# Steps Toward Restoration

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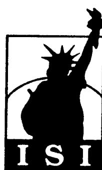
## *The Consequences of Richard Weaver's Ideas*

Edited by Ted J. Smith III

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# *Preface*

TED J. SMITH III

On Friday afternoon, March 27, 1998, more than 100 persons assembled for the beginning of a two-day symposium at Belmont Abbey College, a Catholic liberal arts college and Benedictine monastery located in Belmont, North Carolina, just across the Catawba River from Charlotte. The purpose of the symposium was to mark the 50th anniversary of the publication of Richard M. Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences*.

For those Americans born after World War II and accustomed to a domestic political landscape dominated by principled debate between ascendant "conservatives" and increasingly defensive "liberals," it may be difficult to realize how much that landscape has changed in recent years. In the 1940s, widespread popular agreement on the desirability of government-assisted "progress" meant that serious political discussion centered on the clash between liberals and Marxists of various stripes concerning the optimal rate and extent of government expansion. Although far from insignificant as a political force, conservatism consisted largely of an *ad hoc* and self-inter-

ested defense of the *status quo* by members of the propertied classes.

Three books published over the course of a decade profoundly altered this state of affairs. Despite being written from substantially different perspectives, together they provided an intellectually coherent foundation for an effective conservative challenge to the political hegemony of the Left. The first of the three was Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom,* an incisive analysis of the inherent deficiencies of socialism first published in England in early 1944 and reissued in America later that year by the University of Chicago Press. The second was Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences,* a foundational critique of modern (*i.e.,* liberal) society and culture released by the same press in February 1948. The third was Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind.* Published in 1953 by the Henry Regnery Company, it made the constructive case for the movement by tracing the history of conservative thought from Edmund Burke to George Santayana and beyond. From these seeds more than any others, the modern conservative movement has grown.

The idea for the Richard M. Weaver Symposium originated with Dr. Robert Preston, the president of Belmont Abbey College. My involvement dates to May 1996, when I received a letter from Dr. Preston which outlined his plans and offered me the pleasant task of helping to design the program. At a meeting two months later, we decided that the conference should focus less on the content of *Ideas Have Consequences,* which had already been the subject of extensive discussion, and more on its origins and effects, including some examination of the reasons for its phenomenal success. Accordingly, nine

speakers were asked to present papers at the symposium, all of which are included here in revised and edited form. The papers divide readily into four groups.

The two papers in the first group focus primarily on the author of the book. My essay argues that *Ideas Have Consequences* was the product of two major strands in Weaver's earlier thought, as shaped and refined by several key individuals at the University of Chicago. It is followed by a personal portrait of Weaver by Wilma Ebbitt, his close friend and colleague at Chicago for the last 18 years of his life.

The next two papers elucidate several of the book's central themes. Robert Preston outlines Weaver's main philosophical argument, explores its implications for individual freedom, and offers an assessment of Weaver's program for recovery. Mark Malvasi links the critique of modernity developed in *Ideas Have Consequences* to its sources in Weaver's doctoral dissertation, published five years after his death as *The Southern Tradition at Bay.*

The third group comprises two detailed studies of the effects of the book. George Nash examines its influence on the conservative intellectual movement in America over the last half-century, including recent reassessments of its worth by representatives of different factions within the movement. Lawrence Prelli portrays *Ideas Have Consequences* as a masterwork of rhetoric and argues that much of its persuasive impact derives from the underlying conceptual structure of its key arguments.

The last group of papers offers more personal assessments by three individuals who were strongly influenced by the book and its author. Marion Montgomery, who has numbered Weaver among *The Men I Have Chosen for*

*Fathers* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), uses a discussion of his first encounter with *Ideas Have Consequences* to introduce a detailed critique of Weaver's early neo-Platonism from the perspective of Thomistic philosophy. Ben C. Toledano demonstrates the depth and cogency of Weaver's thought by extending his analysis to contemporary society, but finds it necessary to supplement his "means of restoration" with a more explicit emphasis on Christian belief and conduct. The group concludes with a revised and edited transcript of M. Stanton Evans' remarks at the conference banquet in which he discusses Weaver's ideas and influence from the perspective of one who knew him during the last years of his life.

The publication of this collection was made possible by the efforts of a number of individuals whose contributions merit our thanks and recognition. Foremost among them are Dr. Preston and his staff at Belmont Abbey College, especially Mr. R. Lawton Blandford, Jr., the executive director of the College's Bradley Institute for the Study of Christian Culture, who served as general coordinator of the Weaver Symposium. The success of the conference as a whole was due in large measure to their meticulous planning and flawless execution. Crucial financial support for the symposium was provided by the Earhart Foundation, The Ingersoll Foundation, and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI). Among those at ISI who worked so hard to bring this book into print, I am especially grateful to Mr. Jeffrey O. Nelson, vice president for publications, and Miss Brooke Daley, director of the ISI book program, for their encouragement, patience, and expert assistance. To all of these, and to all of the confer-

ence speakers and participants as well, I extend my warmest thanks.

*Richmond, Virginia*
*August 1998*

# *How* Ideas Have Consequences *Came to Be Written*

TED J. SMITH III

On February 16, 1948, the University of Chicago Press released for sale a slim new book with the deceptively bland title of *Ideas Have Consequences*. The event was preceded and followed by a massive, two-pronged marketing campaign, one of the largest ever mounted by the Press. It had begun two months earlier when major bookdealers throughout the country were sent a letter announcing the book's publication. This was followed in early January with a letter and sheets of talking points to "key publicity persons" and telegrams to "key dealers."[1] Next came a full-page advertisement in the January 17 issue of the leading trade journal, *Publishers' Weekly*, which announced: "We are starting with $7,500 to advertise one of the most important books we have ever published" and offered 100 advance reading copies to "anyone in bookselling" who requested one.[2] On January 22, Press director William Terry Couch dispatched a letter to book review editors in which he compared *Ideas Have*

*Consequences* to Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*. The American edition of Hayek's foundational critique of socialism had generated enormous controversy—and commensurate sales—when it was published by the Press in 1944, and Couch predicted a similar outcome for the new book. As he noted:

> Well, we have another author, a professor, who has written another book that violates the union rules. The title of the book is, IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES. The professor is Richard M. Weaver of the college [*sic*] of the University of Chicago. You may expect to hear him and us in the next few weeks called stupid, ignorant, reactionary and wicked, etc. You may also hear others say the opposite—we expect so—but we don't govern our publishing by the prospects for applause.[3]

By all indications, the initial phase of the campaign had its desired effect. Another full-page advertisement in the February 21 issue of *Publishers' Weekly* announced: "1st printing exhausted three weeks before publication; 2nd large printing on the way."[4] It is also clear that at least some major dealers took pains to promote the book. For example, Marshall Field and Company in downtown Chicago featured it in a spotlighted display at the main entrance to the book department. As described by the Press' sales manager, Donald Barnes, the display had a "surrealist" theme, and he called attention to "the use of polished driftwood and root-knots, the tattered copper screening and the very, very daliesque shadow frame portraying modern man in awful misery."[5]

For those familiar with the actual contents of *Ideas Have Consequences*, the use of a "surrealist" display featuring a

"daliesque shadow frame" to promote the book may seem somewhat strange. But it was very much in keeping with the general tone and content of the massive advertising campaign that immediately followed its publication. The campaign was based initially on two full-page advertisements which appeared in most of the major literary periodicals of the day, including *The Atlantic Monthly, The Chicago Sunday Tribune Magazine of Books, Christian Century, The Nation, The New Republic, New York Herald Tribune Book Review, The New York Times Book Review,* and *The Saturday Review of Literature.* Both of the advertisements were illustrated with an image of the book in its dustjacket, and one emphasized elements of the dustjacket design in its main visual. The dustjacket itself was executed in shades of bright orange and light grey, peppered with a dense scattering of ragged, black and white newspaper headlines and leads such as "11th Red Veto Jolts U.N.," "Riot Torn India Free Today," "Jail 1,000 Strikers," and "Girl Delinquency Found Increasing." Stark, ugly, and modernistic, it conveys a sense of strident insistence which was faithfully echoed in the ads. One blared: "A calm, quiet, courageous book! A shocking, infuriating, revolutionary book! It may shatter your strongest convictions!" The other demanded to know: "If you believe our civilization is the most advanced in history—How do you explain these headlines?"[6]

It would be a serious understatement to say that the author was displeased with these efforts. As he noted in a letter to Robert Heilman:

> The dustjacket is an atrocity, and I still shudder every time I see it. My first impulse was to strip it off all the copies I sent my friends and write a note

> of explanation. How they ever thought that such a thing was suitable for a work of this content is more than I can guess.

He was also less than pleased with the expensive full-page advertisements, as indicated by his comments about one of them to Heilman:

> I don't know whether you saw one of these, but it was a sensationalistic, atom-bombshell affair, the very thing to draw a negative reaction from an already high-pressured public. As one of my colleagues remarked all too truly, it reminded one of advertisements of prophylactics.[7]

He was equally pointed in a comment to Cleanth Brooks:

> I cannot avoid a certain feeling of frustration over my dealings with the Press. I think that I handed them a piece of philosophy, and they have done everything in their power to present it as a piece of journalism.[8]

Despite these shortcomings, the promotional campaign did achieve at least some of its goals. Advance sales were excellent and a great deal of discussion was generated, as indicated in particular by the publication of more than 100 reviews of the book. As anticipated, however, the reviews were decidedly mixed in tone: those in regional newspapers and religious periodicals were generally quite favorable, while those in organs of the liberal establishment tended to sneering vituperation. The most damaging were a review by Howard Mumford Jones in the February 22 issue of *The New York Times Book Review,* which characterized the book as "irresponsible," and an

essay by Dixon Wecter in the April 10 issue of *The Saturday Review of Literature,* which began with an attack on Robert Maynard Hutchins and his efforts at Chicago and ended by holding up *Ideas Have Consequences* as an emblem of the university's deficiencies. The reaction to the latter on the University of Chicago campus was particularly strong, and for a time Weaver had serious doubts about whether he would be able to keep his job. He described the reaction to the Wecter review in a letter to Cleanth Brooks:

> It created a great sensation here, and the bookstore had to order additional copies of this issue. To say that I became a marked man after this is to use the language of understatement. Murmurs began to be heard that the book should never have been published at all because it was unfairly taken to represent the philosophy of the University of Chicago.... R. S. Crane [chairman of the English Department] was irritated by the book from the outset, and since the appearance of Wecter's piece, in which the English department here was branded "bush league," he has been infuriated with me. We no longer speak....[9]

The fact that Weaver was concerned about his job calls attention to the truly extraordinary character of these events. At the time *Ideas Have Consequences* was published, Richard Weaver was a young man of 37, just five years out of graduate school and with a total of only eight published essays and book reviews to his credit. Although a faculty member at a highly prestigious university, he held only a one-year appointment as an instructor in the undergraduate College, where his prin-

cipal assignment was to teach the freshman-level course in English composition. Because they were evaluated primarily on their performance in the classroom, there was little time or incentive for members of the College faculty to engage in any extensive program of research and publication, and few in fact did. For someone in Weaver's position to produce a book offering a sweeping indictment of the entire course of Western civilization over the past 500 years and a trenchant critique of the core values of modern American society is indicative, at the least, of a very advanced level of audacity. And for a major university press to place its full resources and reputation behind such a book is exceptional almost to the point of uniqueness. It is therefore worthwhile to inquire just how the book came into being.

At the most basic level of analysis it is clear that *Ideas Have Consequences* was the product of two somewhat independent strands in Weaver's thinking. The first of these has roots so deep in Weaver's intellectual development that it will be useful to sketch the course of his career up to the time when the idea for the book was first suggested to him.

Richard Malcolm Weaver was born in Asheville, North Carolina, on March 3, 1910, the first of four children of Richard M. "Dick" Weaver and Carrye (later "Carrie") Lee Embry Weaver. Dick Weaver, a popular and outgoing local businessman, was the junior partner in Chambers & Weaver, a successful livery stable and automobile agency. Carrye Weaver was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, but spent most of her adult life in nearby Lexington. In 1902, at the age of 28, she founded Embry & Co., a successful millinery shop which her brother William eventu-

ally expanded into one of the leading department stores in the city. Dick and Carrye met in 1907 and were married in November of the following year. It was his second marriage, her first.[10]

On December 16, 1915, Dick Weaver retired to bed early complaining of dizziness. A few hours later he was dead, the victim of a stroke at the age of 45.[11] His widow and children remained in North Carolina for a year or two, but she then moved the family to Lexington, where she opened a new millinery shop in direct competition with Embry & Co. That venture soon failed, however, and Carrye was forced to seek employment in her brother's store, where she worked as buyer and manager of the millinery department until her retirement in about 1939.[12]

Little is known about Richard Weaver's early education. In North Carolina, he apparently attended classes at a tiny private school conducted in one room of the teacher's home.[13] After his family moved to Lexington, he enrolled as a third grade student in a public elementary school a few blocks from his home. But he did not return the following year and it seems likely that he attended classes through the eighth grade at some private school in the Lexington area.[14]

The record of Weaver's education becomes more detailed after September 1924, when he enrolled as a freshman in the Academy of Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee. By all accounts, he was an unusually serious and highminded student who displayed a marked interest in moral and philosophical issues. In November 1925 he joined with Vadus Carmack —a fellow student in the Academy—and William Maury

Mitchell—a student in the University, four years his senior, who was to become Weaver's lifelong friend—to form the Societas Philosophiae Scientiaeque. The purpose of the society, which met each Sunday afternoon, was to "promote the exchange of ideas, investigate theories, propagate principles, know the truth, follow an argument wherever it goes and develop ourselves."[15] In addition, although he had not been raised in an especially religious family,[16] Weaver participated enthusiastically in Christian youth activities on campus, serving as an officer (most likely the president) of the Christian Endeavor Society.[17] In 1927, after only three years in residence, he graduated from the Academy as valedictorian of his class.

Weaver's intellectual development continued at the University of Kentucky, where he enrolled as a freshman in the fall of 1927. He first formed a commitment to the cause of world peace as espoused by various Christian youth organizations. In May of 1929 his oration "Our Big Business of War" won top honors in a statewide contest sponsored by the Intercollegiate Peace Association. Seven months later he published his first article, a brief report on the status of the college peace movement in Kentucky for a symposium entitled "A Panorama of Peace" in *The Intercollegian*, a monthly magazine for college students produced by the YMCA and YWCA.[18] From these beginnings, Weaver soon came to embrace the full ideology and agenda of international socialism. One impetus was the campus Liberal Club, which he helped to form in March of 1929 and served thereafter as vice president and president. Although neither large nor particularly active, the club achieved substantial notoriety for its perceived links to the League for Industrial Democracy and its

stands on issues such as compulsory military training.[19] In 1932, the year he received his undergraduate degree, Weaver formalized his commitment to socialism by joining the American Socialist Party. Although he later commented that "My disillusionment with the Left began with this first practical step," he served as secretary of the Lexington "local" for about two years and helped to plan an October 1932 campaign appearance in Lexington by Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas.[20]

As graduation approached in the spring of 1932, Weaver applied to a number of Southern universities for financial aid to support him in graduate school. He received only one positive response, however, an offer of a small scholarship from the University of Kentucky. Accordingly, in September 1932 he enrolled there as a full-time student in the master's program in English. But the following spring he again applied to other schools for aid, and this time his efforts were rewarded with an offer of a modest scholarship from Vanderbilt. Although it meant repeating most of his graduate course work,[21] Weaver readily accepted the offer and enrolled as a master's student in English at Vanderbilt in the fall of 1933. After completing the master's degree in a single academic year, he enrolled immediately in the doctoral program in English, and by June of 1936 he had completed the course work and all other preliminary requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

The period at Vanderbilt (1933–36) was enormously important in terms of Weaver's intellectual development. As he noted later in his autobiographical essay "Up from Liberalism," he was strongly attracted by the ideals of socialism, but in the course of his work for the Socialist

Party he discovered that he did not much care for socialists as persons. In contrast, at Vanderbilt Weaver encountered a number of Southern Agrarians, most notably Robert Penn Warren and John Crowe Ransom (who directed his master's thesis), and found that "although I disagreed with these men on matters of social and political doctrine, I liked them all as persons." As a result, Weaver left Vanderbilt "poised between the two alternatives" of socialism and agrarianism.[22]

It took Weaver four years to fully resolve this dilemma. In the summer of 1936 he left Nashville and began searching for a full-time teaching position to provide financial support while he worked on his dissertation, a study of Milton almost certainly begun under the direction of John Crowe Ransom. But the task of finding a job proved more difficult than anticipated, and by late August Weaver was so desperate that he seriously considered volunteering to fight for the Republican forces in Spain.[23] Finally, at the last possible moment, he was offered a one-year appointment as an instructor in English at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University) which he accepted with great relief. Despite receiving a renewal of his contract, he began searching again in the spring to find a better job. This eventually produced a very attractive offer of a position as acting assistant professor and director of forensics in the Department of English at Texas A&M University. Clearly delighted, Weaver accepted the appointment and taught there for the next three years (1937–40).

The job at Alabama Polytechnic initiated a period of relative affluence for Weaver which allowed him to indulge his keen interest in travel. In June 1937 he bought

his first car, a black, 1934 Ford V-8, which he used to drive between Lexington and College Station, including a memorable 1,500-mile odyssey from Texas to Kentucky via New Orleans, Mobile, Birmingham, Nashville and Louisville at the end of the 1937–38 academic year. Over the Thanksgiving breaks of 1937 and 1938, he drove groups of friends and colleagues to Monterrey, Mexico. In July 1938 he sailed to Europe and spent a month in Paris. And the following year he spent what he described as "the pleasantest summer of my life" studying at Harvard and seeing the sights of New England.[24]

In other respects, however, this was a period of growing discontent for Weaver. Work on the dissertation was not going well, and what little enthusiasm he had for the project dissipated in the summer of 1938 when John Crowe Ransom left Vanderbilt for Kenyon College and was replaced as dissertation director by Claude Finney. It was also at about this time that Weaver finally lost faith in the Left. As he announced in a January 1939 letter to his friend John Randolph: "I am junking Marxism as not founded in experience."[25] That rejection was soon followed by what he later described as "a kind of religious conversion" to the "Church of Agrarianism."[26] Finally, Weaver was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with his job at Texas A&M, in large part because of the attitude of militant scientism and philistinism he encountered there among students and colleagues alike.

These frustrations came to a head in the late summer of 1939. While driving back to Texas after his stay at Harvard, Weaver was transfixed by an epiphanic insight. As he later described the experience in "Up from Liberalism," "it came to me like a revelation that I did not

*have* to go back to this job, which had become distasteful, and that I did not *have* to go on professing the cliches of liberalism, which were becoming meaningless to me."[27] He therefore decided to quit his job at the end of the academic year, abandon the Vanderbilt doctorate and "start my education over."[28] In January 1940 he began the process of applying for admission to the doctoral program in English at Louisiana State University, where he hoped to study under Robert Penn Warren, Cleanth Brooks and others associated with *The Southern Review.* His intentions were made clear in his application for a graduate fellowship: "My travels have made me a Southern nationalist rather than an internationalist, and I now want to do an important piece of research in the history of my section."[29]

The intellectual origins of *Ideas Have Consequences* can be traced directly to Weaver's decision to begin his doctoral work anew at LSU. He enrolled for classes at the Baton Rouge campus in the fall of 1940, and within six months started writing a new dissertation under the direction of H. Arlin Turner. The project was completed in December 1942 under the direction of Cleanth Brooks, who had assumed that role two months earlier when Turner was called into military service.

The dissertation is entitled "The Confederate South, 1865–1910: A Study in the Survival of a Mind and a Culture." It is, by any measure, a very original and rather peculiar work for a graduate student in English to undertake. As indicated by its subtitle, it is a study of the mind and culture of the South as articulated in Southern letters—essays, military memoirs, fiction, diaries and reminiscences—in the postbellum period. Weaver begins the

work with an analysis of the Southern "heritage," which he reduces to four principal components.[30] The first is a feudal system of society—derived from Europe but an authentic product of organic growth—which is, characteristically, stable, agrarian, harmonious (as opposed to unified) and hierarchical. One consequence of this organic hierarchy is the existence of a self-conscious aristocratic class. The second component is a code of chivalry, "a romantic idealism closely related to Christianity, which makes honor the guiding principle of conduct," at least among members of the aristocratic class.[31] Third, and closely related to the second, is a system of instruction designed for the education of gentlemen. Intended ultimately to foster the growth of virtue, that education is "moral in the sense that it would give the youth a system of values," and "humanistic" in the sense that it is "so framed as to instill the classic qualities of magnificence, magnanimity, and liberality."[32] Above all, it avoids specialized training, providing instead a "well-rounded regimen" designed to prepare the graduate "to perform all general duties, both public and private, of peace and of war."[33] Last is a distinctive approach to religion, which Weaver calls "the older religiousness," characterized by the simple, unquestioning acceptance of, and willing submission to, a body of religious doctrines. In this view, and in direct contrast to the dominant tradition in New England, religion is less a "reasoned belief" than a "satisfying dogma."[34]

From this heritage have sprung a number of enduring features of the Southern mind and culture. The first is a complex, holistic and nuanced view of reality, marked by a sense of the inscrutable, of the existence of supernatural

power, where life is a profound mystery and, because absolutes exist, tragedy is possible. The second is an intellectual posture marked by an appreciation of intuitive, poetic and mythic insight and a corresponding distrust of mere rational intellect and the reductive simplifications of abstract theory and ideology. The third feature is a disdain, even a contempt, for materialism, commercialism and the empty blandishments of an unreflected "progress." Fourth is a natural attitude of piety, which Weaver defines as "the submissiveness of the will, and a general respect for order, natural and institutional."[35] From piety derive such other traits as humility, which involves the recognition and acceptance of proper restraints, and a respect for personality which, almost paradoxically, permits the exaggerated individualism so characteristic of the South.

Although clearly sympathetic to its people and culture, Weaver is no mere apologist for the South. Throughout his analysis he points repeatedly to its faults and excesses, especially a tendency to indulge in an extravagant and sentimental romanticism. And in an "Epilogue" added in 1945 he identifies two "great errors in its struggle against the modern world": a failure to study its position with enough care to discover the philosophical foundation on which its defense could be based, and a progressive loss or "surrender" of initiative.[36] But with all its faults and failures, the South is redeemed by its unique status as "*the last non-materialist civilization in the Western World.*"[37] And because of this status, the South can serve a unique and vital function.

> Looking at the whole of the South's promise and achievement, I would be unwilling to say that it offers a foundation, or, because of some accidents of history, even an example. The most that it offers is a challenge. And the challenge is to save the human spirit by re-creating a non-materialist society. Only this can rescue us from a future of nihilism, urged on by the demoniacal force of technology and by our own moral defeatism.[38]

This quotation, like much of the discussion in the "Introduction" and "Epilogue," clearly foreshadows the analysis developed in *Ideas Have Consequences*. But that work was still several years in the future when Weaver graduated from LSU in May of 1943. After a long and frustrating search he eventually secured a position as an instructor in the Army Specialist Training Program at North Carolina State University. But that job lasted only eight months, and by the end of April 1944 he was again looking for work. This time, thanks to the active support of Cleanth Brooks, the outcome was more favorable. On September 6, 1944, Weaver received a telegram from Dean Clarence Faust of the University of Chicago offering a one-year appointment as an English instructor in the undergraduate College. He accepted the offer with evident pleasure and taught at Chicago for the rest of his life.

Despite these distractions, Weaver was able to maintain a substantial program of research and publication in the years immediately following his graduation. Beginning in 1942 while he was still a graduate student at LSU, he submitted for publication a steady stream of

essays on Southern subjects derived from his dissertation research, most of them to *The Sewanee Review.* They appeared over the next few years as "The Older Religiousness in the South" (1943), "Albert Taylor Bledsoe" (1944), "The South and the Revolution of Nihilism" (1944) and "Southern Chivalry and Total War" (1945).[39] Weaver also worked steadily at revising his dissertation for publication, especially during his first year at the University of Chicago (1944–45). In July 1945 he took the manuscript to Chapel Hill and spent a week discussing it with the director of the University of North Carolina Press, William Terry Couch, and Couch's assistant, George Scheer. Couch agreed to publish the work if Weaver would add an introduction and epilogue to clarify its focus. That task was completed by the end of the summer.[40]

Although all of Weaver's writings in the period 1941–45 focus on Southern history and culture, it is possible to discern in the later of them—especially the essay "Southern Chivalry and Total War" and the materials added to the dissertation in the summer of 1945—a new and more negative tone. Directed against contemporary American (*i.e.,* Northern) culture, it reflects Weaver's growing revulsion and dismay at American (and Allied) conduct in World War II. This sickened rejection of contemporary culture constitutes the second major strand in Weaver's thinking at the time *Ideas Have Consequences* was written.

The progression of Weaver's views can be seen quite clearly in his comments to his old friends and former Nashville roommates John and Esther Randolph. In January 1942, at the very beginning of hostilities for America, he wrote:

> My outlook for the future is far more pessimistic than yours. I do not want an Axis victory, but I see nothing to hope for through an Allied victory. This idea that peace can be brought about by economic equality is the most fatuous of all delusions. The world is faced with an indefinite period of chaos—years that will be filled with "prison and palace and reverberation" and "torchlight red on sweaty faces." It will not regain order and stability until it returns to the kind of poetic-religious vision of life which dominated the Middle Ages.[41]

At the end of 1942 he declared:

> I am utterly pessimistic about the results of the war. The present ideological alignment is just too phony to last. Here is Churchill, the British imperialist, fighting to free Europe from German national socialism (it is amazing how few people can see that fascism is actually a form of socialism trying, by crude violence, to preserve some of the traditional values). Here we are, serving as "the arsenal of democracy," and pinning our hopes for victory on the fighting power of the most ruthless of all dictatorships, Stalin's Russia. I believe it will appear increasingly that the real war is between Anglo-American rightism and the various forms of European leftism.[42]

Two years later his views had become more thoroughly pessimistic:

> My reaction to the war is even more negative than yours. I have never believed in it, and I believe in it less now than I did in the beginning. This war is not going to improve anything. We are going to get out

> of it poorer, more disillusioned, more bankrupt in purpose than ever before.... The war is like some giant automaton set going by an evil spirit. Nobody thinks it is creating anything, nobody wants it to go on, but nobody can stop it.[43]

When the war finally did end in August 1945, Weaver's disillusionment was complete:

> Well, the last round of competitive homicide is over, and I have an immense sense of relief. I have really suffered in this war. I have not gone hungry, or gotten cold, or slept without shelter, or felt fright, but I have suffered inwardly. The official lies, the cunningly manipulated hysteria, the repudiation of moral standards by sources we had been taught to respect most—these have been nauseating....
>
> And is anything saved? We cannot be sure. True, there are a few buildings left standing around, but what kind of animal is going to inhabit them? I have become convinced in the past few years that the essence of civilization is ethical (with perhaps some helping out from aesthetics). And never has the power of ethical discrimination been as low as it is today. The atomic bomb was a final blow to the code of humanity. I cannot help thinking that we will suffer retribution for this. For a long time to come I believe my chief interest is going to be the restoration of civilization, of the distinctions that make life intelligible.[44]

In the same letter Weaver proudly announced that it appeared his dissertation would be published by the University of North Carolina Press. But those hopes were soon disappointed. In September 1945 William Terry

Couch left North Carolina to become the director of the University of Chicago Press. Although he still felt the dissertation was worthy of publication, Couch informed Weaver that its strong Southern focus precluded him from considering it for the Chicago press.[45] T. J. Wilson, Couch's successor at North Carolina, did ask to review the manuscript and it was sent to him in the spring of 1946. But it was rejected some months later, and Weaver made no further efforts to find a publisher.[46] The reason was that he had begun work on a new manuscript, which eventually appeared as *Ideas Have Consequences*.

It is clear that in the early fall of 1945 Richard Weaver was acutely aware of the contrast between the culture of the South he had described in his dissertation and the culture of contemporary America as revealed especially in the conduct of World War II. It is less evident how that awareness led to the writing of *Ideas Have Consequences*. In "Up from Liberalism" Weaver offers this account of the origins of the book:

> I recall sitting in my office at Ingleside Hall at the University of Chicago one Fall morning in 1945 and wondering whether it would not be possible to deduce, from fundamental causes, the fallacies of modern life and thinking that had produced this holocaust and would insure others. In about twenty minutes I jotted down a series of chapter headings, and this was the inception of a book entitled *Ideas Have Consequences*.[47]

While this may very well provide an accurate account of how the structure of the book was determined, there is strong evidence that the idea for such a work was first

suggested in a meeting in Couch's Chicago apartment attended by Weaver, Couch and Cleanth Brooks, who was a visiting professor at the University of Chicago during the Autumn and Winter quarters of the 1945-46 academic year. For example, in a May 1948 letter to Brooks about the reception accorded to *Ideas Have Consequences*, Weaver begins:

> I don't want to burden you with more correspondence, but since the idea we concocted at Couch's three years ago has created a mighty splash, you will probably be interested in hearing some details from this end.[48]

The content of that discussion is suggested by Weaver's comment in a July 1946 letter to Arlin Turner:

> I have seen a good bit of Couch at Chicago, and he has suggested that if I will take the conclusions of the dissertation and apply them in a general way to the modern world, I might produce a work in which the Chicago Press is interested.[49]

Regardless of the details of its inception, it is clear that Weaver began work on the new book in October or November of 1945 and produced a volume very much in line with Couch's suggestion. The finished work shows an obvious affinity with many of the main ideas of Weaver's dissertation and clear indications of the revulsion he felt toward the modern world in the aftermath of the Second World War. But the arguments in *Ideas Have Consequences* go substantially beyond his views in 1945 and show the mark of other influences as well.

The first of these is Weaver's reaction against what he called the posture of "systemic relativism" that permeated the undergraduate liberal arts curriculum at Chicago, especially as expounded by Richard McKeon in the capstone Observation, Interpretation and Integration (OII) course.[50] In this view, the pursuit of truth is limited to arraying different viewpoints nonreductively, systematizing their assumptions and methods, and proceeding within their confines. The problem with this approach is that it tends to foster a kind of brilliant but empty dialectical virtuosity. Nevertheless, Weaver did profit from his exposure to the position and its proponents, as indicated by a comment in a July 1946 letter to Arlin Turner. Regarding an early draft of the book he wrote:

> Some of the first chapters deal with metaphysics, for experience with these gifted Chicago dialecticians has taught me that there is no sense in going ahead until you have clarified your philosophical foundations.[51]

A second influence was his work in the English 3 course, which he taught for the first time in the 1945–46 academic year. In the spring of 1946 Weaver and several other young instructors argued successfully for a major revision of the course, to include, among other changes, a greater emphasis on logic and the informal fallacies.[52] His work in these areas led him to consider for the first time the implications of Occam's Razor and the nature and limits of pure dialectic.

Other influences can be traced to specific individuals, of whom three are most important. The first of these is

Pierre Albert Duhamel.[53] Duhamel arrived at Chicago in the fall of 1945 after completing his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin and was assigned to share an office with Weaver. Although Duhamel was married, his wife soon contracted pneumonia and returned to Wisconsin to recuperate with her family. Thus thrown together, Duhamel and Weaver became very close friends.

It was Weaver's habit to return home after lunch each day to write a page or two. He would then discuss his progress with Duhamel in their office that afternoon. The two also met frequently at Duhamel's home on Saturday nights to discuss great ideas over a gallon of Lowenbrau beer (an endeavor in which they were sometimes joined by Cleanth Brooks and Marshall McLuhan). So close was their friendship that when Duhamel returned to Wisconsin to visit his wife's family over spring break of 1946, he invited Weaver to come along. They stayed together at the University Club and spent their evenings drinking beer in Duhamel's old haunts on State Street in Madison.

The key factor in their intellectual relationship was that Duhamel, who received his undergraduate degree from Holy Cross, brought Weaver into contact with a Roman Catholic intellectual tradition that was largely new to him. As a result, their conversations often focused on Medieval Catholic philosophers such as Occam, but also such figures as Duns Scotus and Bonaventura (although seldom Aquinas, for whom Weaver apparently felt an aversion). Duhamel also introduced Weaver to the works of modern Catholic writers such as Eric Gill and Gerard Manley Hopkins. These contacts with Duhamel are

almost certainly the source of the undertone of Roman Catholicism that many readers have noted in *Ideas Have Consequences*.

Thanks partly to Duhamel's tutelage, Weaver made steady progress on the manuscript over the course of the 1945-46 academic year. However, the bulk of the first draft was written during the summer of 1946. Weaver spent that period in residence at the University of Wisconsin, where, at Duhamel's suggestion, he enrolled in a single course in Greek to facilitate his understanding of the works of the early Greek rhetorical theorists. But most of his time was devoted to writing. By July he had completed a chapter outline that lists most of the arguments included in the finished work but lacks the discussion of Occam and nominalism now found in the "Introduction."[54] On October 26, he sent a completed first draft to Couch with a plea for criticism. The manuscript was entitled "Steps Toward a Restoration of Our World."[55]

The initial response to the manuscript was highly enthusiastic, as Weaver related in a January 1947 letter to Cleanth Brooks:

> The first reaction from this quarter astonished me completely. Couch invited me to Thanksgiving dinner, talked about little else, declared that this was "the finest piece of writing that I have received since I took over the Press here." That nearly bowled me over, but it is exactly what he said. His chief editor, Frederick Wieck, talked in similar vein, and described one of the chapters as "wonderful." Can you blame anyone for assuming, as I did then, that not much stood in the way of publication?[56]

However, as Weaver's plaintive question suggests, the book soon encountered what he described as "reader trouble." Although reviews by Cleanth Brooks and Otto von Simson recommended publication, those by E. K. Brown and Marjorie Greve were highly negative. As Weaver noted: "There are in the work certain phrases, perhaps ideas, which cause readers simply to explode."[57] But even the positive reviews pointed out many deficiencies, and in January 1947 Weaver was asked to revise the work.

A key figure in this process was Cleanth Brooks. It is ironic that Brooks is generally given credit for shaping Weaver's dissertation (published posthumously as *The Southern Tradition at Bay*). In fact, Brooks had little influence on that work, which was almost finished when he took over as dissertation director. But he did play a major role in shaping and refining *Ideas Have Consequences*. He was present at the meeting with Weaver and Couch where the idea for the book was first discussed, and he worked informally with Weaver in the earliest stages of the project to help formulate his major arguments. In the spring of 1947 he provided a set of detailed suggestions which Weaver gratefully incorporated into the text. Weaver acknowledged his influence in a letter dated May 1, 1947:

> With reference to the points of criticism, I may say that I agree with every one of them. I realized that I was on shakiest ground in my discussion of the arts, though I did do a fair amount of patient research up in Madison last summer.[58]

Three weeks later Weaver wrote:

> In re the manuscript: I have decided to overhaul completely the chapters on the arts and on language. And since my vein is flowing rather happily at the moment, I think I am effecting some solid improvements. I was appalled when after an interval of two months I looked again at the part on literature and language and saw how skimpy I had left it. Certainly the mood of creation is not the mood of criticism.[59]

Weaver completed the revisions in June of 1947. Armed with additional favorable reviews from Joseph Rotskoff and Alburey Castell, Couch submitted it to the press committee the following month. On July 11, the manuscript was formally accepted, and a week later Weaver was issued a contract for publication of the work, now entitled "The Adverse Descent."[60]

Once the contract was signed, the fate of the book was passed to the capable hands of William Terry Couch. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of Couch's role in this endeavor. He may well have made the initial suggestion for the work, and he guided the manuscript through the long process of writing, review, and revision. Now he would add his stamp in at least three other ways.

The first was his decision to throw the full weight of the University of Chicago Press behind the book.[61] The initial press run was set in August at 3,500 copies. But as the reader reports and endorsements accumulated, Couch was impressed by the extremely intense responses—both positive and negative—the book tended to generate. This suggested that it could well be as controversial, and as profitable, as Hayek's *Road to Serfdom.* He therefore

increased the initial printing to 4,000 copies in September and to 7,500 copies in December, with provisions for a second printing of equal size. He also authorized an advertising budget of $7,500, an extraordinary amount for a book with a retail price of $2.75.

Couch's second major contribution was to work tirelessly to secure prominent endorsements for the book. Some individuals, such as C. S. Lewis, declined to comment, citing the pressure of other obligations. Others responded with harsh criticism. For example, Philip Wylie commented:

> I have now read IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES and I am passionately unimpressed by the book; while I still believe in the title, I think that for any valid consequences, real ideas are necessary, and I find in this volume an almost total absence of any ideas save a few odds and ends the author has borrowed and then misunderstood. I have assigned this dreary little volume a place in my bookcase behind the other books so that it will by no chance have the consequence of boring or confusing any of my guests or friends.[62]

But in the end Couch was able to assemble an impressive array of endorsements from such notable figures as Cleanth Brooks, John Abbot Clark, Donald Davidson, Norman Foerster, Charles Clayton Morrison, Reinhold Niebuhr, Melvin Rader, John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, and Paul Tillich. These were duly featured on the dustjackets and in the advertising campaign.

But perhaps Couch's greatest contribution was the title of the book. He first suggested *Ideas Have Consequences* in a memorandum dated October 4, 1947. Six days later Fred

Wieck reported that Weaver "had come around to the view that this title was very strong," and stressed that "I did not have to force the title down his throat, nor did I have to bludgeon him into swallowing it. His statement expresses his sincere conviction."[63] Despite these claims, it is clear that Weaver deeply disliked the title, and his resentment erupted in an angry public exchange with Couch at a party on October 25. In the heat of the moment Weaver apparently went so far as to suggest he might withdraw the book from the Press, and Couch responded with a formal offer to release him from his contract. Fortunately for all concerned, Weaver reconsidered his position, and the next day sent Couch a written apology for "my rudeness at the party." He explained:

> For some time I have been conscious of violating my own prescript—that is to say, I have been conscious of becoming egotistic about the book in question, of attaching to it an importance which it does not have. That may account for an exaggerated sensitivity about titles and other things. I ought to take more of my own advice and get a perspective on things.[64]

That matter settled, the book went smoothly into press. But the result was that a phrase that Weaver later described as "hopelessly banal"[65] has now become indissolubly linked with his name.

*******

The fate of the book and its author were left hanging in the balance some pages ago, and it remains to discuss how they fared. In the end, *Ideas Have Consequences* met

neither the fondest expectations nor the darkest fears of those who brought it into being. Most likely as a result of both the less than inspired advertising campaign and a number of prominent negative reviews such as those by Jones and Wecter, it generated only relatively modest sales. Couch had hoped that as many as 30,000 copies would be bought. But by mid-1948 the total stood at less than 8,000,[66] and in the following year returns outnumbered sales by a ratio of almost two to one.[67] As Couch noted in a letter in July 1948:

> IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES has had at least one serious consequence for me. It has lost us a fair sized chunk of money, and I am now discovering that dollars make a lot of difference to this place. Unless I am able to get rid of some of the sacred cows around here it will be a long time before I will be able to take any long chances like this again.[68]

As far as Richard Weaver is concerned, the fears for his job proved groundless. In fact, just three months after the book was published he was promoted from instructor to assistant professor and issued a three-year contract, the first multi-year contract he had received in 12 years of teaching. And despite some incidents of petty harassment and the evident disdain of certain colleagues, he went on to enjoy a conventionally successful academic career at Chicago. More important, *Ideas Have Consequences* established Weaver as a leader in the fledgling conservative movement, a status he held until his death in 1963.

Finally, it must be noted that Couch's pessimistic conclusion was perhaps a bit premature. Although not an

immediate bestseller, orders for copies of the second printing continued at a respectable rate through the end of 1958, when stocks were at last exhausted and the book was declared out of print.[69] But demand for the book continued, and within a matter of months the Press decided to reissue it in paperback under its Phoenix imprint. The new edition was duly published in late 1959 or early 1960,[70] and by August 1960 more than 3,000 copies had been sold.[71] And *Ideas Have Consequences* has remained in print continuously ever since.

## Endnotes

1. Undated and unsigned typescript sheet headed "Richard M. Weaver IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES." Located in Box 483, File 6, of the University of Chicago Press Records in the Special Collections of the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago and quoted by permission.

2. University of Chicago Press advertisement, *Publishers' Weekly* (January 17, 1948), 206-07.

3. Form letter from W. T. Couch dated January 22, 1948. Located in Box 483, File 5 of the University of Chicago Press Records and quoted by permission.

4. University of Chicago Press advertisement, *Publishers' Weekly* (February 21, 1948), 1036.

5. Letter from Donald B. Barnes to Jocelyn Kahn dated March 19, 1948. Located in Box 483, File 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records and quoted by permission.

6. See, *e.g., The Saturday Review of Literature* (March 6, 1948), 7, and (March 20, 1948), 3.

7. Letter from Richard Weaver to Robert Heilman dated July 2, 1948. Located in the Robert Heilman Papers in the Manuscripts and University Archives Division of the University of Washington Libraries and quoted by permission.

8. Letter from Richard Weaver to Cleanth Brooks dated January 28, 1948. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

9. Letter from Richard Weaver to Cleanth Brooks dated May 31, 1948. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

10. The details of Dick and Carrye's relationship are confirmed by correspondence and other documents acquired from Weaver's sister, Polly Weaver

Beaton, and now in the author's possession. See also the entry on them in Pearl M. Weaver, *The Tribe of Jacob* (Asheville: Miller Printing, 1962), 112. Additional confirmation was provided by William Embry, Jr., in a telephone interview conducted by the author on January 4, 1996.

11. From a local newspaper obituary dated December 17, 1915, acquired from Mrs. Polly Weaver Beaton and now in the author's possession.

12. Telephone interview with William Embry, Jr., January 4, 1996.

13. For a brief description of his earliest educational experiences, see Richard M. Weaver, *The Role of Education in Shaping Our Society* (Bryn Mawr: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, undated pamphlet), 10.

14. Interview with Mrs. Dee Amyx conducted in Lexington, Kentucky, on January 23, 1997.

15. From the handwritten "Charter" of the society acquired from Mrs. Polly Weaver Beaton and now in the author's possession. The fullest account of Weaver's activities at the Academy is found in his unpublished 1958 eulogy "William Maury Mitchell," which is included in a comprehensive collection of Weaver's shorter writings forthcoming from Liberty Press in 1999.

16. Interviews with Embry Lee Weaver and Polly Weaver Beaton conducted in Weaverville, North Carolina, on August 11, 1995.

17. The nature and extent of Weaver's participation in the Christian Endeavor Society are indicated by a number of entries (including two speeches and four prayers prepared for oral presentation at meetings) in a notebook of his from that period acquired from Mrs. Polly Weaver Beaton and now in the author's possession. For extensive excerpts from that notebook, see Fred Douglas Young, *Richard M. Weaver 1910–1963: A Life of the Mind* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995), 18–20.

18. See "Richard Weaver Is Winner in Contest," *Kentucky Kernel* (May 24, 1929), 8; "Richard Weaver Wins Peace Prize," *Lexington Leader* (May 24, 1929); and Richard M. Weaver, "Kentucky," in "A Panorama of Peace: A Symposium," *The Intercollegian* 47 (December 1929), 72.

19. For a detailed discussion of the Liberal Club and Weaver's early political views, see Clifford Amyx, "Weaver the Liberal," *Modern Age* 31 (Spring 1987), 101–06. See also the file of newspaper clippings on the Liberal Club in the Archives of the University of Kentucky.

20. Richard M. Weaver, "Up from Liberalism," *Modern Age* 3 (Winter 1958-59), 22.

21. An examination of Weaver's transcripts from Kentucky and Vanderbilt shows that only one course from his year of work at Kentucky was accepted as transfer credit for his master's degree at Vanderbilt.

22. Weaver, "Up from Liberalism," 23.

23. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated August 23, 1936, from a copy in the author's possession. The discussion of Weaver's activities in the period 1936–40 is based primarily on his correspondence with his close friends John and Esther Randolph, with whom he shared an apartment during his last year at Vanderbilt.

24. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated August 12, 1939. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

25. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated January 26, 1939. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

26. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated January 20, 1942. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

27. Weaver, "Up from Liberalism," 24.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Richard M. Weaver, Application for Fellowship to the Graduate School of The Louisiana State University, undated, p. 3. Located in the Richard M. Weaver file in the Department of English Records, RG# A0607, Louisiana State University Archives, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and quoted by permission.

30. Richard M. Weaver, *The Southern Tradition at Bay,* ed. George Core and M.E. Bradford (Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1989 [1968]), 31–95.

31. *Ibid.*, 31.

32. *Ibid.,* 61–62.

33. *Ibid.*, 63.

34. *Ibid.*, 82–83.

35. *Ibid.*, 82.

36. *Ibid.*, 373–74.

37. *Ibid.*, 375, emphasis in original.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Richard M. Weaver, "The Older Religiousness in the South," *The Sewanee Review* 51 (April 1943), 237–49; "Albert Taylor Bledsoe," *The Sewanee Review* 52 (Winter 1944), 34–45; "The South and the Revolution of Nihilism," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 43 (April 1944), 194–98; and "Southern Chivalry and Total War," *The Sewanee Review* 53 (Spring 1945), 159–70. All of these have been reprinted in *The Southern Essays of Richard M. Weaver,* ed. George M. Curtis III and James J. Thompson, Jr. (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1987). At least one essay, "The Anatomy of Southern Failure," was submitted to *The Sewanee Review* in 1944 but rejected. An edited version of this essay will appear in the comprehensive collection of Weaver's shorter writings forthcoming from Liberty Press in 1999.

40. For a description of Weaver's meeting with Couch, see his letter to Cleanth Brooks dated July 9, 1945, in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

41. Weaver to Randolph, January 20, 1942, quoted by permission.

42. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated December 27, 1942. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

43. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated January 16, 1945. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

44. Letter from Richard Weaver to John Randolph dated August 24, 1945. Quoted by permission of Mrs. Esther Randolph.

45. See the letter from Richard Weaver to Arlin Turner dated July 3, 1946, located in the Richard Weaver file in the Arlin Turner Papers (2nd 84:A) in the Special Collections Library at Duke University.

46. According to Louis H. T. Dehmlow in an interview with the author conducted in Wilmette, Illinois, on November 1, 1992, the envelope containing the returned manuscript lay unopened in a corner of Weaver's office until after his death, when it was discovered by Dehmlow. It was eventually published in 1968 as *The Southern Tradition at Bay.*

47. Weaver, "Up from Liberalism," 30.

48. Weaver to Brooks, May 31, 1948.

49. Weaver to Turner, July 3, 1946, quoted by permission.

50. It would be more accurate (and charitable) to label McKeon's perspective "skeptical pluralism." For a detailed explication and application of this approach, see Ted J. Smith III, "Diversity and Order in Communication Theory: The Uses of Philosophical Analysis," *Communication Quarterly* 36 (1988), 28–40.

51. Weaver to Turner, July 3, 1946, quoted by permission.

52. See, *e.g.,* Weaver's letter to Cleanth Brooks dated April 25, 1946. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

53. The account that follows is based on interviews with Duhamel conducted in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 17 and November 11, 1994.

54. See the eight-page typescript headed "Weaver, Richard M." and date-stamped July 31, 1946, located in Box 483, Folder 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

55. See the Letter from Richard Weaver to William Couch dated October 26, 1946. Located in Box 483, Folder 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

56. Letter from Richard Weaver to Cleanth Brooks dated January 13, 1947. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Letter from Richard Weaver to Cleanth Brooks dated May 1, 1947. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

59. Letter from Richard Weaver to Cleanth Brooks dated May 24, 1947. Located in Box 15, Folder 320, of the Cleanth Brooks Papers.

60. As noted by Joseph Scotchie, *Barbarians in the Saddle* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997), 58, the exact wording of this title has been the subject of some controversy. The wording used here is confirmed by a signed copy of the original contract acquired from Mrs. Polly Weaver Beaton and now in the author's possession. An unsigned copy of the contract can be found in Box 483, Folder 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

61. The discussion that follows is based on various documents located in Box 483, Folders 5 and 6, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

62. Letter from Philip Wylie to Elizabeth L. Titus dated April 16, 1948. Located in Box 483, Folder 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records and quoted by permission.

63. Memorandum from FW (Fred Wieck) to DB and EW dated October 10, 1947. Located in Box 483, Folder 6, of the University of Chicago Press Records and quoted by permission.

64. Letter from Richard Weaver to William Couch dated October 26, 1947. Located in Folder 27 of the William T. Couch Papers in the Southern Historical Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and quoted by permission.

65. Weaver to Heilman, July 2, 1948, quoted by permission.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Letter from Ethel Kellstrom to Richard Weaver dated August 26, 1949. Located in Box 483, Folder 5, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

68. Letter from William Couch to Selma Fuller dated July 13, 1948. Located in Folder 29 of the William T. Couch Papers and quoted by permission.

69. Although the book was technically out of print, as late as June 1959 the Press still had a number of slightly damaged copies which it was selling at a discount of 40%. See, *e.g.,* the letter from Jo Anne Schlag to Stephen Miles dated June 10, 1959, and located in Box 483, Folder 9, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

70. The uncertainty about the publication date stems from the fact that the Phoenix reprint carries no unambiguous year of publication. Weaver's "Foreword" is marked "September 1959," and that is the date which appears in standard catalogue entries, including the Library of Congress. However, a number of items of Weaver's correspondence strongly suggest that the book was not issued until February or March of 1960. See, *e.g.,* the memorandum from William Wood to Richard Weaver dated March 16, 1960, located in Box 483, Folder 9, of the University of Chicago Press Records.

71. See the letter from William Wood to Richard Weaver dated August 22, 1960, located in Box 483, Folder 9, of the University of Chicago Press Records.