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FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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From Week to Week

Amongst the commonisms which are common in the Age of the Common Man, the active dislike evoked by the actions of someone who is not common is amongst the less alluring. Palmam qui meruit ferat is only tolerable if the common man, all of whom are equal, but as George Orwell said some of whom are more equal that others, feels that the ascription of the palm is primarily a demonstration that he is now the fountain of Honours.

The Tablet is not common; and the fact that in a leading article in its issue of July 2 it comments at length on the interesting and potentially important incidents in connection with the defeat of the Essex County Council, without mentioning the two persons who have organised the victory of the Lindsell parents, the Reverend Henry Swabey and his wife Mrs. Anne Swabey, must be ascribed to policy rather than lack of grace.

Mr. Swabey is Anglican Vicar of Lindsell, but in addition, he is at least sympathetically, a Social Crediter, and we suspect that it is the latter attribute which renders him persona non grata. It is beyond doubt that a part at least of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is actively anti-Social Credit, unlike the many friends we possess amongst the priesthood. With its help, or even its benevolent neutrality, the quite remarkable Social Credit Movement would have swept Quebec Province before now; its fundamental vitality there, as well as its technical soundness, exceed that of Alberta in the days of Aberhart. And (while we feel ourselves on less sure ground here) there are certain aspects both of the Australian and New Zealand situations which are not dissimilar.

Apparently, the Church of Rome, or part of it, is the only considerable Power which is fighting Communism. But it is not, as Father Levesque recommended, opposing it with Social Credit; even as a technical device; and we find its attitude perhaps unnecessarily detached. We do not expect Social Crediters to allow this unfortunate situation to cramp their style.

OUR ARTISTIC UNDERSTATERS

"True the C.C.F. (Canadian Socialists) is still but a small cloud in the political sky."—"Scrutator" in *The Sunday Times*, July 3.

Prior to the General Election of June 27 the C.C.F. held 28 Federal seats at Ottawa. They now hold 12. The significant factor is that in Saskatchewan, where the Provincial Government is in power with a small C.C.F. majority and has faithfully embodied the latest London School of Economics policies, the Federal C.C.F. M.P.s have been completely wiped out.

"Here we recognise the old game, Satan's everlasting tactics. From the first temptation in Eden until now he

has used the self-same artifice; make a man believe that he is not responsible, that there is no Judge, that the Law is doubtful, that nobody will know, and that, moreover, once the deed is done, he will be God himself, and therefore in the position of master, and able to fix good and evil as he likes."

In Mr. Denis de Rougement's weighty little book, Talk of the Devil, from which the foregoing quotation is taken, he seems to identify (the word is not adequate) the Devil with what the modern psychologists term the collective unconscious—that mysterious aspect of the race which was dealt with empirically by Gustave le Bon in Psychologie de Socialisme and Psychologie des Peuples. Kierkegaard had much the same idea.

There is strong ground on which to believe that the idea is at least partially justifiable. Whether the collective unconscious (or parts of it) can operate without conscious direction somewhere is not clear. That is what the people who ridicule the "plot" theory (who are generally the same people who advocate World Planning) wish us to believe. But it is certain that the masses who are manœuvred into collective catastrophe (it was the herd of swine who were possessed, and ran violently down a steep place into the sea, remember) are not conscious of the import of their actions as individuals. We do not believe that one per cent. of the people who support socialism and communism—they are fundamentally identical, the politics of the collective unconscious—have any real picture of what they are supporting, any more than it can be supposed that the swine visualised individual suicide. "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

"In spite of all mishaps, the work in connection with the Thames Tunnel is being proceeded with. Not only the Company, but the nation itself seems to have made it a point of honour. You know what that means. An Englishman would rather become bankrupt, than allow himself to be disgraced. The whole nation acts in the same spirit . . ."
—Goethe's Letters to Zelter 1828.

You can still see the place where they lived marked on the map.

It might be thought that a review representing the policy of the Social Credit Secretariat, a movement which makes no bones about its competency to criticise Finance and all its works, and might with justice claim to represent the only "unorthodox" Financial theory which has ever elected a Government, would find much financial comment to its hand at the present time. A domestic situation which is said (is it not said by the "B".B.C. whose Vice-Chairman is Mrs. Isaacs, Dowager Marchioness of Reading, and who more knowledgeable?) to turn on "the dollar shortage" and contemplates making dollars dearer by "devaluation" so that it takes more pounds to buy dollars, more pounds to pay

for dollar imports, and still more exports to pay for still more imports of raw materials to make more exports, might be compared to the conjunction of a young and prize foxterrier introduced to a closed barn full of rats. But in fact it is not so. There are too many rats; in fact, there are more rats than barn.

Twenty years ago, it was impossible to do more useful work than to attack and expose the financial system provided that you understood it. But there is now no financial system, and the sooner the small portion of the world whose opinion is of any consequence becomes aware of that fact, the less energy they will waste. We do not believe that there is any substitute for a financial system, and the business of men of good will is to restore a constitutional framework in which a financial system can be built up. A number of whited sepulchres of which "Fair shares" or beggar-my-neighbour, "Full employment" (jobs for the boys) and "The Workers" or Monopoly for all will require early detonation.

PARLIAMENT

House of Commons: June 27, 1949.

Finance Bill

Considered in Committee,

Mr. Assheton (City of London): I beg to move, in page 16, line 33, at the end, to insert:

"and where the property in respect of which estate duty is chargeable passes to persons who, save for section twenty-three of this Act, would have been liable to legacy duty or succession duty at the rate of two per cent., then on that proportion of the property passing and for the benefit of those persons there shall, without prejudice to the reduced rate applicable to agricultural values, be a further reduction of five per cent. in each of the rates."

I understand that it would be agreeable to you, Major Milner, and I hope that it would be agreeable to the Committee, if the discussion on the main proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to Death Duties were to take place on this Amendment.

The Chairman (Major Milner): Certainly.

Mr. Assheton: I should like to try to warn the public that everyone who has made a will ought to have a look at it, because the new proposals made by the Chancellor are most likely to have an important effect upon it. You, Sir, as a member of the legal profession, will be fully apprised of that fact, but there may be many people who do not understand what a considerable revolution has been made in the Death Duty system by these proposals. I hope that they will all take occasion to look at the wills which they have made.

The proposals of the Chancellor which are embodied in this Clause have three main effects. First, they end the present differentiation in favour of near relatives of the testator. Secondly, they greatly increase the amount payable, especially in the middle range of estates. Thirdly, they increase the duty on agricultural land more steeply in relation to its present level than they increase the duty on any other class of property. That is the point which we have already discussed on the last Amendment, and naturally I shall not carry it any further on this occasion.

I suggest to the Committee that all these three moves which the Chancellor has made are really undesirable moves. He has put forward the proposal to abolish Legacy and

Succession Duty and to concentrate all Death Duties on Estate Duty in the interests of simplification, and I am sure that all of us are always glad to look with sympathy on any proposal which simplifies the law relating either to Income Tax or Death Duties. But there are occasions when simplification is bound to lead to what many people will think are injustices or undesirable consequences, and I think this is one of them. At the present time, in addition to Estate Duty, when estates pass there is charged a duty of 2 per cent. if the property is left to the widow and children, 10 per cent. if it is left to nephews and nieces, and 20 per cent. if it is left to a stranger; that is in addition to the substantial rate of Estate Duty which already runs up to 75 per cent.

Under the new proposals, the widow and children, the nephews and nieces and the stranger are all to pay the same rate of duty, and we on this side of the Committee think it is a very undesirable proposal, because we think that the present advantages which are conceded to the near relatives, for whom a testator is always most anxious to provide, were not only reasonable but human, civilised and very desirable in the interests of the family, and I believe hon. Members opposite, as well as those on this side, will think it important to consider carefully the interests of the family. There was a very interesting letter in *The Times* recently emanating from the Reform Club, though not from a member of my party, but from a distinguished ex-civil servant, as a matter of fact, in which he made this statement, which puts the whole case so well:

"To provide for the needs of widow and children is an elementary social duty. The above comparison shows with what unnatural and unsocial force the new scale may operate and how great is the additional inroad made on the resources available for the immediate family of the testator. . . It is difficult to follow the argument for a scale which leads to such results—in some cases to substantial reductions in the aggregate rate of tax applying to estates passing to outside beneficiaries, and, on the other hand, to swinging increases in the case of estates passing to wife, husband or children."

Then he gives a table of figures to illustrate his point, and it really is very remarkable, because, on studying it more closely, I find that, in all ranges of estates up to £67,000, a stranger will obtain a substantial remission of duty under these new proposals, whereas the family man will find his estate taxed much more heavily.

If, for instance, we take an estate of £25,000 at the present moment, if it is left to the widow, the duty is just over 15 per cent., whereas if it goes to an outside relative or a stranger it is 31 per cent. Under the proposed uniform scale, there is an increase of 14 per cent, and it rises, in the case of an estate of £100,000, to an increase of 38 per cent. These are what the Chancellor has described as a "moderate lift," but I do not think he can have studied the table quite as closely at that stage as I hope he has been able to do since. Whatever those figures indicate, they are not a "moderate lift," but a very substantial increase indeed.

I should like to make one or two general observations on the subject of Death Duties. We see in the newspapers that a man has left £50,000 or £100,000, and, no doubt, to the ordinary reader, that immediately conjures up the idea of a large bank balance which is to be freely available for spending by some fortunate heir, who may or may not be related in blood to the deceased. Of what does that estate consist? First of all, it very likely consists of a man's own house, all the furniture in it, the tables, chairs,

the pictures on the walls, his mother's picture and his father's picture, the silver on his table if he is lucky to have any, his motor car, all the clothes he possesses, and so on.

What else does it include? If he has a business, it includes his factory and all its machinery, tools, motor-cars and all the various articles of which he had to be the proprietor in order to run that particular business. Or, if he was a farmer, it includes his cows, sheep and pigs and so on. When it comes to operating the Death Duties, the Inland Revenue says "We want cash." They are not prepared to take 10 cows, the dining room table or the old motor-car; what they say is "We want cash." When we are looking at a proposition of this sort where people are subject to Estate Duty, we must realise that all these effects will have to be turned into cash before the duty can be paid.

How is the cash found? In some cases, it may be that the man was sufficiently wealthy to have a considerable amount in gilt-edged securities with which to meet such a charge, but that is by no means the ordinary case or the inevitable practice. Most people who have small businesses and some who have large ones have not got the large resources in cash from which they can face a demand of this sort, so what do they do? Some men try to prepare for the occasion in advance by selling their assets or by not extending their businesses.

I heard a story from an hon. Member here which was a personal experience, and I was interested to learn that he was a Scotsman. It concerned a man who himself owned two factories both employing between 500 and 1,000 men, and he was in course of preparing plans to build a When he heard of a substantial increase in third factory. Death Duties, he asked his accountants what it would mean to him. They told him that it would mean so many thousands of pounds, and he said, "But I have not got £30,000" (or whatever the sum was). The accountants said, "No, but your executors will have to find it when the time comes." He then said, "If that is the case, we cannot go on with the plans for the new factory, and the extension of the present factory must be stopped, because we must accumulate money with which to pay these duties when I die, because, otherwise, the business will be in difficulties. What will happen then? What will my son be faced with? Will he be faced with the prospect of closing down the factory, selling the machinery and so on?"

I think hon. Members opposite frequently consider these matters from the angle of the big industrial company which has a large number of shares on the market—shares which, when a man dies, have to be sold and can normally be sold on the market, though, I understand that conditions in that respect today are very difficult. In the case of a small business or a landed estate or big farm, that is not the case. It is not capitalised in that way, and we do not have a large number of people owning marketable shares which will enable the money to be found fairly quickly. The fact therefore is that these duties are a great deal more related to the ordinary life of the people than perhaps some hon. Members have been inclined to concede. They may affect very closely very humble people indeed.

Of course, there are a great many classical objections to Death Duties into which I will not go into detail now. In the first place, the most obvious one is that the country is living on capital, because we are spending, or did spend

last year, £172 million of capital by way of income; that is to say, estates valued at £172 million were being put into the hands of the Exchequer and the Chancellor was spending that £172 million as annual revenue. I know it can be argued that the people who bought that property bought it out of savings, and that, therefore, there has been no destruction of capital. But, of course, that is a false argument, because the £172 million would have been there to establish new capital had it not been used in that particular way. That being so, the community is undoubtedly living on its capital in so far as it uses Death Duties to finance its current expenditure. I do not think that can be controverted.

Then, of course, it is quite clear that it has a distinct disincentive effect on saving, and that, I think, has been more apparent in recent years than ever before. We have a situation in which capital is now being spent which, but for excessive Death Duties, might not be spent. The Committee ought not to forget the very grave hardship on the breadwinner. Take a man who has built up his own business and established a substantial position. He might, perhaps, be earning what would be considered a good income and have struggled to put aside out of that income a certain amount of money to provide for his widow and children. We know how difficult it is to put aside money at the present time owing to the very high rate of taxation, and that the tax on a big income is so high that it is difficult to save anything at all. The highest kind of income which an individual can now receive does not conduce to very substantial saving.

Take such a man who has succeeded in the course of his life in making some substantial savings, and who then dies. Perhaps he dies sooner than he expected—he may die in the prime of life—but at the very moment when the breadwinner is removed and is no longer able to provide money with which to support his wife and children, the State comes down on his dependants for this money. These rates of Death Duties go up to extraordinarily steep levels. In some cases they are as high as 80 per cent., and even on an estate of £100,000 they are 50 per cent. That does not seem to me a very sensible way of going on. To begin with, we are using the capital resources as income, and, secondly, we are imposing a very heavy burden on a family just at the moment when its members are probably least able to bear it.

I shall not take the opportunity now of deploying many of the other arguments that exist. There are a great many detailed arguments dealing with the question of aggregation which cause special hardship in relation to Death Duties, but in view of the arrangement we made with the Treasury Bench the other night I should like to put off the development of these particular arguments until some future occasion. The particular Amendment on which I have hung the observations I have made proposes, in some degree, to remedy the blow which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has struck by removing the differentiation in favour of the We have inserted a proviso in the Amendment to the effect that, in the case of property left to a widow or a child, there shall be a further reduction of 5 per cent. I think that is a very moderate and reasonable proposal, and I hope that the Government will concede it.

The Solicitor-General (Sir Frank Soskice): The right hon. Gentleman the junior Member for the City of London

(continued on page 7.)

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The Dillon Lectures

To date, the above work, the availability of which we asked readers to test, has been reported to be listed in the (pre-war) catalogue of the British Museum, and in no other library of standing in London. It is reported to be not listed in the catalogue of the London Library, St. James's Square, and does not appear in the catalogue of Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, which houses, inter alia, the very considerable bequest of George H. Lewes's religious and philosophical books. It is reported that the book does not appear in the combined catalogue of the Public Reference Libraries of the Southern Region. Copies are said to "come in from time to time" at London second-hand booksellers' establishments. The Library of the House of Commons, and some of those of London clubs and learned institutions, as well as libraries in Dublin and in Scotland should possess copies. The promptitude with which the reply that it was "not in stock" has met inquiry in some cases suggests that the work has been asked for recently.

Jargonland

A subscriber asks us to reproduce the cartoon by "Low" repeated by *The Manchester Guardian* of July 7 "By arrangement with the *Evening Standard*."

Most of our readers will have little difficulty in imagining the seven little pictures which compose it, although we should agree with "Low" if he demurred from the suggestion that their imaginings would at all closely resemble his, if committed to paper in neat arrangements of black line. It was "Low" who illustrated some quite early tilts against the bankers, and what strikes us as odd is the echo of Lady Rhondda's mot, "Always admit freely what is already known," induced by the belated interest of The Manchester Guardian.

"Tut, Tut!" says "Low." "Here we are in another crisis, with all the economists talking double-gab again." And, in quick and lively succession, we have "A convertible credit stamping around on a gold ceiling," "Overvalued currencies joy-riding in their price mechanism," "A long-term bilateral barter bogged in soft-currency country," "A recurrent fluctuation restoring its fundamental equilibrium," "A well-articulated structure displaying a multilateral settlement," "An unstable ratio balancing on a marginal efficiency" (with bottle in hand), and "A flexible incentive chased by a galloping deficit."

"A poor little relatively-Low productivity regarding high costs" completes the ironical octave.

We have for some time been impressed with the multiplying instances in which, when an Englishman has indulged his propensity for 'laughing it off,' he has, in fact, done all he is going to do about it. He has, indeed, laughed it 'off,' and laughed himself under. In that current subtlety which

George Orwell has dubbed "doublethink" he has "had it." Now that "Low" and the newspaper which thinks to-day what London thinks to-morrow, doublethinking together, have laughed in Jargonland, Jargonland has "had it" and has had all that's "coming to it." We don't accept this as a correct, a 'right' expression of what is happening in England to-day. It is only what is happening on the surface. We might almost say on the scum, which is susceptible of the phenomenon of shadow. No shadow is visible on clean water, and we still believe that, under the surface, under the scum, there is pure water in England.—T.J.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jnr.

"The most powerful Jews on earth, including Joseph Davies, Henry Morgenthau and Bernard Baruch have settled on Franklin D. Roosevelt as their choice for President in 1952. Millions of dollars are being made available to this propaganda campaign. The international Jewish financiers hope to perpetrate a depression and then offer F.D.R. Jnr. as the cure, while mobilizing the nation's most radical votes under Jewish leadership. The fact that young Roosevelt flew to Palestine within one week after being elected to Congress from a Jewish district in New York proves beyond doubt that he is playing the Jew game open and above board in the brazen conviction that this is the route to the White House."—Exclusive News, Washington, D.C.

Yet-

"There is nothing in democracy which obliges a community to sit quietly while arrangements are made to cut its throat."—W. J. Brown, M.P.

A Line Seen in Passing

"Observing, so to say, the sow that was washed return to wallowing in the mud with a grunt of amusement that its ears could not be made into silk purses. . . . "

Food Surpluses Again

We have not seen so fully in an English newspaper the New York Telegram of May 9 published (agency not stated) in The New Zealand Herald for May 11 as follows:—

The United States faces the truly amazing prospect of another bumper harvest. The wheat crop is expected to reach 1020 million bushels—the second largest in the country's history.

Nature's bounty, however, presents problems to a Government committed to buy surpluses at 90 per cent. of parity price, and supports may cost the taxpayer 3400 million dollars by March, 1950.

Storage crops, which the Government is legally obliged to purchase, are a major problem. Bins are already bursting, yet farmers, assured of profitable returns, continue to plan maximum acreage.

Within the next 12 months the Government must make a hard decision on whether it will compulsorily limit the amounts of corn and cotton it is prepared to buy.

Surplus hogs and potatoes present an even more urgent problem. Both are perishable, and the Government is taking heavy losses. Some critics of the Government programme believe that its continuance may be more than the taxpayer can possibly stand.

The Little Tiger of the Revolution

Among the documents reproduced by Dillon*, from whose Lectures extracts have been appearing in *The Social Crediter*, are the permanent instruction of the *Alta Vendita*, the highest lodge of the Italian Carbonari, a direction chiefly against the Papacy and the Church; a letter addressed to the Piedmontese lodges of the Carbonari by *Piccolo Tigre* (Little Tiger); and the text of an Address to the people of Egypt by Napoleon, who was, according to Father Deschamps, a member of the lodge of the Templars, "the extreme Illuminated lodge of Lyons." Mirabeau, Louis Blanc, Alexander Dumas (*Memoires de Garibaldi*) (vide infra for a useful comment upon G. M. Trevelyan in *The Tablet* for May 28†) and Count Haugwitz, Minister of the King of Prussia, are cited in the text and in notes.

Concerning the personalities involved in the line of action in Italy following the distribution of the Permanent Instruction, Dr. Dillon states, in introducing the letter of Piccolo Tigre, "I may here mention that the custom of taking these fanciful appellations has been common to the secret societies from the very beginning. Arouet became Voltaire, the notorious Baron Kuigg was called Philo, Baron Dittfort was called Minos, and so of the principal chiefs of the dark Atheistic conspiracy then and since. The first leader or grand chief of the Alta Vendita was a corrupt Italian nobleman who took the name of Nubius [whom Lord Palmerston is alleged to have succeeded—Editor, T.S.C.]. From such documents as he, before his death, managed, in revenge for being sacrificed by the party of Mazzini, as we shall see, to have communicated to the authorities of Rome; or which were found by the vigilance of the Roman detective police; we find that his funds, and the funds for carrying on the deep and dark conspiracy in which he and his confederates were engaged, came chiefly from rich German Jews. [Cp. The Issue, T.S.C. April 8, 1944: "We are satisfied that we know the genealogy of this trend, which is traceable . . . to the conception of the great German General Staff, as organised from the days of Frederick the Great of

*The War of Antichrist with The Church and Christian Civilization, etc., Lectures Delivered in Edinburgh in October, 1884, by Monsignor George F. Dillon, D.D.

†" . . . He has himself mellowed with the years, and in his lecture on 'Bias in History,' in 1947, he described his three volumes on Garibaldi as 'reeking with bias':—

""Without bias I should never have written them at all, for I was moved to write them by poetical sympathy with the passions of the Italian patriots of that period, which I retrospectively shared. Such merit as the work has largely derives from that, and some of its demerits also derive from the same cause. Even I can now see that I was not quite fair to the French, or to the Papalist, or to the Italian Conservative points of view in 1849. If I had to write the first volume of that trilogy again, I should alter this somewhat, though not enough to satisfy everyone."

"But it was just that particular bias that so commended and helped the book, so that, years before its author became Regius Professor at Cambridge, his three volumes on Garibaldi were recommended to all history scholarship candidates by the Trinity authorities. When he went collecting recollections in Italy from the survivors of Garibaldi's day, he noted after a time, how often, as a matter of course, they proffered him the masonic handshake, and were surprised when he did not take it. The great nephew of Macaulay, and the son-in-law of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, he was born a Victorian Liberal and a Progressive. His dissertation for a Trinity fellowship was England in the Age of Wycliffe, because then reforming tendencies could first be traced. . . "—"The Fortunate Scholar," The Tablet, p. 354, May 28, 1949.

Prussia. We propose in the near future to explain the connection of all movements towards monopoly to a source operating through Germany, if not original to Germany."— These words forecast the later publication of *The Brief for the Prosecution* by Major C. H. Douglas.—Editor, *T.S.C.*] Jews, in fact, from the commencement, played always a prominent part in the conspiracies of Atheism. They do so still. *Piccolo Tigre*, who seems to have been the most active agent of *Nubius*, was a Jew. He travelled under the appearance of an itinerant banker and jeweller. . . . Of course he had the protection of the Masonic body everywhere . . . "

The following is

THE LETTER OF PICCOLO TIGRE: -

"In the impossibility in which our brothers and friends find themselves, to say, as yet, their last word, it has been judged good and useful to propagate the light everywhere, and to set in motion all that which aspires to move. For this reason we do not cease to recommend to you, to affiliate persons of every class to every manner of association, no matter of what kind, only provided that mystery and secrecy should be the dominant characteristics. All Italy is covered with religious confraternities, and with penitents of divers colours. Do not fear to slip in some of your people into the very midst of these flocks, led as they are by a stupid devotion. Let our agents study with care the personnel of these confraternity men, and they will see that little by little, they will not be wanting in a harvest. Under a pretext the most futile, but never political or religious, create by yourselves, or, better yet, cause to be created by others, associations, having commerce, industry, music, the fine arts, etc., for object Reunite in one place or another,—in the sacristies or chapels even, these tribes of yours as yet ignorant: put them under the pastoral staff of some virtuous priest, well known, but credulous and easy to be deceived. Then infiltrate the poison into those chosen hearts; infiltrate it in little doses, and, as if by chance. Afterwards upon reflection, you will yourselves be astonished at your success.

"The essential thing is to isolate a man from his family, to cause him to lose his morals. He is sufficiently disposed by the bent of his character to flee from household cares, and to run after easy pleasures and forbidden joys. He loves the long conversations of the $caf\acute{e}$ and the idleness of shows. Lead him along, sustain him, give him an importance of some kind or other; discreetly teach him to grow weary of his daily labours, and by this management, after having separated him from his wife and from his children, and after

^{*}Mazzini, after exhorting his followers to attract as many of the higher classes as possible to the secret plotting, which has resulted in united Italy, and is meant to result in republican Italy as a prelude to republican Europe, says, "Associate, associate. All is contained in that word. The secret societies can give an irresistible force to the party who are able to invoke them. Do not fear to see them divided. The more they are divided the better it will be. All of them advance to the same end by different paths. The secret will be often unveiled. So much the better. The secret is necessary to give security to members, but a certain transparency is necessary to strike fear into those wishing to remain stationary. When a great number of associates who receive the word of command to scatter an idea abroad and make it public opinion, can concert even for a moment they will find the old edifice pierced in all its parts, and falling, as if by a miracle, at the least breath of progress. They will themselves be astonished to see kings, lords, men of capital, priests, and all those who form the carcass of the old social edifice, fly before the sole power of public opinion. Courage, then, and perseverance."

having shown him how painful are all his duties, you will then excite in him the desire of another existence. Man is a born rebel. Stir up the desire of rebellion until it becomes a conflagration, but in such a manner that the conflagration may not break out. This is a preparation for the grand work that you should commence. When you shall have insinuated into a few souls disgust for family and for religion (the one nearly always follows in the wake of the other), let fall some words from you, which will provoke the desire of being affiliated to the nearest lodge. That vanity of the citizen or the burgess, to be enfeodated to Freemasonry, is something so common and so universal that it always makes me wonder at human stupidity. I begin to be astonished at not seeing the entire world knock at the gates of all the Venerables, and demand from these gentlemen the honour to be one of the workmen chosen for the reconstruction of the temple of Solomon. The prestige of the unknown exercises upon men a certain kind of power, that they prepare themselves with trembling for the phantasmagoric trials of the initiation and of the fraternal banquet.

"To find oneself a member of a lodge, to feel oneself called upon to guard from wife and children, a secret which is never confided to you, is for certain natures a pleasure and an ambition. The lodges, to-day, can well create gourmands, they will never bring forth citizens. There is too much dining amongst the right worshipful and right reverend brethren of all the Ancients. But they form a place of depot, a kind of stud (breeding ground), a centre through which it is necessary to pass before coming to us. The lodges form but a relative evil, an evil tempered by a false philanthropy, and by songs yet more false as in France. All that is too pastoral and too gastronomic; but it is an object which it is necessary to encourage without ceasing. In teaching a man to raise his glass to his lips you become possessed of his intelligence and of his liberty, you dispose of him, turn him round about, and study him. You divine his inclinations, his affections, and his tendencies; then, when he is ripe for us, we direct him to the secret society of which Freemasonry can be no more than the antechamber.

"The Alta Vendita desires, that under one pretence or another, as many princes and wealthy persons as possible should be introduced into the Masonic lodges. Princes of a sovereign house, and those who have not the legitimate hope of being kings by the grace of God, all wish to be kings by the grace of a Revolution. The Duke of Orleans is a Freemason, the Prince of Carignan was one also. There are not wanting in Italy and elsewhere, those amongst them, who aspire to the modest-enough honours of the symbolic apron and trowel. Others of them are disinherited and proscribed. Flatter all of their number who are ambitious of popularity; monopolise them for Fremasonry. The Alta Vendita will afterwards see what it can do to utilise them in the cause of progress. A prince who has not a kingdom to expect, is a good fortune for us. There are many of them in that plight. Make Freemasons of them. The lodge will conduct them to Carbonarism. A day will come, perhaps, when the Alta Vendita will deign to affiliate them. While awaiting they will serve as birdlime for the imbeciles. the intriguing, the bourgeoisie, and the needy. These poor princes will serve our ends, while thinking to labour only. for their own. They form a magnificient sign board, and there are always fools enough to be found, who are ready to compromise themselves in the service of a conspiracy, of

which some prince or other seems to be the ringleader.

"Once that a man, that a prince, that a prince especially, shall have commenced to grow corrupt, be pursuaded that he will hardly rest upon the declivity. There is little morality even amongst the most moral of the world, and one goes fast in the way of that progress. Do not then be dismayed to see the lodges flourish, while Carbonarism recruits itself with difficulty. It is upon the lodges that we count to double our ranks. They form, without knowing it, our preparatory novitiate. They discourse without end upon the dangers of fanaticism, upon the happiness of social equality, and upon the grand principles of religious liberty. They launch amidst their feastings thundering anathemas against intolerance and persecution. This is positively more than we require to make adepts. A man imbued with these fine things is not very far from us. There is nothing more required than to enlist him. The law of social progress is there, and all there. You need not take the trouble to seek it elsewhere. In the present circumstances never lift the mask. Content yourselves to prowl about the Catholic sheepfold, but as good wolves seize in the passage the first lamb who offers himself in the desired conditions. burgess has much of that which is good for us, the prince still more. For all that, these lambs must not be permitted to turn themselves into foxes like the infamous Carignan. The betrayal of the oath is a sentence of death; and all those princes whether they are weak or cowardly, ambitious or repentant, betray us, or denounce us. As good fortune would have it, they know little, in fact not anything, and they cannot come upon the trace of our true mysteries.

"Upon the occasion of my last journey to France, I saw with profound satisfaction, that our young initiated exhibited an extreme ardour for the diffusion of Carbonarism; but I also found that they rather precipitated the movement a little. As I think, they converted their religious hatred too much into a political hatred. The conspiracy against the Roman See, should not confound itself with other pro-We are exposed to see germinate in the bosom of secret societies, ardent ambitions; and the ambitious, once masters of power, may abandon us. The route which we follow is not as yet sufficiently well traced so as to deliver us up to intriguers and tribunes. It is of absolute necessity to de-Catholicise the world. And an ambitious man, having arrived at his end, will guard himself well from seconding The Revolution in the Church is the Revolution en permanence. It is the necessary overthrowing of thrones and dynasties. Now an ambitious man cannot really wish these things. We see higher and farther. Endeavour therefore to act for us, and to strengthen us. Let us not conspire except against Rome. For that, let us serve ourselves with all kinds of incidents; let us put to profit every kind of eventuality. Let us be principally on our guard against the exaggerations of zeal. A good hatred, thoroughly cold, thoroughly calculated, thoroughly profound, is of more worth than all these artificial fires and all these declamations of the platform. At Paris they cannot comprehend this, but in London I have seen men who seized better upon our plan, and who associated themselves to us with more fruit. Considerable offers have been made to me. Presently we shall have a printing establishment at Malta placed at our disposal. We shall then be able with impunity, with a sure stroke, and under the British flag, to scatter from one end of Italy to the other, books, pamphlets, etc., which the Alta Vendita shall judge proper to put in circulation."

PARLIAMENT (continued from page 3.)

(Mr. Assheton) who moved this Amendment and the hon. and gallant Member for Penrith and Cockermouth (Colonel Dower) who supported it really advanced arguments which I thought fell into two separate categories. The one category of argument, namely, that which related to the hardship on the breadwinner whose estate had to pay Death Duties just at a time when it might be most difficult to do so were really arguments against the incidence of Estate Duties at all. Once Estate Duty becomes an institution of this country, none of those particular arguments, as far as I can see, have any especial validity to the change we are now making. Either Estate Duty is wrong or it is right. If it is right that Estate Duty should be charged, then it is no good complaining that a breadwinner who is earning a good income is treated harshly in that at the very moment when his family is left Estate Duty is charged in cash. Those are general arguments and are relevent, perhaps, to the increase as distinct from the form of the duty. My right hon, and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made it clear that he feels that the requirements of the country need a further increment of some £20 million from Death Duties. Those monies are to be collected by an increase in duty on estates in excess of £35,000

The second category of argument related to the way in which the family was affected by this new change. . . .

Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth (Hendon, South): . . . For this reform there is really no great public demand, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman let the cat out of the bag when he said that the real reason for these Clauses is that the Chancellor wants a further £20 million out of estates. It would have been much better if we had been told so at the start.

I suggest that the way in which it is being done is entirely absurd. If the real intention is to raise a further £20 million, it is a most extraordinary way to set about it to give a very substantial measure of relief in a large number of cases, because that is what is being done here. So far from remoter relatives paying a higher amount in Estate Duty, the result will be that they will pay a lower rate. That simply means that to obtain this £20 million additional revenue, the Chancellor has had to make an even greater increase on the Estate Duty in favour of wives and children and nearer relatives. If we could argue this on the straightforward basis of Estate Duty the matter would be different, but it seems to me wholly wrong that we should relieve the remoter relatives and throw a heavier burden on the nearer relatives—that a man should pay less when he leaves his fortune to his mistress and more when he leaves it to his wife, that he should pay less when he leaves his fortune to his illegitimate children, and more when he leaves his fortune to his own legitimate children. It seems to me to be wholly contrary to what is right and proper policy, but it is the general policy which has been pursued since this Government has been in office.

There has been an increasing tendency to make it more difficult for a man to save and endow for his own family, while at the same time making it easier for him to alienate his money in favour of strangers. If this policy is pursued it will be found that young people with good prospects will, instead of getting married, go through a form of religious ceremony which is not recognised by the law; they will be able to save, first of all on facence Tax, and secondly on

being able to make endowments in favour of their children while they are alive; and they will now be able to save further, because their so-called wives and their illegitimate children will be able to take advantage of these provisions when they die. This is a wholly wrong policy which I hope the Committee will reject.

Question put, "That those words be there inserted." The Committee divided: Ayes, 113: Noes, 238.

Movement for an Open Ballot

Under the heading "Communists and Secret Ballot," the following appeared in *The Scotsman* for July 6:—

Feadan, Lawers, by Aberfeldy, July 3, 1949.

SIR,—Your correspondent, Mr. T. N. Morris, puts one—for a Sassenach—surprisingly pertinent question when he asks how it is proposed to modify the present ballot-arrangements to ensure that each individual voter pays for his political folly and benefits from his political wisdom.

Put that way, the question is half-answered already: since the present secrecy of the ballot helps the individual to escape from the consequences of his voting action, it should be abolished and supplanted by an open recorded and published vote to reveal to his fellows what kind of an order the elector has issued to his Parliamentary agent.

When the priority of this fundamental step towards fixing of individual responsibility has been conceded, the elaboration of further safeguards becomes a matter of technics. Quite tentatively one might suggest that:—

- (a) Prior to an election each party should put forward an outline of any legislative proposals together with both the cost to the taxpayer and a designation of the interests and specific individuals affected.
- (b) The cost of legislation by the successful party, together with the proved loss to any individual not having voted for the successful party, to be borne solely by those having recorded votes for the successful party, and any reduction of taxation directly attributable to specific legislation to be shared as to 25 per cent. by recorded supporters of the unsuccessful parties, and 75 per cent. by the supporters of the successful party so long as it may remain in power, after which the gains shall be equalised.
- (c) The open recorded vote employed in the House of Commons on the occasion of a division should, conversely,

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—Truth.

THE BRIEF FOR THE PROSECUTION

by C. H. DOUGLAS

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be supplanted by the secret ballot, a reform which would defeat the Whip system organised to produce exactly the result the electoral secret ballot was said to cure and universally admitted to have reduced Parliament to a rather dreary farce

The introduction of the secret ballot in Parliamentary divisions, combined with an open recorded vote in the electorate and the allocation to this electorate of the responsibility, both positive and negative, for the policies for which they vote, would, I suggest, in a surprisingly short time expose to the clear light of day the multiple underground machinations of the pseudo-democratic system under which we pass from degradation to decay.—I am &c.

W. L. RICHARDSON.

The following are from *Pliny's Letters* by Alfred Church and W. J. Broadribb. (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1872):—

"... In the senate, indeed, which still preserved something of its old state, if not of its power, [Pliny] always felt the liveliest interest. He frequently speaks of its proceedings, and expresses no little delight and pride when these really possessed something of the importance which accorded with the nominal dignity of the assembly. More than once he mentions measures which were being taken, either by its own or by the Emperor's action, to increase its efficiency. One of these passages bears so closely on a subject which is just now on the surface in our own political life, that, though it has recently been quoted more than once, we must not omit it. Open voting in the election to offices of state had caused, it seems, in the senate, proceeding so undignified, and even disgraceful, that recourse was had to the ballot. "I fear", says Pliny, "lest, as time goes on, abuses spring up from this very remedy of ours. There is a danger lest, when our votes are silent, a want of honourable feeling come upon us. For how few are equally careful of honour in secret and in public! Many stand in awe of public opinion, few of conscience." (pp. 167, 168).

"... Still more interesting... is the following letter, in which he describes his offer to his townspeople to contribute largely to the establishment of a school for their youth:—

"PLINY TO TACITUS: 'I am glad to hear of your safe arrival at Rome . . . Being lately at my native town, a young lad, son of one of my neighbours, came to pay me a complimentary call. "Do you go to school?" I asked him. "Yes," he replied. "Where?" "At Mediolanum." (Milan) "Why not here?" "Because", said his father, who had come with him, "we have no professors here." "No professors! Why, surely," I replied, "it would be very much to the interest of all you fathers" (and, fortunately, several fathers heard what I said) "to have your sons educated here rather than anywhere else. Where can they live more pleasantly than in their own town? or be bred up more virtuously than under their parents' eyes, or at less expense than at home? What an easy matter it would be, by a general contribution, to hire teachers, and to apply to their salaries the money which you now spend on lodging, journeys, and all you have to purchase for your sons at a distance from home. I have no children myself; I look on my native town in the light of a child or a parent, and I am ready to advance a third part of any sum which you think fit to raise for the purpose. I would even promise the whole amount, were I not afraid that my benefaction might be spoilt by jobbery,

as I see happens in many towns where teachers are engaged at the public expense. There is only one way of meeting this evil. If the choice of professors is left solely to the parents, the obligation to choose rightly will be enforced by the necessity of having to pay towards the professors' salaries. Those who would perhaps be careless in administering another's bounty, will certainly be careful about their own expenses, and will see that none but those who deserve it receive any money, when they must at the same time receive theirs as well. So take counsel together, and be encouraged by my example, and be assured that the greater my proportion of the expense shall be, the better I shall be pleased. You can do nothing more for the good of your children, or more acceptable to your native town. Your sons will thus receive their education in the place of their births, and be accustomed from their infancy to love and to cling to their native soil. . . . "

"There is an inscription at Como in honour of a grammarian named Septicianus, which seems to imply that Pliny's proposal to the townspeople was accepted, and bore fruit." — (pp. 98, 99, 100).

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