

# Progressive Calvinism

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VOLUME II

JANUARY, 1956

NUMBER 1

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## Why We Feel We Should Begin With "Morality"

PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM addresses itself to religious people, especially ministers and educators interested in religion.

The business of such ministers and educators is the promotion (among other things) of ideas of "morality." (*Morality* is a particular viewpoint from which to appraise "human action." Regarding human action, see the December, 1955, issue of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM. The science of human action is praxeology.)

Readers who are ministers and Christian educators will not be primarily interested in the *science* of praxeology (the sciences usually called social sciences), but in the *morality* of praxeology.

Published monthly by Progressive Calvinism League; founders: Frederick Nymeyer, John Van Mouwerik and Martin B. Nymeyer. Responsibility for articles assumed by author only. Annual subscription rate: students, \$1.00; others, \$2.00. Bound copy of 1955 issues: students, \$1.00; others, \$2.00. Send subscriptions to Progressive Calvinism League, 366 East 166th Street, South Holland, Illinois, U. S. A.

If then we would approach the praxeological sciences from the science viewpoint rather than the morality viewpoint, we would lack a good connecting link for arousing the interest of ministers and of Christian educators.

*Morality* is believed by some people to be contrary to the *science* of praxeology. Such people, if they must choose between a presumed Christian morality and praxeological science, choose "morality."

But before choosing, at least two things should be carefully investigated:

1. What *is* morality?
2. What *is* praxeological science?

We can begin by *assuming* a conflict between those two. We can immediately "take sides." You are for morality and we are for science, or vice versa.

But rather than to assume such a conflict, it is preferable to keep an open mind and to get information regarding those two questions — what is morality, and what is praxeology.

What if it should become obvious that there is no conflict between genuinely Christian morality and sound praxeology?

PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM doubts that there is a conflict. If there nevertheless appears to be a conflict, then (1) an erroneous interpretation of Scripture is being used to teach an unsound morality, or (2) a pseudo-science of praxeology is being accepted; or (3) both. This may be a naive idea of a real harmony; but naive or not, we hold it.

From what we know of neo-Calvinism (1) some of its interpretations of Scripture are erroneous, and (2) it accepts a popular praxeology which is not sound praxeology and only popular economic and political mythology. Much of neo-Calvinism has lost its hold on Scripture and it does not know a sound praxeology.

We continue in PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM in our second year primarily with *morality* because it is of especial concern to the kind of religious people whom we are addressing.

## **"The Spirit Of The Lord Moved Him"**

Have you ever heard an agnostic use the term — "the spirit of the Lord moved him" or "came upon him" and mean the words seriously? We have.

That term can be used with a very simple meaning, namely, that you go all the way based on your premises (assumptions). That involves, of course, that you come to be known as an "extremist"; that means that you insist on others being held for the *full* consequences of their ideas; that means that you yourself are willing to go all the way — and take the full consequences — of your own premises. There are not many people of that stripe. There are not many people, in that sense, whom the spirit of the Lord has moved. In fact, in circles where Calvinism has become feeble, (which happens to be generally the case) you are considered to be "unbrotherly" and "unloving" if you are prepared to be thoroughly consistent and logical and uncompromising; or Biblical.

The great prophets of the Old Testament were such extremists, moved by the spirit of the Lord. They were "one idea" men. They were "fanatics." Most "nice" people backed away from them. Why not worship both Jehovah and Baal? Why not compromise in brotherly fashion between two opinions? Why butcher anybody at the brook Kidron at the foot of Mount Carmel?

The spirit of the Lord is often defined to be a brotherly love which consists of compromise. But a lucid and honest — and sounder — agnostic has a harsher definition of the idea, "the spirit of the Lord came upon him," namely, consistency and commensurate courage.

In our youth there was an older businessman from Omaha who (although he had no religion) frequently used a Biblical expression. He talked of going all the way from "Dan to Beersheba." Dan was at the northernmost tip of Palestine and Beersheba was at the southernmost boundary. The expression, therefore, meant belief and action which would go *all* the way.

Those who wish to accompany us in PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM should be "Dan to Beersheba" men. We go all the way, and we are

fully aware that there is some very rough country between Dan and Beersheba. We have not yet come to the "hill country of Ephraim" or other rough terrain.

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## The Alternative Foundations Of Society

Some years ago we toyed with the idea of writing something for which we projected the title: "The Foundation Of Society." Nothing ever came of it; the cares and the turmoil of life and the trifling details of existence consumed our time. But we have never lost interest in the idea.

On what is society founded?

The societies of men have more than one foundation. No human society has ever existed which had some unalloyed single foundation. Societies are predominately organized on one principle or another. We list three distinct foundations for society, namely:

1. Cooperation
2. Coercion
3. Sacrifice

1. If a society is to be *Christian* it must, we believe, be founded primarily on COOPERATION, and not an coercion nor on sacrifice. There can be a controlled alloy of coercion — namely, that coercion which is designed to restrain overt evil. There can also be a modest alloy of sacrifice — that is, charity which may properly account for, say, 10 percent of society. But — and do not be shocked — by and large not much more. A society based on cooperation is a society that is voluntary and that is generally noncoercive. It is a *free* society. In such a society men are allowed to determine their own *values* and to pursue them and freely exchange goods and services to maximize their obtaining the good things of this life. The only coercion present is to restrain clearly defined evil; and the only charity present is designed to assist the stricken and unfortunate and the fallen; but there should be no charity to encourage the wastrel or the willfully ignorant or the improvident.

2. The second type of society is one which is generally founded on *coercion*. In this case coercion is not limited to restraint of evil, but is extended to compel the doing of what is declared to be good. What is declared to be good may or may not be good. That depends on people's *values*. What one man says is good and for the general good, another man may declare to be not good nor for the general good. But *somebody* decides; the strongest and craftiest. What is *good* in practical reality, therefore, is nothing more than the values and objectives and means of whoever has the *power* to have his way. Now if *A* coerces *B*, then *B* must make a sacrifice. *B* is compelled to sacrifice (surrender) his own values and objectives and means for *A*'s values, which are intended for the welfare of *A* himself or the welfare of *C* and *D* and *E*. *B* complies with *A*'s demands because he cannot successfully resist. A coercive society, then, must have in it, by definition, as much sacrifice as it has coercion. But it is an unwilling sacrifice. A society based primarily on coercion is known as an Interventionist society. The strong arm of the government generally *intervenes*, that is, it regulates and especially coerces. Such a society is contrary to the plain teaching of Scripture.

3. Then there is a third society. It is the "ideal" society. It is a utopian society. We refer to the society founded on *sacrifice*. In such a society you love your neighbor so much. Indeed you show your love to God by sacrificing yourself for your neighbor! This sacrifice is, in theory, altogether different from the sacrifice extorted in an interventionist society. This is supposed to be a *voluntary* sacrifice. This society is basically different from a cooperative society and a coercive society, because this society is a wholly theoretical society. It does not exist anywhere for any length of time. (The cooperative and coercive societies do exist; they are at least real; they are *actual* societies.) The Hebrew-Christian religions have never taught that society should be founded on sacrifice — on 100 percent voluntary charity. Moses nor Christ ever in principle went beyond the tithe. Extend the tithe; become more and more pious about society; and finally you will have arrived at a theory that society is founded on sacrifice. The only trouble is that it is all false. It is impossible to have such a foundation and survive. In fact, the societies based on sacrifice have usually been described and advocated by men who hated the

Hebrew-Christian religions. They were not satisfied with the teachings of those religions. The teachings of those religions were not sanctimonious enough to suit them. Many churchmen who seem to believe that the strength of religion lies in exaggeration have adopted the idea that society is founded on sacrifice. This holds true of men who call themselves neo-Calvinists. Moses in Deuteronomy 13 talked of "dreamers of dreams." The term is by implication derogatory. All so-called Christians who talk of a society founded on sacrifice — a utopian society — are "dreamers of dreams" who do not speak for the Lord. The societies about which they talk are not able to survive. In Deuteronomy 18:21-22 Moses declares:

And if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which Jehovah hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jehovah, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jehovah hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him.

All advocates of utopias speak presumptuously. The churches, by the way, are full of them.

We intend to analyze from many viewpoints the deficiencies and evils of societies founded on coercion and sacrifice. We shall demonstrate that many societies allegedly founded on principles derived from the Christian religion are in reality a combination of coercion and sacrifice. The pious mask that presents its front to the world is sacrifice, "love" for the brother. Behind the hypocritical mask is the reality of coercion. One of the greatest menaces to Christianity is its obvious confusion and its hypocrisy and its sanctimoniousness on this subject.

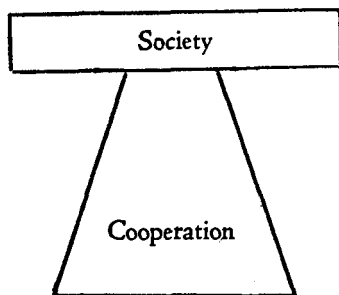
We shall also demonstrate that societies founded on cooperation, and not on sacrifice, (and with only the coercion which is defensive — to restrain evil) are the only societies worthy of the name *Christian*. Strangely that kind of a society is accused in the most-pious neo-Calvinist circles of being non-Christian.

On the questions of the foundation of society we consider religion to be upside down with reality and upside down with morality.

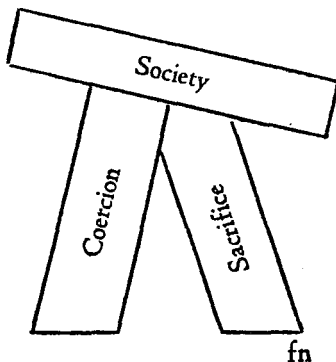
We draw a simple diagram to illustrate our ideas:

1. A sound society is founded on *cooperation*;
2. A vicious, unstable, destructive society is founded on a combination of *coercion* and *sacrifice*. The two, coercion and sacrifice, always eventually go together, with sacrifice as the pretty facade for the combination.

Christian



Non-Christian



## A First Look At Present Christian Education

PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM\* is unreservedly committed to the cause of Christian education. The founders are the products of the Christian home and school in the United States or in the Netherlands. Never in our lives have we entertained the thought that this was a disadvantage; on the contrary, we are conscious that our Christian school education was decidedly a favor which we received of the Lord in a Covenantal way.

\**Note to non-Christian Reformed readers on the question of who has the primary responsibility for the education of children—the parents, the church or the state.*

When the question is asked: *Who* is primarily responsible for the education of children, there are three stock answers: (1) the state; (2) the church; or (3) the parents. All three, state, church and parents, have in the history of men made large contributions to education. The great role of the church in the Middle Ages is a case in point. The great role of the public schools of the states in the United States is a case in point.

The really correct answer is, we believe, that the *parents* are primarily responsible for the education of their children. The responsibility of the parents outranks that of church and state (although the interests of the latter two are admitted to be very important). The consequence of the idea that the *parents* should

When the writer came to this country as a young man, he was pleased to notice Christian school activity and a consecrated willingness to contribute liberally to the cause. Parents and their friends contributed for the organizational work, for the buildings, for equipment, and they kept this up year after year. But the greatest contribution was made by consecrated men as the B. J. Benninks, the brothers Van Der Ark, the Fakkemas, the A. S. De Jongs and many more who devoted their lives to the cause. Their remuneration? Well, that was nothing about which to boast; never more than a subsistence wage; very often (by comparison with others) less than that.

But the writer is being carried away. I wanted to say I have been a patron of Christian schools in the U.S.A. since 1913. I assisted them for several years before I had my own family. I contributed as well as we deemed it possible when the children came and we sent them to the Christian school. One year we had seven children in the school, comprising about 12 percent of the total number of pupils. We are still grateful to all the people who helped make it possible for our children to have Christian school training. We are also thankful that we subsequently were able to help others to carry their financial burdens.

My heart was filled with admiration for our fathers in the U.S.A. and in the Netherlands who developed the Christian school

*as parents* be responsible for the education of their children entails the acceptance of the idea of *private* schools as distinguished from either state or church schools.

The procedure by which to establish *private* schools is for like-minded parents (who agree reasonably well on what kind of education and environment they wish their children to have) to organize a "school society" for such a purpose. This idea was the foundation for the founding of many colleges from Harvard University on. If the idea is sound for colleges, it is equally sound for grade and high schools. This general idea on schools is not at present widely accepted in America.

Probably nowhere has this independent school idea (that is, independence of the schools from the state) been worked over more thoroughly than in the Netherlands. There religious-minded folk (Catholics and Reformed) joined hands with "political liberals" (people who believed in limited government) to establish a school law which does not coerce anyone to send his child to a particular school. There were three individual motivations at work, or combinations of the three: (1) the Catholics wanted "freedom" for their *church* schools; (2) many of the Reformed wanted "freedom" for their *parental* schools; and (3) the genuine political liberals, many of whom may have been secular-minded, favored "freedom" because they had definite ideas regarding the impropriety of the



system, which has become our heritage. We brought something marvelous to the shores of the U.S.A. when we brought over our ideas about Christian schools organized by parents (to supplement the idea of the government financed and controlled public schools). It took much courage and much faith to get this started and to keep it up. But the Lord has blessed our efforts and we now have a growing private Christian school system. Further, we are being instrumental in arousing other American Christians to establish Christian day schools controlled by the parents. The National Union of Christian Schools has 177 schools (1954 annual), and Dr. Mark Fakkema, with his National Association of Christian Schools has now 127 schools (1954-55 Directory) in its constituency. Both organizations are adding to their number each year. It is indeed cause for great gratitude what has been accomplished by so small a group for the cause of Christian day schools. *Soli deo gloria.*

Is it time for us to rest on our laurels? Far be it from that. We have only begun. We mentioned above that we now have a growing system. But we did not say that the system's motors are well oiled and running smoothly. On the contrary, it is the opinion of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM that the motors of our Christian school system are not well oiled nor running well. We will point at some deficiencies and will suggest a remedy.

One deficiency is our manner of dealing with members of the teaching staff. We begin a race for the available teachers after the first of each January. Teachers being in great demand but in short supply have no trouble finding a job, but the school boards have trouble filling the vacancies. And by the time school opens again, several places have not been adequately filled or remain unfilled. What is the outlook for the future? It is going to get state dominating education.

Americans of Dutch extraction are prone to think that the ideal freedom of the school system in the Netherlands is a product of "Reformed" thinking. That is an error or an evidence of egotism; Catholics, Protestants and non-Christians all have made their essential contribution to the success of the idea.

But this foreign idea—*freedom* of the school system—is a great idea and we wish to promote it vigorously in America. The idea has probably never been adequately explained to Americans; the time is become more propitious for study and eventual acceptance of the basic idea. The United States, a land of freedom, took an inconsistent and nonlibertarian trend when it adopted a state school system modeled on that of nonlibertarian Prussia.

EDITOR'S NOTE

worse from year to year. Why? Because of an increasing under-supply of teachers. Why should a young man or woman go to school for 16 years to prepare himself (herself) for a teaching career? Teaching is not so remunerative as the job of a driver of a bread truck or a store clerk or a milker's job, all of which jobs require less scholastic training.

Young men, as a rule, cannot afford financially to go into the teaching profession. The problem is not quite so acute for the temporary young woman teacher. She will have to meet the problem of low salary only until she "finds her man," provided the "man" is not of the same teaching profession. If he is, she will probably continue to be the auxiliary meal ticket until the children arrive. From then on they are in for a low if not sub-standard of living until the husband throws in the towel, quits the profession, and gives the sale of Fuller brushes or patent medicines a whirl, or finds himself a place in the world of business.

Am I exaggerating? I am afraid not. Am I overlooking the fact of the "high calling" of the Christian educator as compared to the aforementioned jobs of truck driving, selling, milking? I am not. But why should we businessmen and holders of well-paid jobs expect the Christian school teacher to be satisfied with a subsistence wage because his profession is one of "high calling"? His daily need for adequate shelter and food is just as urgent for him as our daily needs are urgent for us. We are duty bound to make better provisions for our teachers for the present and the future, including a pension system that is more adequate than the present system.

From the foregoing you will note that we are concerned about the teacher problem. The phase of his adequate salary and pension has been mentioned. Two other phases need mention. First of all, the teacher's own training. We like to take for granted that at home, church and school an adequate foundation has been laid for the Christian world and life view of the teacher. Now comes the teacher's professional training. We frown upon normal training of less than four years of college. Less training does not give the teacher a chance to give the best that is in him (her) professionally, and the four-year course is more likely to settle his mind on a purposeful determination to devote his life work to the cause of education.

Where should we train our teachers? At the present, many are trained in Calvin College. That has for years been our main source of supply. A hopeful sign for the future teacher supply is the opening of the Dordt College in Sioux Center, Iowa. This northwestern Iowa school will undoubtedly supply us with a number of teachers. It is probable that our people on the West Coast and those on the Atlantic Coast, as well as the people in Denver, will eventually follow the example of the Iowans.

Certainly our teachers should be trained in decidedly Christian colleges. We want them to be Covenant-conscious men and women committed to (in our specific case) Reformed views.

Every group of Christian parents will wish to guard against infiltration in the ranks of its teachers of people who do not subscribe to their own positive Christian tenets.

We shall now proceed to say a few words about organizational work and school management. But are we within bounds when we undertake to write about the organization of societies and schools and of proper management? The writer believes that individuals who have had extensive experience can lay claim to some measure of qualification. The writer has a background of two score years in business, besides many years of board membership in farm cooperatives, corporations and various societies. The editor of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM also has been in business for many years. Of a truth that kind of background does not give us the *brevêt* of an oracle on educational matters, but we have ideas with which we want to acquaint others. We do it at no cost to others (in our own paper), and we invite others to voice their ideas on various subjects to us in concise form, in order that our Reformed community can have the benefit of the independent thinking of our professional and business men on various subjects with which we plan to deal. Write to me; use the address of John Van Mouwerik, Route 2, Box 67, Redlands, California. (The readers should understand that we cannot place *lengthy* letters on various subjects in PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM. But we shall be happy to refer to and quote from letters from readers.)

In future issues of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM we hope to deal with problems of organizing Christian school societies, concise sets of by-laws, generally suitable for all school societies; the need

of separate high school societies; the need of bringing into practice the admonition of Luke 14:28-30; the need of the development of good standard practices in school management. Let everybody benefit by the experience of the pioneers. Let the less efficient be willing to learn from the more efficient. Let there be good guidance in the building of schools, the furnishing of schools and the purchase of books and other supplies. Let there be a school administration expert (not primarily a school teacher, but a man making a business approach), appointed to serve the whole Christian school movement on this score. We plan to write on these subjects in future issues. In case readers have interesting contributions to offer, we shall be glad to receive letters from them.

jvm

## Abraham Kuyper's Unscriptural And Unsound Ideas On Tariff Protection

### Calvinism Has Been Alleged To Be Pro-Capitalism

Calvinism as a set of ideas has historically been considered to be very favorable to the development of capitalism and prosperity; consider, for example, Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber\* goes so far as to attribute the flowering of capitalism to Calvinism. (Some day we may critically examine Weber's argument.)

PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM is unqualifiedly *capitalistic*, and in that sense we may be just another piece of evidence in support of Weber's theory. (By *capitalistic* we mean that we believe in a genuine *free market* economy; we are against the coercion of markets or of society generally (except to restrain the evils prohibited in the Second Table of the Law). But modern *neo-Calvinism* is wholly different from our type of *progressive Calvinism*. We *progressive Calvinists* are in the reputed Calvinist tradition, as described by Max Weber; *neo-Calvinism* (in our opinion) is not in any such *capitalistic* tradition; to the contrary, it is in the *interventionist* tradition which by its nature develops *coerced* and not *free* markets. (Interventionism eventually leads to socialism.\*\*)

\*Max Weber (1864-1920) was a famous German historian and sociologist.

\*\*See article with that title in *Planning for Freedom* by Ludwig von Mises, Libertarian Press, South Holland, Illinois, 1953, \$1.50.

To show how neo-Calvinism has a trend toward interventionism, toward illogical policies and toward bad morality we shall consider the attitude of Abraham Kuyper toward the very practical problem of Free Trade versus Tariff Protection.

### What Is Meant By Free Trade And By Protective Tariffs

There are two possible attitudes toward imports (goods shipped in from a foreign country) into your country — (1) you are willing to let such merchandise come in *freely* and without charging a penalty (which penalty is known as a tariff); or (2) you are desirous of prohibiting the import entirely or of handicapping it by making the merchandise subject to a tariff. (What is shipped in is charged a *duty*, that is, money has to be paid for the privilege of bringing in the merchandise.) The first is known as *Free Trade*; the second is known as a *Protective Tariff*.

A *protective tariff* is designed to "protect" certain domestic producers. The reason which people believe justifies a protective tariff is as follows: what is shipped into a country and consumed takes business away from someone within the country who otherwise would have manufactured and supplied equivalent merchandise. A government organized to "protect" its people is, on this reasoning, justified in trying to keep out foreign merchandise or at least to handicap bringing it in, in order presumably to safeguard the livelihood or prosperity of its own citizens.

A country's citizens consist largely of employers and employes and their dependents. A protective tariff may be established to "protect" the business of the employers and the employment of the employes. By "protecting" both employers and employes a state appears to be "protecting" all its citizens, because the "protective" (?) tariff "protects" against cheaper merchandise available from abroad. That is the argument.

From time immemorial men have favored protective tariffs, (or even stronger restrictions on trade such as importation only on the basis of licenses which are difficult or impossible to obtain). On *first* thought the argument for protective tariffs sounds reasonable and advantageous. But experience and careful reasoning can easily demonstrate that protective tariffs are harmful and that free trade is universally beneficial.

## The Great Classical Economists On Free Trade

The men whose arguments for free trade are famous — and conclusive — are the well-known English economists, who are known as the classical economists — Adam Smith, David Ricardo and their associates and successors.\* The economic argument for free trade is completely and demonstrably sound.

One hundred fifty years after Adam Smith, Dr. Abraham Kuyper took a position in favor of a protective tariff. Kuyper had become a politician and was for a while even premier of the Netherlands; however, he retained his position as an emeritus minister and theologian. Kuyper, when he went into politics, either (1) abandoned the principles of morality taught in Scripture, or (2) he did not understand the application of the simple rules of brotherly love to practical affairs. (Our opinion, of course, is that the latter describes the fact; Kuyper did not understand either a praxeologically sound nor Biblical social and economic order.)

We shall pursue the following natural course; we shall

1. Present the evidence that Abraham Kuyper was in favor of Protective Tariffs and against Free Trade, (without having a logical reason for his attitude);
2. State the *moral and scriptural* arguments for Free Trade and against Protective Tariffs; and
3. Summarize (very briefly) the *economic* argument for Free Trade and against Protective Tariffs, an argument which (as always when sound) agrees perfectly with Scripture.

### Abraham Kuyper On Protective Tariffs

Abraham Kuyper, who was born in 1837, was already an old man when in 1916 and 1917 he published his two-volume work,

\*We accept some but by no means all of the ideas of Smith, Ricardo and their associates and followers; on Free Trade these men were as right as rain. Ricardo on the question of international trade demonstrated conclusively in his great Law of Association that two nations, one poorer and higher cost in the production of *every* item, are nevertheless both benefited by free trade. For a clear summary of Ricardo's Law, see Ludwig von Mises' *Human Action*, pages 158-163.

*Anti-Revolutionaire Staatskunde* (Anti-Revolutionary Statecraft), (J. H. Kok, 1916 and 1917, Kampen, Netherlands). These two volumes of 728 and 654 pages are surely the product of Kuyper's most mature thought. We are reminded of the book by the famous wartime French premier, Georges Clemenceau. He summarized his sceptical thought when already very old in a book which he named *In the Evening of My Thought*. We are here dealing with the ideas of Abraham Kuyper on tariffs "in the evening of his thought."

We quote first from Volume I, pages 526 and 527, where Kuyper writes (in all cases our translation):

The fight about the tariff, which was so influential in the election of 1913 . . . was fought out almost entirely on the basis of the [selfish] *interests* of the respective groups. Unquestionably the tariff question is susceptible of scientific analysis, and the basic issue whether international trade should lead to free trade or tariff protection is an extremely important economic problem . . . The scientific study of this question can never lead to general conclusions,# which will indicate the right choice for a particular nation at a particular time. If we had international regulation, which would make a decision for all nations at once, then an absolute choice, provided it applied alike to all nations,# could be imagined. As such international regulation does not exist and cannot be expected, and as each nation must decide for itself, the decision cannot absolutely be determined by considerations of principle, but note should be taken of the trade practices of other nations.# This is the more valid for our Country [Netherlands], because excepting England, there is no other nation on the face of the earth which has Free Trade, and because the income derived from tariffs has steadily been increasing here. That being the situation, the fight about Free Trade and Tariff Protection, although scientifically discussed in academic lecture halls, was settled in the [Dutch] Election [of 1913] purely according to the [selfish] *interests* of the several groups in the citizenry. The opponents of tariff increases fright-

#All quotations marked (#) contain a grave error which we do not have the space to refute.

ened the inhabitants in all manner of ways about a resulting general price increase . . . In this manner many voters were alarmed about the effect [of a tariff increase] on their pocketbook . . .

In Volume II of his *Anti-Revolutionaire Staatskunde* Kuyper writes similarly (see page 427):

Our party [the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party] has since 1878 advocated tariff increases, and finally made it part of its election campaign. At first this did not injure us [the Anti-Revolutionary Party]. Even though our election campaign made tariff increases an important issue, we nevertheless won a significant victory in 1901. In 1905 also our fight for tariff increases was only incidentally attacked by the liberal parties. This continued in 1909, when we were again able to unseat the Liberal Party with our election campaign. It was only in the election of 1913 that the Liberal Party seized the tariff issue as its main weapon, and, assisted by foreign importers whose importations were threatened and who spent huge sums, was able to defeat us. We shall have to take this into account hereafter. There is danger that campaign activity against tariff increases, similar to those successful against us in 1913, will be repeated, if we again reveal our program in our election campaign. It therefore appears prudent, based on the experience in 1913, to alter our method; henceforth, not to increase tariffs suddenly, but by segments; and to begin immediately if we are again voted into power . . .

Then Kuyper goes on to write that the Netherlands still has such low tariffs that it has the honor (*sic!*) to be considered a Free Trade country. He adds it may some day be desirable to eliminate all tariffs. Then he writes [Volume II, pages 428 and 429]:

. . . It must be acknowledged that the collection of import duties has been practiced from ancient times and that it is presently the practice of practically all nations. We have a reasonable right to require, that whoever re-



sorts to our markets to sell goods should be obliged to assist in the support of the state, considering that the sale of his goods is accomplished under the protection of the whole state apparatus.#

Further, at the bottom of Volume II, page 429, Kuyper declares:

The local advocates of Free Trade are under the definite obligation to demonstrate on what grounds of principle# the Netherlands is required to deviate from the practice [of Tariff Protection] which practice is followed nearly everywhere in the world.

Finally, Kuyper again treats the tariff problem under the caption of "Unemployment" on page 513 of Volume II. He writes:

The worst evil in the terrain of labor is unemployment; can the government also be held accountable for this evil? Undoubtedly, in part.# Excessive enthusiasm for Free Trade and for free movement of population can deprive men of work who would otherwise have it in abundance.# Free Trade can have as a consequence that many items are fabricated abroad so that there is no work to be done here. This can be observed in its simplest form in the case of lumber. If unsawed logs are imported, then the wages of sawing can be earned here. If, however, lumber arrives sawed, then the wages for sawing are lost here. The import from Germany, France and England is not matched by our export to those countries, at least not in respect to hand labor . . .

### **The Apparent Brotherly Anxiety Of Abraham Kuyper**

The anxiety of Kuyper about Dutch sawmill employes (who possessed the right to vote) was very natural and seemed to manifest a warm brotherly love for these men. The problem of these sawmill workers was that they were becoming unemployed or were threatened with unemployment. The reason for that was that there were various foreign sawmill employes beyond the Dutch border, who were also sawing wood. Either because those foreign

#All quotations marked (#) contain a grave error which we do not have the space to refute.

workers had better wood to cut, or worked harder, or were willing to work for less, more foreign lumber was being imported into the Netherlands and was being sold for less money than Dutch lumber. Neither a good politician nor a brotherly Calvinist could be indifferent to the assumed eventual plight of the Dutch sawmill employes! A sound political — and moral — and Calvinist program was certainly needed.

Kuyper revealed his solution of this political, economic and moral problem by indicating that the importation of foreign lumber should be handicapped and restricted by the imposition of a burdensome duty. To make the analysis which follows more readable we shall formulate Kuyper's general idea as a simple specific case of importing finished (sawed) lumber versus importing rough logs to be sawed in the Netherlands.\* (Prices and all specific details in what follows are not factual but solely for purposes of simplifying the problem for readers.)

If Dutch lumber had a market price of \$10 per 1,000 board feet and foreign lumber of \$9, then an import duty of \$4 would require that foreign lumber bring a price in the Netherlands of \$9 plus \$4 or \$13, which is three dollars more than the price of

\*We are indeed not undertaking to describe recent economic *history*, nor is the illustration we are using closely related to the specific features of the actual Dutch lumber trade. The basic facts are, however, as we have quoted them, namely, that Kuyper and his Anti-Revolutionary Party were systematically in favor of tariff protection and used the idea with mixed success in their campaigning. Rather than talk about free trade and tariffs in the abstract we could write more simply by using a concrete illustration. Rather than writing about vague people who favor protection, or the Republican party which favors protection, it was to our purpose to write about a *Calvinist* politician who certainly was in favor of a protective tariff and who in his old age wrote opportunistically about it. We are perfectly aware of *military* reasons for protective tariffs, and we are equally informed on tariffs to resist cartel dumping. But those were *not* the kind of problems that Abraham Kuyper was dealing with. He was dealing with the economic and the political, and not the military and monopolistic phases of international trade. In the compass of one small article we cannot cover all the complexities of international trade. We are here writing exactly and only to the specific issue to which Abraham Kuyper addressed himself. We are not declaring that Kuyper accepted Free Trade *in principle* or Tariff Protection. He backed away from that, as our quotations show; apparently he did not even vaguely understand international trade. But in regard to *actual practice* there can be no doubt about his position; he was *for* tariff protection; for exactly what motivations we do not know, but we assume his motivations were political.

Dutch lumber. On that basis no more foreign lumber would be imported unless the foreign sawmill workers and employers would drop their price at the Dutch border to \$6 (computed by using the Dutch lumber price of \$10 less the import duty of \$4, or \$6), which appears improbable if not impossible. (To reduce the return of foreigners on lumber from \$9 to \$6, or 33 1/3 percent would in all probability have put foreigners out of the lumber business in the Netherlands. That, of course, is exactly what Kuyper had in mind — the "protection" of Dutch sawmill workers by keeping out lumber sawn by foreign sawmill employes. Foreigners do not vote in Dutch elections.)

### The Unscriptural Morality Of Abraham Kuyper

There is, we are sure, some very bad morality in the Protective Tariff program of Abraham Kuyper.

1. In the first place, Kuyper did not recoil from hurting other people in the Netherlands for the benefit of the sawmill employes. If an import duty was imposed, then the consumers of lumber in the Netherlands would have to pay \$10 for Dutch lumber whereas before they had had to pay only \$9 for foreign lumber. From this viewpoint there was no gain to be obtained by Dutch sawmill employes *except at the expense of other Dutchmen*, namely the consumers. What virtuous morality is there in helping one man at the expense of another. Is this good Calvinist brotherly love? Is this the Christian religion? Is this Anti-Revolutionary *statesmanship*?

Kuyper was very much aware of this fact. He had lamented in one of the quotations (just given) that the Liberal Party had "frightened the inhabitants in all manner of ways about a *resulting general price increase*." This obviously refers to the fact that *A* and *B* are not benefited *collectively* if *A* gains only at the expense of *B*. The one gains; the other loses. There is no total gain. Kuyper, as many politicians, was faced with the problem of helping one man *at the expense of another*, in this case the sawmill workers at the expense of Dutch consumers. Any move to help *A* at the expense of *B*, and the use of coercion (by a law) to do that, is a plain violation of Mosaic-Christian morality. So

much for the first uncovering of presumed brotherly love and statecraft; Peter is being robbed to pay Paul.

2. In the second place, the import duty had the effect of hurting foreign sawmill employes. That was inevitable, if the Dutch sawmill employes were to be helped. Van Camp lives on the Dutch side of the border. Gustafson lives on the foreign side of the border. Both are sawmill employes, one in the Netherlands and the other in Sweden. Why not let them saw wood as they freely wish and sell the wood? But Kuyper is not satisfied with that. As a politician Kuyper wishes to hang a millstone (say of \$4 a 1,000 board feet) around the neck of Gustafson so that he cannot stay in the sawmill business. Why does Kuyper wish to hang that millstone around Gustafson's neck? For one reason only; to give the work to Van Camp (at the cost of \$1 a 1,000 board feet higher to the Dutch consumer). And why does he wish to do that? Just because Van Camp lives on the Dutch side of the border and votes, and Gustafson on the foreign side of the border and does not vote. The law of brotherly love, stated in Scripture, is it seems not a universal law for Kuyper but only a *national* law. It is for Kuyper's constituents. In plain language, Kuyper has scales for morality with two sets of weights; one set of weights for Dutchmen; another set of weights for Swedes (foreigners). Somewhere in Scripture there is a very unfavorable comment on the morality of different sets of weights. (Deut. 25: 13-16; Proverbs 20: 10 and 23.)

Last summer we were riding a plane from Pennsylvania to Chicago. A (religious) cleric took the seat next to us and interrupted our reading to talk. In the course of conversation he stated *his* principle, namely, your neighbor is *whoever is near you*; the farther away he is, the less he is your neighbor. For Kuyper that rule also held, except it was not so gradual as this youngish cleric was stating it. For Kuyper all you had to do was to cross a political border, and in the matter we have been discussing a man was by being one step farther away no longer a neighbor; just a foreigner.

We believe Scripture teaches something wholly contrary and very plainly, namely, that ALL men are our neighbors. That teaching was taught in what is probably the most famous parable in the world. Christ was the speaker. He had been asked a trick

question — "Who is my neighbor." The questioner undoubtedly held the same position as Kuyper was unconsciously applying, namely, not everybody is my neighbor. For the lawyer in ancient Palestine a Samaritan was not considered a neighbor; for a politician in the Netherlands a foreign sawmill employe was not considered a neighbor. But Christ spoke his parable: It is brief and tells a very plain story (Luke 10:25-38):

And behold, a certain lawyer stood up and made trial of him, saying, Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live. But he, desiring to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbor? Jesus made answer and said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell among robbers, who both stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him he was moved with compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on *them* oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow he took out two shillings, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbor unto him that fell among the robbers? And he said, He that showed mercy on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

If the parable tells anything, it tells us that ALL men are our neighbors. For a Dutch politician the existence of a political

border apparently removes men from the list of "brothers." If this is neo-Calvinism, we are not sympathetic to it. An obvious defect in Kuyper's religion (pervasive in fact in all his practical thought) was that in his ideas on the tariff there was as much indifference for the foreign worker as "love" for the domestic worker. Is that brotherly love according to Scripture?

3. There is on this subject a third *moral* objection to the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary statecraft of Kuyper. He was clearly and deliberately violating the Decalogue. One law in the Decalogue is the sixth, which reads, thou shalt not kill. Obviously, that is a simplified expression of thou shalt not coerce (killing being only the most dramatic form of coercion). The New Testament does not repeal this law. In the famous Sermon on the Mount Christ declares he has come to fulfill the law, and that not "one jot or tittle" of the law shall ever be annulled. Christ puts the famous law of Moses against coercion in a positive form. Christ declared: Blessed are the MEEK for they shall inherit the earth.

*Meekness* may be considered to be patience under abuse and injustice. That is an unusual form of meekness. Are those patient people who take abuse submissively likely to "inherit the earth" (note that Christ did not say "inherit heaven")? There is no logic in believing that taking abuse will result in your inheriting the earth. But what must then here be meant by the term, *meek*? It must mean that coercion is not used, is abjured, is hated, and that instead all relations with the neighbor are without the employment of coercion, duress, force, threat, violence.

All kinds of coercion fall into either of two classes; they are legal coercions or they are illegal coercions. Coercion is just as much coercion when legalized by some unwarranted law as when illegal. *Coercion* is not converted to *meekness* by passing a law. Coercion is coercion whether protected by an evil law or whether condemned by a good law.

Kuyper had no hesitancy to urge the passage of a Protective Tariff law involving coercion. The coercion was the handicapping of the movement of foreign lumber to Dutch consumers at our illustrative price of \$9 a 1,000 board feet. That original movement was a *voluntary* one by both parties — which is a characteristic

that is absolutely essential if the requirement of *meekness* is to be met.

Let us define *meekness* versus *coercion* in business terms. *Meekness* means that coercion is not resorted to; if coercion is not resorted to, you let the party opposite you pursue his wishes; he does the same thing toward you. The resulting deal is voluntary; it complies with the requirement that you should be meek and that he should be meek. Voluntary deals are never made unless *both* parties gain (or at least sincerely believe that they gain). You would rather have the money which I have than the thing you have. I would rather have the thing which you have than the money I have. We trade. We *both* are convinced we are better off (and almost always we both are).

There are two hallucinations about buying and selling in voluntary business. One is that a trade is made only when the goods which are exchanged are of *equal* value. That was Aristotle's mistaken notion. The other hallucination is that one party gains *at the expense of the other*; a trade according to this idea inevitably involves a loss for one and a gain for the other. (This was Kuyper's nonsensical economics in this instance.) It is an absurd interpretation; the only instances in which this situation prevails are when there is fraud or folly. Fraud is forbidden by the Commandments and systematic folly results in a person being legally declared incompetent.

The really prevailing situation on voluntary exchanges is that *both* parties are *benefited*. That is an altogether different idea from either (1) equality to both or (2) loss to one. Trade generally means not loss to one, nor equality to both, but gain to both.

And this voluntary, free kind of trading — this *meek* trading — Kuyper was intent on frustrating. His means was to appeal to the personal interests of Dutchmen *against foreigners*. That would he maybe hoped, get him elected. And once elected he would pay the voters off by "passing a law," that is, frustrating free trading, weighting the scales against one of the traders (the man farthest away who had no voting rights in the Netherlands).

A law which hampers free trade is a coercive law. It violates Christ's command for meekness. It violates the Sixth Commandment in the Decalogue.

Curiously, Christ declared: Blessed are the meek for *they shall inherit the earth*. For us that has a very obvious meaning, namely, meekness (as defined according to Scripture) will result in prosperity. People (1) who avoid violence; (2) who produce what they can most economically produce (as the Swedes could at that time apparently saw lumber cheaper than the Dutch); (3) who then exchange without coercion their low-cost product for low-cost products produced by others — such people will inevitably be prosperous — they will “inherit the earth.” But that situation the leading neo-Calvinist of the Netherlands and his party wished to frustrate. And so they promoted Protective Tariffs.

In short, the ideas of Kuyper on tariffs against (lumber) imports violated the law of God flagrantly. There is nothing to be said, if morality is based on the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures, in favor of Kuyper’s interventionist policy of keeping out foreign lumber.

### The Unsound Economics Of Abraham Kuyper

But the theologian had turned politician. Granted that it is obvious from Scripture that Kuyper’s “morality” was not a scriptural morality, maybe as an economic politician he was very wise. Maybe the “science of human action”<sup>\*</sup> contradicts the morality of Scripture. Maybe when Kuyper moved from the arena of theology and morality to the arena of politics and economics — maybe he then had a sound praxeological<sup>\*</sup> reason to impose a tariff on foreign lumber.

But that is entirely fallacious. The most elementary knowledge of economics would have told Kuyper that there was in the final accounting only a loss possible to Netherlanders from his course. The abandonment of morality in this case also involved the abandonment of genuine benefits and prosperity. The *immoral* course Kuyper followed was equally an *unprofitable* course. This of course is a necessary relationship, if “God is not mocked.” (It is also a necessary relationship if PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM is correct

<sup>\*</sup>See December, 1955, issue of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM, pp. 341 ff.



in its Declaration Five\* which says that prosperity follows obedience to the Law of God.)

1. In the first place, Kuyper's course made Dutch consumers of lumber poorer. Why should any politician want to keep out low-priced foreign merchandise — unless he just is not sensible? How could \$9 foreign lumber be anything other than a blessing to Dutch consumers, when the alternative was paying \$10 for Dutch lumber? The foreign lumber was \$1 cheaper; clearly that was an advantage. In fact, the cheaper imports are — the more you get for your money — the better. Say that foreign lumber could be sold for as little as \$7; would not that be a great blessing to Netherland's consumers? Then why harm people by increasing the price?

The argument for such free trade is so simple and conclusive that no sensible person can dispute it. Cheapness of imports is a blessing. Anyone still disposed to argue against cheapness of imports, and in favor of import duties in order to make the imports dear, is fitly answered if their case against cheap imports is carried to its final conclusion. Suppose the Swedes were not merely willing and able to sell their lumber at \$9; but at \$5; or at \$2; or at 50 cents; or (to complete the case) give the lumber to the Dutch free. To get something you want for *nothing* is so good nobody can argue against it. Every argument against *low-costing* foreign merchandise in favor of high-costing domestic merchandise is therefore nonsensical. A lower cost is indeed not so good as no cost at all; but if it is not sensible to dispute against a gift neither is it sensible to dispute against cheapness. The matter is merely a question of degree.

2. But, a reader may say, *that* is not the whole story. What about those poor Dutch sawmill workers who will lose their livelihood? *That* was Kuyper's pretended concern; and *that* has not been answered yet. Let us consider this argument.

\*The Declaration reads: "(a) Promote confidence that prosperity obtained in a *free* market society is the result of obedience to the law of God; and (b) discontinue all apologies for that prosperity and all policies which will undermine that prosperity." See comments on this Declaration on pp. 12-13, 149-152 and 243-247 in the 1955 issues of PROGRESSIVE CALVINISM.

What will happen when you look at the situation *as a whole*, in the large, and from the long view (which long view is also always the moral view)? This:

It is impossible in a *free market* economy that Dutch sawmill employes would be permanently thrown out of work. Oh, yes, they would be thrown out of work *as sawmill employes*, but they would surely get new work which would (all other things being equal) *give them better incomes than they previously had* as sawmill employes. This new work would *have* to be given to them in a free market economy. It is *inevitable* that it would be given to them. It is as sure as death. Let us follow the reasoning carefully.

The foreigners in this Kuyper lumber case were not fools. They would not ship lumber to Holland and get nothing back! They certainly wanted — demanded — something in return. They wanted to get back something which they wanted more than what they were shipping away. They would not ship lumber into Holland *without Holland shipping the equivalent to Sweden*.

But what if the Swedes wanted to ship *more* cheaper lumber than before; the answer is that then they would want *more* Dutch goods for themselves than before. If the Swedes would want more, then the Dutch would have to produce more. Who would produce that greater quantity of product? Who else than the displaced sawmill employes?

The only circumstance under which the Dutch sawmill employes will be permanently out of work is if the Swedes ship to Holland and want nothing back. But that would be idiocy on the part of the Swedes. That would be making a GIFT to the Dutch of everything shipped to them! Who would be willing to make such free gifts!

It is inevitable that trade must go both ways in goods or services (or *temporarily* in gold or foreign exchange). All foreign trade — as all domestic trade — is a TWO-WAY street. It *cannot* be otherwise.

But, a stubborn reasoner may say, granted all that, the Dutch will ship out merchandise on which the Dutch sawmill workers will not get the equivalent of their \$10 for lumber. In a *free mar-*

ket that is almost impossible. The detailed answer will depend on detailed prices and cost figures involving many products exchanged between Sweden and Holland, but one thing is certain, *in total the Dutch people will be ahead*. Holland will, it is absolutely certain, be benefited by this cheap Swedish lumber, and Sweden will be benefited by what she gets in return from the Netherlands. The international division of labor (which is cooperation\*) will benefit people as much as domestic division of labor does.

What will Holland ship to Sweden in exchange for Swedish lumber? Again, this answer requires detailed price and cost data, but this much can be said with assurance: what is shipped to Sweden will relatively be more profitable to Hollanders than log sawing. Holland will not be able to ship to Sweden anything except items on which Dutch costs and price ratios are better relatively than they are on sawmilling.

Sweden must get something back for its lumber; she must get something back which is better for her than the lumber she is shipping out; otherwise she would keep the lumber: and, of course, the Dutch will ship to Sweden only something on which they do better than by buying their own \$10 lumber. Holland will, therefore, ship out something on which it makes more money than on its own lumber. That is the condition necessary for all *voluntary* trade. (This is all related to the famous economic idea of the "division of labor," and exchange, and consequently COOPERATION, the binding cement of society; but to pursue this idea would be a digression from our present argument.)

Readers may be troubled at this point by what Kuyper wrote (as quoted earlier), namely:

If, however, lumber arrives sawed, then the wages for sawing are lost here. *The import from Germany . . . is not matched by our export to [her] at least not in respect to hand labor . . .*

Here Kuyper embraces the great fallacy that international trade does not balance out — that you can import more than you export. It is true he refers only to Germany (and England and France —

\*See earlier article in this issue entitled, "The Alternative Foundations of Society."

not quoted by us for simplicity's sake) but the idea is there nevertheless. He partially backtracks and corrects himself by saying, "at least not in respect to hand labor" which statement involves the same fallacy in a slightly different form; (we do not have the space now to consider this detail). The silliest thing for foreigners (against whom Kuyper is arguing) to do would be to ship to the Netherlands more goods than the Netherlands shipped to them (or elsewhere in multilateral trade) in return.

To what conclusions have we come:

1. Foreigners are benefited by sending Holland low-priced \$9 lumber. If they were not benefited they would not want to ship lumber to Holland.
2. The Dutch are benefited by the low-priced lumber they get.
3. Foreigners will insist on getting \$9 worth of Dutch goods back for every 1,000 board feet of wood sent to Holland.
4. The displaced Dutch sawmill employes can get and will get, directly or indirectly the work required to make that additional merchandise to be sent to Sweden in exchange for lumber.
5. *What* the Swedes take in exchange for lumber will be something the Dutch are willing to sell and ship out, because the price the Swedes are ready to pay makes it a good deal for the Dutch. Otherwise, neither lumber would come in nor its equivalent go out.
6. The whole transaction — if voluntary, and not coerced, and therefore moral, too — will be performed only because all parties are convinced that they benefit, which they do (unless there is a temporary miscalculation, but that cannot last long).

### The Founding Fathers Of The United States Versus Abraham Kuyper

Trade between Illinois and California exists *only* because the people in the two states benefit from it. There is no customs bor-

der between Illinois and California. Thank God the Founding Fathers were wiser and more moral and more scriptural than Abraham Kuyper and prohibited it in the Constitution. They forbade the establishment of custom barriers or tariffs between states. They included all of the United States\* in their "brotherhood." But Kuyper's brotherly sympathies were only good for one-fifth the size of Illinois. (Holland has about 12,000 square miles compared to about 60,000 square miles in Illinois). Outside those 12,000 square miles, men were not Kuyper's "brothers" and so he favored a law which violated the law of brotherly love. That same customs law which he wanted also violated good economics. That customs law of Kuyper against Swedish lumber hurt Holland and impoverished both Holland and Sweden.

God is not mocked. Violate morality and you violate sound economics.

Neither the morality of Kuyper nor the economics of Kuyper is defensible.

fn

## An Old Farmer Who Was A Better Observer Than Abraham Kuyper (An Article In Defense Of New Hats For Women)

The following is a reprint of an advertisement which is appearing in the daily papers for the account of the great advertising agency, J. Walter Thompson Company.

Benjamin Franklin who was an advocate of thrift (as we also are, in opposition to all Keynesian economists) makes two interesting points.

1. Austere living reduces the incentives to produce. The hope of luxury has merit. The hope of more pleasant living is a great and valuable incentive to work. (To be busy with work keeps many a man out of grave mischief, which is *one* reason why women prefer hard-working husbands. Let a husband work hard to pro-

\*The *international* protectionist policies of the United States are as indefensible as the policies of Abraham Kuyper.

vide his wife with luxuries. He cannot be doing two things at the same time.)

2. You cannot ship a lot of Philadelphia-made hats to Southern New Jersey unless Southern New Jersey gets busy and sends something back to Philadelphia.

If you will read the following interesting little story, you will stop being morose about all the hats your wife buys.

The difference between Abraham Kuyper and the Cape May farmer back in the eighteenth century is that Kuyper\* imagined foreign business *could* be a one-way street, and this farmer *knew* it did not ever work out that way. Goods or service *must* eventually flow both ways.

Observation is more reliable than theoretic (and mistaken) logic.

We are sceptical about any religion which is censorious about good living. See what Solomon says about a good wife in Proverbs 31:10-31 — and consider her as an owner of "carpets of tapestry" and "fine linen and purple," and with a household "clothed with scarlet." Franklin wrote:

**I Have Not Yet, Indeed,  
Thought Of A Remedy For Luxury . . .**

I am not sure that in a great state it is *capable of a remedy*; nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented.

Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all *unnecessary expense*, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expense are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, *or even richer*.

Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries, a great spur to labour and industry?

May not luxury, therefore, produce more than it consumes, if, without such a spur, people could be, as

\*See preceding article.

they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? *To this purpose I remember a circumstance.*

The skipper of a shallop,\* employed between Cape May\*\* and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife, understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap.

*Three years after*, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But (said he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation."

"How so?"

"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia, and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have cost *less than a hundred pounds.*"

"True, (said the farmer) but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; *and you know that the industry has continued*, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes."

Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

We hope readers will understand the *real* point we are trying to make; when you buy, you must eventually also sell; if you import, you must eventually export. Trade is always a *two-way* street.

fn

\*An open boat; also a two-masted fishing boat.

\*\*A cape at the southern tip of New Jersey.

## Notice To Subscribers

The 1955 issues have been sent to the bindery. Immediately upon receipt of the bound volumes, copies will be sent to those who have placed orders. Bound copies will be sent to subscribers in 1955 *who return their individual copies* or who have reasons for making special arrangements. Otherwise copies will be mailed to them on receipt of \$1.00.

*New subscribers* (in 1956) can get a 1955 bound copy for \$2.00 (\$1.00 for students). Subscribers are not accepted for 1956 only, without the would-be subscriber having a 1955 bound copy. The reason is that there will be many references in 1956 to subjects covered in 1955, and readers will be confused unless they know the contents of the 1955 issues, or have access to them.

Subscribers in 1955 who have not renewed their subscription have been kept on the January, 1956, mailing list because they perchance have merely neglected renewal. The mailing list will be revised for the February issue. Service will be interrupted unless subscriptions are received before the February issues are published.

See enclosed subscription envelope for convenience in (1) renewing your subscription and/or (2) ordering a bound volume for 1955.

The subscription rate for 1956 is \$2.00 for the *calendar* year 1956 (\$1.00 for students). Subscriptions are not begun or ended for any other interval than the period January through December. This arrangement is followed in order to reduce labor connected with the subscription list.

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