLS, whom my wife was very sorry not to see.
[n.d.: p. 7 of a letter (possibly 10 April 1954) whose other pages are missing]

[...] workings of relativism, or determinism, which they would not dream of, or show, in their normal life or thoughts. I shall certainly do my best to amend my text so as not to misinterpret you, as I fear I perhaps have done, but not as much as I feel you believe that I have done.

Thank you once more very warmly for writing to me as you have. I do hope we may meet and discuss this and other things one not too distant day.

Yours sincerely,
Isaiah Berlin

⟨I am terribly sorry about the messiness of this letter: & I do assure you that I realize the great amount of good which you have done & are doing by exposing shams and defending moral issues in ways & at times & before audiences where it is not always easy or comfortable to do so. And on that front I shall always be your ally to the best of my ability: I shd not be as solicitous about understanding & representing your views correctly, if I did not feel so much admiration & sympathy for your writings & attitude.

I.B.⟩

GBR/0012/MS Butterfield 531/B/80
Appendix

Berlin’s report to Winston Churchill (see letter of 15 November 1947 above) on proofs of *The Gathering Storm*, Book I, ‘From War to War, 1919–1939’. Original pagination marked in red (add 2 for the Churchill Archive foliation). The title of this continuous report distinguishes it from specific comments written on the proof. The numbering/lettering of IB’s headings, which is not strictly logical, has not been altered.

**GENERAL REMARKS**

**I. The balance of the whole**

The narrative when it gets into its stride seems to me wonderfully rapid and absorbing, but it seems to me to take some time to get going properly. The main theme is the rise of Hitler, and the blindness of England and the Western World. If the story is to start with the earlier ‘peaceful’ years, 1924–9, it may be felt to lack something unless the central events which linger in the popular memory – the General Strike, relations with Russia (the Zinoviev Letter, the Arcos raid) etc. are placed in proper focus; alternatively all this could be condensed into a general prelude to the real story – with not too rigid a skeleton of chronology – a kind of commentary on the moods and acts of those remote deluded years, not overweighted with specific detail, a background to the awful things to come. It seems to me that at present neither of these effects is altogether achieved. The account of Locarno is, if you will allow me to say so, very masterly. But after the splendid prooemium of Chapter 1, which sets the stage nobly for a procession of great events, Chapters 2 and 3 are something of an anti-climax: the play of personalities, e.g. the Chamberlains, Mr Baldwin etc., while it is both unfamiliar and interesting, and while it could appropriately embroider the big events of the period, scarcely seems weighty enough to occupy the centre of the picture. In fact the story told in these two chapters seems to me too episodic and insubstantial to act as an adequate scaffolding to the more tremendous story of the rise of Hitler, with which the book really gets into a wonderful stride. I should like to suggest that either:

[2] (a) Chapters 2 and 3 be left out altogether – since Chapters 1 and 4 seem to me to follow one another without a break; or:
(b) That these chapters be shortened drastically and take the form of a general commentary on the lull between two violent periods, with personal and political details lightly sketched in, and no attempt to concentrate on a specific issue, e.g. neither on Locarno nor on the return to the gold standard; or:

(c) If you prefer to take up the story where the Aftermath left off, that more be done about the General Strike, Russia, Anglo-American relations or absence of relations etc., although I quite see that there may be strong political reasons against doing this.

II. The only other factor which seems to me to upset the general balance is that the swift and mounting tempo of the narrative is disturbed mainly in the later chapters of book I by lengthy quotations from speeches and letters which, relevant, important and interesting as they are, tends to hold up the reader. I have put stars in the margin of the text wherever quotations seem to me to have this effect, and should like to recommend that these be abbreviated and/or the full text be included among the appendices. I do not honestly think that any single passage could be profitably omitted altogether, and therefore should like to urge relegation to appendices in all cases rather than excision.

III. There are certain topics and episodes which seem to me either unduly omitted or treated too briefly.

(a) p. 4. The circumstances in which excessive reparations were imposed on Germany – e.g. the celebrated letter by Members of Parliament sent to Lloyd George in Versailles, and the general state of British public opinion, ought surely to be referred to, if this step is not to seem simply one of gratuitous bestiality on the part of Lloyd George. As Keynes has on the whole not done justice to Versailles in his brilliant and disastrous book, the balance needs to be redressed, if only to kill the last relics of the German and pacifist propaganda on the subject which did so much to poison Anglo-German relations between the wars. After all, Wilson himself was louder than anyone in demanding vast reparations and the full meed of retributive justice.

(b) Chapter 3, pp. 1–2

*India and the dismissal of Lord Lloyd from Egypt*
here I feel that either more or less ought to be said. Lloyd was, one gathers, dismissed on Arthur Henderson’s insistence, and without some discussion of Henderson’s views on the need to alter our policy in the Middle East and to client kingdoms generally the story is surely unintelligible. Lord Lloyd became a symbol of jingo imperialism and a bugbear of the Labour and Liberal parties, and whether in connection with India or Egypt the difference in principle between your own attitude towards the right development of the Empire and the conscience-stricken anti-imperialism of Socialists and Liberals ought surely to be made clear somewhere.

(c) Chapter 4

The Economic Blizzard

Again I feel that either more or less should be said. [4] Although there may be wide agreement that the Labour Party leaders were weak and even craven in 1931 (not least among them Ramsay MacDonald), and Labour politicians have therefore never tried to defend their own record during that period, the proposition that Snowden’s financial measures were salutary (e.g. Unemployment Relief cuts) seems to me, in view of the distress which it caused, not self-evident enough to assert without some argument. The fact that the National Government abandoned the Gold Standard after having won the Election with a virtual promise to adhere to it need not perhaps be rubbed in, but in that case it would perhaps be best to give the whole episode in severely factual terms without comment, as neither party really emerges too well out of it.

(d) Rearmament

I feel most strongly that your great campaign for rearment must be made to stand out in bolder relief: that it must be made clear that the reason for rearment was the German menace and nothing else: that you were not, as you were sometimes represented as being, the leader of a noisy militarist party demanding arms for arms sake, or perhaps because you believed in offensive war as simply a useful instrument of national policy, as, for instance, the Kaiser may have done. The basis of your view is perhaps a trifle obscured by references to e.g. parity with the French – but this may be an over-subtlety. The rearment campaign, it must be stressed from the very outset, was the product of your clear and ever-growing discernment of German intentions and German deeds, which led to
ever-increasing dislocation of the European balance, and was the voice of one desperately calling to sleepers to awake, and not a gratuitous incitement to law-abiding citizens to abandon the arts of peace and seek glory in military adventure. I say this only because this is what you have too often been accused of doing by [5] left-wing or Germanophile or Anglophobe professors and journalists in America; and the counterblast should therefore be correspondingly powerful. I have marked the passages which seem to me to require qualification in the text of the proofs.

(e) Manchuria (Chap VI)

A reader might gather that the Americans did want to interfere in 1932, that we held them back, and that our excuse was the desire to keep the friendship of and the treaty with Japan.63 This material will feed the fires of those American and Chinese propagandists who accuse us and in particular Lord Simon of being prime architects of the policy of appeasement of oppressors and the undermining of the League. It seems to me that here one can take one of two courses: either one accepts the American case, believes that Stimson’s plan for a naval demonstration against Japan might have worked,64 that we behaved badly or foolishly, that Simon was the villain of the piece – and one then pitches into him as the true father of appeasement; or else one tries to give our own side of the case, which seems to me weak enough, but which Sir John Pratt, then the Far Eastern Adviser of the Foreign Office, has argued with some force (and so has Sir G. Sansom, then, I believe, our Counsellor in Japan, and a far wiser and more knowledgeable man than Pratt). To do neither of these things is to leave the anti-British version of this crucial event to hold the field without even the cold comfort of admitting the facts and fixing the blame oneself.

(f) Similarly I feel that if the essence of the story is the blindness of the victors, more should be said about the whole movement for appeasement in England and perhaps France too: Who were its authors, what was the condition of the public sentiment which they exploited, how far were they to be found in all three parties? Much [6] of this, of course, emerges in your story, but the stream too

63 WSC annotates ‘true’.
64 WSC annotates ‘or led on to more’.
frequently goes underground. I have a feeling that it ought to be kept constantly before the eyes of the reader. After all, the New Statesman actually preceded The Times in advocating partition of Czechoslovakia; pacifism is more closely associated with the Labour Party than with the Conservative; and therefore this is not a stick with which one party can afford to beat the other even now, provided the issue is fully presented. As I feel that this is the central issue of the pre-war story, I should like to urge most warmly that it be made a stronger and more continuous ‘leitmotif’ than it is at present.65

(g) The total omission of everything to do with Palestine might seem a little strange to your readers, particularly in the United States. You have, after all, associated yourself with this issue with great vigour throughout the years under review, and your speeches have been used and abused by the protagonists in the dispute. Perhaps you intend to deal with all this in the later books. But if India, Egypt etc. are to be mentioned, the omission of Palestine, and indeed of Middle East policy in general, in the moulding of which you have played so vital a part, and with regard to which you have criticised successive movements with such eloquence and justice, will seem peculiar. I fully appreciate the explosiveness of the issue, but, after all, neither Zionism nor anti-Zionism is the prerogative of either party; this is an issue for which your book is bound to be scanned with narrowed eyes; and silence on your part will be misinterpreted at least as much as your words could ever be.66

[7] II. Detailed Points

p. 7. It might be worth saying that just as the success of Lenin’s example inspired Mussolini – he closely imitated e.g. the single-party dictatorship, the concept of the Leader of the Party, divinely inspired and therefore entitled to express the popular will, however little evidence there may be of popular approval of his views by any individuals who constitute it etc. – so Hitler may here have inspired Stalin with the notion that a thorough party purge was both desirable and feasible. I doubt whether the terrible proscriptions in Russia of 1936–8 would really have been carried

65 WSC ticks.
66 WSC comments: ‘I never thought of Palestine in connexion with the war.’
through without the example of 30 June 1934, which is said to have impressed Stalin\textsuperscript{67} deeply. In connection with this I am told there is a very strong case for saying that Communism was dead or dying in Italy before the March on Rome in 1922 — that while there was a certain amount of labour trouble and the governments were unstable, there was no serious threat of Communist domination in Italy after the ignominious collapse of the Communist regimes in Bavaria, Hungary etc.; the real rival dangerous to Mussolini was the triumph of Don Sturzo and his Popolari, a party which was growing in strength until crushed by the Fascists.\textsuperscript{68} Hence Mussolini’s claim to be a saviour from Communism was less genuine than the text suggests (I have marked the passage in the margin).

\textit{The Putzi Episode}

The text conveys the impression that you did not at that time feel any prejudice against Hitler — rather the contrary — save for a mild curiosity about what seemed an excessive degree of hostility towards the Jews, who did not seem to deserve such virulent persecution. This might well be misinterpreted as being altogether too sympathetic to Hitler.\textsuperscript{69}

\textit{Austria–Hungary}

The alternatives before Austria–Hungary in 1918 is a matter of wide speculation, but I wonder whether you wished commit [8] yourself to the view that it could have been held together, desirable as this might have been, when the Czechs were so inexorably resolved to have nothing further to do with the Austrians; the Slovaks loathed the Hungarians as few oppressors have ever been loathed; and the Southern Slavs were scarcely less firmly determined to recede. The Austrian Empire disintegrated with very little help from Wilson or anyone else; no doubt a Danubian economic federation should have been organised; but the proposition that Austria–Hungary could have continued but for the mistaken application of the principle of self-determination by the Entente seems to me historically profoundly unplausible; and few other than Austrians and Austrophiles

\textsuperscript{67} WSC marks the previous three words.
\textsuperscript{68} WSC queries.
\textsuperscript{69} WSC marks with a cross.
have tried to maintain it. That the disintegration of the Austrian Empire was a great misfortune is doubtless true. This could be emphasised without suggesting that the Habsburg Empire could have been indefinitely propped up.

Chapter 10. Air Defence Research

I think that for the non-specialist reader this chapter is too detailed and technical. Unless there be more about the fruits of the pioneer researches then conducted in the later chapters dealing with the war years, the story of the various committees and the controversies within them, the prejudice against Prof. Lindemann etc., breaks the rapid current of the general account into too many little eddies. Perhaps this could become an appendix. I should like to suggest the same for chapter Chapter 15, where the naval correspondence between yourself and Sir S. Hoare leaves the general reader none too clear about the essence or importance of the issues debated.

Chapter 12 on the occupation of the Rhineland is so splendid and moving a piece of writing that it is desirable to clear away anything before or after which it after it which obstructs the general prospect.

[9] Chapter 14 Spain

Again opinions may legitimately differ, but there still seems no adequate evidence to suggest that the revolt against the Spanish Government raised by General Sanjurjo succeeded a period of Communist anarchy. There certainly were disorders and assassinations, and the pro-Franco account is that law and order had generally broken down; this has been hotly denied by various right-wing Liberals, Dominican priests etc. who have more plausibly maintained that the Communists, who came to power later, did little but pave the way to Franco’s victories by liquidating the other left-wing and Liberal parties, while technically in coalition with them – just as their German brethren ushered in Hitler by combining with the Nazis against the Social Democrats in 1930–2. No doubt Communism was and is a real danger in Spain, but it is greater than

70 WSC marks the previous four words.
71 WSC annotates ‘These were my impressions day by day.’
it was in 1935–6; but General Franco’s defence of his rebellion deserves no greater credence than the similar apologias of Hitler and Mussolini – or for that matter of Lenin or Trotsky or other ‘saviours of society’.

Chapter 18

I do not think that it is correct to say that the Bolshevik Old Guard was in any way pro-German. There was some talk of the Kaiser as preferable to the Tsar in 1917 among the anti-war followers of Lenin in Switzerland, but none, so far as I know, since then. I do not think that there is quite enough evidence yet to convict Marshall Tukhachevsky and his staff who were executed with him of traitorous relations with the Germans, or at any rate not until a date much later than that indicated in the charges. Their sin – as indeed that of the Communist Opposition – may have consisted mainly in banking [10] on the failure of the first two five-year plans – then confidently expected by many European observers, and organising themselves to take over from the bankrupt Stalin administration. But however that may be, and even if the Generals, half of whom were Jews, did plot with the Germans, the left-wing deviationists – Zinoviev, Radek, Rakovsky and all the persons accused of being in relations with Trotsky – can certainly not have been involved in any plot with the Nazis or the German generals. The story of the Trials is hideously intricate and obscure, but the most plausible hypothesis is that Stalin got rid of all his enemies at one fell swoop by implicating them in the same conspiracy, although the left-wing Opposition were at all times more anti-German than either Stalin or Molotov, while the evidence of the right wing’s connections with the Germans is based exclusively on the confessions. But whatever the facts, it would I think be to be incautious to state too definitely that both wings of opposition to Stalin flirted with the German or any other non-Soviet sources. Uncle Joe liquidated persons and organisations whom, possibly not without justice, he suspected of actual or potential disloyalty to himself; beyond that everything is very dark. In 1938 he himself publicly declared that the purge had gone much too far.

72 WSC marks with a cross.
73 WSC marks the previous five words.
Chapter 19

It may be worth adding to the Munich chapter the extraordinary prevalence of Nazi-inspired talk in London in 1938 about Czechoslovakia as a ‘ramshackle state’, ‘a synthetic collection of hostile nationalities’ etc., a fact which had private apparently waited twenty years to be discovered. I well remember a senior member of the Diplomatic Service who solemnly assured me that peace in Europe would be secure if it were not for ‘those filthy Czechs’. Although the Foreign Office felt humiliated by the control and interference of Mr Chamberlain and Sir H. Wilson, its opposition to the appeasers’ theses, though it existed, was not too brave or articulate, with certain notable and splendid exceptions even within the Office itself. The one diplomat who resigned rather than execute Sir N. Henderson’s policies was much disapproved of as a ‘hothead’. The FO attitude seemed to be that by 1988 it was too late to resist. But persons like Sir O. Sargent were always very right-minded and stout.

Chapter 20

Something perhaps ought be said, whether in confirmation or refutation of (or at any rate as a gloss on) what Professor Feiling says in his biography of Chamberlain about the queer change of front which seemed to occur between the Prime Minister’s speech in the House of Commons on the day on which Prague was occupied and his Birmingham speech a day or two later. A very great deal has been made of this in America – particularly by Professor W. Schumann and other widely read left-wing publicists with an anti-British bias, their general contention being that Mr Chamberlain tried to appease Hitler again, but was turned back by a growing revolt within the Tory Party, led by Lord Halifax or yourself or unspecified backbenchers, or various other possible and impossible individuals and combinations. The chapter on Munich is bound to be scanned by some reviewers with this issue fresh in their memories.

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74 WSC annotates ‘No’.
Chapter 22

Something more seems to be needed on the failure of the Strang Mission to Moscow. The Soviet *History of Diplomacy*, vol. III (of which a French translation has been issued), is almost exclusively occupied with an account of Munich and its aftermath; under Soviet conditions of publication it is the equivalent of a government White Paper and it makes an immense amount out of the alleged reluctance of the British government to enter into serious defence arrangements with the Soviet Union, shown by the fact that the British Military Mission was sent in a slow ship instead by air and that Strang was ‘an inferior routi[e]ur [sic]’ who had notoriously got on badly with Soviet officials during the Metro Vickers trial and was therefore a deliberate irritant etc. etc. An article by Zhdanov, speaking ostensibly as a private individual and without committing his colleagues, appeared in a Soviet newspaper in the summer of 1939 arguing against an alliance with the treacherous Anglo-French bloc {West} and there were other symptoms of lukewarm attitude on both sides which increased the atmosphere of mutual distrust and pessimism that made the negotiations unreal from the beginning. As all this is being used in defence of the Russo–German pact by the Russians to this day, it is a crucial point, and although you are not personally involved, your own and Lloyd George’s attitude to it in the House [13] of Commons seem to me well worth greater emphasis. Again Americans are bound to scrutinise the text particularly closely for information on all the events of that fateful summer.

*CHAQ* 2/3/14, fos 3–15

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