

## *The Burke Newsletter*

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ON NOVEMBER 14, 1959, three editors of the newsletter, C. P. Ives, P. J. Stanlis and T. I. Cook, met in Baltimore, Maryland, to discuss editorial policies and to plan objectives for future issues of the newsletter. Since the last two numbers were heavily weighted in bibliography, the editors agreed that in keeping with the previously

announced policy of appealing to a variety of interests, the next several numbers will include such matters as the current areas of interest in Burke studies; the relevance of Burke's ideas to modern problems; the relationship of Burke to other writers, such as Rousseau, Hume, C. J. Fox and Bolingbroke; basic unsolved problems in Burke's biography, career, and philosophy; Burke's intellectual convictions in aesthetics, economics, politics, religion, etc., and other such broad and humanistic concerns.

Beginning with this issue, the editors also agreed to continue the series of brief feature articles on the volumes of Burke's correspondence, as each new volume appears. Miss Lucy S. Sutherland, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, currently collaborating with John A. Woods on a study of the finances of "cousin" Will Burke, has submitted the following editorial account of her work on the second volume, which should be available in the spring of 1960.

### *Burke's Correspondence*

THE SECOND of the ten volume edition of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, an Anglo-American enterprise under the gen-

eral editorship of Professor Thomas W. Copeland, covers the period from July, 1768 to June, 1774. The period is roughly the life of the 1768-1774 Parliament, the second in which Burke sat. It opens when all prospects of the early return to power of the Rockingham Whigs whom he supported had been destroyed, and it ends just before his successful candidature for the City of Bristol, on the eve of the outbreak of the American War of Independence.

This volume contains 185 of Burke's surviving letters for this period, 56 of which are printed for the first time. Of those already printed, 62 appeared in the old four-volume Fitzwilliam and Bourke edition of his correspondence (1844), 27 in the O'Hara correspondence and 29 in Burke's letter book as agent for the Assembly of New York, both printed by Professor Ross Hoffman in *Edmund Burke, New York Agent* (1956). The remainder had been printed in widely scattered and sometimes inaccessible places.

In addition to the letters written by Burke, 65 addressed to him are printed in this volume, 54 for the first time, and three hitherto unprinted letters written neither to nor by him are included for the light they throw on his activities. Extracts from a number of other letters addressed to him are printed in footnotes, headnotes, and tailnotes. The choice for inclusion of letters written to Burke has been dictated by various considerations. The other side of his correspondence with his political leaders, the Marquess of Rockingham, William Dowdeswell, and the Duke of Richmond (very little of which has hitherto been published) is essential to the understanding of the numerous and detailed letters he wrote to them, and which make up the backbone of the volume. Individual letters from prominent contemporaries are included, to show the range of his social and political inter-

course; those from contemporaries less prominent throw light on activities of Burke which might otherwise go unheralded.

Although when this volume begins Burke's entry into political life was still recent, he was by now a public figure, and it could not be expected that the letters in this volume would, as did those in Volume I, illuminate tracts of his life hitherto unknown. The contents of this volume do not light up unknown aspects of his career, but elaborate our knowledge of his activities at this time and refine our understanding of them. Though quite a high proportion of those of Burke's letters which are now printed for the first time are comparable in historical importance with the letters already published, for the most part they fill out a story already known. From this point of view, the hitherto unpublished letters from Rockingham and Dowdeswell add more to our knowledge than do those of Burke. But the bringing together of all his correspondence into one series, and the publication of both sides of his main political correspondence, undoubtedly add considerably to our knowledge of Burke as a public character.

However, the volume also provides some new materials for the study of Burke as a private man. His systematic destruction of the private papers in his possession, and his well-grounded fear of malicious publicity, has meant that comparatively little personal material has been preserved. In particular he was extremely secretive about his financial affairs, and the correspondence throws little light on the financial disasters which overtook the Burkes in 1769, or the means by which he paid for his country house (Gregories, near Beaconsfield), and kept his head above water in the difficult years that followed. Nevertheless, a fair amount of private matter can be extracted from this volume of his

correspondence, which shows his devotion to his family, his kindness and consideration to his wide range of friends and acquaintances, and the zeal (sometimes ill-judged) with which he adopted the cause of all of them. It also shows the width of his knowledge and interests. Among the hitherto unprinted material, the letters he wrote from France in 1773, and those bearing on the entrance of his son Richard to Oxford, show him in a particularly pleasing light.

The period covered in Volume II is of interest and importance both in the public life of the nation and in the career of Burke. In many ways, however, it is but the prologue to greater events. It saw the mounting friction between England and her American colonies, the beginning of the problem of the relation of the State and the East India Company, and the rise of the eighteenth-century radical movements. Burke became concerned at this time in all of these issues, and later he was to play an even bigger part in them. However, this is also the period in which Burke formulated his view of party, in which the Rockingham party developed its principles and characteristics, and in which, on their behalf, he wrote one of the most famous political pamphlets of the eighteenth century, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*.

#### *Bibliography*

RATHER THAN LIST an extensive bibliography, we refer our readers to the best collected analytical reviews and descriptive summaries of Burke studies for 1958-59. These are by Stanley D. Rose, "Edmund Burke: An Introduction," *Catholic University of America Law Review* (May, 1958), pp. 61-90; Donald C. Bryant, "Report on Burke Studies," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIV (December, 1958), pp. 434-42; *Philological Quarterly*, XXXVIII,

No. 3 (July, 1959), pp. 305-10.

#### *Current Studies and Work in Progress*

BURKE AS A CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL: Recent studies of Burke as a political conservative, by John A. Lester, Russell Kirk, Bruce Mazlish, Charles Parkin, Peter Stanlis, and Francis P. Canavan, S.J., are being qualified and extended in current publications and important work in progress. The second chapter of Professor M. Morton Auerbach's *The Conservative Illusion* (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 31-68, called "The Contradictions of Liberal Conservatism," written from the Positivist point of view, is highly critical of Burke's political philosophy. Professor Jean-François Suter, Peterhouse, Cambridge, England, the author of "Tradition et Evolution chez Edmund Burke," *Revue Suisse d'histoire*, tome 8, fasc. 4 (1958), is at work on a book to be called *Liberalisme et Conservatisme dans la pensée politique d'Edmund Burke*. Professor Raymond English, Department of Political Science, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, is working on a book to be called *Conservatism and the Liberal Heritage*, which will contain much matter on Burke. Professor English writes: "My main interest is in what might be called the proto-neo-idealist in Burke's later writings: the similarities between certain aspects of Rousseau, Burke and Hegel. I suspect that classical-medieval Natural Law could never be perfectly restored after Hobbes, Locke and Jefferson, but that a more flexible version of Natural Law with a strong historical emphasis came into being, in revulsion against the perverted philosophy of natural rights and sovereignty. It is in this development that I find Burke's contribution extraordinarily interesting and subtle."

NEW TEXTBOOKS AND ANTHOLOGIES ON BURKE: There is currently much evidence

that Burke's political philosophy is being reevaluated, and his historical position, as presented in textbooks in political science and history, is being redefined. Fr. Francis Canavan, S.J., St. Peter's College, Jersey City, N.J., had the summer of 1959 off, to write a chapter each on Burke and Paine, for a textbook on the history of political philosophy which Professor Leo Strauss is editing for Rand-McNally. Professors Louis I. Bredvold, University of Michigan (retired), and Ralph G. Ross, University of Minnesota, are collaborating on an anthology of Burke's selections based on important themes in Burke's thought, which will be "a convenience for teaching Burke in upper division and graduate courses." The selections are by Bredvold and the introduction is by Ross. The completed manuscript should be in the hands of the publisher, the University of Michigan Press, by June, 1960. Professor Charles W. Parkin, Clare College, Cambridge, England, is editing the selected political writings of Burke, with an introduction, for *Blackwell's Political Texts* (Oxford). The purpose of the introduction in this series, he writes, is "to provide a brief biography of the author presented in the text, followed by an interpretation of his thought, with special concern to present the permanent value of his work to the theory of politics." The introduction would also contain "a rapid survey of Burke's historical background and political activity, the general principles of his thought, and critical commentary on them in the light of subsequent traditions of political thought. Assessment of the permanent value of Burke's thought would revolve around the meaning and contemporary validity of his idea of natural law."

BURKE AND INDIA: The importance of India and the Hastings impeachment in Burke's political career is being reviewed in recent and pending studies. Professor

Holden Furber, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Penna., published "Edmund Burke and India," *Bengal Past and Present*, LXXVI, Part I (January-June, 1957), pp. 11-22. Professor Carl B. Cone, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., will give in April, 1960 the lecture of the annually elected Distinguished Professor of the College of Arts and Sciences, on some phase of the relationship between Burke and Warren Hastings. For the past nine months Professor Cone has been working on the second volume of *Burke and the Nature of Politics*, and much of his time has been devoted to the problems of India. More than the other great events in Burke's life after 1782, he considers India and Hastings "the greatest obstacle" to a true understanding and evaluation of Burke. Of great importance is "the key to answering the question of Burke's motivation in undertaking the impeachment." Professor Cone has "found material that has long been in print that refutes the emphasis upon personalities as the explanation for Burke's involvement in the impeachment." Another scholar, Professor George C. McElroy, Indiana University, Gary Center, Gary, Indiana, has also been working for several years on Burke's Indian labors, and has found it "a very complicated problem." The length of time Burke was involved with Indian affairs, the scanty and anonymous materials for certain periods, the intricacies of parliamentary and India House maneuvers, the difficulties in determining what was actually going on in India, and the serious misconceptions in much currently accepted history, especially concerning Hastings and Philip Francis, have combined to distort badly our picture of Burke and India. Aside from these historical problems, the ultimate importance of India toward understanding Burke's political philosophy

is suggested: "On India Burke tends . . . to plunge deeply into his fundamental thinking about politics, morality and human life . . . . He had to grapple with the most fundamental questions of the justification of government, and its proper organization to serve its justifiable ends, and the resulting set of principles does not fit neatly into anybody's category of liberalism or conservatism."

BURKE'S PROSE STYLE AND AESTHETIC THEORY: In the past few years there has been a marked revival of interest in the rhetorical techniques and writing devices of Burke's prose style, and in his aesthetic theory. Scholars concerned with Burke's prose style will find much worthwhile material in Frederick J. Rogers, *The Style of Edmund Burke* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956, 174 pp.) Two newsletter editorial advisors, Donald C. Bryant and James T. Boulton, expect to do further research in Burke's prose style. Burke's aesthetic principles and his position in eighteenth-century aesthetic theory have been presented by Joseph J. Rondy, Jr., in *Some Aesthetic Developments Reflected in English Periodicals, 1770-1798* (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1955, 214 pp.), and by J. T. Boulton, in his excellent introduction to the recent edition of Burke's *Sublime and Beautiful* (Columbia University Press, 1958). An excellent four-column review of Boulton's book appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), September 4, 1959, p. 506. Scholars interested in Burke's aesthetic theory will find much profit in reading the very perceptive article by Professor Lucyle Werkmeister, "Coleridge on Science, Philosophy, and Poetry: their Relation to Religion," *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. LII, No. 2 (April, 1959), pp. 85-118. In his conception of poetry and aesthetic theory, "Coleridge's position," Professor Werkmeister concludes, "is a synthesis of

the positions of Burke and Berkeley."

#### *Burke as an Economist*

DIXON WECTER in "Adam Smith and Burke," *Notes and Queries*, CLXXIV (April 30, 1938), pp. 310-11, and William C. Dunn in "Adam Smith and Edmund Burke; Complementary Contemporaries," *Southern Economic Journal*, VII (January, 1941), pp. 330-46, have shown the great similarity in economic thought between Smith and Burke. Smith himself had said: "Burke is the only man I ever knew who thinks on economic subjects exactly as I do without any previous communication having passed between us." Recently, the renewed importance of their free enterprise type of economic thinking was strongly underscored by Dr. William Röpke, University of Geneva, in "The Economic Necessity of Freedom," *MODERN AGE* (Summer, 1959). In an earlier number of *MODERN AGE* (Fall, 1957), Dr. Röpke described the Mont Pelerin Society, a group of economists and publicists who, like Burke during the French Revolutionary period, attribute Western disarray to "the growth of a view of history which denies all absolute moral standards," to "theories which question the desirability of the rule of law," and to "a decline of belief in private property and the competitive market." Burke sounds as clearly in the first two clauses of the diagnosis as Smith does in the third. Moreover, since the spring of 1947, when the diagnosis was made, it has gained authority from the men who helped to make it. They include Luigi Einaudi, who became first president of the Italian republic; Jacques Rueff, now economic advisor to DeGaulle; Röpke himself, one of the teachers of Ludwig Erhard, economic minister of the German Federal Republic; and Karl Brandt, presently a member of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors. All five men have

had a key role in the spectacular economic and monetary recoveries which have fortified freedom in their respective countries, and generally in the West. They show the continuing relevance of the thought of Smith and Burke, and sharpen interest in new research on Burke as an economist.

### *Burke on Religious Conciliation*

AT A TIME when there are signs of a new conciliatory spirit among the Christian churches, it is worth remembering a passage by Burke written on December 14, 1791, to the Archbishop of Nisobi, then Papal Legate at Liege: "As to our differences, My Lord, the spirit upon both sides which created the contest being over, things of course return, or ought to return to their natural state, and that which in itself deserves reverence will be revered. If we are right in our separation, let us justify it by a double zeal in favor of that object for the purity of which we made this great breach. If we are wrong, let us make our error the less by our moderation in our mistake; then our differences may remain, but our animosities will cease; we shall live [love?] for the points in which we are sure we are in the right, and not hate each other for those in which we may mutually imagine each other in the wrong; and then the differences in our faith will become only the means of an increase in our charity. We shall have no enemy but the common enemy; that enemy which would debase our nature, our character, and make us more miserable than the beasts; leaving us what they cannot take from us, remembrance and anticipation; but depriving our dignified but anxious existence of all its

consolations and all its hopes." This hitherto unpublished letter first appeared in H. V. F. Somerset's article, "Edmund Burke, England and the Papacy," the *Dublin Review* (1938). More recently, a detailed study of how Burke applied this spirit of conciliation in religion through practical statesmanship has been made by John E. O'Brien, *Efforts in the Field of Religious Toleration in the Early Political Career of Edmund Burke, 1765-1782*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ottawa, Canada, 1955, 267 pp.).

### *Recent Lectures on Burke*

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1959, C. P. Ives and Thomas I. Cook of the newsletter staff appeared with E. Riley Hughes, Department of English, Georgetown University, on the Georgetown University TV Forum, over Station WTTG, Washington, D.C. Their subject, "Are Conservatives Coming Back?," was centered in a discussion of Edmund Burke. The panel had discussed the same topic earlier for radio, and Georgetown University supplied transcripts to approximately 150 radio stations in the United States, including commercial stations, member stations of the National Association of Education Broadcasters, stations of the Intercollegiate Broadcasting System, and the Voice of America. On November 13, 1959, Peter J. Stanlis gave a lecture, "Edmund Burke and the Natural Law," to the faculty and student body of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. On December 9, 1959, Louis I. Bredvold spoke to the Department of English, University of Detroit, on "Edmund Burke's Political Philosophy."