## Bertrand Russell and Haldeman-Julius: making readers rational

by William F. Ryan

IN 1948, EMANUEL Haldeman-Julius placed this quip in the pages of his monthly tabloid magazine, *The American Freeman*:

Customer: "For enclosed 25c please send me a copy of Bertrand Russell's "Can Men be Rationed". (We shipped Russell's fine essay, "Can Men be Rational?")1

The work cited was Big Blue Book No. B-544, reprinted from Russell's Sceptical Essays (New York: Norton, 1928). It was one of five selections from the 1920s Norton editions, placed between green papercovers in the Big Blue Book Series in the 1940s. The sample mail order that Haldeman-Julius shared with his chuckling readers was probably one of thousands just like it. The "Voltaire from Kansas", he was called—"The Henry Ford of Literature". For more than three decades, "H-J" prided himself with making millions by bringing light to Main Street, placing good reading in the hands of the people at the lowest possible price.

Emanuel Haldeman-Julius is still remembered by some students of popular culture, and even fewer literary historians, as the radical publisher who turned out the Little Blue Books, the first mass-marketed paperbooks in the world. In their beginning years in the 1920s they sold for nickels and dimes. By the time of H-J's death in 1951, the little books sold for mere pennies and the larger paper series (begun in 1925) sold for 25c apiece. The Blue Books were a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Haldeman-Julius, Essays in Criticism and Guidance, Big Blue Book No. B-685 (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1948).

largely successful experiment in the popularization of knowledge, from the teaching of basic skills to higher learning. This ideal was one that H-I held in common with an older friend and contemporary, Bertrand Russell.

Not all the Blue Books were reprinted matter—far from it. Many original works appeared in the series, from the revisionist histories of Harry Elmer Barnes to the inaugural works of such later luminaries as Will Durant. The Story of Philosophy was originally eleven Little Blue Books. Haldeman-Julius sold rights to these big sellers to his publishing friends in New York-Messrs. Simon and Schuster. Durant's popular debut is just one example among many.

The Blue Books, and the H-J newspaper and various magazines, were published in Girard, a tiny mill town in the farm and coal country of southeastern Kansas. For decades Girard had been a hostelry for Socialists and Freethinkers in the United States. By 1910, Eugene Debs considered it home base, with its rough-andtumble crew of "Red" reporters and politicos, and its popular party news weekly, the Appeal to Reason. Emanuel Julius, east coast editor, Socialist and Freethinker, had taken over the waning resources of the Appeal by 1918—and after that, virtually the entire community. His success was due in great part to the finances and the sparkling talents of his wife, Anna Marcet Haldeman, niece of Jane Addams. With their marriage in 1916 they had merged both their names and their aspirations.

It had long been my assumption, as prospective biographer of Haldeman-Julius, that he had personally known Bertrand Russell. The former was frequently in New York City until 1929, and often when Russell was touring America, teaching at New York's Rand School and elsewhere. On 15 January 1976, I asked Russell's daughter, Katharine Tait, whether he had ever crossed paths with H-J. "I think so", she said, "but I'm not sure. If they didn't, then they knew each other very well by correspondence. He [H-J] wasn't just somebody that articles were sent to—he was someone my father had a feeling about. I think he must have told us that Haldeman-Julius ran the 'rationalist press',2 and put out all the Little Blue Books to educate people".

In a letter to me shortly thereafter, Haldeman-Julius' daughter, Alice, wrote that her father had never met Russell in New York or anywhere else, and that Russell was certainly never in Girard. Be that as it may, the two men had an extended correspondence and a very significant author-publisher relationship.

The ideals of H-I, and the attributes and social trends that so annoyed him, were so akin to Russell's that a collaboration of some sort in America was inevitable. H-J's wit was not as keen as some colleagues', when put to the test of pen and ink, but his senses were well attuned to appreciate such of his betters as Bertrand Russell.

What Russell might have perceived in popular culture as varieties of rubbish. H-I classed as bunk—a term borowed from the "buncombe" of Mencken and other friends. H-I had an elaborate definition for it:

"Bunk", now, is the most forcible term of criticism and contempt that can be applied to any statement of opinion (usually, however, presented more ambitiously as "the eternal truth"), any statement, any plea or prophecy or pretension, any prescription of quackery. To define it in more decorous terms, when we say that anything is "bunk" we mean that it does not make good sense. Bunk is any poor reasoning—or no attempt to reason at all. Bunk is contrary to fact. Bunk will not bear examination, but falls to pieces, like the shoddy thing it is. Bunk is, intellectually regarded, the lowest form of human expression.3

For H-J, liberalism was synonymous with rationalism; religion was reactionary. Such was the abstracted story of both his and Russell's lives. Moreover, science was for H-J the highest development of human knowledge, and so he stated in one of his few full-length books, *The Outline of Bunk*.<sup>4</sup> Russell must have spoken and written about the same idea dozens of times. In the aforementioned work, H-I declared that ethics and morals required no religions and no supernatural sanctions of any kind.<sup>5</sup> Russell was to agree, under the Haldeman-Julius imprint, in several essays over the next two decades.

However, H-J was certainly a rougher critic of ancient and modern religionists than was Russell; moreover, in the 1920s, he viewed philosophy with a somewhat jaundiced eye—"part mysticism and part rationalism". 6 Russell would not have made the sweeping, if salty, generalizations of the Blue Book publisher. But H-J saw Russell as much more than a philosopher.

What can be said of H-J, in this regard, is that he came to know,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the Rationalist Press Association of Great Britain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E. Haldeman-Julius, The Outline of Bunk, with the Admirations of a Debunker (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1929).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 17-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

more and more, his limitations as a Freethinker and as an intellectual, even though he was both. He needed Bertrand Russell in the ranks of his scholar-critics—particularly as a balance for H-J's prince of debunking scholarship. That man was also a British renegade thinker, in flight from religious roots and stratified Western society—Joseph McCabe, defrocked priest, atheist, historian, world traveller and Communist.

In his autobiography, Eighty Years a Rebel (Big Blue Book No. B-636, Girard, Kansas, 1947), McCabe refers to "Earl Russell" as a friend and fellow member of England's Rationalist Press Association. As a scholar, teacher and critic, his writings were often bilious with personal venom; in nearly every case, and especially in his books for H-I, McCabe had targeted an enemy. To expose and debunk institutions or governments was never enough for McCabe; like a deskbound saboteur, he would smash them with ink and type. While Russell was amiable and a wry jokester, McCabe was testy and caustic. Russell's works for H-I can be carried in one hand; McCabe wrote literally hundreds of Blue Books big and little. If H-J sought a publishing balance between his two brightest lights—and I believe he did—that balance was never achieved. In his personal journalism in The American Freeman, H-J rarely used Russell's name without setting Joseph McCabe's name alongside, whatever the question happened to be.

The first Russell work published by H-J was a reprint of the early essay, "A Free Man's Worship", which first appeared in the *Independent Review*, 1 (Dec. 1903), pp. 415-24. In the *Haldeman-Julius Monthly* (March 1925), it reappeared on pp. 232-40, with a new preface written originally for the Thomas Mosher edition of the essay in 1923, indicating Russell's change of views from an earlier train of thought about the God-idea. H-J soon after turned the essay into a Little Blue Book, *What Can a Free Man Worship?* (No. 677, 1925), and kept it in his list until he died. In the mid-1930s, H-J sang its praises in *The American Freeman*:

It's one of the finest things I've ever read. This short masterpiece is an intellectual adventure that every intelligent person should want to experience by reading and studying it. I was so pleased with it when I first came on it some 10 years ago that I decided to give it a place in my library of Little Blue Books, where it has held an honored place ever since. It hasn't been a very popular number, but that doesn't hinder me from keeping the essay in print. Such a great, beautiful, profound study should always be available for minds capable of assimilating liberating ideas.

... It's evident that Russell and other materialists didn't have the benefit of God's grace and the priest's power to give suffering humanity the only code of ethics capable of leading man to the higher and nobler life.<sup>7</sup>

According to Feinberg and Kasrils,<sup>8</sup> Russell's third visit to the U.S. was between April and June 1924. It is conceivable that he submitted "A Free Man's Worship" to H-J at that time, and possibly arranged for the reprinting (Little Blue Book No. 723, n.d.) of his debate with Scott Nearing, Soviet Form of Government, first published by the League for Public Discussion, New York, 1924. Haldeman-Julius first published the Russell-Nearing debate as a front-page celebration in his first magazine, Life and Letters, 3 (Nov. 1924), 1, 4-8. In that issue, H-J claimed copyright in the material.

Katharine Tait, in her recent memoir,<sup>9</sup> tells how her father began the Beacon Hill School outside London in 1927, as an experiment in childhood education. As Dr. Tait tells it, Russell was in America "in pursuit of money again in 1929 and 1931, and when he was not in America he was busy writing books to raise the necessary funds" to run the school. Some of this work was published by H-J—namely, three Little Blue Books in 1929.

The first of those books was Why I Am Not a Christian (No. 1372), reprinted from the Haldeman-Julius Quarterly (July-Aug.-Sept. 1928), pp. 179-85. The pamphlet also included "Why I Am a Rationalist", reprinted from The American Parade (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1928), pp. 52-3. This was, in fact, the next number of H-J's Quarterly, with its new name. Both of Russell's writings had appeared first in England.

The second was Has Religion Made Useful Contributions to Civilization? (No. 1463), which first appeared on pp. 3-16 of The Debunker and the American Parade, 10, No. 1 (June 1929). That magazine had replaced H-J's Monthly and Quarterly magazines, and that essay was the first truly debunking piece that Russell wrote for him, employing all his whimsy and historical knowledge. The third was A Liberal View of Divorce (No. 1582), encapsulating Russell's radical views about traditional Christian marriage with all its taboos. This book contained several articles by others. Russell's piece had appeared

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> E. Haldeman-Julius, *Questions and Answers*, 6th series (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1936), p. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils, Bertrand Russell's America (New York: Viking Press, 1974), passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Katharine Tait, My Father Bertrand Russell (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 69, 100.

elsewhere first.

The publication of this last Little Blue Book was likely in connection with Russell's moral support, shared with H-I, of Judge Ben B. Lindsev's "companionate marriage" experiments. Feinberg and Kasrils point out that Russell was in correspondence with the Denver juvenile court judge as early as 1926. 10 During his 1927 lecture tour in America, Russell defended Lindsey and companionate marriage, and decried the ousting of Lindsey from his office by Ku Klux Klan and Fundamentalist influence. Moreover, in 1927, Mr. and Mrs. Haldeman-Julius arranged the companionate marriage of their foster daughter, Josephine, to Aubrey Roselle. Later Emanuel and Marcet Haldeman-Julius were remarried in a companionate ceremony by the same minister who had officiated at the Roselle marriage— Universalist Leon M. Birkhead, a family friend. The same year, Marcet Haldeman-Julius wrote two Little Blue Books in defence of Lindsey (No. 1250, Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Companionate Marriage, and No. 1258, Why I Believe in Companionate Marriage).

Between Russell's sixth U.S. visit in October 1931 and his return to the U.S. in September 1938, for an extended residence with his third wife, Patricia ("Peter") Helen Spence, H-I was prone to quote Russell and refer to him glowingly in The American Freeman—and frequently in the same breath with the name Joseph McCabe.

On one occasion, H-J used the learning of McCabe and Russell to refute an article by screen star Mary Pickford, "Why Die?", which had appeared in Liberty magazine (12 Aug. 1935). In The American Freeman, H-I accused Mary Pickford of resorting to "intuitionalism" as proof of the God-idea—"that moth-eaten, flyspecked, sun-bleached 'method' of intuition...."

A Bertrand Russell or a Joseph McCabe would be ashamed to resort to such nonsensical, infantile thinking, but they're terrible Atheists, without stores of intuitional knowledge, and therefore to be met with frigid silence, while Mary Pickford's childish palaver can be exploited in a nationally circulated magazine because she was able to put aside the problems of make-up and render a dissertation on God's will, its nature, purpose and aim....

Citing Russell's famous argument in "Why I Am Not a Christian" (but not specifying the work), H-J claimed that Mary Pickford derived her argument from Kant's Critique of Pure Reason to rationalize the existence of God as a balance against the unhappiness and injustice in the world.

Bertrand Russell, with his sly humor, punctured this argument by supposing he had received a crate of oranges, the top layer of which he found to be rotten. By this "moral law" argument, Bertrand Russell laughed, one would suppose that because the top layer of oranges was rotten it should follow that the balance of the crate should contain good fruit, but a sensible person would conclude that because a part of it was bad perhaps all of it was in the same condition.11

In 1941, H-J stood up more than once for Russell's recanting of his perennial pacifism in the face of inhuman dictatorships in Europe. In reply to an implication that he had ignored Russell's former

pacifism, H-I wrote, in The American Freeman:

My reader seems oblivious to the fact that Bertrand Russell, like myself, has dropped pacifism. The British philosopher, who is now teaching at the University of California in Los Angeles and will soon join the lecture staff at Harvard, wrote a letter which appeared in the June 7, 1940, issue of The New Statesman, in which he said: "Since the war began, I have felt that I could not go on being a pacifist. If I were young enough to fight I would do so, but it is difficult for me to urge others to do so." Mr. Russell, though a little late, is joining the company of the other great pacifist, Prof. Albert Einstein, who, by the force of circumstances, found it necessary to revise his ideas regarding ways of meeting the problem of Nazism and Fascism.<sup>12</sup>

Ouoting a Russell lecture in Chicago on January 22, 1941, H-J followed with this assertion:

His Freethought, however, stands like a rock. Not a single principle expounded in his Little Blue Books has been abandoned or compromised.... I take great pride as an editor in having been fortunate enough to be privileged to lend my facilities to the task of distributing such mind-liberating works. Dr. Russell's Freethought has met the tests of logic, accurate information and sound deductions; his pacifism, on the other hand, couldn't stand up in the face of Hitler's gangsterism. 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Feinberg and Kasrils, pp. 106-7.

<sup>11</sup> E. Haldeman-Iulius, Ouestions and Answers, 4th series (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Iulius Company, 1936), p. 91.

<sup>12</sup> E. Haldeman-Julius, Ouestions and Answers, 21st series (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1941), p. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> E. Haldeman-Julius, Questions and Answers, 23rd series (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1941), p. 48.

H-I was to be further privileged, in particular when the Harvard appointment he had spoken of was not to be an extended one. Russell accepted an attractive lecturing appointment with the Albert C. Barnes Foundation and took up residence at Little Datchet Farm in Malvern, Pennsylvania, not far from Philadelphia. In 1942, when he resumed his writings for H-I, he was unaware of the rigorous business conduct and decorum expected of him by his new employer, Dr. Barnes. Undoubtedly, Russell viewed his association with H-I as an exercise of intellectual freedom. To Barnes, Russell was merely a prestigious philosophy professor; probably the taskmaster viewed the radical Kansas publisher as a gadfly and, incidentally, a lower middle-class Jewish defector from the immigrant neighbourhoods of Philadelphia.

At that time, H-I was issuing his twenty-volume "Black International Series". Written by Joseph McCabe in London, these pamphlets built a strong case for the existence of what McCabe and H-I called the "Blackintern"—a pact between the Vatican and the Axis. The Catholic Church in the U.S. found this anti-Fascist thrust not only offensive but the cause of much turmoil in the ethnic neighbourhoods of the east coast. The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Commonweal magazine and the Brooklyn Tablet, a Catholic newspaper in New York City, prevailed upon the F.B.I. to enjoin the sale of the Black International Series.

There is evidence that H-J had solicited a similar work from Russell. But on 19 August 1942, H-I sent this letter to him:

## Dear Dr. Bertrand Russell:

Today I was visited by two F.B.I. men who told me that THE BLACK INTERNATIONAL is offensive to many Catholics and that its publication is causing controversy in these difficult times. I can't go into all the facts, but suffice it to say that I promised to cut out all advertisements of the pamphlets, including circulars, etc., in order to meet this objection. I know the pamphlets are excellent works, that their history is straight and their viewpoint correct, but I felt it better to be the compromiser. This also means that I won't be able to print the title I suggested to you the other day. Please put it aside. In a few days I'll suggest a title of an educational, non-controversial nature. I'm sure you know how I feel about all this.

> Sincerely, (signed) E. Haldeman-Julius

Concurrent with H-I's "Blackintern" books was the "How To" series, still very war-related but far less inflammatory. Professor John Harmon Burma wrote about a score of Little Blue Books on sociological subjects; H. G. Wells, writing from across the Atlantic, contributed his Phoenix: How to Rebuild the World, With the New Rights of Man. The third author of the "How TO" series was Bertrand Russell. In his next letter to Russell, H-J suggested a first assignment—but one that had been discussed with him before. In his recent biography of Russell, Ronald Clark tells how Gilbert Murray had once proposed to Russell a book on "how to think"—this was around 1935. He was reluctant then to undertake the task.

Nevertheless, he pigeon-holed the idea away for future use and a few years later, when very hard up in the United States, wrote a forty-page pamphlet called How to Become a Philosopher (The Art of Rational Conjecture): How to Become a Logician (The Art of Drawing Inferences): How to Become a Mathematician (The Art of Reckoning). The publisher was E. Haldeman-Julius, one of the few Americans who helped him through a bad period. The pamphlet, later republished as The Art of Philosophizing, has a hint of Murray's proposal.14

Russell was excited about the idea, as evidenced by his letters to H-J of 2, 3, and 9 September 1942. He turned out the three parts rapidly and even suggested the subtitles that Clark names above.

The white paper-covered Big Blue Book hadn't even been printed vet when H-I had a second assignment for the philosophy professor in Pennsylvania. On 25 September 1942, Russell replied to H-I: "Your idea of a 'Catalogue of Intellectual Rubbish' is attractive, and I will think it over". The end-product was Big Blue Book No. B-345, An Outline of Intellectual Rubbish; A Hilarious Catalogue of Organized and Individual Stupidity, published in 1943. It is this much-reprinted essay that is perhaps most telling of the wealth of learning and laughter that Russell brought to the H-J customers. On page 7 of the Blue Book, for example, he addresses the subject of piety and the Divine Plan:

Although we are taught the Copernican astronomy in our textbooks, it has not yet penetrated to our religion or our morals, and has not even succeeded in destroying belief in astrology. People still think that the Divine Plan has special reference to human beings, and that a special Providence not only looks after the good, but also punishes the wicked. I am

<sup>14</sup> Ronald W. Clark, The Life of Bertrand Russell (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 450.

sometimes shocked by the blasphemies of those who think themselves pious—for instance, the nuns who never take a bath without wearing a robe all the time. When asked why, since no man can see them, they reply: "Oh, but you forget the good God." Apparently they conceive of the Deity as a Peeping Tom, whose omnipotence enables him to see through bathroom walls, but who is foiled by bathrobes. This view strikes me as curious.

Much to the dismay of Dr. Barnes, Russell had yet other projects in mind, including outside lectures and a major book. By letter dated 28 December 1942, Barnes fired him from his lecturing post at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania. But from Little Datchet Farm, Russell carried on.

In these depressing circumstances, he struggled on, tidying his lectures into what was to become A History of Western Philosophy [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945], producing for Haldeman-Julius the series of *How to*...booklets....<sup>15</sup>

All of Russell's works for H-J during that period were in the larger Big Blue Book series, and many appeared first in H-J's American Freeman—a pulp-paper tabloid, looking like a newspaper but consistently read as a magazine. In 1943, Russell produced the nowfamous How to Read and Understand History: The Past as the Key to the Future, bound in a slick grey paper cover. It was later reprinted by Dagobert Runes in his Philosophical Library, in a collection of three essays under the title *Understanding History* (1957), with permission from H-J's son, Henry J. Haldeman.

In 1944, H-I published Russell's The Value of Freethought: How to Become a Truth-Seeker and Break the Chains of Mental Slavery (Big Blue Book No. B-289). There were no Russell booklets from H-J in 1945, perhaps because he was winding up his suit against Dr. Barnes in Pennsylvania.

Barnes's defense was simply that by giving popular lectures Russell had broken his contract. At first glance it might have seemed that this was supported by Russell's own evidence. He admitted lecturing to a variety of bodies—earning a hundred dollars from a private group in Phoenixville, fifty dollars from another at the South Norwalk Foreign Policy Association, more than a thousand dollars for long articles in Haldeman-Julius's monthly, and other sums from publications ranging from Free World to Vogue and Glamour. 16

Russell won a \$20,000 judgment from Barnes and returned across the Atlantic to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1945. It was some months before H-I and Russell resumed their publishing relations.

Apparently, H-J had even more work for his friend—the Blue Books had drawn a following among thousands of readers, many without formal education or prior knowledge of Bertrand Russell. The radical luminary was busy in England, however. On 31 August 1946, he wrote from Trinity College, Cambridge:

## Dear Mr. Haldeman-Julius

Thank you for your letter of August 13th. I am sorry I cannot undertake contributions to The Freeman, as I am in the middle of a big book which takes up all the time I can spare. For the same reason, I think I must postpone doing further essays for you until my big book is finished. With regards,

> Yours sincerely, (signed) Bertrand Russell.

The "big book" was Human Knowledge (1948).

A few days later, H-I wrote to Russell, on 9 September, 1946, requesting permission to reprint his essay in that year's Rationalist Annual entitled "Mind and Matter in Modern Science". Thus was published Big Blue Book No. B-376, Is Materialism Bankrupt? Mind and Matter in Modern Science (1946). A month later, by letter dated 12 October 1946, H-J relinquished reprint rights in England for this same essay back to its author. Two other Russell Big Blue Books appeared that year, undoubtedly from essays previously published in The American Freeman: B-380, Ideas That Have Harmed Mankind, and B-381, Ideas That Have Helped Mankind. In this latter work can be found a prime example of Russell's prophetic vision as it appeared under the H-J imprint:

It is to be feared that the dreadful alchemy of the atomic bomb will destroy all forms of life equally, and that the earth will remain for ever a dead clod senselessly whirling round a futile sun. I do not know the immediate precipitating cause of this interesting occurrence. Perhaps it will be a dispute about Persian oil, perhaps a disagreement as to the Chinese trade, perhaps a quarrel between Jews and Mohammedans for the control of Palestine.17

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 485.

<sup>17</sup> Bertrand Russell, Ideas That Have Helped Mankind, Big Blue Book No. B-381 (Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company, 1946), p. 10.

Big Blue Book No. B-638, The Faith of a Rationalist, was published in 1947 after its first printing in The Listener (29 May 1947), in the series "What I Believe". It was first a lecture, broadcast by Russell on British radio on 20 May.

Russell's last submission to H-J was Am I an Atheist or an Agnostic? This was originally a speech of Russell's at an annual dinner of the Rationalist Press Association in London, and first published in the British Freethought magazine, The Literary Guide and Rationalist Review, 64, No. 7 (July 1949). There were two H-J editions, both collections of essays by divers hands but headed by Russell's. The first was Big Book No. B-839; the second, B-864, which included Russell's "We Must Tear Up History Books and Start Again: the Educational Duties of the State for Better International Understanding". The first booklet appeared in 1949, the second in 1950. That same year, 1950, H-J arranged with Simon and Schuster for the reprinting of An Outline of Intellectual Rubbish, Ideas That Have Helped Mankind, and Ideas That Have Harmed Mankind, in Unpopular Essays. In less than another year H-J drowned in his swimming pool in Girard.

During his last four years, the portly and sickly H-J peppered the columns of his monthly paper with numerous cat's paw swipes at Russell's public vacillations on current events of the late 1940s. Those negligible commentaries were surely symptomatic of H-J's black and white mind set, the souring of his public image in a time of government harassment and irreparable discord within the Freethought movement. It seems obvious to me, moreover, that H-J resented the impression that Russell the author no longer had time for the Haldeman-Julius publishing company.

The Blue Books, for many years, were a household word in the United States. Bertrand Russell, always an enthusiast for a sound experiment in popular education, undertook his writing spots for H-J with a certain relish. His name, his ideas, his wit and the colossal span of his learning were the province of many more readers of English, due to the vision and influence of the "Voltaire from Kansas". When Russell's radical views had put him out of court even in the "Land of the Free", he knew he would always have a chair in H-J's self-styled "University in Print".

Arlington, Virginia