

# FIDELIO

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# ‘When I grow up, I am going to . . . ’



EIRNS/Susan Welsh

*Building an arch,  
Maryland Science Center.*

In former times, until some point during the recent thirty-odd years, all happy children expressed their optimistic view of life in such forms of expression as a bright-eyed, smiling, ‘When I grow up, I am going to . . . ’ This idea was usually associated with the idea of education, either by reference to actual education, or an implicit reference to the gathering of knowledge by means of which the prospective adult profession might be achieved. Our optimistic view of such matters, even as children, was the fact that we had begun to relive discoveries which had been bequeathed to us by discoverers who had lived long ago.

Good teachers helped. The good teacher was the one who made the deceased historic figure come alive in one’s mind, prompted one to relive a moment of discovery by that historic figure. It was as if that moment from the living mind of that historic figure had been brought back to life in

oneself. There were teachers like that, and there were knowledgeable people, family guests, or hosts, who shared the same kind of moment of knowledge with a child. I gobbled up such moments; they made me happy and optimistic about life and death, and mankind in general.

Once a child has recognized that he or she has relived living moments of discovery from each of many historic figures, especially discoveries of ideas which approximate a universal principle, the universe becomes a nice place in which to be born, to live, and ultimately to die. The connection to past and future, in terms of such ideas about universal principles, gives a sense of permanence to our brief visit to this thing we experience as human life. The New Testament parable concerning the talents, is especially attractive to the child who has come to view ideas in that way. You wish to become the visitor who passed

through here, delivering some needed good in a timely fashion. Thus, one hears the child’s voice: ‘When I grow up, . . . ’ Hearing that child’s voice in that way, might inspire one to become a good teacher, or to become the discoverer who delivers the needed good in some timely fashion.

This optimistic view is fairly identified as ‘Socratic.’ That is especially so for our purposes here. Optimism respecting ideas, relies upon notions of truthfulness and justice. How may we be certain that a moment of historic discovery which we have re-experienced, was a valid contribution at the time that that discovery was made? Was that discovery a step forward toward truth for mankind, will it be justly viewed so still, generations beyond our time? Does it represent a contribution to the power of the human species in and over the universe as a whole? Does it represent a contribution to mankind’s ability and impulse to cooperate in ways which bring about needed increases in mankind’s welfare?

If those conditions are satisfied, then our view of all humanity is a loving one in the sense Plato gives to the Greek term *agapē*, the same sense which the Christian Apostle Paul emphasizes in Chapter 13 of his First Letter to the Corinthians. That practiced view of humanity, past, present, and future, insofar as we experience that view within ourselves, is the basis for historical optimism respecting humanity in general, and our own existence as well.

—Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.  
from ‘On the Subject of Education,’  
Nov. 8, 1999

# FIDELIO

*"It is through beauty that one proceeds to freedom."  
—Friedrich Schiller*

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# ‘The Danger to the Nation’

*Lyndon LaRouche issued the following summary statement of “inconvenient truths,” as the concluding section of his “Lying and Racism by a Cabal Inside the Democratic National Committee: What Are the True Facts? What Are the Implications?,” released by his Presidential campaign committee, LaRouche’s Committee for a New Bretton Woods, on December 9, 1999.*

\* \* \*

It is a time to speak plain facts, even if many will protest that we are impolite in publicly stating inconvenient truths which they consider hurtfully insensitive to their personal feelings and collateral arrangements.

The painful truth is, that the “Emperor Bush” has no clothes. In other words, the truth is, that a pack of Wall Street’s political ventriloquists are running the worst nationally recognized dummy available, Texas Governor George W. Bush, for the Republican Party’s 2000 Presidential nomination. Similarly, at the same time, on the Democratic side, the putatively leading, but failing candidate, is an intrinsically unelectable, dishonorable man, who has shown himself, while Vice-President, by his crude thuggishness, by his backstabbing against the incumbent President, by his published writings, and by his stated policies, to be emotionally, morally, and intellectually unfit to serve in that office.

Those scandalous facts only scratch the surface of the issue. When we consider both the nature of the world crises now descending upon us, the survival of our nation now requires a President with the kind of patriotic outlook and concern for the general welfare which we recall from the greatest Presidents of the past, such as the Franklin Roosevelt of the Great Depression and war-time years.

We have come into a time in which the world is dominated by an explosive mixture of looming and escalating global and national crises, worse than anything experienced during the Presidencies of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt. Therefore, what must we say of political machines and voters who propose to elect, as our next President, a person known, at his best, to be a poor, pathetic figure, such as either of those two “bozos” have shown themselves to be?

Admittedly, the excuse which sundry Republicans or Democrats offer in defense of their support for such candidates, is the customary rule of “go along, to get along.” In short, the leading supporters of such candidates are supporting these bozos, despite the evidence that neither candidate is fit to serve as President. The commonplace apology which those supporters offer in their own defense, is that they are doing this, because that is the way one plays “the traditional rules of the party game.” “Lord of the Flies, behold!”

Such is the way each “pays the dues” which define him or her as an acceptable player in the party as a political game. Such substitutes for truthfulness and justice have heretofore generally defined the understood rules of politics as “closed-membership party clubs.” It is past time to shuck such traditions and their damnable rules.

The simple truth is, that too many Americans—and others around today’s world—are letting other people, such as the mass media, do their thinking for them. Inside the U.S.A. itself, as few as thirty percent of the eligible voters are often determining the outcome of local and statewide elections. Worse, in the U.S.A. itself, this thirty percent is currently dominated—usually—by voting blocs drawn from the upper twenty percent of the family-income brackets. That control over many elections by voting blocs from the upper twenty percent of the income-brackets, is key to understanding what Vice-President Al Gore and his co-thinker “Dick” Morris had defined as their “centrist,” “triangulation” policies.

The fact, that the upper twenty percent of the nation’s families, by income-bracket, claim half the total national income currently, is, even by itself, a shameful spectacle, a spectacle which, in effect of practice, makes a farce of even the bare names of “democracy” and “representative government.” That is only the most superficial aspect of the political and moral disease lately corrupting our nation’s electoral processes and law-making generally.

This same shift in patterns of income-brackets has much to do with the recent quarter-century trend toward reversing the 1960’s and earlier gains of the Civil

Rights movement, and the rising incidence of increasingly overt displays of racism by our nation's judicial system. As the radical change to "post-industrial" utopianism, has sent our industrial and agricultural sources overseas, and as agricultural and industrial production vanishes from our national economy, the farmer and industrial operative, and their families, together with our senior citizens, have been pushed more and more into the categories of unwanted eaters. The trend is, that senior citizens should not burden us with their propensities for unduly prolonging their lives, and that the families of former skilled industrial and agricultural operatives should be content with working three or more jobs, for a total real income far less than what they used to gain with one or two.

The shift in sources and composition of national income associated with post-1971 long-term policy-making trends, toward "post-industrial" utopianism, has produced a vicious kind of class society, a society divided, economically, socially, and politically, between an upper twenty percent and a lower eighty percent. The increasing concentration of electoral power in the hands of the upper twenty percent, is a reflection of that gradual degeneration of our nation, from a republic, into the kind of oligarchical society which the founders of our constitutional republic viewed with revulsion, as the depraved state of affairs in the United Kingdom.

In this state of affairs, we should not be surprised to see the relatively worst choices of candidates as a trend fostered by the Wall Street bankers and lawyers who tend to control not only the major news media, but both the major parties, and also the top layers of the permanent bureaucracy in entire sections of the Federal government. That cabal of oligarchically-minded, parasitical bankers and lawyers in the Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson tradition of racism, does not wish Presidents who can actually think, but rather those who will do as such dummies are told to speak and act by the ventriloquists who own them. Nor should we be surprised, that such candidates will tend to represent a more or less outrightly racist attitude toward those "lower classes" which comprise the lower eighty percent of today's income-brackets.

The ability of this republic to survive, now depends upon the ability of the lower eighty percent to secure its constitutional rights to a government which promotes the general welfare. That can be accomplished only by

a union of the overlapping organic leaderships of African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, labor, farmers, senior citizens, and relevant others, to take over the control of the Democratic Party, and as much as possible of the Republican Party, too.

The present danger is, that in the collapse of the world's hopelessly bankrupt financial system, the financier oligarchy, supported by a desperation-ridden upper twenty percent of our income brackets, will attempt to foist what is in effect a fascist tyranny upon our United States and the world as well. There are immediate, rational, Franklin Roosevelt-style solutions for the world's financial crisis, but these mean that the financier oligarchy must accept a massive write-off of its present, nominal financial wealth; it means that that oligarchy must submit to government-directed, Franklin Roosevelt-style, financial reorganization of all salvageable financial and related institutions. It is that conflict between the desperado faction among oligarchical financier interests

and the Franklin Roosevelt precedent, which is the battlefield on which all real politics will be fought out within the United States during the year 2000.

If the oligarchical faction could succeed in terrorizing the African-American constituents into tolerating the racist actions of Keeney *et al.*, that intimidation of the African-American would tend to prevent any effective alliance of so-called minorities, labor, farmers, and senior citizens from taking back power in the national Democratic Party. If we can bring that coalition together today, we will be able to re-create the kind of response to crisis which President Franklin Roosevelt typifies in the party's memory. That is the only real chance we have, to save this nation under present conditions.

To make that kind of coalition work, we must have the kind of leadership provided by Presidential candidates who can actually think, as Governor George W. Bush can not, and Vice-President Al Gore so clearly will not. The fate of our nation and much of the world, too, depends upon it.

*"Stop Racist Attempt To Overturn Voting Rights Act," an open letter sent by former South Carolina State Senator Theo Mitchell to the national chairmen of the Democratic Party and the Democratic National Committee, and signed by hundreds of elected officials, constituency leaders, and prominent citizens from across the country, appears as a paid advertisement beginning page 79 of this issue.*

## EDITORIAL

The Birth of the Sovereign Nation-State

# From the Council of Florence To the Discovery of America

How the Platonic-Christian revolution of  
the Fifteenth century created the modern world

by William F. Wertz, Jr.

The philosophical divide which separates an imperial system and that of sovereign nation-state republics is best expressed by the conflict between Plato and Aristotle, as reflected in Raphael's 'The School of Athens.'

For Plato, as for Christianity, man in the image of the Creator, means that what distinguishes man from the beast, is his capacity for cognitive reason and his agapic love of truth and justice.



Photo Vatican Museums

*Raphael Sanzio,  
"The School of Athens,"  
1510-12, Stanza della  
Segnatura, Vatican  
Palace. Center detail  
showing Plato and  
Aristotle.*

The U.S.A., contrary to the romanticist pseudo-theories of Frederick Jackson Turner, is not the product of the “frontier.” Rather, it is the highest expression thus far of the development of the modern sovereign nation-state republic, which originated from Europe between the time of the Council of Florence in 1438-39 and the establishment of the first modern nation-states: Louis XI’s France and Henry VII’s England, during the later Fifteenth century. In fact, the idea for the colonization of the Americas, as a way of out-flanking the enemies of the Fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance, was first developed as a global strategy by the circles of Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa during the Council of Florence.

The development of the sovereign nation-state in the Fifteenth century represented a sudden phase-space shift in human history. However, it was the result of a long process, beginning with the constitutions of the Ionian Greek city-states, the reforms at Athens under Solon, and the emergence of Classical Greek culture centered on the work of Plato. The crucial point of departure was the ministry of Jesus Christ and the spread of Christianity by the Apostles, especially John and Paul. The Apostles utilized Plato’s language and ideas, as the philosophical medium through which Christianity was spread. In this way the political principle, which derives from the Christian presentation of the Mosaic doctrine that each man and woman is made in the image of the Creator, and that man should exert dominion over the physical universe, and multiply, was embedded in the foundations of European civilization.

Unfortunately, these principles of political equality and of natural law did not find institutional expression in any region of European political society, or for that matter in any other culture, until the Fifteenth century. What predominated up till then was an imperial model of society ruled by an oligarchical elite, in which ninety-five percent of the population were treated not as men and women created in the image of the Creator, but rather as virtual cattle, as mere beasts of burden.

The feudal world order was a fixed, primarily agrarian order, based originally on the decrees of the Roman Emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305 A.D.). In the year 301, Diocletian issued an edict, fixing the maximum prices of commodities and wages throughout the empire. His accompanying system of tax collection, making civil officials

responsible for payment of fixed sums, laid the basis for serfdom, by tying peasants to the land to meet their tax burden. Diocletian’s reforms were followed by the reforms of the Emperor Theodosius (r. 379-395), which legally bound the Roman subject to his occupation for life.

## Plato vs. Aristotle

The philosophical divide which separates an imperial system and that of sovereign nation-state republics is best expressed by the conflict between Plato and Aristotle, as reflected in Raphael’s “The School of Athens.” For Plato, as for Christianity, man in the image of the Creator, means that what distinguishes man from the beast is his capacity for cognitive reason and his agapic love of truth and justice. Plato’s discussion of this in Book II of the *Republic* is totally coherent with St. Paul’s treatment of agapic love of truth in *I Corinthians* 13.

In Book II, Plato rejects the irrational imperial view of Thrasymachus, that justice is the advantage of the stronger, and that injustice is advantageous and profitable to oneself. Using Socrates’ dialectic, he challenges the false axiomatic assumption underlying this view, namely, the primacy of the erotic self-interest of individuals at war with one another. In opposition to this imperial view, Plato hypothesizes a higher hypothesis, that what is profitable or good is the universal good or general welfare of an entire city or state, which requires not only an extensive internal division of labor, but also relations with other cities or states.

In contrast, in his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle denies the very existence of ideas, and reduces man to a mere animal capable only of sense perception and logical deduction. In his *Ethics*, he rejects Plato’s idea of the Good and Plato’s view that all individual goods derive from participation in the Good itself, which Plato identifies with God. (This concept of Plato’s is the basis for the notion of the general welfare, or the common good, so central to the sovereign nation-state.) Finally, in his *Politics*, Aristotle argues that slavery is natural.

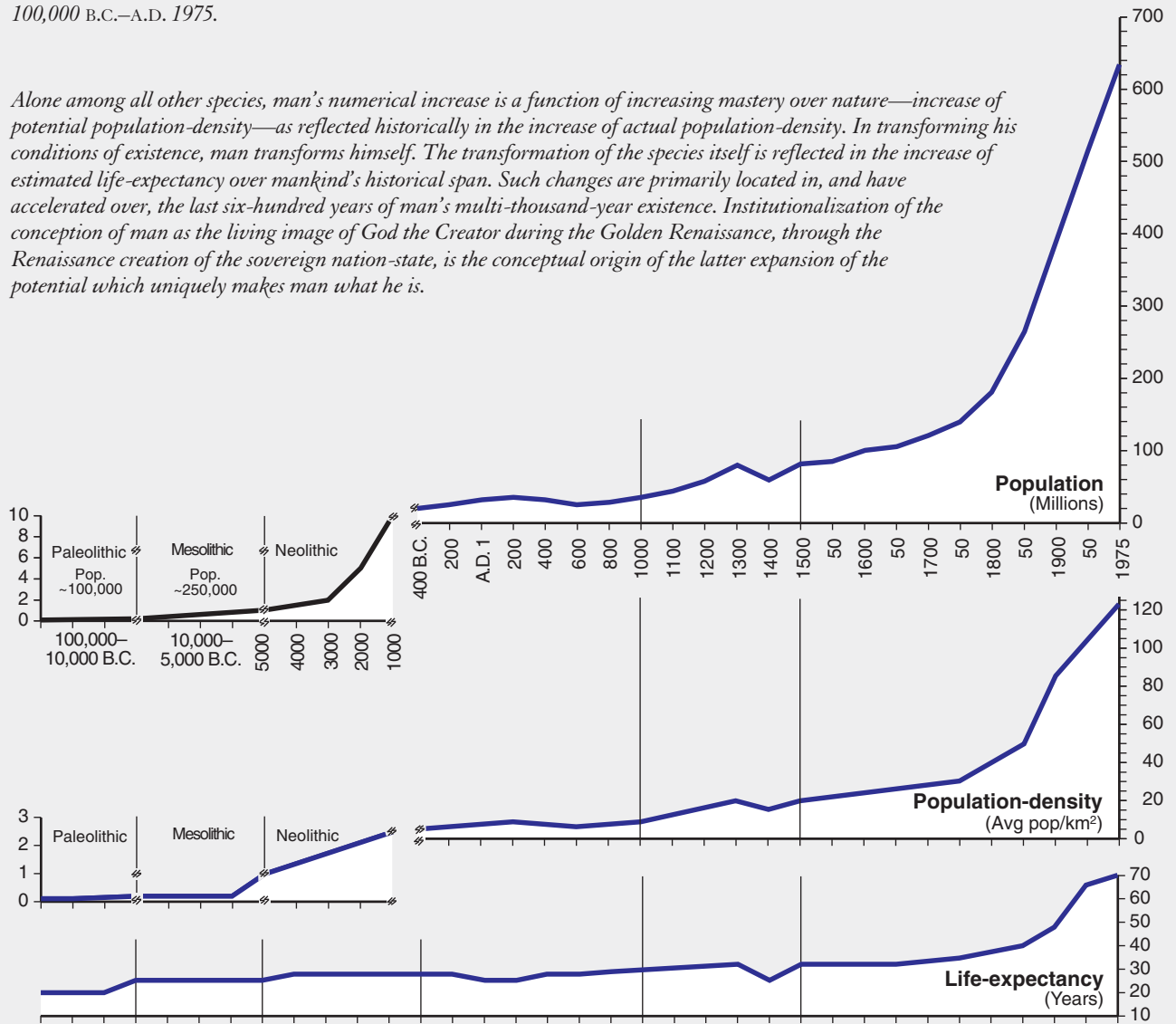
The effect of these two conflicting notions of man, in respect to how society is organized, is reflected in Figure 1. After the Council of Florence and the birth of the sovereign nation-state based upon Platonic-Christian principles, the growth of human population and the increase in human longevity was exponential, in total contrast to the stagnation and entropy which characterize the feudal, Roman, and other earlier periods. Look especially at the phase-space shift from the period 1239-1350 leading into Europe’s Dark Age during the Hundred Years War in France (1337-1453), to the period after the 1438-39 Council of Florence.

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*This article was first presented at the I.C.L.C./Schiller Institute Presidents Day Conference, Feb. 13, 1999, keynoting the panel entitled, “The Nation-State vs. the New Dark Age.”*

FIGURE 1. *Growth of European population, population-density, and life-expectancy at birth, estimated for 100,000 B.C.—A.D. 1975.*

*Alone among all other species, man's numerical increase is a function of increasing mastery over nature—increase of potential population-density—as reflected historically in the increase of actual population-density. In transforming his conditions of existence, man transforms himself. The transformation of the species itself is reflected in the increase of estimated life-expectancy over mankind's historical span. Such changes are primarily located in, and have accelerated over, the last six-hundred years of man's multi-thousand-year existence. Institutionalization of the conception of man as the living image of God the Creator during the Golden Renaissance, through the Renaissance creation of the sovereign nation-state, is the conceptual origin of the latter expansion of the potential which uniquely makes man what he is.*



All charts are based on standard estimates compiled by existing schools of demography. None claim any more precision than the indicative; however, the scaling flattens out what might otherwise be locally, or even temporally, significant variation, reducing all thereby to the set of changes which is significant, independent of the quality of estimates and scaling of the graphs. Sources: For population and population-density, Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*; for life-expectancy, various studies in historical demography.

Note breaks and changes in scales.

## Feudal Warfare

Contrary to the false propaganda of today's globalists, the nation-state is not the cause of war. Rather, virtually all wars fought within Europe were launched by feudalist factions to prevent the development of sovereign nation-states, and through geopolitical manipulation to prevent their collaboration to achieve peace based on the mutual development of their peoples.

This can be seen most clearly in the century leading into Europe's Fourteenth-century Dark Age.

As Professor Friedrich von der Heydte documents in his book *The Hour of Birth of the Sovereign State*, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries, there were already four kingdoms which had developed an identity distinct from the Holy Roman Empire: England under Henry II (1154-1189), France under Louis IX (1226-1270), Sicily under Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1212-1250), and Spain under Ferdinand (1217-1252) and his successor Alfonso the Wise (1252-1258). The development of at least the first three of these states was prepared in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries



by the Norman occupation.

In each of these cases, legal reforms were initiated to regain rights for the crown which had been lost in the feudal period. All special privileges of the barons were to be abolished according to one proposal made to Louis IX. Frederick issued the first scientifically codified system of laws since Justinian. It deprived the nobles of legislative, judicial, and minting powers, centering these in the state.

Legal reform went hand-in-hand with a centralized financial organization. In the case of Frederick, the national economy was carefully regulated. A “just price” was established for various services and goods. The state nationalized production of salt, iron, steel, hemp, tar, dyed fabrics and silks; it operated textile factories; owned and operated slaughterhouses; created model farms; fostered the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane; built roads and bridges; and sank wells to augment the water supply. Internal traffic tolls were reduced to a minimum, but tariffs on exports and imports were imposed. Foreign trade was largely managed by the state, and was carried in vessels owned by the government.

In England and Sicily, feudal military service to the lord was replaced by a tax; the right of the nobility to bear arms in England was changed into the right of all free men to bear arms.

It was to prevent these initial moves towards sovereign states that in 1239, a Venice-controlled faction known as the Guelph League, set in motion a cycle of wars throughout Europe aimed at consolidating an ultra-feudalist, usurious world order. This was part of a sweeping change in the correlation of forces in Europe, following the Venetian oligarchy’s successful exploitation of its control over the Fourth Crusade in 1202-04. This process was accelerated after the death of Frederick II in December 1250. After the killing

of both Manfred and Conradin Hohenstaufen in 1268, the Guelph unleashed chaos, economic ruin, and the rising power of a group of Venice-sponsored bankers throughout Europe typified by the Florentine banking houses of the Bardi and Peruzzi.

Through feudal wars and free-trade-linked financial speculation, Europe’s culture and economy collapsed, and death rates skyrocketed. The blowout of the resulting debt bubble, and ensuing bankruptcy of the Peruzzi and Bardi family banks in 1343-44, unleashed the final stage of that decay.

## The Triumph of Death

I want to give you a brief idea of the Fourteenth-century Dark Age, the model for what today’s globalists will plunge us into once again, if we do not succeed in rooting out the financial oligarchy once and for all.

- The Roman Church, which had been the one unifying institution in Europe, began to disintegrate during the Fourteenth century, owing to its insistence upon a theocratic, supranational concept of its authority over the emerging nation-states. As a result, the Church became a tool of France during its captivity at Avignon from 1305-1378. When the Pope returned to Rome in 1378, the French elected an “anti-Pope,” leading to a schism which lasted forty years.

**The Fourteenth-century Dark Age is a model for what today’s globalists will plunge us into once again, if we do not succeed in rooting out the financial oligarchy once and for all. This Hell on Earth was depicted by the painter Bruegel in ‘The Triumph of Death.’**



Pieter Bruegel the Elder, “The Triumph of Death,” 1562-64 (detail).

Today, Prince Philip's "world religion project"—with which Vice President Al Gore is associated—intends to bring about a similar destruction of Christianity.

- Beginning 1339, Edward III of England invaded France, thereby triggering the Hundred Years War, in which both sides were manipulated by the Venetian-controlled Guelph banking families. Today, we are witnessing the unleashing of wars in Africa, Iraq, the Balkans, Colombia, and elsewhere, which threaten to become a protracted, worldwide war.
- When Edward could not repay the usurious loans he borrowed from the Peruzzi bank in Florence to finance the war, the bank failed in 1343; the Bardi bank failed a year later. Although triggered by Edward's default, the collapse was the result of a huge international bubble of currency speculation created by the Venetians between 1275 and 1350. The banks, which operated free of any national regulation, progressively looted the real economy to feed the speculative debt bubble.
- The Bardi and Peruzzi bankruptcies were quickly followed in 1347 by the first outbreak of bubonic plague. The estimate of modern demographers is that for the area extending from India to Iceland, about one-third of the population died. This would have meant about 20 million deaths in Europe, whose population was reduced by about 40% by the year 1380, and by nearly 50% by the end of the century, as the plague returned again and again. Under similar conditions of total economic collapse today, the already devastating spread of AIDS and other epidemic diseases would accelerate to even greater proportions.
- Because of the lack of emphasis on scientific method in the culture, this devastation gave rise to irrational religious fundamentalist movements like the Flagellants. One sees the same thing today in such movements as the Promise Keepers, and the followers of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell.
- The ruling feudal oligarchies responded to workers' demands for higher pay and shorter hours with fierce repression. In England, the Statute of Laborers (the basis for today's anti-union conspiracy laws) was passed, freezing wages and penalizing workers for seeking other jobs at higher pay. Fugitive workers were declared outlaws and branded on the forehead with an "F," for fugitive. Today's anti-union laws, combined with prison, welfare, and NAFTA slave labor reflect the same feudal mentality.
- Mercenary private armies, called Free Companies, composed of discharged soldiers, exiles, outlaws, and

landless or bankrupt adventurers, exacted tribute from travellers, raided the countryside, imposed ransoms on prosperous villages, and burned poor ones.

It was to eliminate this Hell on Earth—which the painter Bruegel depicted in "The Triumph of Death"—and to realize the principles of Platonic Christianity, that the sovereign nation-state was created. And, it is to prevent a return to an even greater Hell, that our defense and use of the sovereign powers of the nation-state are needed today.

As Lyndon LaRouche has pointed out, the revolution which occurred in the Fifteenth century was prepared by an intellectually powerful minority within society as a whole in a centuries-long process. The influence of St. Augustine, as echoed in the emergence of a civilized order around Charlemagne, the influence of Abelard of Paris, of the cathedral-builders of Chartres, of Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Dante Alighieri, and the Brothers of the Common Life, are among the notable benchmarks.

In his book, von der Heydte traces the philosophical evolution of the notion of the sovereign nation-state during the period 1250-1350.

As he emphasizes, the positive ideas underlying the Holy Roman Empire and the role of the emperor, such as Charlemagne, are that the people are the "children of God," that this is what unifies the empire, and that the empire's mission is to achieve peace for the benefit of all the children of God.

The idea of the state, and of the community of states, evolved from the state taking the power of the empire unto itself. The state took the same rights for its limited area as those which applied to the Holy Roman Empire for the world. The state was to take unto itself the power and freedom of political actions which had previously belonged to the empire exclusively, including the right of war and the right over life and death of people. The king claims in his kingdom the power which accords to the Emperor in the empire; for his subjects in his territorial area of authority, he becomes Emperor.

The kings then claimed the principle of sovereignty, i.e., that they recognized no authority other than God and conscience higher than themselves. They thus placed a spatial limit on the authority of the Emperor. From these ideas evolved the idea of sovereign equality, and, implicitly, the idea of a multiplicity of equal states under law. Eventually, the Empire, which was based in Germany, would become another state alongside other states.

With the emergence of the sovereign state and the political world structure on the basis of equality, the position in law, not only of the Empire, but also of the papacy, would change. The Holy Roman Empire would become a state alongside other states, but the Pope would maintain a spe-

cial position: The Pope would be sovereign, but not at the same level as the other states; he is neither above nor alongside these other states; he is between them, and so, he becomes the natural mediator.

One of the key individuals identified by von der Heydte in developing the basis for the emergence of the sovereign nation-state, is Thomas Aquinas, the son of a southern Italian count, who was a judicial officer under Frederick II.

Building upon Augustine, Aquinas developed the notion of natural law as the principle of reason which ultimately defines sovereignty. For both Augustine and Aquinas, “natural law is nothing else than the rational creature’s participation in the eternal law.” In other words, the sovereign king is not above natural law. The king and the state are denied any form of purely arbitrary authority. The authority of the state depends upon the universality of a principle of reason. Thus, the state is not ruled by the ruler, but rather by the principle of natural law.

For example, Aquinas reiterates the just war doctrine developed by Augustine. Only a sovereign can wage war, but it cannot be done irrationally or arbitrarily. War can only be waged on the basis of agapic love of truth and justice, both for one’s own people, and for the people of the offending nation.

According to von der Heydte, Aquinas opened the way for the theory of the sovereign state with his notion of the *civitas perfecta*, the self-sufficient community, or implicitly, the perfectly sovereign nation-state, whose leadership recognizes no one over it, other than natural law. This notion of the *civitas perfecta* ultimately derives from Augustine’s *City of God* and from Plato’s *Republic*. According to Augustine, the God-given goal of all people is peace, without regard to differences of blood, morals, customs, culture, or faith. Peace is the goal of rule, which gives sovereignty its moral justification and characterizes the duty of the sovereign as service to the people.

This latter concept is in direct contrast to the ideology of the Crusades, or to today’s false concept of a “clash of civilizations.” According to natural law, all men and women, created in the image of the Creator, regardless of their faith, are children of God. Thus, Aquinas, for example, rejected the view that any treaty with heathens was a sin.

Aquinas was undoubtedly influenced in his opposition to the ideology of the Crusades by the example of Freder-



The Granger Collection



The Granger Collection

Top to bottom: Thomas Aquinas, Chartres Cathedral, Peter Abelard.



The Granger Collection

**The revolution which occurred in the Fifteenth century was prepared by an intellectually powerful minority, in a centuries-long process. The influence of St. Augustine, as echoed in the emergence of a civilized order around Charlemagne, of Abelard of Paris, of the cathedral-builders of Chartres, of Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Dante Alighieri, and the Brothers of the Common Life, are among the notable benchmarks.**

ick II, who was urged to lead a Crusade to Jerusalem in 1225. After some delay, he led 40,000 crusaders in 1227. However, when the plague broke out in his army, and he himself was infected, he returned to seek a cure. Pope Gregory would not hear his explanations and excommunicated him. Seven months later, still excommunicated, he set sail again. The Saracen commander, al-Kamil, astonished to find a European ruler who understood Arabic and appreciated Arabic literature, science, and philosophy, made a favorable peace with Frederick, who then entered Jerusalem as a bloodless conqueror. Frederick reportedly spoke nine languages and wrote seven. He corresponded in Arabic with al-Kamil, whom he called his most dear friend after his own sons.

After Aquinas, the most important contributions to the revolutionary developments in the Fifteenth century were made by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), the Brothers of the Common Life, founded by Gerhard Groote (1340-84), Joan of Arc (1412-31), and Nicolaus of Cusa (1401-64).



Alinari/Art Resource, NY

Domenico di Michelino, "Dante Alighieri Reading His Poem," 1465 (detail). The Cathedral of Florence appears to Dante's left.

Dante, an opponent of the Black Guelph, who was exiled from his native Florence, wrote in *De Monarchia* (1310-13) that "the proper work of mankind taken as a whole is to exercise continually its entire capacity for intellectual growth." In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, he argued that the creation of a literate form of vernacular language, common to an entire nation, is a necessary precondition for the intellectual growth of a people, and for the development of its capacity to exercise self-government.

The significance of the Brothers of the Common Life is, that at the very end of the Fourteenth century, they began an educational movement which realized Dante's program. The Brothers earned their living either by teaching poor children, primarily orphans, or by two occupations not controlled by the guilds, copying manuscripts and cooking. Through this effort, the Brothers contributed significantly to educating the 95% majority of the population, who were otherwise oppressed as mere feudal serfs.

What Gerhard Groote and Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, emphasized in their educational work, was the use of primary sources, which the students copied out by hand—the only means of reproducing books in that period. Thereby the student reproduced in his own mind, the intellectual experiences of great scientific discoveries of the past. This approach was in direct opposition to the Aristotelian method preva-

**Dante Alighieri wrote that "the proper work of mankind taken as a whole is to exercise continually its entire capacity for intellectual growth." He argued that the creation of a literate form of vernacular language, common to an entire nation, is a necessary precondition for the intellectual growth of a people, and for the development of its capacity to exercise self-government.**

lent in the universities of the time, which was based upon rote learning and merely formal knowledge. This project laid the basis for the later development of the nation-state and the principle of self-government, as developed by Nicolaus of Cusa. From this standpoint, as à Kempis elaborates in a short work entitled "The Beggar and No Beggar; or, Every Man a King if He Will," even a Beggar who develops his mind is verily a King.

Joan of Arc was the living refutation of the feudal order. She was a woman of the commoners' class who engaged in political-military action, contrary to the rules of chivalry, in order to lead the French people in rescuing her nation, as a nation, from foreign tyrants. Her courage and inspiration, even in martyrdom, led ineluctably to the creation of the French nation-state beginning in 1461 with the reign of Louis XI.

## The Cultural Paradigm Shift

The entropic devolution of the Fourteenth-century Dark Age was the result of the Venetian defeat of the incipient nation-states of the early Thirteenth century. But over the ensuing two hundred years as we have seen, an intellectual minority prepared the way for a revolutionary change. Ironically, the very success of the Venetians in suppressing the nation-state and imposing an entropic feudal paradigm on European society, led necessarily to the devolution of the Fourteenth-century Dark Age. This devolution led inexorably not only to a self-weakening and discrediting of that society, but also to the potential for a reverse cultural paradigm shift, back to an anti-entropic universe. The devolution itself posed an ontological paradox, which could only be resolved through *cognition*, that is, through the generation of a new, higher-order, anti-entropic hypothesis.

This is precisely what occurred in the Fifteenth century, beginning with the Council of Florence (1438-39), which was organized by the great Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa. The critical development at the Council of Florence was the ecumenical reaffirmation of the “*filioque*” clause of the Nicene Creed. “*Filioque*” literally means “and the son.” By stating that the “Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son*,” the Nicene Creed affirms the principle that, since the Son—Christ—is not only God, but also man, all men and women, who are created in the image of God—*imago Dei*—are capable of agapic reason. (In the Christian Trinity, the Holy Spirit is *agapē* or love, and the Son is the *Logos*, or Reason.) Thus, the “*Filioque*” principle uniquely emphasizes the cognitive capacity of each man and woman made in the image of the Creator—in opposition to the Roman Empire’s Code of Diocletian, for example, which explicitly denied this.

The significance of Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, who himself was a product of the Brothers of the Common Life, was that he contributed directly both to the development of the sovereign nation-state, through his works *On Catholic Concordance* (1433) and *The Peace of Faith* (1453) and to the founding of modern science, through his *On Learned Ignorance* (1440). These contributions flowed directly from Cusanus’s belief in the primacy of man’s cognitive capacity, reflected in the *Filioque* doctrine.

What Nicolaus of Cusa contributed in his *On Catholic Concordance* was the revolutionary concept of government by the consent of the governed, which he derived from the self-evident fact that all men are created equal and have equal natural rights, insofar as they are created in the image of God, and are thus endowed with the capacity for creative reason (*capax Dei*).

Anticipating the language of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Cusanus writes:

All legislation is based on natural law and any law which contradicts it cannot be valid. Hence, since natural law is naturally based on reason, all law is rooted by nature in the

**Joan of Arc was the living refutation of the feudal order. A woman of the commoners’ class, she engaged in political-military action, contrary to the rules of chivalry, in order to lead the French people to rescue their nation from foreign tyrants. Her courage and inspiration led ineluctably to the creation of the French nation-state.**

reason of man. . . . All legitimate authority arises from elective concordance and free submission. There is in the people a divine seed by virtue of their common equal birth and the equal natural rights of all men so that all authority—which comes from God as does man himself—is recognized as divine when it arises from the common consent of the subjects. . . . It is the common opinion of all the experts on the subject that the Roman people can take the power to make laws away from the emperor because he derives his power from the people. . . . When they order something contrary to a divine commandment it is evident that the command does not share in the divine rulership, and so one should not obey it. . . . No one is obliged to observe an unjust law, and no living person is exempt from a just one.

In the *Peace of Faith*, written immediately after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Cusanus establishes natural law as also the basis for foreign policy among diverse peoples and nations. Cusanus argues in dialogue format, using a character based on the Apostle Paul, that despite different religions having received their commandments through the hands of various prophets, the divine commandments are known uni-



*Equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, St. Augustine Church, Paris.*

EIRNS/Christopher Lewis

**The radiated impact of the affirmation of the Platonic principle of natural law by Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, in the context of the Council of Florence, laid the basis for the introduction of a new form of state by France's Louis XI. The modern nation-state would promote the general welfare, by developing the cognitive capacity of the people, so as to increase mankind's power over nature through scientific and economic development.**



**Left:** Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa. **Below:** Cathedral of Florence. The dome, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi, was completed just before the 1439 Council.

EIRNS/Nora Hamerman

versally, because they are innate in the human intellect. In each of us, reason, or the Word, who is God, says to love Him and do nothing to another except that which we wish done to us. Adherence in one's actions to the law of love is thus the unique basis for establishing concord, or a community of principle, among the sovereign nation-states of the world.

Moreover, it was this latter emphasis on the human intellect and cognition, which led Cusanus to become the founder of modern science. In total opposition to the Aristotelian view of the universe as essentially fixed, which dominated the Fourteenth century, Cusanus argued in such locations as *On Learned Ignorance* (1440), that man as a microcosm has the capacity to act on the basis of his creative intellect to further develop the potential of the macrocosm. In *The Game of Spheres*, he writes that "the power of the soul is to reason and therefore the power to reason is the soul. . . . For this reason, the soul is the inventive power of the arts and of new sciences." For Cusanus, insofar as man imitates Christ, who as Maximal Reason is the creator of the world, he is capable of being the instrument of the further unfolding of all things enfolded in God.

## The First Sovereign Nation-States

The radiated impact of the affirmation of this Platonic principle of natural law by Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, in the context of the Council of Florence, laid the basis for the introduction in practice, by France's Louis XI, of the new form of state, the sovereign nation-state republic. As you will see, with the creation of the first modern sovereign nation-states in France and England, an institution was created and wielded that would promote the general welfare by dirigistically developing the cognitive capacity



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of all the people, so as to increase mankind's power over nature through scientific and economic development.

Louis XI was born on July 3, 1423. From the age of two, until he was ten, his parents hid him for safety in the Loches castle. Joan of Arc came to Loches after her first great victory in 1429 at Orleans. Louis was six. In that year he began his formal education based upon a program of instruction designed by Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, who was otherwise known for his defense of the Brothers of the Common Life against charges of heresy at the Council of Constance. Louis was fifteen years old at the time of the Council of Florence.

Louis was not to become King of France until 1461 at age 38. However, in 1447 at age 24 he assumed control of the state of Dauphine and began to implement policies there that foreshadowed the measures he would later take to create the first modern sovereign nation-state. He abolished a hodge-podge of administrative subdivisions and reorganized the province. He established a Parliament, sped up the process of litigation, established an official

register of documents, and set up a government postal service, the first in Europe. (This is something Benjamin Franklin would do in the United States before independence.) He founded a university at Valence with faculties of theology, civil and canon law, medicine, and liberal arts. He curbed the power of the feudal lords and stimulated the growth of towns. He encouraged agriculture by putting a tax on wheat coming into Dauphine. He offered financial inducements to enterprising merchants, ennobled them, took their sons into his service, and encouraged skilled foreign artisans to settle in Dauphine.

Louis abolished private warfare, a privilege enjoyed by the nobles, demanded that all nobles do homage to him, required them to furnish military service at their own expense. He succeeded in establishing his authority over prelates as well as nobles.

He transformed his backward province into a state, gave it a cohesion it had never known, and organized an administration that was probably more efficient than any other in Europe. He enacted in all more than a thousand decrees, ranging from broad reforms to minute regulations for the welfare of individuals and towns.

However, his father King Charles VII, who had abandoned Joan of Arc to be burned at the stake, and for whom Louis had no respect, was threatened by his efforts. When the King sent an army to dislodge him in 1456, Louis, at age 33, was compelled to flee to Burgundy, where the Duke his uncle provided him a residence in exile, until Charles died in 1461 and Louis became king.

Over the course of his reign from 1461-1483, Louis XI succeeded against great domestic and foreign opposition in unifying France as a sovereign nation-state by effecting the same kinds of reforms in France as he earlier implemented in Dauphine. As Lyndon LaRouche has written:

Although he sought peace and compromise with the feudal nobility of his reconstructed kingdom, he shifted the center of power toward an urban intelligentsia of the quality produced by educational institutions such as the Brothers of the Common Life. Louis XI's emphasis upon the role of such an intelligentsia drawn from the ranks of plebeians and the poor, and his emphasis upon the general welfare of France as a whole as the standard of reason in law-making, are leading among the qualities which define his France as a sovereign nation-state republic, even though relics of the former feudal social order are participants in the republic.

As King, Louis implemented those nation-building policies he had pioneered in Dauphine: He instituted tax reforms, and took into service men of no rank but promising talents. He ennobled his principal townsmen, and permitted enterprising nobles to engage in trade without losing the privileges of nobility. He planted a silk

industry. He took the new craft of printing under his protection. He shook up the mining industry by establishing a "master general of mines"; by requiring all owners of ore-bearing property either to exploit their resources or for a percentage of the profits, to lease out the holdings; by exempting masters and workers from taxes; and by encouraging foreign miners to settle in France. In 1481, he planned the creation of a great port in Marseilles to facilitate expanded trade.

In 1483, the last year of his life, Louis composed the *Rosebush of War* to instruct his son and heir Charles. In this book, Louis summarizes the responsibility of the King to ensure the common good or the commonweal of his nation: "The prince must provide for maintenance of the public works and edifices, and make improvements and repairs on the roads, the bridges, the ports, the walls, the moats, and the other things in his towns and castles which are necessary."

But all of these economic development plans were only brought to fruition to the extent that he succeeded over nearly two decades in bringing the Church of France under his domination (he had no use whatever for the Holy Inquisition), in breaking the power of feudalism, and in bringing the princely fiefdoms and duchies into submission to the French nation-state. He accomplished this not primarily by military means, although he used such as necessary, but rather by a willingness to pardon his enemies in order to win them over to serving his higher mission to create a French nation-state. He did this, even at great risk to his own physical safety, as in 1468, when he dismissed his guard and rode off to meet his mightiest enemy at the time, the Duke of Burgundy, with a retinue of 50 lords and attendants, who on his orders wore no armor and bore no weapons.

The second example Lyndon LaRouche gives of a modern sovereign nation-state is that of Tudor England under Henry VII. As LaRouche points out, the revolutions effected by both Louis XI and Henry VII are to be contrasted with the fraud of the English Magna Carta (1215). The latter is not a true case of the establishment of a sovereign nation, but just the opposite, a victory for feudal baronies. Instead of subordinating the feudal baronies to the sovereign nation-state as Louis XI and Henry VII did, in the case of the Magna Carta, King John I was compelled by the barons to relinquish his sovereignty. As LaRouche writes, "the Magna Carta was the root-cause for many evils, including the consequent horror-show, centuries later, called England's Wars of the Roses."

Henry VII (1457-1509) became King of England in 1485 after a long exile in Brittany, Northern France, beginning in 1471 while Louis XI was King of France. After Richard III, whose evil is well known to readers of

**In the *Rosebush of War*, France's Louis XI summarized the responsibility of the King to ensure the common good of his nation: 'The prince must provide for maintenance of the public works and edifices, and make improvements and repairs on the roads, the bridges, the ports, the walls, the moats, and the other things in his towns and castles which are necessary.'**

Shakespeare, assumed power in England through a coup d'etat in 1483, a conspiracy evolved to end the Wars of the Roses (1455-85) and depose Richard III by crowning Henry VII.

When Louis XI died in 1483, his son Charles was only thirteen. Anne Beaujeu, Louis' eldest daughter, governed France during his minority. In 1484, Henry fled Brittany for the French court, which provided him with support for a successful invasion in 1485. Having spent thirteen years in France during the time when Louis XI completed his mission of creating the first modern sovereign nation-state, Henry VII proceeded to follow in his footsteps. Sir Walter Raleigh takes note of this in his *History of the World*:

This cruel King (Richard III), Henry VII cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of God's justice. A politic Prince he was, if ever there were any, and who, by the engine of his wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after he wore the crown, as ever any King of England did. . . . He had well observed the proceedings of Louis XI, whom he followed in all that was royal or royal-like. . . .

A number of laws enacted and enforced by Henry VII parallel those of Louis XI: For example, Henry imposed a heavy duty upon wool shipped to Europe, in order to prevent the raw material being carried out of the country, and to encourage the home manufacture of cloth. He enacted an early form of capital controls with a law that no money, nor gold or silver plate, could be carried out of England without being subject to a very heavy penalty.

Also, of importance in respect to the question of justice for all, Henry VII issued a proclamation commanding justice for "all manner of men, as well the poor as the rich (which be to him all one in due ministration of Justice)," and if he have no remedy, then he who is grieved shall "come to the King's highness, or to his Chancellor."

Like the government of Louis XI, that of Henry was also influenced by the Brothers of the Common Life. Henry chose as his chancellor, Bishop John Morton, who



France's King Louis XI (reigned 1461-1485).

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had been one of the chief architects of the victory over Richard III. Morton remained in office until his death in 1500. Sir Thomas More, a friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was educated by the Brothers of the Common Life, was a young associate of Morton's. Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort, had also sponsored a translation of the first three books of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis.

## The Battle Today

Although Louis XI and Henry VII represent instances of the introduction of genuine principles of the sovereign nation-state republic, the failures of their heirs demonstrate the fragility of a republic established in a monarchical form.

The failure of the League of Cambrai to militarily defeat Venice in 1510, has meant that since the revolution of the Fifteenth century, the nation-state has existed in a symbiotic relationship with its oligarchical enemy, which has functioned as a parasite on its nation-state host.

Our own constitutional republic was a product of the revolution of the Fifteenth century. First, the Americas were discovered and colonized as a direct result of the Council of Florence. Christopher Columbus's 1492 voyage resulted from the collaboration of two of Nicolaus of Cusa's closest collaborators, the Italian scientist Paolo





*England's King Henry VII (reigned 1485-1509).*

**Laws enacted and enforced by Henry VII parallel those of Louis XI: He imposed a heavy duty upon wool shipped to Europe, to prevent the raw material being carried out of the country, and encourage home manufacture of cloth. He enacted an early form of capital controls. And, in respect to the question of justice for all, Henry issued a proclamation commanding justice for 'all manner of men, as well the poor as the rich.'**

Toscanelli, and Ferdinand Martin, the Canon of Lisbon, Portugal. Both of these individuals appear as participants in dialogues written by Cusanus; Toscanelli is Cusanus's interlocutor in "The Dialogue on the Quadrature of the Circle," and Martin is one of several participants identified in "On the Not-Other." Both were witnesses to Cusanus's last will and testament.

When Columbus was in Portugal, he learned that Toscanelli had written letters to Ferdinand Martin about a westward voyage to the Orient. With Martin as intermediary, Columbus then engaged in a direct correspondence with Toscanelli. In 1480, Columbus received a letter from Toscanelli which included a map and the scientific information required for such a voyage. Columbus is known to have carried this navigational map with him during his successful voyage in 1492.

Second, when the oligarchy proved too strong politically in Europe for the completion of the Fifteenth century revolution there, the United States of America was created as the highest and most complete expression of that revolution. This was expressed in the Declaration of Independence with its emphasis on "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" and the Preamble to the Constitution, with its emphasis on promoting the General Welfare.

Unfortunately, however, even our great nation has been subverted by the financial oligarchy, as evidenced by the compromise, which permitted slavery at the founding of our Republic; by the British-engineered Confederate

secession; and the ongoing efforts today by the British Commonwealth-centered, Wall Street-allied financier oligarchy to destroy our Presidency and with it our sovereignty as a nation.

One should not be lulled into complacency by the recent defeat of the impeachment of the President. We have won a battle, but we have not yet won the war. We must *not* act like General Meade, who refused to pursue and defeat General Lee and thus win the war after the victory at Gettysburg. We must act like Sherman and Grant under Lincoln's command.

The moment in history has come when the Venetian-style financial oligarchy, now centered in Britain and its Commonwealth, like the Guelph of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries, has determined to destroy the nation-state and maintain its political power even at the expense of a New Dark Age. The symbiotic relationship of the last 550 years between the nation-state and the financial oligarchy is over. Mankind will only survive to the extent that we destroy the financial oligarchy and its irrationalist imperial form of government once and for all and fulfill our obligation to our ancestors, who gave us the sovereign nation-state, by creating finally a worldwide family of nation-states for the benefit of all humanity and our posterity.

As Abraham Lincoln said in his Gettysburg address:

It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work, which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

# The Aesthetical Of

The success of the American Revolution was indeed a 'shot heard 'round the world.' Republicans everywhere were inspired by the possibility that similar republics could be established throughout the globe. But, after the French Revolution failed, the German poet and playwright Friedrich Schiller wrote his *Letters on the Aesthetical Education of Man*, to argue that a people would be successful in establishing republican government, only if they had first undergone a process of aesthetical education.

*What allowed the American Revolution to be a success? Was it the 'aesthetical education' of the American colonists?*



Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Wharton Sinkler

*Benjamin West, "Benjamin Franklin Drawing Electricity from the Sky," 1816. The poet Friedrich Schiller celebrated Franklin's experiments by referencing "God's sparks" in his famous "Ode to Joy."*

# Education America

by Robert Trout

Alexander Hamilton opened *The Federalist Papers*, which he co-authored with James Madison and John Jay to advocate the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by challenging the American people that, “it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.”<sup>1</sup>

The success of the American Revolution was indeed a “shot heard ’round the world.” Republicans everywhere were inspired by the possibility that similar republics could be established throughout the globe. The German poet and playwright Friedrich Schiller described the excitement felt by many in Europe: “Full of expectation, the eyes of the philosopher, as of the man of the world, are fastened upon the political theater of action, where now, as one believes, the great destiny of humanity is treated.”

These hopes were quickly dashed, however, when the attempt to reproduce the success of the American Revolution in France quickly degenerated into a Reign of Terror, in which an estimated 40,000 people were killed, including many of France’s leading scientists and republican leaders. After the French Revolution failed, Schiller wrote his *Letters on the Aesthetical Education of Man*,<sup>2</sup> to argue that a people would be successful in establishing republican government, only if they had first undergone a process of aesthetical education.

This calls up the question: *What allowed the American Revolution to be a success?* In this essay we will demon-



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*Homage to Friedrich Schiller as he leaves the theater in Leipzig after the premiere of his “Virgin of Orleans,” 1801.*

strate that the success of the American Revolution was the result of the “aesthetical education” of the American colonists.

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Schiller’s *Aesthetical Letters*, his “political treatise” on the requirements for establishing republican government, was written as a series on “the results of my inquiries into the beautiful and art.” Schiller informs the reader that the potential for a great political revolution beckons the philosophical mind “to engage itself with the most perfect of all works of art, with the construction of a true political freedom.” Even though the eyes of the world were focussed on questions of the just design of new political institutions, Schiller did not focus on the political sphere according to the prevailing assumptions of his day. “That I resist this alluring temptation and cause beauty to walk in front of freedom” was necessary, since, he says, “in order to solve the political problem in

experience, [one] must take the path through the aesthetical, because it is beauty, through which one proceeds to freedom.”

*Why does Schiller assert this?* The answer to this question, points to a profound difference between the character of the American colonists, and that of the majority of their European contemporaries.

## The Founding of the Modern Nation-State

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Throughout most of its history, mankind’s condition has been characterized by an aristocratic class ruling over masses of commoners through feudal institutions, where the life of the majority 95 percent was little better than that of cattle. It was only with the establishment of the modern nation-state, that it became possible to end feudalism, and uplift the population to conditions consistent with human dignity.

The 1439 Council of Florence marked a watershed in the transformation of society from feudalism to the nation-state. Representatives of the Eastern and Western Christian churches wrought a unification of Christendom based upon the Nicene Creed, which contains the doctrine of the *Filioque*, that is, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son. This affirmation of the divinity of Christ, introduced the conception of man in the image of God as the principle governing affairs among men.

The Renaissance (in Italian, “Rebirth”) was the creation of republicans who consciously brought back the Platonic tradition of Greek civilization, breaking the domination of the Aristotelean philosophy which had held back Europe for over 1,500 years. Teaching orders like the Brotherhood of the Common Life spread education to the children of commoners, and created geniuses like Nicolaus of Cusa and Erasmus of Rotterdam. The project for colonizing the New World grew out of the intellectual circles of Nicolaus of Cusa, who was the key organizer of the Florentine Council.

The first modern nation-state was established in France by Louis XI, who ruled from 1461 to 1484. Louis made the purpose of the French nation the welfare of all its citizens, and in so doing, brought into political practice the theological precepts of the 1439 Council. Wielding a government intelligentsia educated by the teaching orders, Louis rapidly transformed France, checking the power of the aristocracy, and doubling the economic output of the nation during his reign. This success increased the military power of France, and made it impossible for the forces of feudalism to crush it.

England moved to copy France under the first Tudor king, Henry VII (reigned 1485-1509). The nation, which had been devastated by feudal rivalries and dynastic wars, underwent a profound transformation.

Nonetheless, even though the nation-state became thus firmly established in Europe, the power of the landed and financial oligarchies was not broken. Instead, these aristocracies continued to exist in symbiotic relationship to the institutions of the nation-state, which were distorted from their true republican purpose as a result. Beginning the Sixteenth century, Europe’s financial aristocracy, which had been centered in Venice throughout the later Middle Ages, began to relocate its center of operations northward, to The Netherlands and England. The last chance to rescue England from the Venetian takeover was the battle waged by Gottfried Leibniz and his collaborators, including Jonathan Swift in England, at the beginning of the Eighteenth century. However, with the accession of George I in 1714, a Venetian-style financial oligarchy—well-characterized as the “Venetian Party”—established firm control.<sup>3</sup> America’s break with England became essential.

### Schiller vs. the Empiricists

In his opening Aesthetical Letters, Schiller describes the period of early civilization as the childhood of mankind. Man’s existence was dominated by his natural instincts, a condition which Schiller describes as “sensual slumber.” In the first condition of raw nature, man sees the world only in terms of how he can use it to meet his sensual needs, or how it may present a threat to him. Since he has not ordered the world outside himself according to “form,” all the things in it appear to him as disconnected objects. His emotional life is dominated by greed and rage. This condition of raw nature is only an abstraction, to which man has never fully conformed, but from which he has never fully escaped. When mankind’s existence more closely approximated this condition, governments may have existed, because they were necessary to achieve the requirements of physical existence, but they were based, not on reason, but on force.

Writing in the aftermath of the American Revolution, Schiller raised the great hope that mankind could replace government of “the blind right of the stronger,” with government based on reason. Long-held conventions were now being questioned, and man was seeking to reorder government to cohere with the true nature of man:

However artfully and firmly blind caprice may have founded its work, however arrogantly it may maintain it and with whatever appearance of veneration may surround it—he may, with this operation [reason], consider it as fully

undone, for the work of blind power possesses no authority, before which freedom need bow, and all must accommodate itself to the highest purpose, which reason erects in his personality. In this way the attempt of a people to come of age, to transform its natural state into a moral, arises and justifies itself.

Schiller asks, How can this transformation of the institutions of government come about? The transformation must be carried out by the citizens themselves. This leads to a second question: What qualities are required of the citizens, to make them capable of accomplishing this task?

If mankind were still in its natural, "savage" state, it would be incapable of living under, much less establishing republican government. The natural character of man, selfish and violent, aims much more toward destroying, than preserving society. Therefore, the blind instincts of destructive egoism must be calmed, before society can allow multiplicity. But, at the same time, the independence of man's character from the acceptance of despotism, must be secured, before this multiplicity were made subservient to government.

Schiller demonstrates that, if mankind conceives of morality in the form of abstractions, but lacks the will to put these conceptions into practice, then it will be incapable of establishing republican government. Here, Schiller has identified a problem discussed by Plato in *The Republic*. If morality is to order human behavior, it must cease being merely hypothetical, and become a force connected and driven by emotion. Man must develop what Plato described as *agapē*, the emotional commitment to fight for truth and justice. Thus, Schiller writes, in order for man to live under government and still preserve his freedom, his character must be developed, so that "his instincts are sufficiently harmonious with his reason, in order to be of use as universal legislation."

The French Revolution failed, because the overwhelming majority of French citizens did not possess the character required to carry out a successful transformation of their government into a republic. Schiller writes:

The edifice of the natural state rocks, its worn out foundations give way, and a physical possibility seems given, to place the law upon the throne, to honor man finally as an end in himself and to make true freedom the basis of political union. Vain hope! The moral possibility is wanting; and the generous moment finds an unresponsive people.

Schiller describes the lower classes as savages, and the more educated, as barbarians:

In the lower and more numerous classes, brutal lawless instincts present themselves to us, which unleash themselves after the dissolved bond of the civil order, and hasten with unruly fury to their animal satisfaction.

He labels the cultured classes barbarian, because their culture and education has "so little an ennobling influence on the inner convictions, that it rather strengthens the corruption through maxims." The educated classes are worse than the ignorant masses, since they

give us the still adverse sight of slackness and of a depravity of character, which revolts so much the more, because culture itself is its source.

Schiller identifies the flawed ideology that had come to dominate Europe in the form of British empiricism and utilitarianism:

Utility is the great idol of the time, for which all powers slave and all talents should pay homage. Upon this coarse balance hath the spiritual merit of art no weight, and robbed of all encouragement, it vanishes from the noisy mart of the century.

Philosophical empiricism had been consciously spread as an ideology to sabotage the effects of the Renaissance. It can be traced back to Paolo Sarpi, the Seventeenth-century Venetian who played a key role in the oligarchy's counter-deployment against the Renaissance.

Sarpi preserved the basic ideological content of Plato's enemy Aristotle, but presented it under a modern cover. He argued that knowledge was based on sense perception, and claimed, following Aristotle, that the nature of man is not to be governed by reason, but to be dominated by the emotions of greed and rage. Hence, Sarpi assumed that the essence of human nature was the very bestial tendency which Schiller shows must be overcome to establish republican government. The empiricist ideologues Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Adam Smith, France's Voltaire, and numerous such others, all derived their views from this bestial conception of man. Hobbes, Locke, *et. al.* argued that society must be organized, such that each man can best achieve the object of his animalistic instincts. For example, John Locke's political theory, the Social Contract, aims at establishing government among men who are driven by greed and rage.<sup>4</sup>

Schiller shows that when man is dominated by this ideology, even the development of his rational faculties works merely to extend his greed:

His heart remains in the sensual, so the infinity of form extends his cravings for material. The first fruits of this misdirected reason are care and fear. Man loses the happy, limited animal existence, and seeks to meet his animal desires over the infinity of time. All unconditional systems of happiness are fruits of this tree.

A people dominated by this ideology would not be capable of establishing a republic,

[b]ecause sensuousness knows no other aim than its advantage, and feels itself driven by no other cause than blind chance; so he makes the former the determiner of his actions, and the latter the ruler of the world.

Hence it was, that the French Revolution succeeded in merely replacing the French monarchy, with a government that was even more arbitrary and tyrannical.

## England's Tudor Renaissance

Today, it is often claimed that the theories of the empiricist Locke were the basis for the American Revolution. In fact, the roots of the American Revolution can be traced back to the Renaissance, and the spread of the Renaissance in England.

Henry VII carried out reforms to control the power of the feudal aristocracy and develop England. He brought in as advisers, men who were steeped in the Florentine Renaissance, such as John Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was also the patron of Thomas More. A major effort was launched by the circle of collaborators including More, More's friend Desiderius Erasmus, John Colet, and William Lily, to bring the Platonic method of Renaissance learning to England. Around 1510, Erasmus collaborated with the Platonists Colet and Lily to found St. Paul's School. The educational methods introduced at St. Paul's were then spread throughout England with the establishment of public grammar schools. Under Henry VIII, the number of grammar schools expanded dramatically, even as Henry became disoriented by Venetian intrigues. The works of Erasmus, and a textbook written by Lily and Erasmus, were used in the grammar schools throughout England.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536), who played such a

key role in launching the Renaissance in England, was the most important writer and Platonist philosopher during this period, working to reform both society and the Church. Erasmus promoted the idea that children of all classes and backgrounds should be educated. He recognized that the purpose of education was to develop the creative powers of the individual, and not to focus narrowly on learning a single skill.

Erasmus's text, *On the Civility of Children's Conduct*,<sup>5</sup> established modern education based on republican principles. He stated that, "[t]he possessors of true nobility are those who can use on their coat of arms, ideas which they have thoroughly learned from the liberal arts," and stressed that education of the entire population "is a public obligation in no way inferior to the ordering of the army."

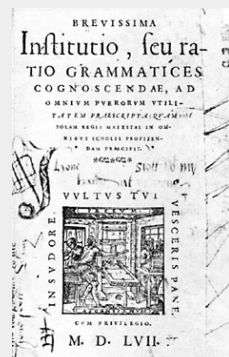
Although a battle raged for control of England during the Sixteenth century, with increasing infiltration by Venetian interests, the period was characterized by efforts to develop the national economy, and uplift and educate the population. Government policies in the tradition of Henry VII consciously promoted manufactures and seafaring. Scientific advances were promoted in areas such as metallurgy and navigation. William Gilbert's *De Magnete (On the Magnet)*, released in 1600, was the first great book of modern science to be published in England, and the first by an Englishman. Gresham College, established in 1597 as a center for scientific research, spread this knowledge into the broader population. The plays of William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe stand as excellent examples of aesthetic education, using drama to create a citizenry capable of comprehending the principles of republican government.

The Tudor Renaissance had a dramatic effect in



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The Tudor Renaissance launched study of Classical learning in England. **Left:** Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. **Right:** John Colet.



Educator William Lily's "Short Introduction of Grammar," 1557.



Library of Congress

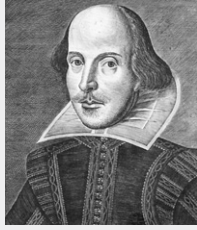
England's leading Christian Platonist was Erasmus's friend Thomas More (below), Chancellor under Henry VIII. More's book "Utopia" called for reform of economic relations and social conditions in the kingdom (illustration right).



The Granger Collection



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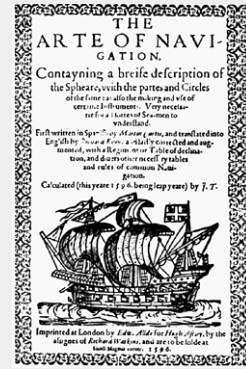
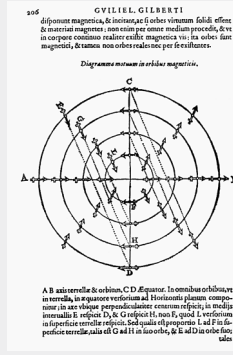
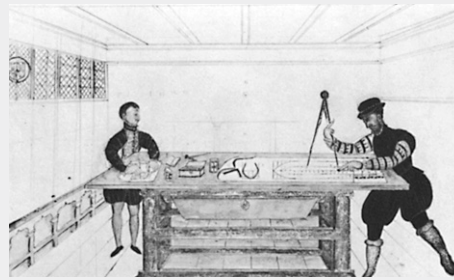


The dramas of William Shakespeare (top left) and Christopher Marlowe (left) aimed at creating citizens capable of comprehending republican principles.



The Granger Collection

"De Magnete" (right), England's first great scientific treatise, was written by William Gilbert (far right), physician to Elizabeth I.



Above: Tudor economic policy fostered seafaring and navigational arts.

uplifting the English population, both morally and intellectually. In 1615, England's literacy rate, which was estimated at one-third, was one of the highest of any nation in the world; the literacy rate in France, for example, was then estimated to have been only 20 percent. England's literacy rate rose through the Seventeenth century, reaching a high point of about 50 percent.<sup>6</sup>

The promotion of education, especially during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, fostered the founding of new grammar schools, such that by 1600 every boy, even in the remotest part of the country, could find a place of education in his own neighborhood, competent to prepare him to enter college.<sup>7</sup>

The English Puritans were the most supportive of education of any grouping in England. A statement by Cotton Mather, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, exemplifies the emphasis of both the English and American Puritans on the necessity of literacy for salvation. Mather, in his sermon, "What Must I Do To Be Saved?," answers:

Knowledge, Knowledge; To get good Knowledge, let that be the First Care of them that would be Saved. Knowledge, 'Tis a Principal thing; My Child, Get Knowledge; with all thy might, Get understanding. Oh! That this Resolution might immediately be made in the minds of all our people; I will get as much Knowledge as ever I can! The Word of God must be Read and Heard with Diligence that so you may arrive to the Knowledge that is needful for you. The Catechisms in which you have the Word of God fitted for your more early Apprehension of it must be diligently Studied. Unto all the other Means of Knowledge, there

must be added, Humble and Earnest Supplications before the Glorious Lord, You must cry to God for Knowledge, and lift up your Voice to Him for Understanding; Prefer it before Silver, Before any Earthy Treasures.<sup>8</sup>

It was the positive impulse of England's Tudor Renaissance which was the tradition in which the American colonies would grow toward republican self-government.

## John Winthrop and the Massachusetts Bay Colony

The story of the Aesthetical Education of America starts in 1630 with the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, although colonies had been previously established in Virginia and in New England at Plymouth Rock. The founding of Massachusetts Bay marked the beginning of a remarkable development of the principles of self-government. Lawfully, this colony was also the first society in the world to require universal education of its populace.

The establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, with a charter allowing for self-government, is a story in itself, which is reported in depth in H. Graham Lowry's seminal *How the Nation Was Won*.<sup>9</sup> The founders of the colony obtained from King Charles I, a charter which allowed the "freemen" of the company to elect their own officers. Although nominally under the rule of the gov-

ernment of England, Massachusetts Bay practiced self-government under this charter, until Charles II revoked it in 1684.

John Winthrop was the colony's most influential founder. Born in 1588, the son of a wealthy landowner, he was educated for two years at Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected the first governor, in October 1629, before the colonists set sail from England, he held office for approximately twelve years, until his death in 1649. More important than his official position, however, was his intellectual leadership.

Winthrop was a member of the Puritan faction within the established Church of England. In 1629, he wrote his "Arguments for the Plantation of New England," in which he explained why a wealthy man like himself would choose to abandon his position in England, for a place in the wilderness. In this statement, Winthrop exposed an anti-human outlook widespread in England:

[I]t is come to pass that children, servants & neighbors (especially if they be poor) are counted the greatest burden, which, if things were right, it would be the chiefest earthly blessings. . . . This land grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man who is the most precious of all creatures is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us, than a horse or a sheep, masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children, all towns complain of the burden of their poor though we have taken up many unnecessary, yea unlawful trades to maintain them.

Winthrop argued that this anti-human outlook would be overturned by the establishment of colonies, where the colonists would follow the injunction in Genesis 1:28<sup>10</sup>:

The whole earth is the Lord's garden & he hath given it to the sons of men, with a general condition, Gen:1.28. Increase and multiply, replenish the earth and subdue it, which was again renewed to Noah, the end is double, moral and natural, that man might enjoy the fruits of the earth. . . .

Winthrop and the first colonists set sail from England in the Spring of 1630. On the ship *Arbella*, he delivered perhaps his most important statement, the lay sermon "Modell of Christian Charity."<sup>11</sup> In this sermon, he proposed to his fellow colonists that their new colony must set an example that would transform the world: "For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us." Winthrop argued that the very survival of the colony would depend upon establishing a society coherent with the Golden Rule. This is, of course, what Schiller understood to be required for the success of a republic.

He began his sermon with the observation that, although God had created divisions in mankind between rich and poor, and between those eminent in power and dignity and others mean and in subjection, the colony's very survival demanded that the conventional class structure be circumvented, and that all men and women work together, rich and poor alike. He compared the colony to a body, where *love* is the ligament that binds the body together. He defined love as

the bond of perfection. First it is a bond, or ligament. Truly, it makes the worke perfect. There is noe body but consists of partes, and that which knitts these partes together gives the body its perfection, because it makes eache parte soe contiguous to other as thereby they doe mutually participate with each other.

Winthrop argued that each must show the same concern for others, as that which "makes hime carefull of his owne good." He outlined rules for giving and lending, and argued that "wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities."

Lastly, Winthrop argued that the colonists had formed a special covenant with God, to live by these principles. "Thus stands the cause between God and us, wee are entered into Covenant with him for this worke." Winthrop stated that man must meet his obligations to God for society to prosper. "Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to this place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, [and] will expect a strickt performance of the Articles contained in it." From this statement springs the covenant theology which became a common theme among New England preachers.

It is today a commonly held prejudice that the Puritans were staunch followers of the Calvinist ideology of predestination. However, Winthrop's polemics in two major controversies in Massachusetts Bay demonstrate that he was seeking to establish a positive conception of freedom, similar to that recognized by Schiller.

In the "Antinomian" religious controversy, Winthrop defended the existence of free will in man; those who opposed it, tended to promote the dissolution of the republic. The controversy was provoked when, in 1634, Anne Hutchinson arrived from England and began factionalizing among the colonists with her doctrines.

Hutchinson and her followers, who were labelled Antinomians, believed that God's grace was presented free and unconditionally to a handful of souls at the Creation. Therefore, good works could have no effect on whether one obtained or failed to obtain salvation. In this she was following the predestination doctrine of John



Calvin. Hutchinson rejected the importance of following the moral law contained in the Bible, as taught by the colony's ministers, claiming instead that her actions were governed directly by the Holy Spirit.

A comparison of the dispute between Winthrop and the Antinomians, to the dispute between Erasmus and Martin Luther over a hundred years earlier, shows Winthrop to be in the Platonist camp of Erasmus. In 1524, Erasmus wrote "On Free Will,"<sup>12</sup> in answer to Luther. Erasmus charged that a doctrine which denies that men possess free will, will lead to the condition where God is seen as the cause of both good and evil in man. A consequence of this doctrine is, that God must punish man for evil which man, in fact, has no control over. This doctrine would encourage Godlessness:

How many weak ones would continue in their perpetual and laborious battle against their own flesh? What wicked fellow would henceforth try to better his conduct? Who could love with all his heart a God who fires a hell with eternal pain, in order to punish there poor mankind for his own evil deeds, as if God enjoyed human distress?

Luther's response, "The Bondage of the Will,"<sup>13</sup> reaffirmed his rejection of the freedom of the will, with an argument that compared man to a beast. Luther stated,

Thus the human will is like a beast of burden. If God rides it, it wills and goes whence God wills; as the Psalm says, "I was as a beast of burden before thee" (Psalm 72:22). If Satan rides, it wills and goes where Satan wills. Nor may it choose to which rider it will run, nor which it will seek. But the riders themselves contend who shall have and hold it.

Winthrop denounced Hutchinson and her doctrines with arguments similar to those of Erasmus. He called the Antinomians "Libertines," stating that "many profane persons became of her opinion, for it was a very easie and acceptable way to heaven," and "indeed most of her new tenets tended toward slothfulness."<sup>14</sup>

In a second controversy, Winthrop developed the two different conceptions of freedom: natural liberty, and civil or federal liberty. In the "Little Speech on Liberty,"<sup>15</sup> Winthrop responded to accusations that he had overstepped his authority in an incident involving the appointment of a captain for the militia. He defined natural liberty as that of a brute beast, which is "a liberty to do evil as well as good." He said:

There is a Liberty of corrupt Nature, which is affected both by Men and Beasts, to do what they list; and this Liberty is inconsistent with Authority, impatient of all Restraint; by this Liberty, we are all the worse. 'Tis the Grand Enemy of Truth and Peace, and all the Ordinances of God are bent against it.

Winthrop contrasted civil or federal liberty to this:

But there is a Civil, a Moral, a Federal Liberty, which is the proper End and Object of Authority; it is a Liberty for that only which is just and good; for this Liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very Lives; and whatsoever Crosses it, is not Authority but a Distemper thereof.

Winthrop argued, as Schiller would later do in the *Aesthetical Letters*, that the success of a republic requires that the citizens reject bestial natural liberty, in favor of liberty based on doing the good:

If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you.

## The Development of Education in New England

The Massachusetts Bay Colony grew rapidly. Within ten years, fifteen to twenty thousand people settled in the region. The educational level of the settlers was remarkably high.<sup>16</sup> In a New England population of not more than 25,000 by 1645, there were 130 university alumni, or approximately one university graduate to every 40-50 families. In addition, a large number of men had received a sound Classical education in the English grammar schools, and saw eye-to-eye with the university men on intellectual matters. The university alumni, such as John Winthrop and Cotton Mather's ancestors, John Cotton and Increase Mather, assumed leading positions in both the Church and government.

Within ten years of the founding of Massachusetts Bay, the New England Puritans had established the institutions to ensure the intellectual development of the entire population: a school system, a college, and a printing press.

The educational system of New England was developed on the Erasmian model. Ironically, this took place while the anti-Renaissance ideologies of Descartes and the British empiricists increasingly dominated the educational institutions of Europe. This fact should present the reader with a paradox. The popular stereotype of the Puritans is, that they were hard-working fundamentalists, with little use for art, science, or culture. For example, the 1642 decision by the Puritan government of England to close the theaters, effectively banning Shakespeare and Marlowe,

strengthens this impression. But the New England Puritans developed a Classical educational system, at the very moment that such a system was being dismantled in England.

Only twelve years after its founding, Massachusetts Bay became the first organized state in history to pass a law mandating that every (male) child be taught to read.<sup>17</sup> The Massachusetts School Law of 1642 delegated to the head of each household, responsibility for the elementary education of children and servants; required that every town appoint men to ensure this be done; and specified penalties for failure to do so. The Law required that all children be educated, “especially of their ability to read & understand the principles of religion & the capitall lawes of this country, and to impose fines upon such as shall refuse to render such accounts to them when they shall be required”; and to see to it that they were kept constantly employed in some useful occupation. When this law was re-enacted in the revision of the colony laws of 1648, the preamble began, “Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Common-wealth.”

This act was copied by the other colonies in New England. A New Haven law of about the same time was equally explicit: “For the better training up of youth of this towne, that through God’s Blessinge they may be fitted for publique service hereafter, either in church or commonweale.” Two years later, in its first code of laws, Connecticut copied the Massachusetts law, with its preamble, almost verbatim; and Plymouth Colony followed suit, considerably later, in 1677.

Only five years later, the Massachusetts School Law of 1647 was passed, mandating that every town of fifty families should appoint a common schoolmaster, “to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read”; his wages were to be paid either by the parents or the town, as the town should elect; and towns of a hundred families or more should “set upon a Grammer-School, the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the Universitie.” The law did not mandate that boys must attend grammar school, but that schools had to be available for any boys wanting to attend them.

The Act of 1647 was copied by Connecticut in her code of 1650, and applied to New Hampshire and Maine. By 1672, all the settled territory of New England—with the exception of Anne Hutchinson’s Rhode Island—was under a system of compulsory education. (Rhode Island—the colony of “religious liberty,” “democracy,” and “intense individualism”—had no school system or compulsory educational law throughout the colonial period. Only one boy from Rhode Island attended college in the entire Seventeenth century.)<sup>18</sup>

## Classical Curriculum

In the *Aesthetical Letters*, Schiller describes the degeneration of education under the influence of utilitarian ideology, which stunts the development of the entire individual and reduces man to a mere occupation or position:

Eternally chained to only a single fragment of the whole, man only develops himself as a fragment, eternally only the monotonous noise of the wheel, that he revolves, in the ear, he never develops the harmony of his being, and instead of impressing humanity upon his nature, he becomes merely an imprint of his business, of his science.

Schiller insisted that the men of his period compare themselves to the Greeks, so that they would be better able to recognize the shallowness of their age.

New England’s grammar schools were based on a Classical curriculum that aimed at the education of the whole personality. They took a boy between ages six and eight, who had already learned basic reading and writing, and taught him Latin grammar and literature, and some Greek. Graduates were prepared to enter college at the age of fourteen to sixteen.

The most famous such school was the Free School or Free Grammar School of Boston, which has had a continuous existence from 1636 to today. Its curriculum from 1712 is indicative of the curriculum of most grammar schools, and is similar to the description of Cotton Mather, who studied there in the 1670’s. In the first three years, students studied basic Latin. Texts included Cato, Corderius, and Aesop’s *Fables*. In later grades, students studied Ancient Greek, reading Homer and the New Testament. Also emphasized were the works of the Roman Platonist Cicero, with his *Epistolae* (Letters), *De Officiis* (Morals), and *Orationes* (Orations) studied in the last three years. Remarkably, works by Erasmus, the great Catholic reformer, were included among the basic texts used in the Puritan grammar schools.<sup>19</sup>

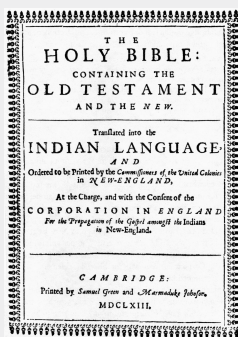
## Higher Education

The commitment of the founders of Massachusetts to education is dramatically demonstrated by their founding a college in 1636, within six years of their arrival, with a legislative appropriation of £400. Although the opening of the college was delayed by the Antinomians, the first freshman class began its studies in the summer of 1638. That September, John Harvard died, leaving his library of about 400 volumes and half his estate to the college, which was then named after him.

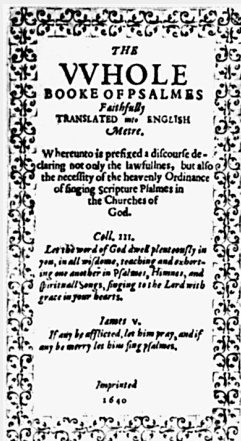
The purpose of the college was, “The advancement of all good literature, artes and sciences,” “the advancement and education of youth in all manner of good literature Artes and Sciences,” and “all other provisions that may

*John Winthrop, first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, provided intellectual leadership for the Puritan colony from its founding in 1630.*

*The first college, established in 1638, later named Harvard.*



*The Puritans established a printing press in 1638. Left: The Book of Psalms, first book printed in North America, 1640. Above: The Puritans published the entire Bible in the Algonquian language, 1663.*



conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this Country in knowledge: and godliness.”<sup>20</sup> It used the same Erasmian approach as was practiced in the grammar schools. Greek and Hebrew were each studied one day a week for four years. Greek texts included the New Testament, Homer, and Sophocles. Students were expected to have mastered Latin in grammar school. Studies centered on Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and ancient history. Students studied metaphysics, ethics, and natural science. Although almost half of the students became ministers, the study of theology began only after the bachelor’s degree.

For its first eighty years, the ranking of students was based on scholastic merit, rather than social distinction. Circa 1650, tuition was £2, and the cost of board, approximately £10. This was generally paid in kind with a variety of farm products, including wheat, malt, livestock, meat, firewood, lumber, tallow, wax, turnips, live goats, and shoes. In 1644, the New England Confederation requested that every family in New England give a quarter bushel of wheat, or a shilling in currency, each year, “for the maintenance of poor Schollars at the College at Cambridge.”

### Printing and Publishing

The New England Puritans were prompt in setting up a printing press in 1638, the first in North America outside of Mexico. Intended to be beyond the reach of the censors in England, the press was also used in efforts to educate the indigenous Indian tribes. The first major project was publication of a 1,200-page Bible in the Algonquian language. Printing grew rapidly as a result of the efforts of republicans, such as Increase and Cotton Mather, who were prolific

writers, to educate the population. In 1700, Boston, was second only to London, and ahead of even Cambridge and Oxford, in the number of books published.

### Increase in General Literacy

This emphasis on universal literacy resulted in New England’s having the highest literacy rate in the world at the time. The literacy level in the other colonies, although significantly lower than New England, was higher than England. In England, the opposite trend was at work, leading to stagnation, and possibly even a decrease in literacy among the working classes.

Estimates of male literacy levels during the colonial period, while inexact, nonetheless demonstrate this.<sup>21</sup> Immigrants to all of the North American colonies were more literate than the general population of the countries they left. In New England, the literacy rate was over 50 percent during the first half of the Seventeenth century, and it rose to 70 percent by 1710. By the time of the American Revolution, it was around 90 percent, certainly the highest on earth.

This rise in the literacy rate was achieved through a sharp increase in literacy of the farmers, artisans, and laborers, who made up more than three-quarters of the population. Literacy among farmers rose from 45 percent in 1660, to 60 percent in 1710, to 80 percent in 1760. This had a powerful effect in ending social distinctions, and allowed the common man to participate in the political debates that led to the Revolution.

In the middle colonies, education was not promoted as rigorously as in New England. Schools were generally attached to churches, and were usually supported by

charitable donations. Poor youth were often educated through apprenticeship, which generally imposed educational requirements, such as one quarter's schooling each year. This led to the establishment of evening schools in the larger towns during the Eighteenth century.

In the south, apprenticeship was the leading method for educating the poor, while the children of wealthy planters were educated by tutors or through private, fee-supported schools.

The level of literacy in early New York and Pennsylvania was high, owing to the very high rate of literacy among their immigrants, particularly the Dutch and Germans. Although the literacy level in these colonies and the south increased more gradually than in New England, nonetheless their literacy level of approximately 65 percent at the time of the Revolution was higher than England. Not surprisingly, in the less literate South, Toryism was also stronger.

During this same period, on the other hand, the educational system in England was deliberately degraded, especially among the common people. As the financial oligarchy increased its control over the country, a strong brake was applied to further efforts to educate the lower classes. Just as republicans sought to promote literacy, the opponents of republicanism sought to restrict it. The neo-Aristotelean Francis Bacon told King James I, that the education of the working class would cause a shortage of farmers and artisans, and fill up the kingdom with "indigent, idle and wanton people." Bacon advised:

Concerning the advancement of learning, I do subscribe to the opinion of one of the wisest and greatest men of your kingdom: that for grammar schools there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess.<sup>22</sup>

Thomas Hobbes, writing after the English civil war, attacked, as the cause of the rebellion, the Classical curriculum of the Universities,

especially having read the glorious histories and sententious politics of the ancient popular governments of the Greeks and Romans, among whom kings were hated and branded with the name of tyrants.<sup>23</sup>

This attitude brought about a collapse of educational opportunities for England's lower classes. The England of 1660 would be better provided with secondary schools, many of them free in part, than for the next 200 years, until the Education Act of 1870.

The literacy rate in England hovered around 60 percent throughout the Eighteenth century, until as late as 1815. Meanwhile, the quality of education in England declined, as the Erasmian educational system was replaced by the ideology of British empiricism.

In New England, on the contrary, the elites promoted the education of the children of the lower classes. The greatest resistance to education came from the poorer farmers, because education laws placed a heavy burden on small farming communities. It took a century for the republican elite to convince the community to accept the ideal of tax-supported public education, and a second century elapsed before this principle spread to any extent outside New England.

## *Agapē* and the Aesthetical Education of Man

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Schiller asks, How can a people who are driven by base emotions, be transformed to be governed by *agapē*, or the emotional commitment to truth and justice? Reason can only *promulgate* the law; "it must be *executed* by the courageous will and the living feeling." [Emphasis added] The emotions must be educated to serve the cause of reason.

The instrument that can educate the emotions, says Schiller, is beautiful art:

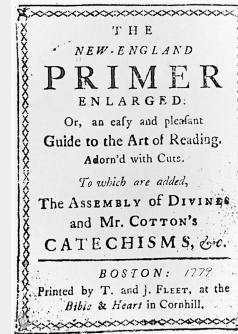
In the modest stillness of thy heart, educate the victorious truth, set it forth from within thyself in beauty, that not merely the thoughts pay homage to it, but rather also the sense lovingly seizes its appearance.

Schiller is not talking about didactic stories, which moralize that one should suffer by doing what is right, rather than pursue the objects of one's baser emotions. Instead, true art educates the emotions, *so that one will desire to do good*.

Schiller discusses how man's behavior is shaped by two forces, which, since they impel us, he calls instincts. The first of these instincts, which he names the "sensuous," is the drive of man to explore the physical universe through his senses.

The second, the "form" instinct, is the desire of the mind to rise above seeing the universe as a collection of individual physical objects (as they are perceived by the senses), to formulate laws that strive to encompass the world in its entirety. The form instinct proceeds from man's rational nature, and strives to set him free from the impressions of his senses, and bring harmony to the diversity of sense impressions.

However, in withdrawing from physical objects, the form instinct withdraws from the physical universe itself. Man, under the influence of this instinct, arrives at a state of abstract contemplation. This state of cold, sterile abstraction, is most people's concept of reason; it is the view of reason promoted by Plato's opponent Aristotle, for example, and the schools that were derived from his outlook.



Library of Congress



*Eighteenth-century New England had the highest literacy rate in the world. Education of farmers had a powerful effect in ending social distinctions. Shown are examples of Eighteenth-century textbooks. Above: a typical one-room schoolhouse.*



It is this conception of reason—which Schiller rejects—which rules science to the present day. That is why today's dominant theories of economics, for example, which are derived from empiricist or utilitarian ideology, reject the central principle of true economics: the idea that through human creativity, individuals can make scientific discoveries which, although seemingly causing an infinitesimal change, can in fact transform the curvature of an entire economy.

The Aristotelean view of man reduces him to a mere object, driven by forces or emotions over which he has no control. Society is reduced to little more than a collection of mechanistic interactions between individuals, which can be subjected to analysis by statistical methods. The physical universe is turned into an object which man is incapable of intervening into, to change in any meaningful way.

Denying the central role of human creativity in man's relationship to the universe reduces morality to a mere subject of passive contemplation. As both Erasmus and John Winthrop understood, if man's free will is not seen as the cause of events in the physical universe, man is freed from responsibility for events, because he has no apparent control over them. Man's conception of morality would remain passive, then, as opposed to the active force

Schiller understood was required to motivate man to make the transformation required to establish a republic. If this problem seems abstract, just consider how many times you have heard said, or yourself thought, "Sure, what you are describing would be morally the right thing, but I just don't feel like doing it, since, after all, it won't really make any difference what I do."

Schiller states that the senses apprehend; reason comprehends:

Where both qualities are united, there will man combine with the highest fullness of existence the highest self-reliance and freedom, and instead of losing himself in the world, he will rather draw this into himself with the entire infinity of its phenomena and subject it to the unity of his reason.

In order for man to be capable of carrying out the republican transformation of the state, Schiller argues, these two instincts must be superseded by a third, the "play" instinct, which brings the emotions into coherence with morality and reason:

The object of the play instinct, represented in a universal scheme, will therefore be able to be called living form; a concept, which serves to designate all aesthetical qualities of phenomena and, in a word, what one calls beauty in the broadest meaning.

All artistic creation which is truly art, whether poetry, music, or the plastic arts such as painting or sculpture, develops the creative powers of the mind. Take the case of poetry, for example, as it has been discussed by Lyndon LaRouche.<sup>24</sup> True poetry is more than a mere collection of images or rhyming phrases. The poet must generate a series of different images in the mind of the listener, which contain a contradiction or dissonance. This provokes the mind of the listener to create a *metaphor*, an idea that is not contained in the words themselves, but is lawfully generated from them. The reader of the poem generates the same creative breakthrough in his own mind, that the author made in composing the poem.

LaRouche has demonstrated that the principles of creativity are the same in science as in art.<sup>25</sup> The scientist, in exploring the universe, discovers phenomena that contradict man's existing hypotheses. He is presented with a paradox, which can be solved only by coming up with a new hypothesis, a Platonic *idea*, that subsumes both the new evidence and the existing hypothesis, and demonstrates the coherence of the universe on a higher level.

In contemporary culture, creative discovery is seldom encouraged for adults. But, most people have seen a child working at solving a problem, even a simple one, and how the child experiences joy at discovering the solution. This state of mind, the joy of discovery, is to be contrasted with the infantile state, where the child, or adult, fixates on possessing a physical object.

It is in the aesthetical disposition of mind, that the individual is able to develop true freedom. His mind is freed from domination by the passions, and from the trap of sterile formalism, which denies his ability to intervene to transform the universe. Schiller describes how, in the aesthetic condition, man finds "no individual, either intellectual or moral, purpose," and "no single truth,"

[b]ut precisely thereby is something infinite achieved. For so soon as we recall, that precisely this freedom was taken from him by the one-sided compulsion of nature in sensing, and by the excluding legislation of reason in thinking, so must we regard the capacity, which is given back to him in the aesthetical state of mind, as the highest of all gifts, as the gift of humanity.

A true work of art brings out this state of mind. Schiller states,

this lofty equanimity and freedom of mind, combined with strength and vigor, is the state of mind, in which a genuine work of art should set us free, and there is no more certain touchstone of true aesthetical goodness.

In this state of mind, which lifts one above individual and determinate effects, man is able to achieve a morality

which encompasses the entire world, rather than narrowly focussing on particular issues of injustice. This is most fruitful in regard to knowledge and morality, for a disposition of mind which contains in itself the whole of humanity, must necessarily contain also every individual expression of the same.

This aesthetical disposition is coherent with the qualities required of citizens to transform a state into a republic. It is by developing this state of mind of experiencing the joy of discovery, that the fixation on sensually perceived objects, or the fixation on "me" as a sensually perceived object, is replaced by an identity with *agapē*, the emotion of the pursuit of truth. The person learns *to love*—not to possess, but to create, to make scientific discoveries that enrich all mankind.

When man so masters his own creative ability, he then fully understands what it means to be made in God's image. As Schiller says, "When he is conscious of both his freedom and his existence, he has a complete intuition of his humanity, and has realized destiny as a representation of the infinite."

We have now identified the solution to the problem of uplifting a people to become capable of being self-governing citizens. It is the aesthetical disposition of mind, which allows citizens to locate their identity in the positive conception of freedom which both Schiller, and John Winthrop, sought. Egoism is replaced by an identity in which the citizen finds enjoyment in doing that which will benefit his fellow citizens. By training the will, "he must learn to desire more nobly, thereby he need not, to will sublimely."

Let us now return to America.

## Cotton Mather and the Aesthetical Education of the Colonies

In discussing the proper approach to education, Lyndon LaRouche often uses the image of Raphael's painting, "The School of Athens."<sup>26</sup> In a competent education, the student re-creates the great discoveries of the past. His mind is populated by the minds of the men and women who made these discoveries. The student measures himself against this proven standard—rather than against the passing whims of popular opinion.

The school system established by New England's founders aimed at this to a large extent, and hence fulfilled the task of the aesthetical education of the student. The grammar schools and the college fostered a love of the Greek and Roman Classics, or "*literae humaniores*"; Cicero, Virgil, Terence, and Ovid; Homer, Hesiod, and Theocritus. Most of these works were either poetry or

dialogues. When the republicans' grip on New England was broken, the Classical texts were gradually replaced by modern empiricist works.

The character of the educational system was a continuation of the grammar school system established in England under the influence of Erasmus. Erasmus had introduced the Platonic method into education, to end the rule of stultifying Aristotelean logic. He charged that the Christian church was "about to crumble to ruins, by the influence of their [Aristotelean] syllogism." Condemning Aristotle, Erasmus asked, "What connection is there, I ask, between Christ and Aristotle? between the petty fallacies of logic and the mysteries of eternal wisdom?"<sup>27</sup>

To break the control of Aristotelean commentaries over the medieval churches, Erasmus recommended returning to the original texts. It was for this reason that the study of Greek and Hebrew was encouraged, in part to be able to read the Bible. Erasmus also recommended the study of Classical Greek and Latin authors, and that, "of all the philosophical writings, I would recommend the Platonists most highly."<sup>28</sup>

Erasmus's dialogues, which were a primary text in the grammar schools of New England, exemplify the Platonist approach to knowledge. As in the dialogues of Plato, the truth is not located in the statements of any one character. Rather, the reader must locate himself above the paradoxes which are presented by the often playful interaction of the characters, in order to comprehend a truth which is the solution to the paradoxes so presented. It is through this playful process, that the reader is challenged to overcome fixed patterns in thinking, and enjoy changing his previous opinions. Erasmus also often used seemingly trivial themes, to launch devastating attacks on the corruption of the feudal institutions of his age.

This approach to education shaped the New England churches around which Puritan society was centered. Sermons were the main form of public speaking. New England's ministers, studying at Harvard, received a sound Classical education, obtaining a bachelor's degree before being trained in theology.

The content of the Puritans' sermons contradicts the popular prejudice that the Puritans' religious belief was fatalistic. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison states that, "after reading some hundreds of Puritan sermons, English and New English, I feel qualified to deny that the New England puritans were predestinarian Calvinists."<sup>29</sup> The Puritan sermons assume—when they do not directly teach—that, by virtue of the Covenant of Grace, and though the efforts of the churches, salvation lay within reach of every person who made an effort.

## Increase and Cotton Mather

After John Winthrop, the next remarkable figures in the aesthetical education of the American colonies were Increase Mather and his son, Cotton. Increase was born in 1639 in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and received a degree at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1664, he became minister of the Second or Old North Church in Boston, soon becoming the most influential religious leader in the colony. He wrote approximately 130 books and pamphlets.

In 1683, Increase Mather and a number of Boston men formed a scientific club, named the Philosophical Society. The Boston group met fortnightly, "for conference upon improvements in philosophy and additions to the stores of natural history." Although it only lasted about ten years, it served as a model for Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Junto.

Increase Mather's son, Cotton, was born in Boston in February 1663. He studied at the Boston Latin School. He reports that, at age 12, he could speak Latin and had "conversed with Cato, Corderius, Terence, Tully [Cicero], Ovid, and Virgil." In Greek he had "gone through a great part of the New Testament and read considerable in Isocrates and Homer." Cotton Mather graduated from Harvard College at age fifteen. At eighteen, he joined his father as assistant pastor at the Old North Church.

Cotton Mather is truly an example of the Renaissance method of New England education. In his writing, Mather quotes in Latin, Cicero, Erasmus, Augustine, and Virgil. He read and quoted Plato in the original Greek. In discussing the founding of the Massachusetts colonies, he frequently refers to events in ancient Greece and Rome, and makes comparisons to Plato's *Republic*.

Mather was consciously working to get his readers to locate their own actions on the stage of universal history, and to thereby act as world historical individuals. He quotes from Book II of Plato's *Republic* in discussing John Winthrop's qualities as a leader.<sup>30</sup> Of the attacks on Winthrop, Mather states, "For the trial of true Virtue, 'tis necessary that a good Man . . . Tho' he do no unjust thing, should suffer the Infamy of the greatest Injustice." In his essay, "Bonifacius, An Essay upon the Good,"<sup>31</sup> Mather holds himself accountable to the standard set by Erasmus. He states:

But Erasmus . . . has furnished him [Mather] with an answer, which is all that he intends to give unto it: "The censure of others upbraids me, that I have done so much; my own conscience condemns me that I have done so little." The good God forgive my slothfulness.

The Granger Collection



Increase Mather, the most influential religious leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Right: one of Mather's over 130 pamphlets and books.

AN  
**ESSAY**  
FOR THE  
**RECORDING**  
OF  
Illustrious Providences :  
WHEREIN,  
An Account is given of many Remarkable and very Memorable Events, which have happened in this last Age ; ESPECIALLY IN  
**NEW-ENGLAND.**  
By **INCREASE MATHER,**  
Teacher of a Church at Boston in New-England.

Psalm 107. 5. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the Children of Men.  
Psa. 145. 4. One Generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty Acts.  
Printed at BOSTON in New-England, and are to be sold by George Corlies at the Sign of the Maypole in Pauls Church-yard, London, 1684.

The Granger Collection

**BONIFACIUS.**  
AN ESSAY  
Upon the GOOD, that is to be  
**Devised and Designed,**  
BY THOSE  
Who Desire to Answer the Great END  
of *Life,* and to DO GOOD  
While they *Live.*  
A BOOK Offered,  
First, in General, unto all CHRISTIANS,  
in a PERSONAL Capacity, or in  
a RELATIVE.  
Then more Particularly,  
Unto MAGISTRATES, unto MINISTERS,  
unto PHYSICIANS, unto LAWYERS,  
unto SCHOLEMASTERS, unto Wealthy  
GENTLEMEN, unto several Sorts of  
OFFICERS, unto CHURCHES, and  
unto all SOCIETIES of a Religious  
Character and Intention. With Humble  
PROPOSALS, of Unexceptionable  
METHODS, to Do Good in the World.

Eph. VI. 18. Knowing that whatsoever God thing any man does, the same shall be receive of the Lord.  
BOSTON in N. England : Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish at his Shop in Corn Hill. 1710.



The Granger Collection

Cotton Mather, his son, became the dominant intellect of New England. His "Bonifacius" (left), was coherent with Plato's concept of *agapē*.

Cotton Mather emerged as the dominant intellect of New England, and of the American colonies as a whole, during the last decade of the Seventeenth and the beginning of the Eighteenth centuries. During the 1690's, Increase Mather and his son Cotton wrote 30 percent of all the books printed in Boston. Cotton Mather's total published works reached 450. His works included history, biography, essays, sermons, fables, books of practical piety, theology, and verse. Mather was at the center of a global network, and is estimated to have written 8,000 letters during his lifetime.

Cotton Mather quickly stepped into his father's shoes as the leading defender of the liberties of the Massachusetts colony. He emerged as America's first native-born political pamphleteer during the revolt that deposed the British-imposed Governor Andros in April 1689. On the very day of the Boston revolt, he read his speech, "The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country adjacent," from the balcony of the Town House to the crowd below.

Cotton Mather's most famous work, "Bonifacius, An Essay upon the Good," is an organizing manual for creating a society which is coherent with Plato's concept of *agapē*. Mather argues that no person's knowledge or activity has any value unless he is governed by the commitment to do good:

It will be no immodesty in me to say: The man who is not satisfied of the wisdom in making it the work of his life to do good, is always to be beheld with the pity due to an idiot.

Mather applies this standard most emphatically to religion itself. Bonifacius declares that "a workless faith is a worthless faith," and,

I will not be immodest, and yet I will boldly say: The man is worse than a pagan, who will not come into this notion of things, A good man is a public blessing *or, a common good*. None but a good man, is really a living man; and the more good any man does, the more he really lives. All the rest is death; or belongs to it.

Mather asks his reader to see the entire world as his sphere for doing good:

The world has according to the computation of some, above seven hundred millions of people now living in it. What an ample field among all these, to do good upon! In a word, the kingdom of God in the world calls for innumerable services from us.

In "Bonifacius," Mather proposed the creation of public societies to deal with all manner of civic problems: to deal with public disorders, to found schools for the poor and improve existing ones, to meet to discuss and propose legislation. We will see, later, how Benjamin Franklin acted on the lessons learned from Mather and his "Bonifacius."

### The Beauty of God's Creation

Mather, in "The Christian Philosopher,"<sup>32</sup> demonstrates the beauty and perfection of the universe in a very poetic way. He discusses how God designed the universe as the best of all possible worlds,

[a]s the essence of every thing, and its relation, in being fitted, beyond any Emendation, for its Actions and Uses, evidently proceeds from a Mind of the highest Understanding, so the nature of these Actions and Uses, in as much as they are not any way destructive or troublesome; no, but each thing tends apart, and all conspire together to conserve,



cherish, and gratify: this is an Evidence of their proceeding from the greatest Goodness.

Mather rejects the view of man as a wretch, by reference to St. Augustine:

It was most reasonably done of thee, Father Augustine, to tax the Folly of them who admired the Wonders in the other Parts of the Creation abroad, . . . but see nothing in themselves to be wondered at.

Instead, he says of man, that

if thou standest where thou oughtest to stand, in the uppermost Round of the Divine Ladder, next to the most High; then thou approvest thyself to be indeed what thou wert designed by God to be, the High-Priest and Orator of the Universe; because thou alone, standing to know Him, and Speech to express thy Knowledge of Him, in thy Praises and Prayers to Him.

### The 'Newtonian' Arian Heresy

Cotton Mather was part of the global political and scientific network of Gottfried Leibniz. In fact, Mather did battle against Isaac Newton's protégé Samuel Clarke for promoting the Arian heresy, at the same time, and on essentially the same issues, as Leibniz did in the famous Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence on the nature of the laws of the physical universe, and of God's role in them.

The Arian heresy, which arose in the Fourth century A.D., presented the Christian God in Aristotelean terms. God was not the Creator, but rather, he was the Aristotelean "First Cause," which set the universe in motion at the beginning of time. Christ was considered neither divine nor eternal. By reducing Christ to human status only, the Arian heresy denied Christianity's primary religious statement of man's being in God's image. For related reasons, God was considered to be unknowable to man.

The scientific worldview promoted by Newton corresponded to this heresy. Newton's physical universe was an empty void in which particles interacted. God, in this universe, was nothing more than Aristotle's "First Cause," the pool player who racked up the billiard balls, and fired up the first shot that set all the particles in motion. Once the balls were in motion, God was powerless to change their course. Leibniz attacked this view, because it reduced God to an impotent observer, and turned the universe into a mechanism which, like a wind-up clock, was running down.

Mather coordinated a campaign against Arianism on both sides of the Atlantic. He argued that Arianism struck at the very essence of Christianity. In 1712, he urged a correspondent in Scotland to refute the Arian doctrine by documenting that Christianity was funda-

mentally based on the eternal deity of Christ. He urged his correspondent to write a history of Christianity, which demonstrated that the Nicene Creed had always been the doctrine of Christianity. In this, Mather placed himself squarely in the tradition of the Council of Florence.

It was against Samuel Clarke, who Mather described as one of "two grand satanic tools," that he directed his strongest polemics. Mather wrote of him:

The grand poisoner has been Dr. Clarke, who has refined upon Arianism so far as to decry the Arians; and yet his whole (pretended) New Scheme is in the very words of it, the vomit of the infamous Valentinus Gentilis, whom the Switzers beheaded for his blasphemies about the middle of the Sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

### A Little People

After the restoration of England's monarchy in 1660, following the period of the English Civil War and Commonwealth, a redoubled assault had been launched on New England's independence. In October 1686, the Massachusetts Charter was declared void. In December, Edmund Andros was dispatched as the royal governor, to enforce the Crown's will on the colony.

However, in 1688, during the "Glorious Revolution" which placed William and Mary on the British throne, the colonists rose up and overthrew the royal governor. In April 1689, over a thousand Bostonians and militiamen from neighboring towns easily overwhelmed the royal forces. The colonists immediately restored their charter, and proclaimed a series of measures for both political independence, and economic independence through economic development. Increase Mather, who was already in England, argued the colony's case before the new king.

Despite Increase Mather's efforts, New England did not recover its Charter. Even more serious, the leadership of New England was taken over by a British-allied merchant grouping that rejected the Colony's republican mission. Cotton Mather described this decline in his 1696 pamphlet, "Things for a Distress'd People to Think Upon."<sup>34</sup> New England, wrote Mather, was no longer filled with heroes worthy of serving as models for future ages. Its leaders were no longer sustained by a Public Spirit and "a fervent Inclination to Do Good, joined with Incomparable Ability to do it." This moral descent went hand in hand with the increased subjugation of New England to the British. Mather wrote "There seems to be a shameful Shrink, in all sorts of men among us, from that Greatness and Goodness, which adorned our ancestors: We grow Little every way; . . . we dwindle away, to Nothing."

However, if self-government was ended in Massachusetts, it certainly was not forgotten. The principles of self-government embodied in the Massachusetts Bay Colony served as an inspiration and example for America's republicans. Even as the British were asserting their control over New England, the processes that had been set in motion were pushed ahead elsewhere in the colonies.

## Aesthetical Education Leads to Truth

Schiller wrote, that although in the aesthetical condition the mind is free, it is through this freedom that man is able to find truth:

The transition from the passive condition of feeling to the active of thinking and willing occurs therefore not other than through a middle condition of aesthetical freedom, and although this condition in itself decides something neither for our insights nor convictions, hence leaves our intellectual and moral worth entirely problematical, so is it yet the necessary condition, under which alone we can attain an insight and a conviction. (p. 277)

Schiller understood that man discovers truth, not through sense certainty, but in the realm of Platonic *ideas*. It is precisely by developing the creative powers of the mind to think aesthetically, to create Platonic ideas, that one is able to arrive at truth. Schiller states:

Truth is nothing, which can be received from outside like the reality or the sensuous existence of things; it is something, that the power of thought produces self-actively and in its freedom, and it is just this self-activity, this freedom, which we miss in the sensuous man. (p. 277)

Once man has located his identity in the powers of creative discovery, rather than in sense certainty and the sensuous emotions, the search for truth becomes much easier:

The step from the aesthetical condition to the logical and moral (from beauty to truth and to duty) is thence infinitely easier, than the stem from the physical condition to the aesthetical (from the mere blind life to form) was. (p. 278)

Once one has located his identity in the realm of the aesthetical, he now desires to make creative discoveries and develop new hypotheses to improve his knowledge.

It is through the science of physical economy, which was founded by Leibniz and advanced further by Lyndon LaRouche, that one is able to test the validity of scientific discoveries. LaRouche has developed a scientific method to relate the individual mind's discovery of a validatable universal physical principle, to the increase of the

potential relative population-density of his species as a whole. LaRouche writes:

Mankind's functional relationship to the universe, is expressed for sense-perception in two general ways. It is expressed both in the improvements in increased life-expectancy, size of population, and other demographic characteristics of populations, and that population's increased physical power over the universe, in *per-capita* and *per-square-kilometer* terms. These perceptible forms of improvements in the human condition, are benefits acquired both through relevant changes in human behavior, as scientific and technological progress expresses this, and by alterations of nature in ways which are relevant to, and indispensable for the realization of the potential benefits implied in scientific and technological progress.<sup>35</sup>

This principle would characterize the economic development of America before and after the Revolution.

## Republican Development in the American Colonies

The next breakthroughs in the development of the American colonies were the result of a transatlantic battle against the Venetian party in England, by the republican forces led by Leibniz. The pro-republican faction in England saw the expansion of the colonies as a crucial flank against the Venetian party, and in 1710 succeeded in having Royal governors appointed to Virginia and New York who pushed forward those colonies' development.<sup>36</sup>

- Robert Hunter became governor of New York and New Jersey. A former military commander, he was a personal friend of Jonathan Swift, Leibniz's leading ally in England. He launched a series of projects to expand those colonies beyond their confinement around the lower Hudson Valley. He also wrote the first American play, an attack on the former governor, Andros.

- Alexander Spotswood became lieutenant-governor of Virginia in 1710. Earlier, positive influences in Virginia had been largely snuffed out during the 1690's, following the appointment of Andros as Virginia governor, after he had been kicked out of Boston. The Virginia colony consisted largely of tobacco plantations, whose product was shipped to London. There were few towns or even roads to connect these plantations into a coherent unit. The colonial government was dominated by the wealthy planters. Few schools existed in its decentralized economy, and the planters hired tutors to educate their sons.

Spotswood arrived determined to expand the colony—which was confined to within 50 miles of the Atlantic—all the way to the Mississippi River. He personally directed the colony's development, forcing

through a law that landowners must develop their holdings, or they would lose their land titles. He mapped out roads and inland waterways, and new towns and forts. He pushed for the establishment of an iron industry, and eventually developed it himself, after the Colony's House of Burgesses refused to use tax money to fund it.

Finally, he led an expedition to find a route west, through the Blue Ridge mountains. This rekindled the spirit of discovery, and had the effect of driving the colonial society forward. Virginia began a renewed growth through westward expansion. Growth decreased the dominance of the plantation system, and developed a healthier political climate, ensuring that Virginians saw themselves as building a nation. Not surprisingly, the young George Washington was involved in surveying the west, and mapping out plans for further expansion.

### Pennsylvania's James Logan

The Charter to the colony that became Pennsylvania had been granted to the Quaker William Penn in 1681. The colony was permitted a measure of self-government. It was settled by tens of thousands of Quakers, and also, later, a large number of German immigrants.

William Penn selected James Logan (1674-1751) to be his secretary, and brought him to Pennsylvania in 1699. Logan became a leading figure in the colony, holding all the most important political offices during the following fifty years.

James Logan was a Classical scholar, who had mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and many other languages. His library of 2,651 volumes contained the greatest collection of Classical works in the colonies.<sup>37</sup>

Logan was at the center of a network of scientists in the colonies, who saw themselves as opponents of British empiricism. He was the leading exponent of Leibniz in the colonies, and his library contained numerous of Leibniz's works. Not only did Logan express his support for Leibniz against Newton in the dispute on the discovery of calculus, but he questioned Newton's mathematical and mental competence, at a time when Newton was president of London's Royal Society. His American correspondents included New York's governor Robert Hunter, and Cadwallader Colden.

Around the time that Benjamin Franklin arrived in Philadelphia in 1723, Logan began writing "The Duties of Man As They May be Deduced From Nature,"<sup>38</sup> as a refutation of Locke and Hobbes. Logan circulated copies of each chapter among the circles of Franklin's collaborators, and to his correspondents in England.

In agreement with Leibniz, Logan developed a conception of the universe as the best of all possible worlds, writing that one must express

a due sense of gratitude to your bountiful Donor, your Creator, and supream Lord of this Universe, the beautiful and exact order of which, in all its outward part you here behold, and how wisely and determinately each is made to answer its proper end.

Logan rejected Locke's assertion that human nature is governed by the seeking of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Instead "the inclination of the Heart to Good, with which it seeks to unite . . . is the principle which animates us to seek our perfection."

## Benjamin Franklin: The Playfulness of the Beautiful Soul

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*The disposition of the viewer and hearer must remain completely free and unimpaired, it must go forth from the magic circle of the artist pure and perfect as from the hands of the Creator. The most frivolous subject must be so handled, that we remain disposed, to pass over directly from the same to the most severe earnestness. The most earnest material must be so handled, that we retain the capability, to exchange it immediately for the lightest play.*

—Friedrich Schiller, *Aesthetical Letters*

*The Truth is, that tho' there are in that Country [America] few People so miserable as the Poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich: it is rather a general happy Mediocrity that prevails. There are few great Proprietors of the Soil, and few Tenants; most People cultivate their own Lands, or follow some Handicraft or Merchandise; very few rich enough to live idly upon their Rents or Incomes; or to pay the high Prices given in Europe, for Paintings, Statues, Architecture and the other Works of Art that are more curious than useful. Hence the natural Geniuses that have arisen in America, with such Talents, have uniformly quitted that Country for Europe, where they can be more suitably rewarded.*

—Benjamin Franklin,

"Information to Those Who Would Remove to America," 1784<sup>39</sup>

When the delegates to the Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1776, they found a city that in many ways had surpassed all other American cities. Philadelphia had tripled in size over the last three decades. Its population of 40,000 exceeded New York's at 25,000, and Boston's, whose population had remained static at 16,000.

Philadelphia had taken the lead in many areas, developing a medical school and the leading hospital in the colonies, and taking the lead in science and culture with the American Philosophical Society. Although Philadelphia was still behind Boston in elementary and secondary

school education, its literary output greatly exceeded that of Boston.

The development of Philadelphia during this period is an excellent example of how the creative discoveries of one individual, Benjamin Franklin, dramatically changed the curvature of the economic and cultural processes of the larger society. (Most of the delegates to the Congress were a generation younger than Benjamin Franklin, who was seventy years old at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.) Franklin's efforts were the infinitesimal that dramatically transformed the American Colonies as a whole.

Did Benjamin Franklin, who reported in his *Autobiography* that his father's disapproval saved him from being a bad poet, reject art as a useless distraction, of little use to "practical" Americans? While Franklin is known as a statesman, a diplomat, and even a scientist, he is rarely considered to be an artist. Here, however, we shall examine Benjamin Franklin's character and work from the standpoint of Schiller's concept of the "beautiful soul."

\* \* \*

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Jan. 17, 1706. His father, Josiah, was a collaborator of Increase and Cotton Mather in the battle to defend the liberty of the colony. His father often hosted republican leaders in his house.

The history of the fight for the independent charter shaped Franklin's thinking for life. When Franklin launched his *Poor Richard's Almanack* in 1733, with a dedication to "Poor Richard, an American Prince without subjects," he gave Oct. 23, 1684 as Poor Richard's birthday. This was the day that Charles II revoked the Massachusetts charter.<sup>40</sup>

Clearly a child prodigy, Franklin was enrolled by his father in the Boston Latin School. Although he advanced rapidly, he was able to remain for only a year, because his father could not afford it. After one more year at a school that taught writing and arithmetic, his father apprenticed him to his older brother, to become a printer.

A lack of formal education did not stop Franklin in the least, however. He devoured books from a very early age. Throughout his life he continued learning, beginning the study of Spanish, Italian, and Latin in 1733. He also learned to read German.

Benjamin Franklin was always proud of his trade as a printer, proudly describing himself as a "leather-apron man." In the statement quoted above, Franklin was making the same criticism of the miseducated "barbarian," as Schiller levelled in his *Aesthetical Letters*.

In his first published writing, "Silence Dogood,"<sup>41</sup>

Franklin attacked Harvard College, which had been taken over by the opponents of the Mathers, because it denied entrance to the poor. He ridiculed Harvard as dominated by Idleness and Ignorance. The Classical curriculum was being removed, displaced by empiricists Descartes, Newton, and Locke.

Franklin credits Cotton Mather with determining the direction of his life. In 1784, he wrote to Samuel Mather,

When I was a boy, I met with a book, entitled *Essays to Do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.<sup>42</sup>

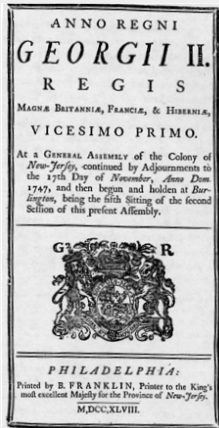
Franklin moved to Philadelphia in 1723, and soon became a successful printer. By 1748, he put the operation of his printing business into the hands of a partner, so he could devote himself full time to politics and science.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, Franklin became friends with James Logan, who steered him to a Leibnizian outlook. Franklin often visited Logan's home, where they sat and talked for hours, and he frequently borrowed books from Logan's library. Indeed, a letter from Franklin to Logan reveals that they discussed Logan's rejection of the wretched British philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, whose image of society was as a "war of each against all." Logan gave Franklin his first major printing contract, and, later, Franklin printed Logan's translation of Cicero's essay on old age, which was his typographical masterpiece.

Schiller ends his *Aesthetical Letters* by discussing the state of mind of one who has developed within himself the qualities required to transform society by establishing institutions of self-government. Schiller describes this person, whose emotions guide him to act in the interests of humanity naturally, without compulsion, as a beautiful soul:

But does such a state of beautiful appearance even exist, and where is it to be found? As a Need, it exists in every finely-tuned soul, as a reality, one might indeed only find it, like the pure church and the pure republic, in a few select circles, where not the mindless imitation of foreign manners, but rather one's own beautiful nature guides conduct, where man passes through the most complicated circumstances with bold simplicity and calm innocence and needs neither, to impair others' freedom, in order to maintain his own, nor to cast away his dignity, in order to display grace.

Benjamin Franklin began his career as a printer. In 1723, he moved to Philadelphia, where his business prospered. **Right:** young Franklin working at his press.



Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

Book printed by Franklin's firm, 1748.

James Logan, secretary to Pennsylvania colony founder William Penn. The leading exponent of Leibniz in America, Logan steered the education of young Benjamin Franklin.



The Granger Collection

**Below:** Franklin set up the first subscription library in the colonies in 1731.



The Granger Collection

After crushing the freedom of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the British were determined to keep the colonies under control. How could the American colonists be educated in the principles of self-government, while living under the control of a British monarchy determined to prevent it? Franklin's solution was to demonstrate that self-government was possible, by proving it through his own personal initiatives. He turned himself into a perfect example of republican government in action. As an exemplar of the beautiful soul described by Schiller, Franklin shows in his *Autobiography* that his life, as a "doer of good," was the most happy and natural existence imaginable.

Franklin transformed Pennsylvania, and the colonies as a whole, through his initiatives.

Franklin's efforts improved the literacy level in Philadelphia and throughout the colonies. In 1729, he bought out the failing *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and during the next decade, made it into the most widely read newspaper in the colonies. He set up at least six other printers throughout the colonies, and had a hand in the publication of newspapers in South Carolina, New York, and Rhode Island.

Printing was a crucial tool in organizing the American Revolution. By the time of the Revolution, there were 38 newspapers published in the colonies, of which almost

two-thirds were run by patriots. Their average circulation rose to around 3,500 each in 1775, as the population became highly politicized. Their total circulation reached approximately 100,000, out of a largely rural colonial population of approximately 2.6 million. The newspapers, which were filled with debates on the political themes of the day, were passed from hand to hand, or posted.<sup>43</sup>

Franklin began publishing *Poor Richard's Almanack* in 1732. Many households in the colonies had no printed matter besides an almanac, but almost every one of them had that. *Poor Richard's* became an institution, selling 10,000 copies a year.

In 1731, Franklin set up the first subscription library in the colonies. Fifty people joined initially. James Logan was consulted about the selection of books. Anyone could read the books at the library, but only subscribers could check them out.

In his *Autobiography*, Franklin describes how his subscription library served as a model that was copied throughout the colonies, a perfect example of an infinitesimal introducing a crucial change in the curvature of an entire geometry:

This was the mother of all the North American Subscription Libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, & continually increasing. These Libraries have

## Self-Government in Action

The extent to which Benjamin Franklin became a personal republican government in action can be seen from the list of major initiatives taken by him while living in Philadelphia:

**1729:** Publishes “A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency.”

**1731:** Founds the Library Company of Philadelphia, the first American subscription library.

**1732:** Forms the Junto, to meet weekly to increase their knowledge and practice self-improvement.

**1735:** Proposes fire protection society in *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

**1736:** Organizes Philadelphia’s first Fire Company.

**1743:** Publishes “A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge,” the founding document of the American Philosophical Society.

**1744:** Drafts presentment of the Grand Jury against public houses and other nuisances.

**1747:** Organizes a voluntary militia for the defense of Pennsylvania.

**1748:** Refuses position as colonel in militia, avowing military inexperience, serving instead as a common soldier.

**1749:** Writes “Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania,” resulting in the establishment of Philadelphia Academy, which later becomes the University of Pennsylvania.

**1751:** Pennsylvania Assembly passes Franklin’s bill, providing public funds to match private contributions, to found the Pennsylvania Hospital. It becomes the leading hospital in the colonies.

**1751:** Initiates proposal to merge Philadelphia’s fire companies into insurance company.

**1753:** Appointed joint Deputy Postmaster-General of North America.

**1754:** Prints “Join, or Die” cartoon in *Gazette*, America’s first symbol of united colonies. Proposes Albany Plan of Union to unite the colonies.

**1755:** Organizes defense of Pennsylvania. Assembly passes Franklin’s militia bill, and approves £60,000 for defense. Franklin travels to frontier to supervise the construction of forts and organize defenses.

**1756:** Pennsylvania Assembly passes Franklin’s bill providing night watchmen and street lighting.

improved the general Conversation of the Americans, made the common Tradesmen and Farmers as intelligent as most Gentlemen from other Countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the Stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in Defense of their Privileges.<sup>44</sup>

In 1732, Franklin formed the Junto, a club that consisted largely of “leather-apron men” like himself, to meet weekly to increase their knowledge and practice self-improvement. This was followed by Franklin’s founding of the American Philosophical Society in 1743, as a national organization headquartered in Philadelphia.

In 1749, Franklin published “Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania,”<sup>45</sup> to lobby the citizens of Pennsylvania to establish an educational institution. Franklin argued that education was a proper responsibility of government:

The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Common-wealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country.

Franklin warned that, although “[m]any of the first Settlers of these Provinces, were Men who had received a good Education in Europe, and to their Wisdom and good Management we owe much of our present Prosperity,” American youth had no similar opportunity to develop their capacities.

The new Academy was to educate boys from eight to sixteen years of age. A board of twenty-four trustees was formed, with Franklin elected president. The Pennsylvania Academy grew, and eventually became the University of Pennsylvania.

Similarly, after Franklin sought the post and was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General for the colonies in August 1753, he toured post offices throughout the colonies. He streamlined the system, made it safer, and made mail delivery quicker and more regular, and use of the postal system increased as a result. Franklin had dramatically increased communications between the colonies, binding them together by expanding the infrastructure needed to disseminate ideas.

Franklin founded the public library, the fire department, the philosophical society, the militia, the university, the hospital, street lighting and a system of night watchmen, and reorganized the national postal system [SEE Box]. He did all of this as on his own initiative, acting largely as a private citizen, rather than as a government

official! Franklin had singlehandedly did more to improve the lives of the citizens of Pennsylvania, than the King and all his ministers combined. What better education in self-government? Franklin became recognized as the leader of the republican forces, and was given the most important positions of responsibility for Pennsylvania and the other colonies, thereby expanding his influence and ability to do good.

## Franklin's Organizing Method

As Schiller has shown, true art is not didactic or moralizing; rather, it is through the development of the creative power of the listener, that moral character is strengthened. It is through the development of the true freedom of being creative, that people come to enjoy doing what is moral:

No less contradictory is the conception of a beautiful instructing [didactic] or improving [moralizing] art, for nothing disagrees more with the conception of beauty, than to give to the disposition a definite tendency.

Schiller describes how one who has mastered this state of mind of locating his identity in his creative pow-

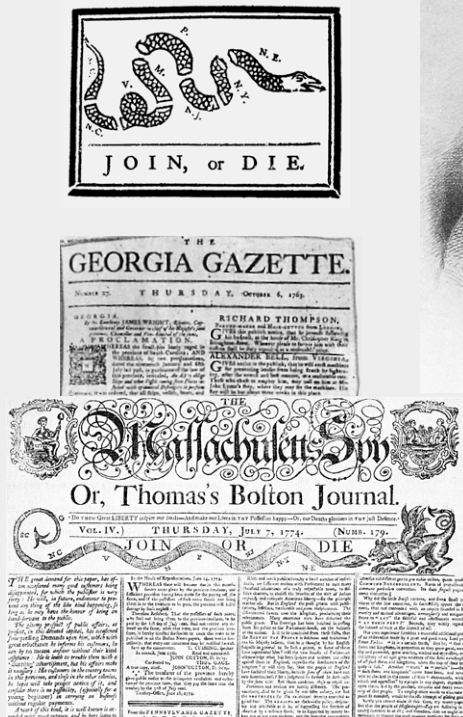
ers, is a "noble soul." This person is able to take any problem, and transform it through his creative capabilities:

This intellectually-rich and aesthetically-free treatment of common reality is, where one encounters it, the characteristic of a noble soul. In general a disposition is to be called noble, which possesses the gift, to transform even the most limited business and the most trivial object through the mode of treatment, into an infinite one. (p. 279)

This was exactly the outlook of Franklin, who spent over 50 years transforming and preparing the American people for the momentous events of 1776. Franklin's writings, which spanned 68 years, fill 35 volumes. Many are in the form of dialogues, either between two characters, or between a fictional character and Franklin himself. Ironically, it is often said that Franklin's writings seem to be didactic and moralizing. Anyone who thinks this, however, clearly does not understand Franklin's method, and certainly not his sense of humor.

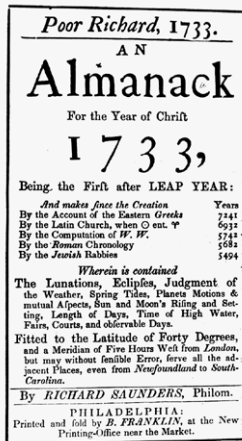
It is precisely in examining this question, that we comprehend why Schiller argues that the sensual instinct and the form instinct must be superseded by the play instinct. Schiller asked,

[I]s not the beautiful degraded thereby, that one makes it



Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

Franklin took over the Philadelphia Gazette in 1779, and was involved in other colonial newspapers. By the Revolution, there were 38 newspapers in the colonies, and 2/3 were run by patriots. Franklin's "Join, or Die" motto (top left), appeared on patriotic periodicals.

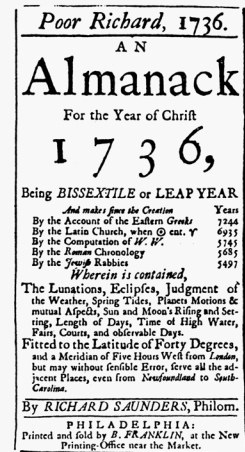


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Franklin began publishing "Poor Richard's Almanack" in 1732. Many of its witty aphorisms entered the common speech. The almanac motto (below) sported images of industry and agriculture, and advised readers to "Drive thy business, let not that drive thee," and that "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."



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into mere play, and places it on an equal level with frivolous objects, which were all along in possession of this name? Does it not contradict the rational conception and the dignity of beauty, which are yet regarded as an instrument of culture, to limit it to a mere play, and does it not contradict the concept of play from experience, which can exist together with exclusion of all taste, to limit it merely to beauty?

But Schiller argues that it is precisely in play, that man is able to move beyond fixed modes of thinking, and develop his creative powers: "with the agreeable, with the good, with the perfect, man is only earnest, but with beauty he plays."

It is this playful quality that one sees in Franklin's homespun humor, such as his *Poor Richard's Almanack*. Following the example of Erasmus, Franklin included aphorisms, for example, "To err is human, to repent divine, to persist devilish," and, "No gains without pains." Many of these expressions entered the common speech. Franklin was using wit to reach the farmers and working people, who were the very people the oligarchy did not think should be educated. Drawing the reader in with humor, Franklin would often present to them the most profound and advanced topics of the day.

Satire was a well-developed weapon in the republican arsenal, used by writers such as Erasmus and Jonathan Swift. Swift's satires were often aimed at the Aristotelean ideology disseminated by England's Venetian Party. In *Gulliver's Travels*, for example, Swift lampoons the British Royal Society with his description of the "Grand Academy of Lagado" on the floating island of Laputo.

Franklin, who reported that he had "an old friend," one "Mr. Gulliver, a great Traveler,"<sup>46</sup> wrote a similar spoof of the Royal Society, as we will see below.

Franklin's polemical humor is illustrated in the series of letters he wrote under the pen name, "The Busy-Body."<sup>47</sup> Here, the Busy-Body claims to have been observing the "Vices and Follies of my country Folk," and proposes to address them:

Sometimes, I propose to deliver Lectures of Morality or Philosophy, and (because I naturally enclin'd to be meddling with Things that don't concern me) perhaps I may sometimes talk Politicks. And if I can by any means furnish out a weekly entertainment for the Publick, that will give a rational Diversion, and at the same time be instructive to the Readers, I shall think my Leisure Hours well employ'd.

In his final letter, the Busy-Body argues that the economic development of the colony was being hindered by the population's fixation on gold, as typified by a large number of people going out in the middle of the night, digging deep holes in search of buried treasure. The Busy-Body reports that a successful farmer had informed him, that, to find gold in the soil, "never to dig more than *Plow-deep*." [Emphasis added]

The Busy-Body then presents a defense of the development of the economy through the issuance of a paper currency. This was an important question for the economic development of the colonies. One week later, Franklin issued his tract, "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency."<sup>48</sup> Franklin, with "The Busy-Body," had engaged the common people in studying an important issue in a way they would enjoy.



## Franklin's Leibnizian Outlook

A good example of Franklin's ability to, as Schiller says, "transform even the most limited business and the most trivial object through the mode of treatment into an infinite one," is his 1781 paper, "To the Royal Academy of \*\*\*\*\*."<sup>49</sup> This spoof, similar to that of Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*, was written while Franklin was stationed in Paris as America's most important diplomatic representative to Europe, and the key organizer of European support for the Revolution.

Franklin's letter, which is addressed to an unnamed Royal Academy, signed by "FART-HING" pretends to praise the academy for giving a yearly contest in which "you esteem Utility as an essential Point in your Enquiries, which has not always been the case with all Academies." Franklin purports to propose that the next year's topic for the Academy's prize for the research with the most "UTILITIE," be "To discover some Drug wholesome & not disagreeable, to be mix'd with our common Food, or Sauces, that shall render the natural Discharges of Wind from our Bodies, not only inoffensive, but agreeable as Perfumes."<sup>50</sup>

Franklin presents a few arguments, that wind "so retain'd contrary to nature" can give Pain, and even cause serious Diseases, that can even be life-threatening. He then drives home the real target of his attack:

For the Encouragement of this Enquiry, (from the immortal Honour to be reasonable expected by the Inventor) let it be considered of how small Importance to Mankind, or to how small a Part of Mankind have been useful those Discoveries in Science that have heretofore made Philosophers famous. Are there twenty Men in Europe at this Day, the happier, or even the easier, for any Knowledge they have pick'd out of Aristotle? What Comfort can the Vortices of Descartes give to a Man who has Whirlwinds in his Bowels! The Knowledge of Newton's mutual Attraction of the Particles of Matter, can it afford Ease to him who is rack'd by their mutual Repulsion, and the cruel Distensions it occasions?

And he concludes with,

[I]n Comparison therewith, for universal and continual Utility, the Science of the Philosophers above-mentioned, even with the Addition, Gentlemen of your "Figure quel-conque" and the Figures inscrib'd in it, are, all together, scarcely worth a FART-HING.

Franklin was mocking Newton's Royal Society and the empiricist school that dominated the educated classes of Europe. The utilitarian philosophy, which claimed to place a value on everything according to its utility, had nothing to do with improving the conditions of existence

for the population! With all the talk about utility, the followers of this doctrine accomplished very little that was actually useful, because they failed to be "doers of good." Indeed, their ideology assumed that the nature of man is to be motivated by greed, and not by doing the good.

Franklin approached Lyndon LaRouche's conception, that the validity of a scientific discovery is measured by how it increases the relative potential population-density of man. Franklin's conception of the responsibility of the scientist and the legislator was the same. He developed the responsibilities of the legislator in "Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc."<sup>51</sup>:

[T]he Legislator that makes effectual Laws for promoting of Trade, increasing Employment, improving Land by more or better Tillage; providing more Food by Fisheries; securing Property, etc., and the Man that invents new Trades, may be properly called Fathers of their Nation, as they are the Cause of the Generation of Multitudes, by the Encouragement they afford to marriage.

The responsibility of the scientist was also measured by Franklin according to the standard of the "doer of good." In his 1743 document founding the American Philosophical Society, "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America,"<sup>52</sup> Franklin argued that the truthfulness of an idea is measured by how it increases man's power over nature and improves human existence. He proposed that the Society pursue "all philosophical Experiments that let Light into the Nature of Things, tend to increase the Power of Man over matter, and multiply the conveniences or Pleasures of Life." He proposed numerous specific projects for research, having thoughts about a wide range of areas. In his own scientific work on electricity, Franklin's hypotheses were a direct attack on the Newtonian doctrines, and an important bridge in the scientific tradition from Kepler to Gauss and Ampère [SEE Box, p. 40].

Contrary to those who point to a few references to Locke in his writings, as proof that Franklin was part of the empiricist school, Franklin's philosophical outlook was that of Leibniz. In his philosophical writings one finds optimism and humor. God, for Franklin, had that same optimism and humor. He wrote that God wanted man to find happiness, and true happiness is found through virtue:

Next to the praise due, to his Wisdom I believe he is pleased and delights in the Happiness of those he created; and since without Virtue Man can have no Happiness in this World, I firmly believe he delights to see me Virtuous, because he is pleas'd when he sees me Happy.<sup>53</sup>

## The Scientist Franklin

Franklin's research on electricity was based on rejecting the Newtonian worldview, and was coherent with his Leibnizian view of the universe. He began his electrical experiments in 1743, and is best known for demonstrating that lightning was electricity, using the famous kite experiment. His discovery won him immediate acclaim throughout the Colonies and in Europe, and he became known throughout Europe as the "Modern Prometheus" and "the man who tamed the lightning." Friedrich Schiller, in the "Ode to Joy," wrote of the *Gottesfunke* ["God's sparks"], a direct allusion to Franklin's Promethean achievement.<sup>54</sup>

Franklin's experimental hypotheses followed from his teacher James Logan's refutation of Newtonianism. In considering the phenomenon of light, Logan followed Leibniz in postulating that even in an apparent vacuum, where Newton claimed an empty void, there remains an "electric or elastic medium."<sup>55</sup>

Franklin argued that, "Universal Space, as far as we know of it, seems to be filled with a subtile Fluid, whose Motion, or Vibration, is called Light."<sup>56</sup> Electricity, he stated, was an "extream subtile fluid, penetrating other bodies, and subsisting in them, equally diffused."<sup>57</sup>

Franklin's experiments demonstrated that lightning was the same substance as the electrical fluid created by men in an experimental apparatus (Leyden jar). Electrical sparks resulted from the natural tendency of the electrical fluid to spread itself evenly: "When by any operation of art or nature, there happens to be a greater proportion of this fluid in one body than in another, the body which has most, will communicate to that which has least, till the proportion becomes equal."<sup>58</sup> Franklin's invention of the lightning rod to protect buildings was an immediate application of this discovery.

Franklin delighted in using the properties of electricity to show the flaws of sense certainty. Although electrical shocks are extremely dangerous to man, he stated that "our Bodies at all times contain enough of it [electrical current] to set a House on Fire." And, although water was used to put out fires, electrical current can exist in water, such that "this Fire will live in Water, a river not being sufficient to quench the smallest Spark of it."<sup>59</sup>

Franklin echoed Leibniz's concept, that God has created the best of all possible worlds:

1. That he must be a Being of great Wisdom; 2. That he must be a Being of great Goodness, and 3. That he must be a Being of great Power. That he must be a Being of infinite Wisdom,

is proved by studying all aspects of the Universe, to see that

the highest and most exquisite human Reason, cannot find a fault and say this would have been better so or in another Manner, which whoever considers attentively and thoroughly will be astonish'd and swallow'd up in Admiration.<sup>60</sup>

Franklin rejected Newton's universe, arguing that if it were as the Newtonians described it, then it would follow that God were no more a God, for he would have divested himself of all further Power: "Power, he has done and has no more to do, he has ty'd up his Hands, and has now no greater Power than an Idol of Wood or Stone."<sup>61</sup> He similarly rejected the empiricists' argument that man is nothing more than a creature who seeks pleasure and avoids pain, writing in his essay, "Men are Naturally Benevolent as Well as Selfish"<sup>62</sup>:

It is the Opinion of some People, that Man is a Creature altogether selfish, and that all our Actions have at Bottom a View to private Interest; If we do good to others, it is, say they, because there is a certain Pleasure attending virtuous Actions. But how Pleasure comes to attend a virtuous Action, these Philosophers are puzzled to shew, without contradicting their first Principles, and acknowledging that Men are naturally benevolent as well as selfish. For whence can arise the Pleasure you feel after having done a good-natured Thing, if not hence, that you had before strong humane and kind Inclinations in your Nature, which are by such Actions in some Measure gratified?

In several writings, Franklin playfully argued that self-denial is not, in itself, a virtue. This is because, if a man does not desire to commit vice, he need not practice self-denial. Franklin states,

The Truth is that Temperance, Justice, Charity &c are Virtues, whether practis'd with or against our Inclinations; . . . He that denies a Vicious Inclination is Virtuous in proportion to his Resolution, but the most perfect Virtue is above all Temptation, such as the Virtue of the Saints in Heaven.<sup>63</sup>

True happiness is not found by seeking sensual pleasures, which often lead to misery, but rather, by doing the good. For, as Franklin wrote, "Did you ever find yourself weary of relieving the miserable, or of raising the distressed into life or happiness?"<sup>64</sup>

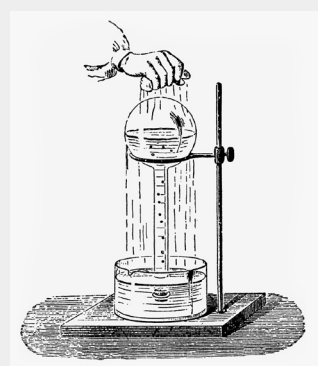


EXPERIMENTS  
AND  
OBSERVATIONS  
ON  
ELECTRICITY,  
MADE AT  
*Philadelphia in America,*  
BY  
Mr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
AND  
Communicated in several Letters to Mr. P. COLLINSON,  
of London, F. R. S.  
  
L O N D O N :  
Printed and sold by E. CAYE, at St. John's Gate, 1751.  
(Price 2s. 6d.)

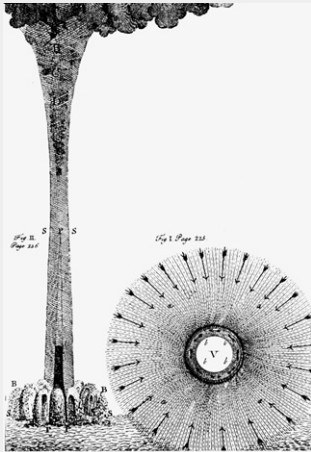
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*Franklin's electrical experiments proceeded from Leibnizian hypotheses. His 1751 "Experiments and Observations on Electricity" offered a fluid theory of electricity, coherent with his researches into air pressure (top right) and meteorological phenomena like water spouts (left). Franklin was the first person to map the Gulf Stream current.*



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The American Revolution was organized by such a beautiful soul.

## The Road to the American Revolution

Contrary to the claim of revisionist historians that the American Revolution was a revolt by selfish Americans who wanted to avoid paying taxes, the Revolution was the result of the collision of two completely contrary worldviews, one republican, the other oligarchical. As Benjamin Franklin recognized from his first visit to England during 1724-26, the British population lacked the moral qualities necessary for self-government. The establishment of a republic required America's break with Britain.

It was understood both by Americans such as Franklin, and by the British, that the rapid development of the American colonies would allow the population of the colonies to surpass Britain economically, in the not-too-distant future. Franklin wrote in 1751 that, "This Million doubling, suppose but once in 25 Years, will in

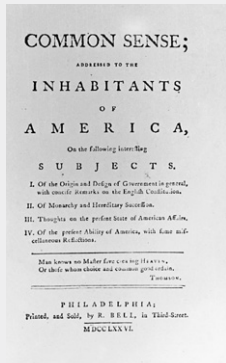
another Century be more than the People of England, and the greatest Number of Englishmen will be on this Side the Water."<sup>65</sup> Seen in this light, the demand for "no taxation without representation," was a call for eventual American control over the British Parliament.

One proponent of the British Empire, after reviewing the speed that the American colonies were outstripping England, asked, "And how are we to rule them?"<sup>66</sup> It was for this reason that the British launched a deliberate attempt to crush the colonies.

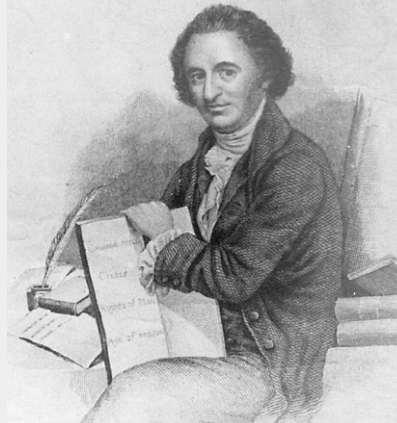
Following the failure of the Albany Plan of Union, Franklin wrote a series of letters which contain one of the first statements denouncing the British for non-representational taxation.<sup>67</sup> Franklin identified as a hidden tax, the British measures that blocked the development of American manufactures, and forced the colonies to be dependent on Britain. As a result of these kinds of measures, the colonies had a negative trade imbalance with England—except for the slave economy dominating the Carolinas—throughout the entire Eighteenth century prior to the Revolution.

In the aftermath of the 1763 defeat of the French in the French and Indian War, which opened up the possi-

Circulation of political pamphlets was a primary organizing tool of the American Revolution. Below: A 1774 pamphlet. Right: Tom Paine's 1776 "Common Sense." 500,000 copies were printed.



Library of Congress



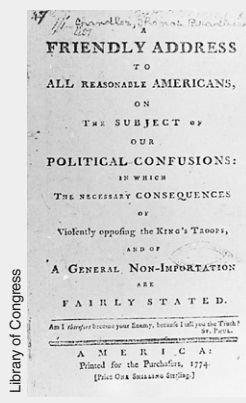
Revolutionary organizer Tom Paine, recruited from England, was Franklin's protégé.

**The American Crisis.**  
NUMBER I.  
By the Author of COMMON SENSE.

THESE are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly:—'Tis dearest only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange, indeed, if to celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (not only to TAX, but) "to BIND us in ALL CASES WHATSOEVER," and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God. WHETHER the Independence of the Continent was declared soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into; my own simple opinion is, that had either, it would have been much better.

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After military defeats in New Jersey, Paine authored "The American Crisis" (above, right) to rally support for the republican cause. General Washington had it read to his troops as they weathered the difficult winter at Valley Forge (right).



bility of the colonies' western expansion, the British intensified economic warfare against the colonies. Settlements beyond the Allegheny Mountains were banned. In 1764, the British Parliament banned the issuance of paper money, of which Virginia had issued £250,000. This, combined with the imposition of a new series of taxes, threw the colonies into a depression.

The colonists met this assault by organizing a movement that increasingly united the colonies. The networks that grew up to oppose these measures became the force that organized the American Revolution.

This political movement was organized, in large part, through the mass distribution of newspapers and pamphlets. The debate that was initiated in response to the repressive measures, was quickly turned into a discussion of fundamental questions about government. The vast majority of the population participated in this debate, which was conducted on a far more profound level than any people have ever done, either before or after, in founding a nation.

The use of pamphlets as political organizing tools allowed large numbers of people to participate, since pamphlets could be produced cheaply. The circulation of political pamphlets expanded rapidly with thousands of different ones printed. Their content reflected the high educational level of the colonies, often making compar-

isons to ancient Greece and Rome, and quoting writers such as Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Cicero, Virgil, Shakespeare, Swift, and Vattel.

The efforts of Massachusetts republicans were extremely effective in reaching the entire population of Massachusetts. In 1772, the Boston Committee of Correspondence distributed a pamphlet denouncing the tyrannical nature of British rule to all of the 260 towns and districts in the colony, requesting that the towns join in resistance. Over the next year, the majority of towns took some form of action, such as issuing pamphlets or proclamations declaring the right and nature of self-government. The people of Lexington, for example, declared that it was "their unalienable Right, and a Duty they owe to themselves and Posterity, as a Town, as well as Individuals to take these Matters into serious Consideration."<sup>68</sup> Not surprisingly, during the Revolution, 60 percent of the soldiers in the Continental Army were from Massachusetts.

Through the rapidly expanding circulation of political pamphlets, the entire population was brought into the debate about theories of government. The most widely circulated pamphlet was Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*,<sup>69</sup> which was first published in January 1776. Paine had been recruited from England by Benjamin Franklin. Both friend and foe admitted that *Common Sense* worked

a powerful effect. An incredible 500,000 copies of Paine's *Common Sense* were circulated in the colonies—literally, one copy for every household in America.

Benjamin Franklin took the lead in organizing the union of the colonies. Franklin was appointed the representative of Pennsylvania, Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts to London. This put him at the center of the action in the colonies' battle with the British. Finally, at the Second Continental Congress in 1775, while others were debating the question of separation versus accommodation with England, Franklin presented a proposal for the Union of the Thirteen Colonies. He was preparing the future.

### Aesthetical Education Today

The American Revolution was the fruit of a struggle waged in Europe for self-government and the nation-state, which began with the Renaissance launched at the Council of Florence. It would not have been possible, without the collaboration of Europe's Leibnizian networks. The support in Europe for the republican cause in America is exemplified by the work of Emmerich de Vattel, whose text, *The Law of Nations*,<sup>70</sup> presented the justification for a republican overthrow of an oligarchical government, and the Leibnizian conception of "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness"; American pamphleteers began using Vattel's work almost immediately after its publication in 1758. One of Benjamin Franklin's main responsibilities as America's chief diplomat in Europe, was to coordinate with America's European allies in the republican cause.

The American victory was obtained through a difficult and risky struggle. During the opening months of the war, the cause of independence looked very bleak. As the Continental Army retreated through New Jersey, Tom Paine wrote the first of his *American Crisis* pamphlets,<sup>71</sup> to rally the soldiers and patriots:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives everything its value.

Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated. Britain with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that she has a right (*not only to tax, but*) "to bind us in all cases whatsoever," and if being *bound in that manner* is not slavery, then is there no such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

American patriots responded to this call to action.

Equally remarkable, following the Revolution, American patriots had to face the fact that the government that they had created, was failing to meet the requirements for maintaining the nation. Representatives of the thirteen states met in 1787 at a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, and drafted a new Constitution, whose Preamble still stands as mankind's most advanced statement of republican self-government. This Constitution was then ratified by the people of the thirteen states. The people were rallied in support of the Constitution by mass-circulated writings, such as Hamilton's *The Federalist*, which, ironically, most Americans today either could not, or would not bother to comprehend.

In 1789, the year that George Washington became the Republic's first President, French republicans attempted to establish a republic in France. However, the French Revolution failed, for as Friedrich Schiller wrote: "Vain hope! The moral possibility is wanting; and the generous moment finds an unresponsive people."

You, dear reader, are living at a time when you are faced with a similar challenge, whether you desire it or not. It is time to learn to desire more nobly to meet this challenge.

Lyndon LaRouche has developed the conceptions necessary to overcome the crisis of civilization that looms before us. He has repeatedly challenged the American people to transform themselves, or see this nation's destruction. LaRouche states:

That, like Hamlet's, is your tragedy. To overcome what menaces you today, it is, above all, yourselves you must change. You must choose to change back into what the founders of our republic intended us to be.<sup>72</sup>

That is the issue of the Aesthetical Education of America today.

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# Pope A Metaphysician!

(1754)

AN ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET IN DEFENSE OF LEIBNIZ

Gotthold Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn

DURING THE SIXTY years after the death of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in 1716, his philosophy, his “system of optimism,” became the basis for the idea of “the pursuit of happiness,” the inalienable right for which the American War of Independence was declared.

But during that interlude, in the 1740’s and 1750’s, a thorough

attempt to destroy Leibniz’s influence was launched in Europe, originating with Sir Isaac Newton’s promoters and, in Leibniz’s native Germany, centered around the Berlin Royal Academy of Science. Under Frederick the Great’s patronage, philosophers and mathematicians led by Voltaire, Euler, and Maupertuis, promoted pessimism and cynicism in morals, entropy in physical and mathematical sciences. They attacked Leibniz more and more audaciously, most famously in Voltaire’s “Candide” (1759), a savage ridicule of Leibniz’s idea of “the best of all possible worlds.”

In 1754 a spirited defense of Leibniz was begun: by Moses Mendelssohn, who became known as founder of modern Judaism and “the German Socrates”; and Gotthold Lessing, one of the founders of the German Classical drama. The pamphlet translated here was their first of many collaborations, over years.

The occasion was a calculated attack on Leibniz by the Berlin Academy; a “prize essay contest,” comparing Leibniz’s philosophical and scientific work, to a mere didactic (long



Moses Mendelssohn

Corbis/Bettmann



Gotthold Lessing

The Granger Collection

and moralizing) poem of Alexander Pope’s, his “Essay on Man” (1733). Pope had been Poet Laureate of Great Britain for decades, famed for his endless series of rhyming couplets; nearly all his poems were moral/political tracts, disguised in never-changing meter and rhyme. (It is interesting that only a few

years after this degrading attempt to put forward Pope as Leibniz improved [!], came the first attempts to claim that the empiricist Francis Bacon was really the author of Shakespeare’s plays.)

As to Lessing/Mendelssohn’s opening question, “Can a poet also be a metaphysician?”: It is useful to quote Socrates, when asked in Plato’s dialogue “Phaedo,” why he had taken up writing poetry in his last imprisonment, prior to his execution. Socratic paradox lies at the heart of the quality of metaphor which Classical poets clothe in beautiful verse. Socrates himself had just composed a fable in verse, of the paradox of pleasure and pain, “two opposite bodies joined in a single head.” He said:

*In the course of my life I have often had intimations in dreams “that I should compose music.” The same dream came to me sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, but always saying the same or nearly the same words: “Cultivate and make music.” And hitherto, I had imagined that this was only intended to exhort and encourage me in the study of philosophy, which has*

been the pursuit of my life, and is the noblest and best of music. . . . But . . . the dream might have meant music in the popular sense of the word, and being under sentence of death, I thought it would be safer for me to satisfy the scruple, and in obedience to the dream, to compose a few verses before I departed.”

With the intense anti-Leibniz climate around the Berlin Academy, this pamphlet was published anonymously, and was at first thought to be Lessing’s alone. Mendelssohn was later denied membership in the Academy by Frederick the Great.

## TASK

THE ACADEMY demands an investigation of the system of Pope, which consists in the phrase *all is good*. And more precisely, that one:

First, specify the true sense of this phrase, according to the hypothesis of its supporters;

Second, compare it exactly with the system of optimism, or the selection of the best; and

Third, bring forth the grounds upon which this system of Pope should be either upheld or overthrown.

## FOREWORD

It were pointless to wish to deny that the present treatise is instigated by the recent competition of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science, and thus one has not sought to hide this instigation itself in any way. Only to say, that if the reader on this account would think of a beauty who abandons herself to the hostile public, out of vexation because the bridegroom around whom she, with her fellow maidens, has danced, will not have her; he would so for certain be thinking of an entirely false comparison. The judges of the Academy will know best, that they have not been troubled with this piece. It encountered circumstances which hindered its submission, but which did not contradict its becoming known through the press. To name only one of those circumstances—it has two authors, and could thus appear under no other motto than this:

*Compulerant—greges Corydon & Thyrsis in unum.*

[Corydon and Thyrsis drove their flocks together into one.]

Imagine now, if it had won the crown! What a strife would have sprung up between the authors! And they would gladly have no such thing come between them.

\* \* \*

The Academy demands an examination of Pope’s system, which is contained in the statement, *all is good*.

\* \* \*

I beg pardon that I must confess at the very outset, that to me the way in which this question is expressed does not appear to be the best. For Thales, Plato, Chrysippus, Leibniz, and Spinoza, and countless others, unanimously own it thus: *that all shall be for the good*; so must it either be, in all systems, expressed in these words, or must nothing be contained therein. They are the conclusion, which each from his special mansion of learning has drawn, and which perhaps will yet be drawn from a hundred more. But they are also the confession of him who has philosophized without special structures of learning. If one were to want to make them into a canon, according to which all questions enveloped therein were to be decided, more comfort than reason would come about thereby. *God has willed it to be so, and because he has willed it so, it must be good*: this is truthfully a very easy answer, with which one is never left high and dry. By it, one is directed, but not enlightened. It is the most noteworthy piece of the worldly-wisdom of fools; for what is more foolish, than to take each and every event of Nature as an indication of the will of God, without even considering whether the accident in question could have been an object of the divine will?

If I could thus believe that he who conceived of the Academy’s competition has, in the words *all is good*, absolutely demanded that a system should be found, then I would reasonably ask, whether he also takes the word “system” in its strict meaning, as he really had ought to. He can only rightly desire that one depend upon his sense



than upon his words. Especially so, when the true sense shines unnoticed through the false words, as it does sufficiently here through the particular determination of the phrase.

From this, I imagine that it follows that the Academy demands an investigation of that system which Pope has invented or taken up; by means of that investigation, the truth—that *all shall be for the good*—to confirm, to derive, or however else one would express it. Only that one must not say that the system must *lie* [*consist*] in these words. It lies no more actually therein than the premises lie in a conclusion, even could there be an unlimited number of them.

Perhaps one will suspect me of merely delaying by this trifle—to the matter, then! *An investigation of Pope's system*—I haven't been able to think about this without asking myself, rather with astonishment: Who is Pope?—A poet.—A poet? What business does Saul have among the prophets? What business does a poet have among the metaphysicians? Yet, a poet need not at all times be a poet. I see no contradiction in that he can also be a philosopher. Even that same one, who in the Spring of his life roved about among love-gods and graces, among fauns and muses, with the ivy staff in his hand; even that same one can, indeed, easily in the ripe Autumn of his years don the mantle of philosophy, and let manly seriousness replace youthful joking. This change is the way the powers of our souls develop themselves, suitable enough.

Yet, another question brings this excuse to nothing—When? Where has Pope played the metaphysician, that I am not giving him credit for?—Even, when he most showed his strengths in the art of poetry. In a poem. In a poem, then, and surely one which in all strictness deserves that name, he has brought forward a system which an entire Academy considers worthy of investigation? So by him, then, are the poet and the strict philosopher—and nothing can be stricter than the systematic—not two figures that can be changed one into the other, but rather, he is both at the same time; he is the one, in that in which he is the other?

This I found hard to swallow—notwithstanding I sought by every means to convince myself of it. And finally the following thought took control, that I will call a

#### PREDECESSOR INVESTIGATION:

*Whether a poet, as a poet, can have a system?*

Here I would have, perhaps, an opportunity to send forth an explanation of the word *system*. Yet I am held back by the modest idea that I have already disclosed it above. Is it so unsuitable as to be unnecessary that an assembly of

philosophers, that is, an assembly of systematic minds, say what a system should be?

It were hardly suitable for them to say what a poem should be; if this word had not been defined in such a distinctive way, and if I had not had to show in which way it most suitably applied to my investigation.

A poem is a perfectly *sensuous* form of speech. Now one knows how much the words *perfect* and *sensuous* are expressive of, and how often this explanation (definition) draws preference over all others when one would judge superficially of the nature of poetry.

A *system* and a *sensuous* form of speech—yet the contradiction of these two things does not appear clear enough in our eyes. I will have to include the special case upon which we have come even here, and set it metaphysically in the general idea of the system.

A system of metaphysical truths, then, and a sensuous form of speech, both in one—do these rub together well?

What must the metaphysician do, before all else?—He must define the words which he intends to use; he must never turn them into another signification than the one defined for them; he must exchange them for none with merely the appearance of equal validity.

To what of this does the poet pay attention? Nothing of it. Simply a beautiful sound is, for him, sufficient cause to choose one expression in place of another, and the exchange of synonymous words is for him a beauty.

One adds to this the use of figures [metaphors]—and wherein consists the essence of these themselves?—That they never remain at a strict [narrow] truth; that they say easily too much, and easily too little—Only a metaphysician, of the Bohemian species, can be forgiven them.

And the ordering of the metaphysician? He goes, in continual inferences, always from the simpler to the more difficult; he takes nothing in advance, nor afterwards. If one could see truths grow out of one another in a sensuous way, so would their growth observe the very same steps [degrees] through which he had us go up in persuading us of the same.

Order only! What has the poet to do with that? And moreover such a slavish order. Nothing is more opposed to the inspiration of a true poet.

One would scarcely allow one to further draw out these, hardly celebrated, thoughts, without setting them against experience. Only experience also is on my side. Suppose one thus asks me, if I know the “Lucrece” [of Pope]; if I know that his poetry comprehends the system of the Epicure? Suppose one quotes to me other like works of his; so would I answer entirely confidently: “Lucrece” and his like make a verse-maker, but not a poet. [NB: Milton on Dryden: “an excellent rhymers, but no poet”—PBG]. I don't deny that one can bring forth a

system in meter or also in rhyme; rather, I deny that this system brought forth in meter or in rhyme will be a poem. One need only remember what I understand as a poem, and all that lies in the concept of a sensuous form of speech. Hardly will it be more certainly applied, in its entire breadth, to the poetry of another poet, than to that of Pope.

The philosopher, who would climb Parnassus, and the poet, who would have grave and restful wisdom given down to him in the valleys, meet each other just halfway, where they exchange their vestments, so to speak, and go back again. Each brings the other's form back to his dwelling with him; but not more than the form. The poet is a more philosophical poet, and the \*wisdom of the world becomes a more poetic wisdom. Only a more philosophical poet is still not a philosopher for that, and a more poetic \*philosophy [*Weltweise*, "worldly wisdom—same word as earlier in sentence—PBG] is yet thereby no poet.

But that's how the English are. Their great minds are always the greatest, and their rare heads must always be wonders. No fame appears enough to them, not even naming Pope the pre-eminent philosophical poet. They would have him be even so great a philosopher as poet. That's it; they would have that impossibility, or they would take Pope to be greatly degraded as a poet. But they will certainly not have the latter; thus, they'll have the former.

Up to now I have shown—at least would have shown—that a poet, as poet, can make no system. Henceforth I will show that he also wants to make none; even supposing he could; even supposing thus, that my difficulties do not involve any impossibilities, and that his genius gives him the means to hand to rise above them.

I will stay just on Pope. His poem is supposed to be no barren concatenation of truths. He himself calls it a moral poem, in which he would justify the ways of God to man's sight. He sought more a lively expression than a profound demonstration.—Then what had he to do well in this regard? He had to present to his readers, without doubt, all the truths bound up in this subject in their strongest and most beautiful light.

Now let one consider, that not all parts of a system can be of equal clarity. Some truths yield themselves simply from the foundation-principles; some are drawn from them by accumulated inferences. But these latter can be the clearest in another system, in which the former are perhaps the most obscure.

The philosopher makes nothing of these little inconveniences of systems. The truth which he reaches through a single conclusion, is to him no more a truth thereby, than

that at which he can arrive only through twenty inferences; if only these twenty inferences are not fallacious or deceitful. Enough, that he has brought everything into connection; enough, that he is able to overlook this connection [lattice] at one glance, as an entirety, without being held up by the fine details of the inter-connections themselves.

But the poet thinks entirely otherwise. Everything that he says ought to make an equally strong impression; all his truths should be just as convincingly moving. And to be able to do this, he has no other means than to express this truth according to this system, and that according to another.—He speaks with the Epicure when he would raise up pleasure, and with the Stoic where he should prize virtue. Pleasure, in the verses of a Seneca, if he wished to remain at all faithful to his fundamental principles, would make a very sad processional; just as virtue, in the songs of an ever-consistent Epicure, would have rather the look of a courtesan.

However, I will give place to the objection which one could make against this. I will let it occur to me: Pope may be an exception. He may have possessed enough *art* and *will*, in his poem, if not fully to sketch a system, at least with his fingers to point to a certain one. He may have limited himself only to those truths which allowed themselves to be sensibly brought forth according to this system. He may have earlier so much overdone the others, that beyond that there is no duty of the poet to exhaust everything.

Well! It must be demonstrated, and there could be no better way to demonstrate it, than if I stick exactly to the points prescribed by the Academy. According to these, my treatise will consist of three sections, to which at the end I will add some historical and critical notes.

## FIRST SECTION

### Compilation of those Propositions in which Pope's System Should Consist

One may seek these propositions almost nowhere other than in the entire *first* Epistle, and now and again in the *fourth*.

I have come across no single proposition, which would constitute just by itself the mother-lode of a system, and I doubt whether one will meet with one even in the following *thirteen* [Epistles], which would serve the purpose of bringing [the system] into view.

The order in which I will set them here is not the order which Pope has followed in his exposition. Rather, it is that which Pope must have followed in thought, even if he has set down another.

### FIRST PROPOSITION

*Of all possible systems, God must have  
made the best.*

This proposition does not properly belong to Pope; much more do his words show clearly enough that he takes it as a settled matter and borrows it from another.

*Epistle 1, Lines 43-44*

Of Systems possible, if 'tis confest,  
That Wisdom infinite must form the best &c.

That is: *if man must confess, that an infinite Wisdom must create the best out of all possible systems.* Whereas here no uncertainty can be declared; because the remainder of his principles follow from this condition, so it must be here as if he had said: *for man necessarily must confess, etc.*

### SECOND PROPOSITION

*In this best system, everything must cohere,  
or if not, all things fall one upon another.*

*Epistle 1, Line 45*

Where all must fall, or all coherent be.

In the general edition which I have before me, the second half of this line reads: "or not coherent be." I suspect, not without grounds, that instead of "not" must be read "all." But supposing Pope has really written "not," still no other sense of it is possible, than that which I have expressed in the proposition. —Yet here we have to do only with what Pope understands under the coherence of the world. He certainly does not explain himself very expressly on it; but in various places it is shown that he understands, under this, that arrangement by which all grades of perfection in the world were occupied, without anywhere a breach to be met with. He adds there, to the words already given (Line 46),

And all that rises, rise in due degree.

which is, taken together with what has gone before: *Everything must fall together, or all be coherent, and all that rises must rise in its due degree.* It follows that he finds the coherence in that everything in the world rises step by step. And he says further (line 233): since some existences should become perfect; so either the degraded existences must displace them, or a gap must remain in the *entirety* of Creation, as if the entire chain [*Leiter*, ladder—but Pope's use is chain of being—PBG] be shattered, so soon as a single step is broken.

Each System in gradation roll (Line 239):

*Every system progresses by steps;* says even this, really. And even that gradual degradation he calls the great chain which stretches down from the infinite to man, and

from man to nothingness. (1st Epistle, Lines 232-236). The following lines from the Fourth Epistle perhaps make the poet's meaning clearer. (Lines 47ff.)

Order is Heav'n's great Law; and this confest,  
Some are and must be, mightier than the rest,  
More rich, more wise &c.

Thus he assumes for his ordering this teaching, according to which all grades of perfection are distinguished. And from the following principles one will see that he connects no other concept to the coherence of the world, than that we have already set down.

### THIRD PRINCIPLE

*In the chain of life and feeling must be  
found somewhere such an existence as  
that of mankind.*

*1st Epistle, Lines 47-48*

—in the scale of life and sense, 'tis plain  
There must be, somewhere such a rank as Man.

This principle follows immediately from the foregoing. For in the best of worlds, all grades of perfection ought to achieve their reality; so also must the rank which belongs to man not remain empty. Thus man will neither have been left out of the best of worlds, nor been able to be made more perfect. In both cases a grade of perfection would not be realized, and thereby coherence [*Zusammenhang*, connection] would not exist in the best of worlds.

By this point one considers how little *Pope's* conclusion involves, if we were to explain the coherence of the world otherwise than in the preceding principles.

Of Systems possible, if 'tis confest,  
That Wisdom infinite must form the best,  
Where all &c.—  
Then in the scale of life and sense, 'tis plain  
There must be, some where, such a rank as Man.

From no other cause, says *Pope*, must such a rank, such a grade of perfection as man occupies, be read, than because in the best of worlds, all either falls one upon another or hangs together, and must raise itself to the proper grade; that is, because no rank may remain unfilled.

Better than this has Pope not believed, presumably to prevent the objection: why was such an existence as mankind created, or why was it not created more perfect? More nearly to answer this latter, he makes use of the unchangeability of the existence [*Wesen*, being] of all things, and says that these demands were as ridiculous as to wish the foot the hand, the hand the head, and the head with its senses not plainly the implement of the spir-

it. In the Fourth Epistle he expresses himself still more strongly, claiming: the question, Why man is not created more perfect, means in other words nothing but this; Why were man not God, and the Earth not Heaven?

#### FOURTH PRINCIPLE

*The happiness of each creature subsists in a condition which is appropriate for its existence.*

*1st Epistle, Line 175*

All in exact proportion to their state.

and in the 71st Line of the same Epistle he says of man, especially:

His being measur'd to his state and place.

Consequently, says *Pope*, the question comes mainly to this, that one prove man to be truly placed in a condition in the world which is proper for his being and his grade of perfection:

*1st Epistle, Lines 49-50*

And all the question (wrangle ere so long)  
Is only this, if God has plac'd him wrong?

#### FIFTH PRINCIPLE

*Man is as perfect as he should be.*

*1st Epistle, Line 70*

Man's as perfect as he ought.

That is; the condition of man is really suitable to his being, and thereby man is perfect. But that may be so, he further elucidates, if one reflects upon the condition itself in which man lives; which he does in the following lines.

#### SIXTH PRINCIPLE

*God works by general, and not by special laws;  
and in special cases he does not work favor or  
inclination [Lieblings Willen] against his  
general laws.*

*4th Epistle, Lines 33-34*

—the universal cause

Ask not by partial but by general laws.

*and Line 119*

Think we like some weak Prince th'eternal Cause  
Prone for his favorites to reverse his Laws?

The poet draws these thoughts out further in what follows, and explicates them with examples. But he appears thereby to have taken up the system of *Malebranche*, who makes only the general laws the subject of God's will, in order to vindicate the original author of the world, if just from these general laws imperfections ensue.

The followers of this philosopher consequently claim that God has acted according to His wisdom and so the world must be regulated by general laws. In special cases, the application of these general laws may well bring forth something which, in and for itself, may be either completely useless or entirely injurious, and so really contrary to the idea of God: only let it be enough, that the general laws exist for important purposes, and that the evils which arise therefrom in a few special cases may not have been able to arise without a special decree [of Providence]. They put forward an example: the general material [*mechanischen*, mechanical] laws by which the rain falls at certain times, have inexpressible advantages. But how often does the rain water the barren stone, where it really produces nothing of use, and does it not often bring on the flood, where it is definitely injurious? Their opinion thus follows, that even those same imperfections can also correspond to the best of worlds, because no general laws are possible, which could express the divine idea [*Ansicht*, view] [special design] in all special cases. Or, they ask, ought God by a will of favor [*Lieblings Willen*]  
—let this favorite by, for example, the inquisitive philosopher thirsting for knowledge—break the general laws by which an Aetna must spout fire?

*4th Epistle, Lines 121-122*

Shall burning Aetna, if a sage requires,  
Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?

#### SEVENTH PRINCIPLE

*No evil comes from God.*

That is: the evil which transpires in the world has never been the subject of God's will.

*4th Epistle, Line 110*

God sends not ill.

*Pope* has concluded this without danger from the foregoing. If evil only inheres in special cases, and is a consequence of the general laws; but God founded these general laws, as general laws, for good, and has made them subject to His will; so one can not say that He has really willed the evil which flows from them, and without which they were not general laws. Our poet seeks to make this absolution a great deal stronger, when he says that even thus this evil ensuing from the general laws is very rare. He has herewith, perhaps, meant to say only this much, that God has chosen those general laws out of which the least evil might arise. Only he expresses himself in a very peculiar way; he says (1st Epistle, Line 143): "th' exceptions are few," and in another place "Nature lets it fall," namely the evil. I will have to touch upon this point in my third section.

### EIGHTH PRINCIPLE

*Not the least change can take place in the world, which should not draw after itself a disorder in all the world structures of which the whole consists.*

*1st Epistle, Lines 233-236*

—on superior powers

Were we to press, inferior might on ours:  
Or in the full creation leave a Void,  
Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd.

*and Lines 239-242*

And if each System in gradation roll,  
Alike essential to th' amazing whole;  
The least confusion but in one, not all  
That system only, but the whole must fall.

### NINTH PRINCIPLE

*Natural and moral ills are consequences of the general laws, which God often turns to the good of the whole, and often had rather allow, than that he would have had to act through a special will, against his general [will].*

*1st Epistle, Lines 145-146*

If the great end be human happiness,  
Then Nature *deviates*, and can man do less?

*4th Epistle, Lines 112-113*

Or partial ill is universal good  
—or Nature lets it fall.

*1st Epistle, Lines 161-162*

—all subsists by elemental strife  
And Passions are the Elements of life.

### TENTH PRINCIPLE

*All has not been made on behalf of man's will, rather man himself is, perhaps, there for the will of something else.*

*1st Epistle, Line 57*

—man, who here seems principal alone,  
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown.

*3rd Epistle, Line 24*

Made beast in aid of man, and man of beast,

### ELEVENTH PRINCIPLE

*Ignorance of our future state has been given to us for our good.*

Without it, says the poet, who would be able to bear his life? (1st Epistle, Line 76)

*and Line 81*

Oh blindness to the future! Kindly giv'n  
That each &c.

But instead of knowledge of the future, says *Pope*, Heaven has given us the gift of hope, which alone is able to make our last moments sweet to us.

### TWELFTH PRINCIPLE

*Man cannot, without misfortune, wish for clearer or more refined sentiments.*

The location in which he explicates this is too long to transcribe here. It is in the First Epistle, and goes from the 185th to the 198th line. But this principle, and the two preceding, are really closer to demonstrations of the fifth principle, and want to establish that such gifts and capabilities fall to man's lot, as best serve his state. They would also answer the question, upon what, in *Pope's* opinion, this strife might principally depend.

If God has placed him (*man*) wrong?

### THIRTEENTH PRINCIPLE

*The passions of man, which are nothing but different variations of self-love, without which Reason would not be effective, have been given to him for the best.*

*2nd Epistle, Line 83*

Modes of self-love the passions we may call.

*the same, Line 44*

Self-love to urge, and Reason to restrain.

*and 1st Epistle, Line 162*

Passions are the elements of life.

*Pope* surely confesses that uncountable weaknesses and mistakes arise from the passions; but also that these are grounded upon a general law, which is this: that they all might to be set in motion by a real, or an apparent good. But God (according to the Ninth Principle) has had to allow all the evil which ensues from the general laws, because he had otherwise to overturn the general laws by a special decree.

*2nd Epistle, Line 84*

'Tis real good, or seeming, moves them all.

### CONCLUDING PRINCIPLE

Out of all these principles now taken together, *Pope* believes he can draw the conclusion, *that all shall be for the good*, que tout ce qui est, est bien [that all which is, is good]. I here express his sense in the language of his translator. But is it well and good for him to rely upon

this? What if *Pope* had not said that all is *good*, but rather only that all is *right*? Would one take *right* and *good* for one and the same? Here are his words:

*1st Epistle, Line 286*  
—whatever is, is right.

One will hopefully not commit an affront to a poet, such as *Pope* is, and say that he has been forced by rhyme to set *right* here instead of some other word. At least, in the Fourth Epistle (Line 382) where he repeats this expression, he is free of any pressure of rhyme, and it must have been with serious thought that he did not say *good* or *well*. And why has he not said these, indeed? Because it would have clashed openly with the rest of his thoughts. There, he himself confessed *that Nature allows some evil to befall*; so well could he say, that not withstanding this, all were *right*, but not possibly that all were *good*. *Right* is all, in that all, even evil itself, has been grounded in the generality of laws subject to the divine will. But all were only *good*, if these general laws at all times agreed with the divine ideas [*Ansichten*]. Surely will I be glad to confess that also the French *bien* [well] says less than *bon* [good], indeed that it almost says something different; and in the same way, that the German *gut*, when it is used *adverbially* [meaning *well*—PBG] and not *substantively* [meaning *the good*], often expresses something which is really close to *right*. But the question is, has one constantly thought of this fine distinction, as often as one has heard the Popean: all is good [this time “*es ist alles gut*,” it is all good—PBG] or “*tout ce qui est, est bien*”?

I have nothing more to draw attention to here.—If one will be so good as to allow the forgiving principles to pass as a system, I can be right well satisfied with it for the while. I will desire that it might be maintained in the reader’s understanding at least until I, in the third section, in part with its founder’s own weapons, can destroy it. I would not put myself to the danger of leaving such a weak structure standing before him [the reader—PBG] for even a moment, had I not here to turn, of necessity, to the second of the prescribed points of the Academy.

## SECOND SECTION

### Comparison of the Above Principles with the Leibnizian Teachings

If I might attribute to the Academy other views than one attributes to a society which is constituted for the advancement of science, I would ask: Is one supposed, through this mandated comparison, to interpret the

Popean principles as philosophic, or more the Leibnizian principles as poetic?

Yet that said, I can save my question, and turn myself entirely to the comparison. At best, what underlies this may be an entirely too exaggerated opinion of the more than human intelligence of the English.

I will, in my comparison, hold to the order of the above principles, but without touching upon all of them. Some are there as connectives; and some are much too special, and more moral than metaphysical. I will be able to pass over types lightly, and the comparison will still be complete.

#### FIRST PRINCIPLE

*God must, of all possible systems, have created the best.* This Pope says, and Leibniz also, in more than one place, has expressed himself perfectly thus. What thought each of them has meant by this, must be illuminated from elsewhere. Warburton has been completely wrong, in wanting to see this principle, independent of the other principles, not so much [not only] as Leibnizian but as Platonic. I will show this further below. I will only note here, that whoever conceived of the Academy’s question would necessarily have to have chosen this principle and no other, in place of the proposition *all is good*, if he wished with some grounds to say that a system could lie therein, which would be, perhaps not the Leibnizian, but yet something similar.

#### SECOND PRINCIPLE

*In the best system, all must be connected.* What *Pope* understands by this connection, we have seen. Namely, just that quality of the world, whereby all grades of perfection would be filled out with existences, from nothingness to divinity.

*Leibniz*, on the other hand, puts this connection in this: that all [existences] in the world may be intelligibly explained, one from the other. He looks at the world as a quantity of contingent things, which in part coexist, and in part follow from one another. These distinct things would, combined together, make no whole, if they were not all in accord with one another like the wheels of a machine; that is, if from each thing it was not possible clearly to set forth why all others, relative to it, are so and not otherwise; and from each preceding condition or state of a thing, why this or that will follow from it. This, an unlimited Reason must fully be able to conceptualize from it, and the least part of the world must for him be a mirror, in which he can see all the other parts which exist beside it, as well as all states in which the world has been or ever will be.

But never has *Leibniz* said that all grades of perfec-

tion, in the best of worlds, must be occupied. Nor do I believe that he would have been able to say it. For if he might say, even as *Pope: the Creation is full*; so must he, nevertheless, have understood by these words an entirely different sense than *Pope* has understood by them. To speak as *Leibniz*, Creation is everywhere full, in the best of worlds, for the reason that everywhere one thing is grounded in another, and thus space, on the ordering of contiguous things, is nowhere interrupted. In a similar manner, time is also full, because the states which in themselves follow one another, never cease to be grounded in one another as effects and causes. But *Pope* understands something entirely different under his *full creation*, as can be concluded from the connection of his words.

*1st Epistle, Line 235*

—on superior powers

Were we to press, inferior might on ours:

Or in the full creation leave a Void.

Namely, for him the Creation is *full* only on this account, that all the levels in it are occupied.

And this is one more proof that two different authors are not of the same opinion, merely because at a certain place they express themselves with the same words. *Pope* had an entirely different concept of *empty* and *full* in the appearance of Creation, than did *Leibniz*; and thus can they both say: “the creation is full,” without having anything further in common than the bare words.

### THIRD PRINCIPLE

From the foregoing *Pope* concludes *a priori*, that man necessarily will have to be found in the world, because otherwise the place among existences which belongs to him would be empty.

*Leibniz*, on the contrary, shows that necessary existence of man *a posteriori*, and concludes, because man is actually present, that such an existence has belonged to the best of worlds.

### SIXTH PRINCIPLE

*Pope*, as has been seen, appears to have been of one opinion in this principle with *P. Malebranche*. He claims, that is, that God can allow evil to happen in the world purely on this account, because He does not wish to overturn his general will through special decrees. Necessarily, thus, misery [*Mangel*, deficiencies] must be met with in the world, which God had been able to prevent in an uninjured best of worlds, had he wished to overturn his general design, in some cases, through a special decree. One may look only at the following citation to recognize that this really is *Pope's* meaning.

*4th Epistle, Line 112*

Or partial ill is universal good

—or Nature lets it fall.

This *or, or* shows well enough that evil, in the two cases, contributes nothing to the perfection of the world, but rather that Nature, or the general law, lets it happen.

But what does *Leibniz* claim about all this? *Leibniz* claims, that the general law [*Ratschluss*] of God arises from all his special decrees [*Ratschlüssen*] taken together, and that God can suspend no evil through a special decree without disadvantage to the best of worlds. For according to him, the system of purposes is so exactly connected to the system of effective causes, that one can see the latter as a consequence of the former. Thus one can not say that from the general laws of nature—that is, from the system of effective causes,—something follows which does not agree with the divine purposes; for simply from the best combination of special designs, are arisen the general effective causes and the wisest of universes [*Ganze*, wholes]. (See on this the *Theodicy*, Articles 204, 205, 206.)

And from this it becomes clear, that *Pope* and *Leibniz* can not once be united in the concept of the best of worlds. *Leibniz* says: where different principles [*Regeln*, rules] of perfection are to be put together, to make a whole; there, necessarily, some of the same must strike against one another, and through this striking-together either contradictions must arise, or exceptions [to the principles—PBG] must ensue on one side. The best of worlds is thus, according to him, that one in which the least such exceptions occur, and those to the least important principles. Now, thence surely arise the moral and natural imperfections which we suffer in the world; only they can make arise a higher ordering, which these exceptions have inescapably made. Had God permitted one evil less to arise in the world, he would have prevented a higher ordering, a more important principle of perfection, from the side of which no such exceptions should occur.

*Pope* and *Malebranche*, on the contrary, allow that God, without injuring the best of worlds, has been able to allow some evil to arise from it without changing anything noteworthy in it. But notwithstanding, he would rather assure the generality of the laws from which this evil flows, and would still rather preserve them without ever once changing this, his determination, by a special act of will.

### EIGHTH PRINCIPLE

Furthermore, as we have seen, *Pope* claimed that the least change in the world stretches throughout all Nature, because any existence which achieves a greater

perfection must leave a breach or gap behind it, and this breach must either remain empty, which would overturn all coherence [*Zusammenhang*, connection], or the existences below must be drawn into it, which could cause nothing other than a disorder throughout all of Creation.

*Leibniz* knows no such breach or gap as *Pope* asserts, because he claims no such gradual degradation [downward succession] of beings. A breach in Nature can, in his opinion, not otherwise come to be, than where existences cease to be grounded in one another; there, ordering would be broken, or which is just the same, space remain empty. Yet *Leibniz* says, with far more rigorous reason than *Pope*, that the smallest change in the world has an influence on the whole, and that because each being is a mirror of all other beings, and each state the abstract of all states. Thus if the smallest part of Creation change, or become transformed into another state, this change must be shown through all beings, just as in a clock, all as to both space and time will change as soon as the least of its tiny gears be filed down.

#### NINTH PRINCIPLE

Imperfections in the world result, according to *Pope's* system, *either* for the best of the whole (wherein is understood the perfection, at the same time [as the imperfection], from a greater imperfection), *or* because no conceivable general laws of the divine purpose could have acted sufficiently in all special cases.

According to *Leibniz's* opinion, on the contrary, all imperfections in the world must necessarily serve toward the perfection of the whole, or otherwise their exemption from the general laws would surely follow. He asserts that God has employed the general laws, not arbitrarily or capriciously, but rather in such a way that they, from their prudent combination, produce his special designs, or that the simple principles of perfection strive with one another; and imperfection exists since unavoidably there must be some exception. But no exception can take place, but where the simple principles of perfection strive with one another; and every exception must from thence make the occurrence of a higher ordering possible; that is, it must serve the perfection of the whole.

Will it really be necessary to bring forward more differences between the *Popean* principles and the *Leibnizian* teachings? I believe not. And for what would more distinctions be needed? As for the special moral principles, one is well aware that there all philosophers agree, no matter how different their fundamental principles. The similar-sounding expression of the former must never mislead us to believe the latter to be the same; for otherwise it would be very easy to make, out of everyone

who ever wished to reason about the arrangement of the world, a *Leibnizian*, just as with *Pope*.

But now since *Pope* absolutely does not deserve this designation, so it also becomes necessary that the testing of his system of principles be something entirely different from a combat with the *Leibnizian* system of the best of worlds. The followers of *Gottsched* say that they [*Pope's* principles—PBG] will be something entirely different than the Academy has wished they might be. Yet what does it matter to me what *Gottsched's* followers say; I'll take them [*Pope's* principles—PBG] up nonetheless.

### THIRD SECTION

#### Examination of the Principles of *Pope*

I have said above that *Pope*, as a true poet, must be more concerned to search out the sensuous beauties of all systems, and therewith to adorn his poetry, than to make himself his own system, or uniquely and solely to hold himself to one already made. And that he has really done the former, may the countless places in his Epistles testify, which in no way allow themselves to be connected to the above principles, and of which some even run directly against them.

#### SECOND PRINCIPLE

On what grounds can *Pope* show that the chain of things, in the best of worlds, must be ordered according to a gradual degradation of perfection? Let one cast one's eyes upon the world visible before us! Is *Pope's* principle well-grounded?—Then ours cannot be the best of worlds. In it, things are related to one another according to the ordering of effects and causes, but in no way according to any gradual degradation. Wise men and fools, animals and trees, insects and stones are wonderfully mixed with each other in the world, and one must cobble together the furthest limbs of the world if one would picture a chain which stretches gradually from nothingness to Godhead. Thus, that which *Pope* calls connection does not take place in our world, and yet it is the best, and no breach can be met within it. Why is this? Is one here not evidently led to the *Leibnizian* system?—That, specifically because of the divine wisdom, all existences in the best of worlds are grounded in one another; that is, they must be ordered relative to each other by the succession of effects and causes.

#### THIRD PRINCIPLE

And now, the conclusion of this fancied chain of things falls unexpectedly upon the unavoidable existence of such a rank as mankind, in its own way, occupies. For what



was the necessity, to the filling of the ranks of life and sentiment, really to allow this rank to come to be, such that without it the very limbs of infinite space would lie asunder, and never more stand next to one another in that great and gradual degradation?

#### SIXTH PRINCIPLE

Here it comes to where *Pope* himself contradicts himself!—In his opinion, as we’ve put it forward above, from the general laws some special events must follow, which contribute nothing to the perfection of the whole, and are allowed only because God does not alter his general will on behalf of special inclinations [*eines Lieblings*].

Or partial ill is universal good,  
Or change admits, or Nature lets it fall.

So says he in the Fourth Epistle. Thus, according to him, only some evils which have been permitted in the world are for the general good; some, however, which have been just as much permitted, are not. But this is not so by his own confession, as of the end of the First Epistle he could so confidently say:

All discord, harmony not understood:  
All partial evil, universal good?

How does this decisive “all” go together with the above “or, or”? Can one imagine a more palpable contradiction?

But we will investigate further how he carries himself against the system which I have wished to construct for him. Let one see once more how he, after the cited location from the First Epistle

—the first almighty Cause  
Acts not by partial, but by gen’ral Laws

Then immediately adds:

Th’ Exceptions few.

*The exceptions are few?* What sort of exceptions? Why has God made exceptions even in these general rules which serve him as universal guide? He has not done it because of special inclination [*Liebligs wegen*]; (see the Fourth Epistle, Line 119); nor to avoid an imperfection; for otherwise he should not have left the least imperfection. He has made *only a few* exceptions? Why only a few? There should be none at all, or as many as necessary.

One could say: *Pope* understands under the word *Exceptions* such events as do not agree with the divine view, and yet flow from the general laws. These would be few in the world; for God has chosen such general laws, as in most special cases agree with his idea.—Good!

But then the word *\*Exceptions* [\*in English in original–PBG] must not be applied to *\*general laws*. [\*in English in original–PBG] On the side of the general laws God has not made the least exceptions; rather all exceptions affect the agreement of the general laws with the divine idea. Now let one look over the poet’s words:

—the first almighty Course  
Acts not by partial, but by general Laws;  
Th’ Exceptions few &c.

Does the word *\*Exceptions* here apply to something other than *\*general laws*? O! I would rather concede *Pope* to have contradicted himself metaphysically a hundred times in one of his own poems, than that a badly composed and mangled verse slipped from him, such as this one would be, if “th’ Exceptions few” applied not to the general laws, of which he speaks immediately before, but rather to the divine ideas, of which he is not thinking here at all. No! Very certainly he has here, in turn, imagined all evils as exceptions to the general laws, and according to the Malebranchian system unexpectedly thrown in what he has to allow, if he allows anything.

#### EIGHTH PRINCIPLE

What *Pope* claims in this principle, namely, that no change can occur in the world without its effect expressing itself in the whole, can be sufficiently proven from other grounds than his, which here prove absolutely nothing. *If we*, he says, *would press upward on the powers above, so must those below spring into our place, or a breach remain in the fullness of Creation*. Is it still necessary to refute this conclusion, after one has seen that in the world all does not press materially [*stufenweise*] upward, but rather that more perfect and less perfect existences are mingled with one another, without this fancied order? There will be just as little necessity for me to refute this for a second time, as there was confirmation for this eighth principle given above. *Pope* applies always to his gradual degradation, which only achieves reality in his poetical world, but in ours has absolutely not taken place.

#### NINTH PRINCIPLE

In this principle, above, two causes of evils in the world, according to *Pope’s* opinion, are brought forward: but a third cause, which the poet likewise declares, I have left out, because I could not grasp it. Here is the location, in its entirety in the Fourth Epistle:

Or partial ill is universal good.  
*Or change admits*, or Nature lets it fall.

I have so explained the words \*‘‘Nature lets it fall’’ [\*in English in original–PBG] as if they meant the same as the poet would say with the words \*‘‘Nature deviates’’ [\*in English in original–PBG]. Namely, these [words], if they are to have a reasonable sense, can mean nothing other than that Nature, on the strength of the general laws which her God has prescribed, brings forth something which is contrary to the divine idea, and will only be allowed her because He wills not to change His general decree.

If the great end be human happiness,  
Then Nature deviates, and can Man do less?

I.e., *If the great purpose is the happiness of mankind, and Nature deviates*, etc. Now I believe that it is just these thoughts that *Pope*, through ‘‘Nature lets it fall,’’ *Die Natur lässt es fallen*, has wanted to express. Nature brings forth some evil as consequence of the general mechanical laws, without the divine purpose being really adjusted thereby.

Only, what kind of sense can we connect to the words ‘‘Or change admits,’’ *oder die Abwechslung lässt es zu*? Can the divine wisdom be blamed for something else, according to *Pope’s* system—if one still wishes to call it a system—something other than that it allows evils in the world as the preference of the perfection of the whole over the special parts, or to preserve the generality of the laws which God has not wanted to disturb? What sort of third cause of blame may variance or change offer us?

I think that nothing comes of this; and I would very much rather know what those, who in spite of this will not be dissuaded from [speaking of] a Popean system, believe to come of it? Perhaps they say, even being shown these last citations, that I have misunderstood and missed the true system of the poet, and it is other [citations] entirely from which one must explain it. But what should it be? At least it must be an entirely new one, never before come to human thought; in that all other known systems are so well contradicted by matter [found] here and there in the Epistles.

As proof, I call upon a location to be found in the First Epistle, and which can consist just as little with our Popean system given previously, as with any other [system]. It is the following:

*Line 259 on*

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;  
That, chang’d thro’ all, and yet in all the same,  
. . .

Lives thro’ all life, extends thro’ all extent,  
Spreads undivided, . . .  
. . .

He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

[Then is given a German prose translation of the above verses, with the same ellipses. Here are the verses without the ellipses, which are, not 259ff. as given in the Lessing-Mendelssohn text, but rather 267-280:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;  
That, chang’d thro’ all, and yet in all the same;  
Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame;  
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,  
Lives through all life, extends thro’ all extent,  
Spreads undivided, operates unspent;  
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part.  
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart:  
As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,  
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns:  
To Him no high, no low, no great, no small;  
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.–PBG]

I am very far from wanting to accuse *Pope* here of Godless opinions. I take up all the more willingly what Warburton has said in his [*Pope’s*] defense against Mr. Crousaz, who wished to claim that the poet had borrowed this part from the errant teachings of *Spinoza*. It cannot likely be entirely consistent with *Spinoza’s* teaching. The words

Whose body Nature is, and God the soul

[given in German] *Spinoza* would never have been able to say; for the expression, ‘‘soul and body,’’ seems at least to indicate that God and Nature are two distinct existences. How little was *Spinoza* of this opinion! But there have been other false philosophers who have really held God to be the soul of Nature, and who have stood equally far from Spinozism and from the truth. Even should *Pope*, then, have borrowed from them this unusual way of speaking, how does it stand with the words, ‘‘Extends thro’ all extent’’ [given in German]? Will this teaching be heard as other than that of *Spinoza*? Who else has taken the extension of Nature for a property of God, than that much-discussed false-believer? Nonetheless, as has been said, that doesn’t make one believe that *Pope*, even in this Epistle, has wished to make a display of a dangerous system. He has much more—and it is this which I have already shown above, as it were *a priori*, from that which a poet must do in such cases—simply borrowed the most beautiful and sensuous expressions from each system,

without concerning himself with whether they are right. And thus has he, without a second thought, expressed the omnipresent God partly in the language of the Spin-ozists, partly in the language of those who take God for the soul of the world, because [to express this] in the orthodox way is all too ideal and all too far from the sensuous. Even just so did *Thompson*, in his hymn on the four seasons, not hesitate to say: “these as they change . . . are but the varied God.” A very bold expression, but which no reasonable judge of art can condemn.

Had Pope abstracted a system of his own, he would certainly have thereby renounced all of the privileges of a poet, in order to present it in the most convincing coherence. That he has, notwithstanding, not done this, is a proof that he has gone to work in no other way than I imagine most poets do. He has read over beforehand the material of this writer and that, and, without investigating them according to their own founding principles, retained from each one, whatever he has believed would allow itself to be best rhymed together in well-sounding verse. I believe us, in considering his sources, to have come so far along his track, that I have made some other historical-critical notes, to which I dedicate the following Appendix.

## APPENDIX

*Warburton*, as is known, undertook the defense of our poet against the indictments of Crousaz. The letters which he wrote to this purpose received *Pope's* most perfect approbation. “You have,” says the latter in a letter to his savior, “allowed all too much right to return to me, as strange as this may sound. You have made my system as clean as I ought to have made it, and have not been able to.”—One may see the entire citation in a note below [this note is here omitted—PBG], from which I add only the words: “You understand me just as well as I understand myself, but you express me better than I have been able to express myself.”

Now then, what says this man, who has so perfectly seen into the system of his hero, and into the opinion of the poet, according to the poet's own confession? He says: *Pope* is entirely not a follower of Herr von *Leibniz*, but rather of *Plato*, when he claims that God has, of all possible worlds, really allowed the best to be.

Thus *Plato* would have been the first source of our Poet!—We shall see.—Yet *Plato* was a source for *Leibniz* as well. And *Pope* could thus still very well be a *Leibnizian*, insofar as he is a Platonist. But hereupon *Warburton* says, “No! for *Pope* has taken the Platonic teaching within its appropriate limit, while *Leibniz* has stretched it in a

powerful way. *Plato* said: ‘God has chosen the best of worlds.’ But Herr von *Leibniz* says: ‘God could not do other, than choose the best.’”

The distinction between these two principles ought to lie in the capability of preferring one or another of two very similar and good things; and this capability *Plato* has left with God; but *Leibniz* has entirely taken it from Him. I will not prove here, what has already been proven countless times; that this capability is an empty caprice. I will not show further that *Plato* must also have recognized this, because he adds to every free choice, causes of movement; as *Leibniz* has already noted (*Theodicy*, 1st Section, Article 45). I will not press the point, that consequently the distinction itself falls by the wayside; rather I will accept such worse things of him, as *Warburton* has assigned to him [*Plato*].

Thus *Plato* may have taught: God has chosen this world, even if he could immediately have chosen another world, perhaps just as good; and *Leibniz* may have asserted: God could have chosen no other than the best. Then what does *Pope* say? Does he express himself in the first way or the other? One reads:

Of systems possible, if 'tis confest,  
That Wisdom infinite *must* form the best &c.

[This given in German]—That it *must*? How is it possible that *Warburton* overlooked this expression? Does this agree with *Plato*, if *Plato* otherwise, as *Warburton* will have it, accepted in God a freedom which works without any grounds for movement? [*Bewegungsgrunde*, translated just above as “causes of movement”—PBG]

Enough of *Plato*, whom *Pope*, consequently, must have left off believing immediately with the first thing he wrote! I come now to the second source that *Warburton* gives the poet; and this is *Lord Shaftesbury*, of whom he says that he [*Shaftesbury*] has taken the Platonic principles and set them in a clear light. To what extent this may be so, and what the improved system of this lord may be, the Academy would not, just now, know. Thus I will only add here, that *Pope* certainly and openly has read *Shaftesbury* and used him, but that he would have used him far better, if he had understood him properly.

That he really has used him, I could show from more than one location in *Shaftesbury's* “Rhapsodie,” which *Pope* has interpolated in his Epistles, almost without adding anything of his own other than meter and rhyme. But rather than all, I will only adduce this one. *Shaftesbury* lets *Philocles* answer *Palemon*, who would definitely absolve the physical evil, but is unexpectedly against the moral: “The very storms and tempests had their beauty

in your account, those alone excepted, which arose in human breasts.” [This then given in German.] Is this not just what Pope says:

If plagues and earthquakes break not heav’ns’ design,  
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

Yet *Pope* must not have understood Shaftesbury, or he would not have used him at all. This free philosopher had penetrated much deeper into the material, and expressed himself much more wisely than the ever-vacillating poet. Had *Pope* followed him, his [Pope’s] thoughts would have seen him far closer to a system; he would have come incomparably closer to the truth and to *Leibniz*. For example, *Shaftesbury* says: “It has been attempted in very many ways to show why Nature should err, and why it comes from an unerring Hand, but with so many incapacities and mistakes. But I deny that it errs,” etc. *Pope* claims against this that “Nature deviates.”—Further says this lord: “Nature is, in its workings, always the same; it never works in a perverse or erring manner; neither impotent nor negligent; rather it is only conquered by a higher rival, and through the stronger might of another Nature.” *Leibniz* himself could not have expressed better, the strife of principles of perfection placed together with one another. But what of this shows in *Pope*, who is supposed to be a follower of Shaftesbury? The latter also says: “Rather we admire, even in this ordering of lower and higher existences, the beauty of the world, grounded in the opposition of contrary things to each other; as from such manifold and disagreeing foundations a general agreement springs.” [Shaftesbury’s words in the original are given in a footnote: “’Tis on the contrary, from this order of inferiour and superiour Things that we admire the World’s Beauty, founded thus on Contrarieties: whilst from such various and *disagreeing Principles* a Universal Concord is established. *Rhapsody*, Part 2, Section 3.—PBG] The words *various* and *disagreeing Principles* [Shaftesbury’s original words] mean here again the rules of order in which can often stand against one another; and had *Pope* had a concept of this, he would have inclined so much less to the side of *Malebranche*. Just as Shaftesbury had a perfectly just concept of this ordering, *Pope*, as we have seen, had not. He [Shaftesbury] calls it a “Coherence or Sympathizing of Things”; and then immediately “a Consent and Correspondence in all.” This “Coherence,” this “Sympathizing,” this “Correspondence,” is something entirely other than the poet’s fancied step-ladder ordering, which one can recognize, at the best, as for poetic beauty.

Overall, I must confess, that *Shaftesbury* very often appears to one to agree with *Leibniz* so happily, that I wonder why one did not long since compare these two philosophers. I wonder even why the Academy itself did not prefer to give out the task of investigating the system of *Shaftesbury*, and holding it against the Leibnizian, rather than the system of *Pope*. They would, in that case at least, have placed philosopher against philosopher, and profundity against profundity, instead of enveloping in an unequal battle poet with philosopher, and the sensuous with the abstract. And for the further reason, that if they wished to humble [humiliate] *Leibniz* by means of some parallel with another famous man, there would have been more to gain with *Shaftesbury* than with *Pope*. *Shaftesbury*’s work, *The Moralists, a Philosophical Rhapsody*, had been brought out already in the year 1709; *Leibniz*’s *Theodicy*, on the other hand, did not see the light until near the end of the year 1710. There would have been something to make of this circumstance, I should think. A philosopher, an English philosopher, who has thought things which *Leibniz* is shown to have thought only an entire year later; shouldn’t this have been exploited at least a bit? I beg the Academy to let it be considered!

And thus also has *Pope* borrowed from *Shaftesbury* the least of his metaphysical faces. [Fn.: an incidental explanation of the vignette behind our title!] Whence else, really, might he have it? Whence else, especially, might he have found a Leibnizian mine! I understand now those principles, which are expressed with the words “possible systems,” and the like. *Warburton*’s demonstration brought me here; but nevertheless I believe I would have discovered it somehow.

One recalls the character of that book, *De Origine mali* [*On the Origin of Evil*], of which *Leibniz* made notes, which are found just after his *Theodicy*. His judgment is that the author of this same book agrees very well with him in half the material, concerning evil in general, and especially physical evil; and departs from him only in the other half, concerning moral evil. This author was Mr. W. King, later Archbishop of Dublin. He was an Englishman, and his work had already appeared in 1702.

I claim that our poet has uncommonly enriched himself from this source; and more surely so, in that not seldom he translates entire locations from the Latin, and simply works them through with poetic flowerets. I will just set forth here the predecessor sections themselves, and let the readers who are capable in both languages make the comparison themselves.

1. *King, Chapt. III, posthumous edition, Brem. 56*

[Latin, with approximate translation—PBG]

*Credendum vero est, praesens mundi Systema optimum fuisse, quod fieri potuit, habito respectu ad Dei mentem in eo fabricanido.*

[It must be believed that the present system of the world is the best which could be made, respecting the mind of God in having made it.]

*Pope, Ep. 1, v. 43-44*

Of systems possible, if 'tis confest,  
That Wisdom infinite must form the best.

2. *King, p.e. 58*

*Oportet igitur multos perfectionem gradus, forte infinitos, dari in opificiis divinis.*

[It is therefore necessary that a great number of grades of perfection, perhaps an infinite number, be given in the works of God.]

*Pope, Ep. 1, v. 46-47*

Where all must fall or not coherent be,  
And all that rises, rise in due degree, etc.

3. *King, p.m. 72*

*Opus erat in systemate mundi globo materiae solidae, qualis est terra, et eam quasi rotae vicem habere credimus in magno hoc automato.*

[In the system of the world a globe of solid material was made, which is the earth, and we believe that this has a position like a wheel or gear in this great machine.]

*Pope, Ep. 1, v. 56, etc.*

So man, who here seems principal alone,  
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,  
Touches some wheel, on verges to some goal;  
'Tis but a part we see and not a whole.

4. *King, p.m. 89*

*Quaedam ejusmodi . . . aut totius damno.*

[Some of [man's] kind had to be made, since this place in God's creation remained all the rest having been made, as was agreed. But you may wish that another place and lot could have fallen to you; could have been possible. But if you would have occupied another place, that other, or some other, had to have supplied your place, which other, though being more unacceptable to the divine providence, had desired that place which you have occupied. Therefore you know it to have been necessary that either you be what you are, or nothing. For out of all the other places and states which the system or nature of things bore, you either occupy this which you have, and which was to be filled by you,

or it is necessary to the nature of the things that you be displaced, expelled. Or do you expect that, having thrown another from its place, you will supply it? That is, that God would have exhibited peculiar and special gifts to you by the injuries of others? Therefore the divine bounty is not to be blamed, but to be wondered at, that it is established that you be what you are. You could have become neither other, nor better, without all the rest being doomed.]

The entire content of these words, one will find again in the First Epistle of *Pope*; especially between the 157th and 233rd lines. The citations themselves are too long to set here in their entirety; and in part, they have already been presented above, where we spoke of the Popean concept of ordering, and of the necessary place which man must hold in the ranks of things.

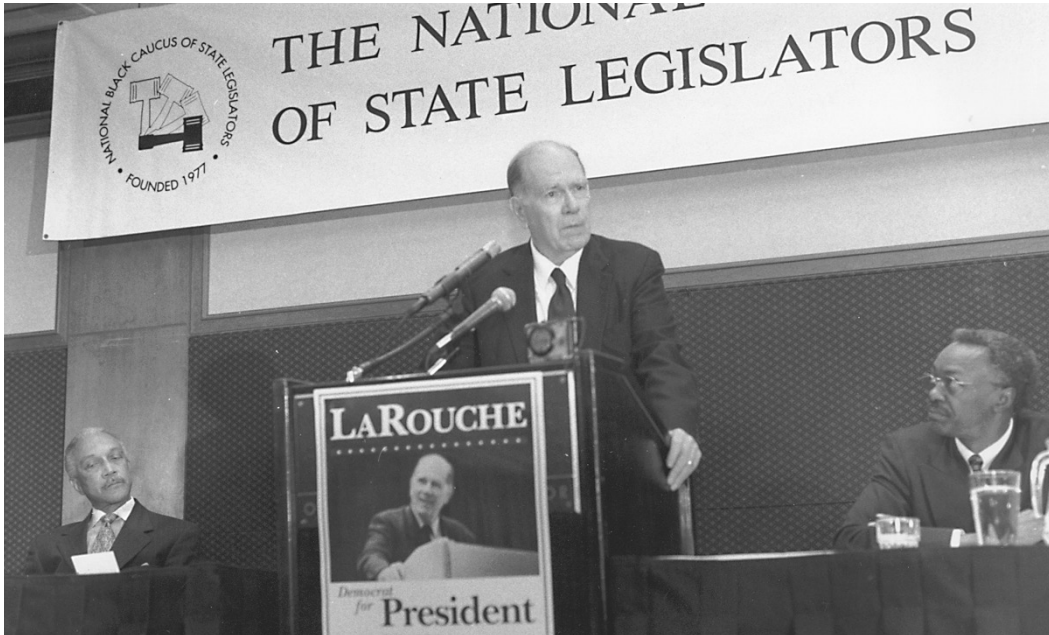
What can one now say to such an obvious proof that *Pope* has borrowed, altogether more than thought of, the metaphysical part of his material? And what will one say finally, if I even show that he himself appears to have known no better?—Thus one hears what he wrote in a letter to his friend D. *Swift*. [Dr. Swift, Jonathan Swift, apparently—PBG] *Pope* had had his *Essay on Man* printed without his name, and it came to *Swift's* hand before *Pope* could give him news of it. Swift read the work, only he did not recognize his friend in it. Pope marvels at this and writes: [given in German; the original given in a note—PBG] “I fancy, tho' you lost sight of me in the first of those Essays, you saw me in the second.” Doesn't this mean, roughly: though you might not credit me with the metaphysical depth that appears to shine from the first Epistle; yet you ought to have recognized my way of thinking in the remaining Epistles, where the material becomes lighter and more capable of poetic trimmings? *Swift* confesses it also in his answer, in the fact that he has not held *Pope* for such a great philosopher, no more than *Pope* held himself for one. For he [Pope] had without doubt written, right after the quote given above: [given in German, original supplied in a note] “I have only one piece of mercy to beg of you; do not laugh at my gravity, but permit to me, to wear the beard of a Philosopher till I pull it off and make a jest of it myself.”\* I'll say that again! How much should he thus marvel, if he could know of it, that nevertheless a famous Academy has recognized this false beard as the real thing, and put under-way the most grave investigation of it.

—translated from the German and Latin  
by Paul B. Gallagher

\* In a letter to Dr. Swift, in the 9th Part of the Knapton 1752 edition of *Works of Pope*, on page 254.

# LaRouche Addresses Black State Legislators

## Reports on Strategic Crisis, DNC Racist Assault on Voting Rights



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

*Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., briefs legislators on world strategic crisis. Seated right, NBCSL president Rep. James Thomas of Alabama.*

LaRouche's twenty-three-minute speech on the strategic situation held the 200-person audience in rapt attention. Following the speech, more than thirty-five legislators took the opportunity to chat privately with LaRouche.

*"Stop Racist Attempt To Overturn Voting Rights Act," an open letter sent by former South*

*Carolina State Senator Theo Mitchell to the national chairmen of the Democratic Party and the Democratic National Committee, and signed by hundreds of elected officials, constituency leaders, and prominent citizens from across the country, appears as a paid advertisement on page 79 of this issue.*

On December 2, Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., who is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination, addressed the 23rd Annual Legislative Conference of the National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL), in Baltimore, Maryland. The NBCSL, which represents close to 600 state legislators from 44 states, was founded in Detroit, Michigan in 1977.

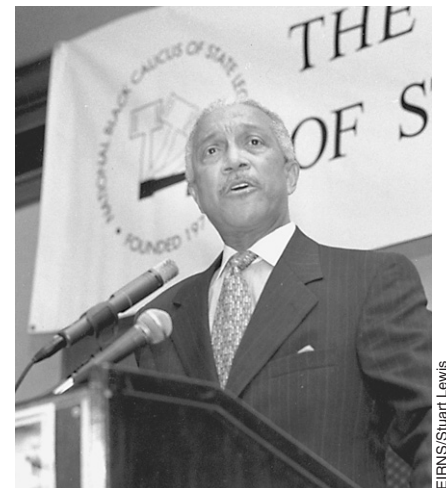
In November of that year, ninety African-American legislators gathered for the group's first conference in Nashville, Tennessee. This year's Baltimore gathering, under the leadership of Rep. James Thomas, of Alabama, was said to be its largest gathering yet.

LaRouche, and former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, who is also seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination, addressed the Legislators' Business Meeting. Vice President Al Gore, whose campaign is flailing badly, insisted on speaking during a separate session in his capacity as Vice President. Republican candidate George W. Bush, Jr. declined the group's invitation to address it.

LaRouche was introduced by former South Carolina State Senator Theo W. Mitchell, one of NBCSL's founders, and the former Democratic nominee for Governor of South Carolina.

### A Man Who 'Has Paid His Dues'

Mitchell, who enjoys tremendous stature in the organization, gave LaRouche a rousing introduction as someone who "has truly paid his dues and stood toe to toe against those who would destroy both you and me." He referred to the fact that LaRouche gave up five years of his life as a political prisoner because of his fight for economic justice, then emerged from prison, and took the point against the Department of Justice's "Operation Frühmenschen" campaign targeting Black public and elected officials. He also referred to LaRouche's fight against the Democratic National Committee's racist assault on the Voting Rights Act. When Mitchell concluded by introducing LaRouche as "the man who should be President of the United States," the audience responded with a standing ovation.



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

*Former South Carolina State Senator Theo W. Mitchell*

## LaRouche Hosts *EIR* Video

# ‘Storm Over Asia’: U.S. Needs New Foreign Policy

On November 27, *Executive Intelligence Review* magazine announced the release of “Storm Over Asia,” a vital policy report by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. The two-and-a-half-hour video explores, in depth, the current drift into a new global conflagration, and proposes a new American foreign policy—based on the best traditions of our Founding Fathers—to reverse that otherwise inevitable course towards war and economic ruin.

LaRouche reviews the ongoing crises in the Caucasus region along the southern tier of Russia; in the Indian subcontinent; in Africa; and in Ibero-America; exposing the hideous incompetence—and worse—of the U.S. State Department under Madeleine Albright, and the outright geopolitical treachery of the Blair government in Britain. He develops the relationship between the ongoing collapse of the world financial and monetary system and the impulse towards regional, and eventually global, confrontation, drawing on the experiences of the two world wars of the Twentieth century.

LaRouche reviews his own role, during the period from 1977 to 1984, in pro-



Video image, “Storm Over Asia.”

moting what President Ronald Reagan labelled the Strategic Defense Initiative. The videotape describes how LaRouche came to the conclusion, by the autumn of 1988, that the Soviet empire was about to collapse, and that the prospects for German reunification were immediately on the table. Instead of adopting LaRouche’s proposals for a “Marshall Plan”- and “Food for Peace”-approach towards the nations of the collapsing Soviet bloc, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, U.S. President George Bush, and French President François Mitterrand adopted an

anti-German, anti-Russian geopolitical agenda, which led to the collapse of German industrial potential and the wholesale looting of Russia. This folly has led us to the brink of a new strategic confrontation.

To set the proper framework for understanding the current policy crisis and its appropriate solutions, LaRouche reviews the issues that shaped the American Revolution and the development of the

idea of a “community of principle” among perfectly sovereign nation-states—the basis for John Quincy Adams’ development of American foreign policy. Later, LaRouche delves into the founding principles of Western civilization, dating back to the period of Classical Greece and then to the early Fathers of the Church, tracing that tradition through the European Renaissance, and into the founding of the colonies in North America.

“Storm Over Asia” is available from *Executive Intelligence Review* magazine for \$50.00 plus shipping and handling.

## Sergei Glazyev’s *Genocide* Released in English

*Russia in the 1990’s: “The rate of annual population loss has been more than double the rate of loss during the period of Stalinist repression and mass famine in the first half of the 1930’s. . . . There has been nothing like this in the thousand-year history of Russia.”*  
—Sergei Glazyev

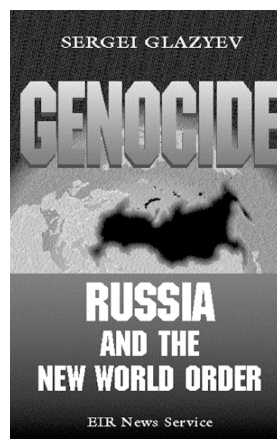
Dr. Sergei Glazyev’s *Genocide*, released by *Executive Intelligence Review* in December, analyzes the catastrophic decline of the Russian economy and the deformation of society from August 1991 through August 17, 1998, from the author’s unique vantage-point as a member of the government, Deputy of the State Duma, and then economist at

the Security Council and the Federation Council staff. In documenting the devastation of Russian industry and living standards, Sergei Glazyev’s account makes intelligible the anger of many Russian patriots at Western leaders who still preach staying the destructive course that was packaged as “free trade and democracy.”

Doctor of Economic Sciences at age 29, specialist in “the theory of long-term technological development” and graduate of the prestigious Central Mathematical Economics

Institute (CEMI) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Sergei Glazyev was one of the economists destined for a post as a “young reformer” in post-Soviet Russia. He became Minister of Foreign Economic Relations in independent Russia’s first cabinet under President Boris Yeltsin, and was the only member of the government to resign in protest of Yeltsin’s abolition of the Parliament and the Constitution in 1993.

Dr. Glazyev went on to win election to the State Duma in December



1993, serving as chairman of the Duma's Committee on Economic Policy (1994-96). In December 1994, he became leader of the Democratic Party of Russia. He worked as an economist at the Security Council of the Russian Federation (1996). Since late 1996, Dr. Glazyev has headed the Information and Analysis Directorate of the Federation Council staff.

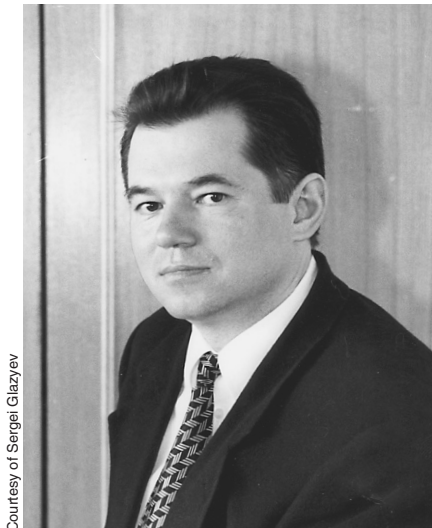
*Genocide* was first published in Russian in 1997. The English version has been translated by Rachel Douglas from the second Russian edition (1998), which incorporates the author's analysis of the Aug. 17, 1998 financial collapse in Russia. The book is in three parts: I. Genocide (October 1993—August 1998); II. Russia and the New World Order; III. A Strategy for Economic Growth on the Threshold of the 21st Century.

#### Market Reforms Cover for Colonization

"It is important to give a precise definition of the policy that was implemented," writes Glazyev—one that "subsumes the objective, factual domain and the value and idea content. . . . The precise definition . . . is the concept of 'genocide,' used in international law." The author measures the design and implementation of radical monetarist policies in Russia, by the standard of the 1948 Genocide Convention, which names among the methods of genocide, "deliberately inflicting on [a] group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part," including "measures intended to prevent births within the group."

Dr. Glazyev reckons the genocide policy in Russia from the shelling of the Parliament in October 1993, "when the revolutionaries usurped power and assumed full responsibility for the formulation and conduct of social and economic policy. . . . [T]hey carried out, under cover of market reforms, a policy of appropriating the national wealth and colonizing the country for the benefit of international capital, the consequences of which have been catastrophic for the Russian people."

Part I of *Genocide* documents these consequences for the Russian population as a whole, for children, and for the



Courtesy of Sergei Glazyev

Russian economist Dr. Sergei Glazyev

country's regions, with respect to demographic collapse, nutrition, disease, narcotics addiction, crime, employment, education, culture, and morale.

Part II, "Russia and the New World Order," explores the ideological justifications for Western leaders to treat Russia as a mere source of loot. Glazyev analyzes Zbigniew Brzezinski's book, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostategic Imperatives*, as representative of a geopolitical outlook coherent with the economic ravaging of Russia.

Glazyev is confident that Russia can recover, but only if the "reform" policies of the 1990's are rejected as the instrument of national catastrophe they have been. Part III outlines an approach to exploiting Russia's surviving assets, such as skilled manpower and areas of scientific innovation, as the basis for an economic growth strategy in the next century.

The preface to the English edition, written by Lyndon LaRouche, examines the failed axioms of economic policy worldwide, since the introduction of the floating-exchange-rate monetary system in August 1971. As Western leaders continue to adhere to these flawed axioms, he suggests, Russia might well outlive the "Thatcherism" that was so aggressively imported into Russia in the 1990's.

*Genocide: Russia and the New World Order*, is available from *Executive Intelligence Review* magazine for \$20.00 plus shipping and handling.

## New Silk Road

A conference of the General Federation of Iraqi Women (G.F.I.W.), held in Baghdad November 8-10, heard the Call of the Women's Commission for the New Silk Road presented and endorsed by several delegations. Muriel Mirak Weissbach of the Schiller Institute and the Committee to Save the Children in Iraq, presented the call, in the context of a speech to the conference November 9.

The Women's Commission Call for the New Silk Road was issued in November 1998, right after the aborted British-American bombing threat against Iraq. Initiated by Schiller Institute founder Helga Zepp LaRouche and prominent scholars and Civil Rights leaders, both male and female, from Egypt, Ukraine, Russia, and Croatia, the Commission presented the Great Project of the New Silk Road, sometimes called the Eurasian Land-Bridge, as the perfect alternative to war—an approach to bringing Iraq, and the Middle East as a whole, into the process of world reconstruction.

#### Call for a New Silk Road

The Call reads in part:

"Obviously, Iraq is one of the central countries in the New Silk Road. If one wishes to change the dynamic of the entire Gulf, Middle and Near East region, and eliminate for good the looming danger to the world, there is no better way than to build the southern-tier extension of the New Silk Road, from China through Central Asia, to Iran, Iraq, to the Near East, and, from there, branching out to Africa on one side, and the Balkans, on the other side. In the other direction, the southern tier of the New Silk Road must go from Iran to India and, from there, integrate all of Southeast Asia.

"We, the working committee of the Women's Committee for the New Silk Road, pledge that we will, by working to bring the plans of the New Silk Road to fruition as quickly as possible, make our governments the instru-



# Perspective Presented to Baghdad Conference

ments to end the misery of so many people in the world. Perhaps, we had to go to the verge of the abyss, in the case of the threat of the war against Iraq, to realize that we cannot go on like this any more. We appeal to governments throughout the world to join us. We issue this appeal with burning hearts, speaking for the billions of poor and the innocent children of the world.”

## Focus on Sanctions

The central focus of the three-day conference was the fight to lift the U.N. sanctions against Iraq. At the conclusion of the conference, delegates held a demonstration in front of U.N. headquarters in Baghdad, and presented their final resolution, which demanded the “immediate and unconditional lifting of all sanctions against Iraq; the immediate cancellation of the so-called no-fly zones in the north and south of Iraq; the cessation of American and British air strikes; full respect for Iraq’s sovereignty and territorial integrity; immediate United Nations action to establish an international commitment to prevent any further unilateral military action against Iraq.”

Dr. Manal Younis Abdul Razzaq, president of the G.F.I.W., announced at the conclusion of the Mirak Weiss-



Schiller Institute representatives Muriel Mirak Weissbach (back center, with glasses) and Intisar Pierce (right), pose with delegates during conference break. The Institute presented the Call of the Women’s Commission for the New Silk Road.

bach speech, that the G.F.I.W. would join the Women’s Commission for the New Silk Road. Among the other organizations thereafter signing the Call were Azerbaijan Women’s Association; Women’s Liberal Association of the Republic of Belarus; National Federation of Indian Women; The Ceylon Moor Ladies Union (Sri Lanka); Lebanese Women’s Council; General Federation of Jordanian Women; Jordanian Women’s Union; and a journalist from Malaysia.

## The Strategic Context

In her speech, Mirak Weissbach developed the idea that the war against Iraq had been decided in the context of the collapse of communism, when the West had two policy alternatives: to join with China *et al.* to rebuild the Silk Road and integrate East and West, or to pursue the destruction of these economies and sovereign nations, in a new One-Worldist dictatorship. She said the aggression against Iraq in 1990-91 signalled that the British-led financial oligarchy had prevailed. It has continued its destructive rampage, in the Balkans, and now in the Caucasus and Central Asia. She outlined the strategic aims of this faction, to consolidate control over raw materials resources, and smash nation-states.

She referenced the emergence of opposition to this, after the bombings of Iraq in December 1998 and the war against Yugoslavia (including the Chinese Embassy bombing), in the form of former Russian Prime Minister Primakov’s strategic triangle, and she said that the impending financial collapse, although fraught with dangers, represents a great opportunity to reverse the entire “new world order” inaugurated with Operation Desert Storm.



Conference delegates tour Iraq museum of antiquities.

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# Amelia Robinson Launches Libel Suit vs. ABC,

Civil Rights leader Amelia Boynton Robinson, who is vice chairman of the Schiller Institute, filed a libel suit in August against the American Broadcasting Corporation, Walt Disney Television, and other parties involved in the production of the Disney television movie “Selma, Lord, Selma,” which aired nationwide Jan. 17, 1999 on the “Wonderful World of Disney” program. The subject of the movie is the 1965 Civil Rights struggle in Selma, Alabama, in which Mrs. Robinson was a leading figure. It was she who invited Dr. Martin Luther King to come to Selma to help her and her husband, S.W. Boynton, lead the struggle for voting rights there.

## ‘This Is Not Me’

Mrs. Robinson told *Fidelio* that she had declined to participate in filming the movie because, after discussing the plans with the actress assigned to play her part, the daughter of Civil Rights leader Hosea Williams, Mrs. Robinson realized, “This is not me. I said, I don’t want them to have me portrayed by anybody and say it is me, and it’s nothing that I did.”

After she saw the movie, she told her son, Selma attorney Bruce Boynton, that she thought the producers should be sued. He entered the suit as her attorney in the Circuit Court for Dallas County, Alabama, on August 17.



Schiller Institute vice chairman Amelia Boynton Robinson (right) shares podium honors with Institute founder Helga Zepp LaRouche, September 1999.

EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

The body of the suit recounts Mrs. Robinson’s numerous accomplishments and awards in her 88 years of life, most of them spent in service of the Civil Rights movement. Just with respect to voters’ rights, Mrs. Robinson has been secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Political Action chairman of the Alabama Association of Women’s Clubs, secretary for Registration and Voting for the Alabama Fourth Congressional District Organization, member of the Alabama Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, and member of the Dallas County Voters League.

The suit contrasts her accomplish-

ments, and particularly her leading role in the Selma battle (recounted in her autobiography *Bridge Across Jordan*, published by the Schiller Institute), to the “Black mammy” stereotype with which she is portrayed in the movie—a “person whose main function was to emit religious utterances and lead or participate in the singing of ‘freedom songs.’”

## Mis-Portrayal

The suit has three counts: libel, wanton negligence, and false light/invasion of privacy.

Besides mis-portraying Mrs. Robinson generally, perhaps the worst libel



Mrs. Robinson is greeted by President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House, following the official ceremony celebrating the signing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Courtesy of Amelia Boynton Robinson



Campaigning for the Schiller Institute’s program of economic development for the Balkans, Capitol lawn, Washington, D.C., September 1991.

EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

# Disney TV

was to portray her as an unregistered voter who, in attempting to register, challenged the notorious racist Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark over a poll test that forced applicants to accurately count the number of jelly beans in a jar.

“This account was false and a total misrepresentation of plaintiff,” the suit charges. Mrs. Robinson had been a registered voter since 1932 and was one of only 182 Black voters out of a population of 37,000 Black persons in Dallas County. “As was her usual practice,” the suit continues, “Plaintiff was at the courthouse to serve as a person who could vouch for the persons seeking to become registered, because at that time the person who vouched was required to be a registered voter.”

Disney knew, through Defendant Julian Fowles, an executive producer of the film, that Mrs. Robinson was a registered voter, and “intentionally distorted the fact,” according to the suit.

## ‘Bloody Sunday’

As to the infamous 1965 “Bloody Sunday” march from Selma to Montgomery, in which Mrs. Robinson was tear-gassed, beaten, and left for dead by Alabama State Troopers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the movie portrays her as participating in a songfest following the demonstration. In fact, she was severely injured and hospitalized, while the picture of her beating was sent around the world on television, helping to spark the international reaction that led to passage of the Voting Rights Act later that year, and its signing by President Lyndon Johnson, with whom Mrs. Robinson met at the time.

“To depict the plaintiff as such,” the suit charges, is a gross mischaracterization of both her and the Selma Civil Rights Movement, which received “support and sympathy from persons and organizations throughout this nation and the world.”

Mrs. Robinson told *Fidelio* that she believes the libel targeted her in part for her prominent work with Lyndon LaRouche and the Schiller Institute today.

# Italy Conference of Christian Democrats LaRouche: Ecumenical Doctrine Needed To Meet Global Crisis

The first national conference organized by the recently reestablished Christian Democratic Party of Sen. Flaminio Piccoli, held November 27 in Bergamo, Italy, was opened with a message from U.S. Presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche. The conference, on the subject of “The Social Doctrine of the Church,” was attended by 150 candidates and leaders of Italy’s re-established Christian Democracy (D.C.), as well as an invited delegation of seven members and students of the LaRouche-allied Movimento Solidarietà from Milan.

Senator Andreino Carrara, vice pres-

ident of the D.C., opened the conference by calling to the floor Liliana Celani, vice president of the Movimento Solidarietà, who read the message from LaRouche:

“The world as a whole is currently gripped by the most deadly systemic financial, political, and moral crisis of this century thus far,” wrote LaRouche, adding that no one can predict exactly how or when the present world financial system will collapse. “But,” he said, “either an early reorganization of the system in bankruptcy, or its collapse, is now

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# Book Hails ‘American Sakharov’



*Dr. Josef Mikloško, president of the Schiller Foundation in Slovakia, reads at Lyndon LaRouche’s 75th birthday celebration. Mikloško’s new book portrays LaRouche as “the American Sakharov.”*

On Dec. 12, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the fall of communism in former Czechoslovakia, Josef Mikloško, who was the Deputy Prime Minister in the country’s first free government, and is now president of the Schiller Foundation in Slovakia, presented his book *Ako Sme Boli Slobodni*

(*Since We Became Free*). At the book’s presentation in Bratislava, Slovakia, attended by 500 guests, Mikloško was introduced by Slovakian Justice Minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Party Jan Carnogursky, and by Petr Miller, who had been Social Affairs

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## Italy Conference

*Continued from page 65*

inevitable for the near term. One way or another, we shall soon see upheavals of a profundity as great as, or greater than, any earlier crisis of European civilization during this closing century.”

LaRouche proposed that the nations of the world “adopt an ecumenical social doctrine which coheres with Chapter 13 of the Apostle Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthians,” and, expressed the hope that “the profound social, economic, and political shocks of a combination of financial, monetary, economic, and warfare crises” would wake those peoples and nations up to the need to change themselves.

“It is in such times of great convulsions, that nations are sometimes impelled to change their ways for better ways. In such circumstances, we may find the long-sought opportunity to bring about a reversal of those evils which have lately become what many proclaim allegedly irreversible trends in both popular opinion and the policies of the world’s presently reigning great potencies. Whether we shall succeed in this course, or not, I can not say; I can only say, that this is the course of action which I must take, and which I must encourage others to adopt as well.”

## Mikloško

*Continued from page 65*

Minister in the first post-1989 Czechoslovakia. The audience included other former Cabinet ministers, leaders of scientific and cultural academies and foundations, and a delegation from the Schiller Institute in Germany.

Within the 684-page book, Mikloško devotes a 100-page chapter entitled “The American Sakharov,” to Lyndon LaRouche, whom he visited in prison in 1993, as well as to LaRouche’s imprisoned co-thinkers Michael Billington, Paul and Anita Gallagher, Laurence Hecht, and Donald Phau (the latter two are now free on parole). The book contains much detail of Mikloško’s wide-ranging discussions with LaRouche, and his wife, Schiller Institute founder Helga Zepp LaRouche.

# Zepp LaRouche Tells Schroeder: Implement the Lautenbach Plan!

During the first week of November, Helga Zepp LaRouche, head of the Civil Rights Movement-Solidarity party (BüSo) in Germany and the founder of the international Schiller Institute, issued an open letter to German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. Citing the immediate threat to Germany’s industrial jobs posed by changes in the credit policies of banking institutions, Zepp LaRouche called upon the Chancellor to initiate at once a change in policy which would result in the creation and protection of productive jobs, and penalize speculation.

Germany’s middle-sized industries, which represent two-third of all jobs in the country, are currently threatened, the political leader pointed out. “We need legislation which makes it possible to create productive jobs, and which changes the tax laws in the direction of promoting production and preventing speculation,” wrote Zepp LaRouche. “And if such an approach, oriented toward Germany’s vital interests, is contradicted by the Maastricht Treaty and the guidelines of the European Commission, then the European Commission should go to hell!”

Zepp LaRouche outlined two models which the Chancellor might follow, in order to protect national industry.

The first is the Credit Bank for

Reconstruction, which could easily play a role similar to what it did under the Marshall Plan in the postwar years.

“But there is an even more dramatic point of reference in German history,” Zepp LaRouche continued, “the alternative which the economist Dr. Walter Lautenbach proposed in 1931, which represented the only way to prevent Hitler’s rise to power.” She described proposals which Lautenbach presented to a secret conference of the Friedrich List Society in September 1931, in which he set forth “the principles of a state-based productive credit-creation under conditions of economic depression and international financial crisis.”

Lautenbach’s proposals for increasing production and employment were geared to reviving the entire German economy. The use of unused productive capacities, and the improvement of infrastructure, would effect an increase in economic productivity, which would mean that the extent and tempo of the expansion of production would grow relatively faster than the expansion of credit.

Zepp LaRouche concluded her letter by touching on the need for Schroeder to break from British Prime Minister Tony Blair’s “Third Way,” and seize the opportunities for expansion offered by especially the markets in Asia.



*Helga Zepp LaRouche, shown campaigning in Berlin last November, has challenged German Chancellor Schroeder to protect jobs and penalize financial speculation.*

ETRS/Elke Gregory

## ‘For Bruegel, his world is vast’

Michael Gibson is art critic for the Paris-based *International Herald Tribune*. He is the author of numerous monographs, including one on Pieter Bruegel,\* and also of a “history of a painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder,” titled “Bearing the Cross.”† Karel Vereycken conducted this interview for *Fidelio*.

**Fidelio:** What first got you interested in the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel?

**Gibson:** Telling the story of your first encounter with a painter and his works is of necessity anecdotal, so here goes!

As a child, I had a reproduction of “Hunters in the Snow” in my room. Much later, I visited the Vienna museum, where no less than fourteen of Bruegel’s painting are on display, and I was dazzled by the richness of his works. All of this stimulated my interest, and provoked me to undertake more intensive research. What intrigued me also, was the originality of an artist who knew how to preserve his Flemish accent, instead of pursuing the “Italian-style” fashion, like many of his contemporaries in the northern countries.

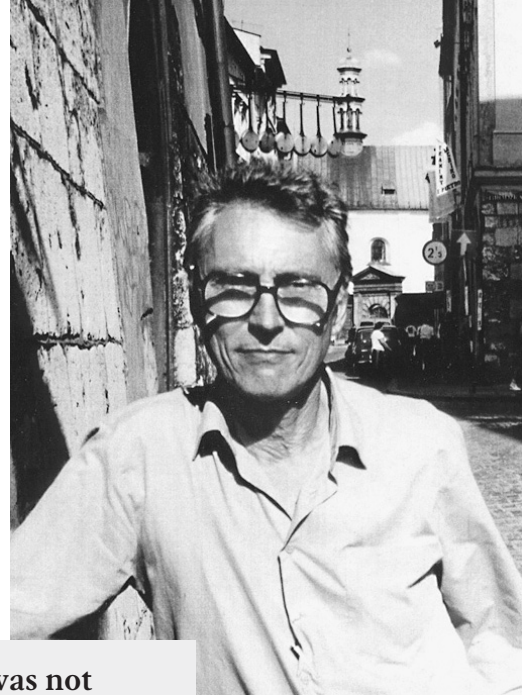
More recently still, a publisher proposed devoting a study to one single painting of the artist of my choice. I asked myself: Rembrandt, Bruegel, Rothko? When it came to

treating a single work, I have to admit that I felt more at ease writing about a Bruegel than about a painting by Rothko. The latter’s work requires being treated as a whole.

**Fidelio:** According to you, does Bruegel belong to the era which the Dutch histo-

rian J. Huizinga calls the “waning of the Middle Ages,” or is he a man of the Renaissance, breaking with the past?

**Gibson:** Bruegel certainly represents a break with the medieval mind. This is most obvious in his vision of nature. You have to realize that in antiquity, most of the gods were personifications of the forces of nature: wind, madness, sexual passion, aggression, etc. With the advent of Christianity, something had to be done with these pagan gods, so they were transformed into devils. The forces of nature having thus been rendered suspect, medieval life tended to be



Courtesy of Michael Gibson

**Bruegel was a humanist—he was not a dogmatic, he was someone who appreciated living individuality. That’s why he participated in the peasant festivals, and he represented them on canvas without any demeaning of them, even while he showed their brutality, along with their dignity. Because he really does give them heroic proportions borrowed from the characters of Michelangelo!**

centered more on interior life. This was a novel and formative experience for the European mind, with an exemplary expression being St. Augustine. There were exceptions, of course, even right in the Middle Ages. Albert the Great, for example, studied nature directly, and undertook experiments in botany and other areas. (Given the spirit of the times, this accounts for his somewhat sulfurous reputation, and it was in his honor, if you can call it that, that several handbooks on witchcraft were called the “Little Albert” or the “Great Albert”!)

We should also recall Petrarch’s adventure, when he climbed Mt. Ventoux and, having arrived at the summit, opened the copy of St. Augustine’s *Confessions* which he had brought with him. Consulting the book as one might an oracle, he happened to fall on the paragraph in which St. Augustine noted his astonishment at those who wish

to admire the spectacles of nature, rather than be exclusively devoted to their interior life. Petrarch took this as a reproach, and went back home in a state of affliction.

This type of vision of the world led medieval art to treat nature in a schematic fashion: One did not paint a tree or a mountain as one saw them, but rather as the *ideogram* of a tree or a mountain. In fact, when I take the Periphery Highway around Paris, and I see from afar the artificial rocks of the Vincennes Zoological Gardens, I always

\* Published in English as *Bruegel* (New York: Tabard Press, 1989).

† *Portement de Croix: Histoire d’un tableau de Pierre Bruegel l’Ainé* (Paris: Editions Noesis, 1996).

say to myself: There's Mount Sinai! That's exactly how it looks in medieval paintings.

One of the characteristics of the Renaissance was precisely a resurgence of interest in nature, and Bruegel, for his part, is a direct observer of nature. His trip to Italy served to reveal this to him. You can see it clearly in his drawings, but also in some of his paintings. On the road going from Naples to Reggio, one encounters scenery that is literally fantastical, including the Amalfitan Coast, for example, which I seem to find echoes of in some of Bruegel's works. In the same way, we see a reminiscence of the crossing of the Alps in "The Conversion of St. Paul" (1567). St. Paul and his escort reach a high peak, and from there discover deep valleys that open beneath small, cruising clouds. This quality of observation of nature shows that Bruegel is animated by the spirit of the Renaissance.

**Fidelio:** Nevertheless, Hieronymus Cock, who was Bruegel's first employer, and who directed The Four Winds printing house in Antwerp, was the son of Jan Wellens Cock, who was quite close to Hieronymus Bosch. The latter's works greatly inspired Bruegel, and are full of "interiority." In fact, the theme of the Seven Deadly Sins was already treated by Bosch, before being taken up in Bruegel's engravings.

Isn't it necessary to become familiar with the pictorial language of Bosch, in order to penetrate Bruegel's universe?

**Gibson:** You have to look at Bosch as primarily a man of the city, even as a man of "Mardi Gras." The subjects he painted were often derived from the carriages that were paraded in the streets during the days of Carnival. This is the case in particular with the "The Hay-Wain," or the "Ship of Fools." These were carnival carriages, evidence of which can be found in the archives of the city of Flanders. "The Hay-Wain," for example, starts from a very simple symbol: the hay represents money, and

all those people are fighting to get a few pieces of straw. Behind the carriage is a procession of all the powerful figures of the day: kings, emperors, popes, etc. And their eagerness to get to the hay is bringing them straight to a place no one wants to go, and which constitutes the third wing of the triptych—Hell. Bosch is a moraliser, who observed the city people, and in a certain way, he was also a solitary figure. In fact, you'll find a recurring figure in many of his paintings (such as on the closed wings of

He obviously documents the carousing aspect of life, but also its macabre aspect.

You will discover beggars and sick people in such horrendous condition, that one of the owners of the painting had the figures that were the most painful to see painted over. We know this thanks to Pieter Bruegel the Younger, who made a copy of the canvas before it had been repainted, which demonstrates this. Today, in the original, in the right foreground, a sheet flaps in the void. Once, this sheet covered up a person with emaciated



Pieter Bruegel the Elder, "The Conversion of St. Paul," 1567.

"The Hay-Wain"), the same character with white hair. He seems to be a kind of peddler, and I wonder if it isn't a self-portrait. This peddler wears a desolate expression, and he crosses and observes a more or less desolate countryside.

Bosch no longer reflects the pure "interiority" of the medieval type, but his world is not yet that of nature. It's an urban life, or a fantastical nature. What distinguishes Bruegel is his interest in real nature, which does not preclude an interest in society. He will also deal with the theme of Mardi Gras ["The Battle Between Carnival and Lent"] in 1559, but this work will be more dialectical.

arms and legs with an immense and swollen belly. He was made to disappear. Or, in a kind of a wheelbarrow that someone is pulling, an overlay has caused the disappearance of crippled children. Bosch's approach was mainly moralizing, while Bruegel's approach was to show the extremes. He implicitly juxtaposes the objects and people on the left, to those found on the right. I first observed this method of composition when I wrote about "Bearing the Cross"\* (1564).

\* Known also as "Christ Carrying the Cross," or "The Procession to Calvary."—Ed.

As for Hieronymus Cock, he undoubtedly asked the young Bruegel, who was just starting out, to produce a few drawings in the style of Bosch, because he estimated there was a demand, and that with a little bit of “merchandising,” such engravings would sell well. This is what made Bruegel return to the theme of the “Vices” (1558) and the “Virtues” (1559-60), themes which certainly were medieval. He returns to them with a certain amount of imagination that

**One of the characteristics of the Renaissance was a resurgence of interest in nature. Bruegel, for his part, is a direct observer of nature. His trip to Italy served to reveal this to him. We see a reminiscence of his crossing of the Alps in ‘The Conversion of St. Paul.’ St. Paul and his escort reach a high peak, and from there discover deep valleys that open beneath small, cruising clouds. This quality of observation of nature shows that Bruegel is animated by the spirit of the Renaissance.**

owes a lot to Bosch, but is also less anguished, even in the representation of monsters.

**Fidelio:** Can we find a rapport between the *Adages* of Erasmus of Rotterdam (d. 1536), and Bruegel’s painting of the “Netherlandish Proverbs” (1558). Don’t they both involve popular education? Even though we have to acknowledge that the paintings were reserved for a small circle of viewers, it is known that the engravings circulated widely.

**Gibson:** The engravings are indeed most often based on popular sayings, such as “Big fish eat little ones” (1556);

“*Elck*” (“Everyman”) (1558) (“the selfishness of each is cause of unhappiness”). Or, “The Ass in School” (1556) and “The Alchemist” of 1558—in other words, the “total failure” (“*al-ghemist*”) [Flemish pun—Ed.]—which pokes fun at the alchemist ravings of the day. We could do the same today with respect to astrology!

**Fidelio:** What is surprising, is the degree to which the patrons allowed so much freedom in the execution of the works. Even during the Italian Renaissance, the person paying for the work imposed a whole series of specifications with respect to how the subject should be treated. Bruegel seems to have escaped these often capricious demands.

**Gibson:** We don’t know much about the relations that existed between Bruegel and his patrons. But we think we know a few things about his personality. Quite contrary to a tendency to say that the artist-historian Karel Van Mander embellished his description of the life of Flemish artists, I would be tempted to give credit to what he says about Bruegel in his *Schilder-Boek* (1604). I even imagine that Van Mander met Bruegel’s widow, who, if I recall cor-

rectly, went to live in Antwerp after the death of her husband. Van Mander has some rather juicy things to say about the painter.

How, for instance, he and his friend Franckert, dressed up as peasants, would show up at a peasant wedding and pretend to be members of the family of the bride or groom. This amused him no end, and he took advantage of these occasions to observe popular life in a spirit of independence and sympathy.

We can also imagine that in the cultural environment of the day, which had a strong tendency towards tolerance, of openness toward the beliefs of

others, and of mutual respect which reigned in Antwerp at the time, Bruegel might have been able to propose a subject for a painting and have this idea accepted. But all this is hypothetical. If one worked for a church, things would have gone differently. But this was before the days of the Counter-Reformation, which imposed a strict ideological framework upon iconography—just as strict, one might say, as in the days of socialist realism! Once in effect, certain subjects were admitted and others no longer were. Subjects had to be represented in just one manner. Humor, irony, and the picturesque are banned. Look in contrast at illuminated medieval manuscripts! You can find all kinds of figures in the margins, but also dogs, birds, flowers, etc.; it’s delightful, it’s alive. The art of the Counter-Reformation is for me a dead art, at best theatrical.

**Fidelio:** Are you referring to specific documents?

**Gibson:** Yes, this is an historical fact. Beginning with the Council of Trent (1545-53), images begin to be regimented. Within a few decades, the entirety of religious artistic production becomes a stereotype. But, the bulk of Bruegel’s work pre-dates the period of the great repression, and he dies in 1569, shortly after the arrival of the Duke of Alba (1567) and before the definitive installation of the Inquisition in the Low Countries. In reality, he lived in a period of grace, between the Middle Ages and the moment when the Counter-Reformation will close the shutters.

**Fidelio:** Since the article by Popham in 1931, we have known that Bruegel had ties of friendship with the humanist geographer Abraham Ortelius [Ortelius]. Ortelius was a member of the “Schola Caritatis,” a “religious sect based on tolerance” of Hendrik Nicolaes, of which the printer Plantin was also a member, as was the cartographer Mercator, the engraver Goltzius, as well as the religious thinker and associate of William the Silent, Dirk V. Coornhert. Bruegel’s best friend and amateur art-lover

Francckert was also an associate. Since then, it is admitted that Bruegel was not “Bruegelian” in the sense of a “sausage eater,” but an erudite humanist. Was Bruegel a sympathizer, or an opponent of reform?

**Gibson:** The “Schola Caritatis” group called for tolerance, precisely. Bruegel undoubtedly felt a certain sympathy for the preachers of reform. They can be found in “St. John the Baptist Preaching” (1566). This has to do with the Calvinist prayer meetings that took place on a clandestine basis in the woods; it’s what used to be called the “Hagepreken.” People left the cities in great numbers to attend them. For a time, the guards at the city gates were assigned the task of keeping a list of who would go to these meetings, so many people began to ask, “Did you see me?,” “I hope you got my name down.”

Many people were disgusted by the treatment that was inflicted on heretics, who were tortured in an abominable manner. The manner was specified in the placards of the emperor Charles V: Men must perish by the sword, women were to be buried alive. Bruegel was therefore a humanist, and opposed this kind of violence. He was not a dogmatic, he was someone who appreciated living individuality. That’s why he participated in the peasant festivals, and he represented them on canvas without any demeaning of them, even while he showed their brutal and primordial side, along with their dignity. Because he really does give them heroic proportions borrowed from the characters of Michelangelo!

**Fidelio:** In your essay on “Bearing the Cross,” you bring up very precise references to the political situation of the period. For instance, you point out that the soldiers who lead Christ towards Golgotha are a direct allusion to the “Roode Rocx,” the red tunics that the mercenary soldiers working for the Spanish occupiers wore. Are there other such references, and does this cause art to lose some of its universality, by “dirtying” itself with such immediate issues?

**Gibson:** Nowadays, the distribution of art through reproductions is taken for granted. But all of these works by Bruegel were painted for the interiors of homes of educated bourgeois, and were only accessible to those close to them.

As far as “Bearing the Cross” is concerned, this work tries to portray what was going on at the time of Christ, but in spiritual terms. It is not supposed to be an historic reconstruction. And to understand what was going on at the time, all you have to do is understand what is going on under our very eyes today!

Bruegel’s approach is to reveal the great and terrible continuity of history, to use the present political situation to make people understand the history of Christ, instead of using the history of Christ to better condemn the extortion of the Spanish. All extortion is wrong. You could say the same thing about Goya: it is not so much a “militant” style of painting, as it is a testimony. It comes after the fact. It is a way of memorializing an event, to prevent an event that was lived in an intense and intimate way from being forgotten.

Bruegel’s paintings are therefore quite different from propaganda. They are all the more not propaganda, in that they were neither printed nor distributed in the form of placards in the streets of Brussels.

**Fidelio:** Didn’t this view of tolerance end up feeding and preparing the Revolt of the Netherlands?

**Gibson:** For that, you have to go back and see the entirety of the cultural milieu in Flanders at the time. The secret to this was the “chambers of rhetoric,” which organized writing and poetry tournaments. Their members were mostly from the new middle classes. Every seven years, the entire country was overtaken by a month-long festival, in a “Lanjuweel” [“National Jewel”], like the one that took place in Antwerp in 1561. There would be public declamations, moral sketches, street theater, etc., in a sumptuous decor. All of this created the conditions for the development of

a high level of culture in the entire population.

**Fidelio:** I’d like to come back to the question of the landscapes. You have said that it’s nature, but in fact these landscapes never existed, neither in Flanders, nor in Italy. Some have called them “Weltlandschaft” [“world land-

**Bruegel depicts everything that exists between early childhood and old age: everything from children’s games to the most abominable torture. There is a constant juxtaposition of extremes.**

scapes”] or ever “Uberschauweltlandschaft” [“universal panoramic landscapes”].

**Gibson:** You have to understand that once an artist has understood how nature functions, he can use this knowledge to create landscapes that correspond to a kind of specific “theatre” of nature. This theatrical dimension takes them out of the realm of geological realism, and a kind of transposition becomes operational instead, intensifying something which is natural to begin with, but which the artists imbues with a much more general psychological and spiritual sense.

**Fidelio:** What message does Bruegel have for our world today? What can be done to get our contemporaries more interested in this painter?

**Gibson:** The public is spontaneously attracted to Bruegel because they find in his work a reality which is both carnal and universal. Allow me to explain.

Bruegel depicts everything that exists between early childhood and old age: everything from children’s games to the most abominable torture. There is a constant juxtaposition of extremes. Look, for instance, at the group that is approaching Golgotha in “Bearing the Cross.” You’ll see a little boy who is



swiping the bonnet off a little child. The latter is raising his arms trying to get his hat back. And just a few feet away, the poor wretches about to be put to death, heading up to Golgotha. The two robbers, with their gray faces, sitting in the wagon, and the Christ who is there, lost in the immense crowd, so small in this vast human beehive, that he is hard to see. This is an iconographic theme that goes back to Van Eyck, but what is significant here is the simultaneity of comedy and of tragedy, of

fest in his theater. The same goes for Bruegel. It is a world in which the norms of “good taste” cannot be imposed. “Stylistic” good taste disappears. The “natural” state is expressed

In that painting, there is a small crowd of people dancing at the foot of the gallows. In my view, Bruegel was evoking the relief the people would feel upon the departure of the Spanish. They

**Look, for instance, at the group that is approaching Golgotha in ‘Bearing the Cross.’ You’ll see a little boy who is swiping the bonnet off a little child. The latter is raising his arms trying to get his hat back. And just a few feet away, the poor wretches about to be put to death, heading up to Golgotha. The two robbers, with their gray faces, sitting in the wagon, and the Christ who is there, lost in the immense crowd, so small in this vast human beehive, that he is hard to see.**



*Pieter Bruegel the Elder, “Bearing the Cross,” 1564 (center detail).*

games and of pain.

This is what gives Bruegel’s works a real “Shakespearean dimension.” For his world is vast. Vast, because of both what was discovered in these times about its unexpected immensity, but also because of everything that goes on in man: his capacity for heroism, and his capacity for malfeasance; his hypocrisy, and his undying goodness. Shakespeare believes in the poetical character of the world. The world is an immense poem which becomes mani-

crudely, sincerely. It can seem vulgar, like the man dropping his pants and taking a crap in the left-hand corner of “The Magpie on the Gallows” (1568). What is important, obviously, is not the showing of a man defecating, but what that act expresses here.

**What is significant here is the simultaneity of comedy and of tragedy, of games and of pain. This is what gives Bruegel’s works a real ‘Shakespearean dimension.’ For his world is vast.**

have finally left: It’s obvious, since there are no more hangings. There is no cadaver hanging from the gallows. And that’s why these men and women are dancing, while another man lowers his drawers. It’s not like the banal vulgarity of present-day language: “giving a sh—,” but, rather, the supreme infantile insult in its most anal expression, because it stems from the most profound and primitive in man. It is also part of the world. And the fact of giving it a (discrete) place in this painting is proof of a wise and authentic

love of man, a love which does not idealize man, but accepts him as he is, sublime and trivial at the same time. The two are part of the whole, and one cannot ignore one or the other without damaging the whole.

—translated from  
the French  
by Dana Scanlon

# Conflicting Motives for Human Conduct: Pleasure or Virtue

by Benjamin Franklin

\* A DIALOGUE BETWEEN PHILOCLES AND HORATIO, \*  
MEETING ACCIDENTALLY IN THE FIELDS,  
CONCERNING VIRTUE AND PLEASURE

*The Pennsylvania Gazette,*  
June 23, 1730

PHILOCLES. My friend Horatio! I am very glad to see you; prithee, how came such a man alone? And musing too? What misfortune in your pleasures has sent you to philosophy for relief?

HORATIO. You guess very right, my dear Philocles! We pleasure-hunters are never without them; and yet, so enchanting is the game, we can't quit the chase! How calm and undisturbed is your life! How free from present embarrassments and future cares! I know you love me, and look with compassion upon my conduct; show me then the path which leads up to that constant and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess.

PHIL. There are few men in the world I value more than you, Horatio! for, amidst all your foibles and painful pursuits of pleasure, I have oft observed in you an honest heart, and a mind strongly bent toward virtue. I wish, from my soul, I could assist you in acting steadily the part of a reasonable creature; for, if you would not think it a paradox, I should tell you I love you better than you do yourself.

HOR. A paradox indeed! Better than I do myself! When I love my dear self so well that I love everything else for my own sake.

PHIL. He only loves himself well, who rightly and judiciously loves himself.

HOR. What do you mean by that, Philocles! You men of reason and virtue are always dealing in mysteries, though you laugh at them when the church makes them. I think he loves himself very well and very judiciously too, as you call it, who allows himself to do whatever he pleases.

PHIL. What, though it be to the ruin and destruction of that very self which he loves so well! That man alone loves himself rightly, who procures the greatest possible good to himself through the whole of his existence; and so pursues pleasure as not to give for it more than 'tis worth.

HOR. That depends all upon opinion. Who shall judge what the pleasure is worth? Supposing a pleasing form of the fair kind strikes me so much that I can enjoy nothing without the enjoyment of that one object. Or, that pleasure in general is so favorite a mistress that I will take her as men do their wives, for better, for worse; mind no consequences, nor regarding what's to come. Why should I not do it?

PHIL. Suppose, Horatio, that a friend of yours entered into the world, about two-and-twenty, with a healthful vigorous body, and a fair plentiful estate of about five hundred pounds a year; and yet, before he had reached thirty, should, by following his pleasures, and not, as you say, duly regarding

consequences, have run out of his estate, and disabled his body to that degree that he had neither the means nor capacity of enjoyment left, nor anything else to do but wisely shoot himself though the head to be at rest; what would you say to this unfortunate man's conduct? Is it wrong by opinion or fancy only? Or is there really a right and wrong in the case? Is not one opinion of life and action juster than another? Or, one sort of conduct preferable to another? Or, does that miserable son of pleasure appear as reasonable and lovely a being in your eyes, as a man who, by prudently and rightly gratifying his natural passions, had preserved his body in full health, and his estate entire, and enjoyed both to a good old age, and then died with a thankful heart for the good things he had received, and with an entire submission to the will of him who first called him into being? Say, Horatio! are these men equally wise and happy? And is everything to be measured by a mere fancy and opinion, without considering whether that fancy or opinion be right?

HOR. Hardly so neither, I think; yet sure the wise and good author of nature could never make us to plague us. He could never give us passions, on purpose to subdue and conquer them; nor produce this self of mine, or any other self, only that it may be denied; for that is denying the works of the great Creator himself. Self-denial, then,

which is what I suppose you mean by prudence, seems to me not only absurd, but very dishonorable to that Supreme wisdom and goodness, which is supposed to make so ridiculous and contradictory a creature, that must be always fighting with himself in order to be at rest, and undergo voluntary hardships in order to be happy. Are we created sick, only to be commanded to be sound? Are we born under one law, our passions, and yet bound to another, that of reason? Answer me, Philocles, for I am warmly concerned for the honor of nature, the Mother of us all.

PHIL. I find, Horatio, my two characters have affrighted you; so that you decline the trial of what is good, by reason: And had rather make a bold attack upon Providence; the usual way of you gentlemen of fashion, who, when by living in defiance of the eternal rules of reason, you have plunged yourselves into a thousand difficulties, endeavor to make yourselves easy by throwing the burden upon nature. You are, Horatio, in a very miserable condition indeed; for you say you can't be happy if you control your passions; and you feel yourself miserable by an unrestrained gratification of them; so that here's evil, irremediable evil, either way.

HOR. That is very true, at least it appears so to me. Pray, what have you to say, Philocles, in honor of nature or providence? Methinks I'm in pain for her. How do you rescue her poor lady!

PHIL. This, my dear Horatio, I have to say: that what you find fault with and clamor against, as the most terrible evil in the world, self-denial, is really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification: if, indeed, you use the word in the sense of some weak and sour moralists, and how much weaker Divines, you'll have just reason to laugh at it; but if you take it, as understood by philosophers and men of sense, you will presently see her charms, and fly to her embrace, notwithstanding her demure looks, as

absolutely necessary to produce even you own darling sole good, pleasure: for, self-denial is never a duty, or a reasonable action, but as it is a natural means of procuring more pleasure than you can taste without it so that this grave, saintlike guide to happiness, as rough and dreadful as she has been make to appear, is in truth the kindest and most beautiful mistress in the world.



HOR. Prithee, Philocles! do not wrap yourself in allegory and metaphor. Why do you tease me thus? I long to be satisfied, what this philosophical self-denial is; the necessity and reason of it; I'm impatient, and all on fire; explain, therefore, in your beautiful, natural easy way of reasoning, what I'm to understand by this grave lady of yours, with so forbidding, down-cast looks, and yet so absolutely necessary to my pleasures. I stand ready to embrace her; for you know, pleasure I court under all shapes and forms.

PHIL. Attend then, and you'll see the reason of this philosophical self-denial. There can be no absolute perfection in any creature; because every creature is derived, and dependent. No created being can be all-wise, all-good, and all-powerful, because his powers and capacities are finite and limited; consequently, whatever is created must in its own nature be subject to error, irregularity, excess, and

disorder. All intelligent, rational agents find in themselves a power of judging what kind of beings they are; what actions are proper to preserve them, and what consequences will generally attend them, what pleasures they are formed for, and to what degree their natures are capable of receiving them. All we have to do then, Horatio, is to consider, when we are surprised with a new object, and passionately desire to enjoy it, whether gratifying that passion be consistent with the gratifying other passions and appetites, equal if not more necessary to us. And whether it consists with our happiness tomorrow, next week, or next year; for, as we all wish to live, we are obliged by reason to take as much care for our future as our present happiness, and not build one upon the ruins of the other. But if, through the strength and consequences, we have erred and exceeded the bounds which nature or reason have set us, we are then, for our sakes, to refrain, or deny ourselves a present momentary pleasure for a future, constant, and durable one: so that this philosophical self-denial is only refusing to do an action which you strongly desire, because it is inconsistent with your health, fortunes, or circumstances in the world; or, in other words, because it would cost you more than it was worth. You would lose by it, as a man of pleasure. Thus you see, Horatio! that self-denial is not only the most reasonable, but the most pleasant, thing in the world.

HOR. We are just coming into town, so that we can't pursue this argument any further at present; you have said a great deal for nature, providence, and reason: Happy are they who can follow such divine guides.

PHIL. Horatio! good night; I wish you wise in your pleasures.

HOR. I wish, Philocles! I could be as wise in my pleasures as you are pleasantly wise; your wisdom is agreeable, your virtue is amiable, and your philosophy the highest luxury. Adieu! thou enchanting reasoner!

\* A SECOND DIALOGUE BETWEEN PHILOCLES AND HORATIO, \*  
CONCERNING VIRTUE AND PLEASURE

*The Pennsylvania Gazette,*  
July 9, 1730

PHILOCLES. Dear Horatio! where hast thou been these three or four months? What new adventures have you fallen upon since I met you in these delightful, all-inspiring fields, and wondered how such a pleasure-hunter as you could bear being alone?

HORATIO. O Philocles, thou best of friends, because a friend to reason and virtue, I am very glad to see you. Don't you remember, I told you then that some misfortunes in my pleasure had sent me to philosophy for relief? But now I do assure you, I can, without a sigh, leave other pleasures for those of philosophy; I can hear the word *Reason* mentioned, and virtue praised, without laughing. Don't I bid fair for conversion, think you?

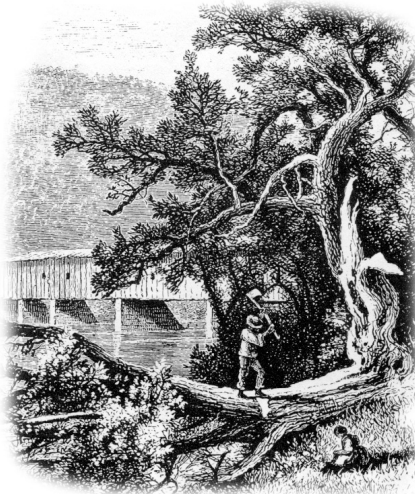
PHIL. Very fair, Horatio! for I remember the time when reason, virtue, and pleasure, were the same thing with you: when you counted nothing good but what pleased, nor any thing reasonable but what you got by; when you made a jest of a mind, and the pleasures of reflection, and elegantly placed your sole happiness, like the rest of the animal creation, in the gratifications of sense.

HOR. I did so. But in our last conversation, when walking upon the brow of this hill, and looking down on that broad, rapid river, and yon widely extended beautifully varied plain, you taught me another doctrine. You showed me that self-denial, which above all things I abhorred, was really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification, and absolutely necessary to produce even my own darling sole good, pleasure.

PHIL. True, I told you that self-denial was never a duty but when it was a natural means of procuring more pleasure than we could taste without it; that as we all

strongly desire to live, and to live only to enjoy, we should take as much care about our future as our present happiness, and not build one upon the ruins of the other; that we should look to the end, and regard consequences; and if, through want of attention, we had erred, and exceeded the bounds which nature had set us, we were then obliged, for our own sakes, to refrain or deny ourselves a momentary pleasure for a future, constant, and durable good.

HOR. You have shown, Philocles, that self-denial, which weak or interested



men have rendered the most forbidding, is really the most delightful and amiable, the most reasonable and pleasant thing in the world. In a word, if I understand you aright, self-denial is in truth, self-recognising, self-acknowledging, or self-owning. But now, my friend! you are to perform another promise, and show me the path which leads up to that constant, durable, and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess: Is not this good of yours a mere chimera? Can anything be constant in a world which is eternally changing and which appears to exist by an everlasting revolution of one thing into

another, and where everything without us, and everything within us, is in perpetual motion? What is this constant, durable good, then, of yours? Prithee, satisfy my soul, for I'm all on fire and impatient to enjoy her. Produce this eternal blooming Goddess with never-fading charms, and see whether I won't embrace her with as much eagerness and rapture as you.

PHIL. You seem enthusiastically warm, Horatio; I will wait till you are cool enough to attend to the sober, dispassionate voice of reason.

HOR. You mistake me, my dear Philocles! my warmth is not so great as to run away with my reason; it is only just raised enough to open my faculties and fit them to receive those eternal truths, and that durable good, which you so triumphantly boasted of. Begin, then; I'm prepared.

PHIL. I will. I believe, Horatio, with all your skepticism about you, you will allow that good to be constant which is never absent from you, and that to be durable, which never ends but with your being.

HOR. Yes, go on.

PHIL. That can never be the good of a creature, which, when present, the creature may be miserable, and when absent, is certainly so.

HOR. I think not; but pray explain what you mean; for I am not much used to this abstract way of reasoning.

PHIL. I mean all the pleasures of sense. The good of man cannot consist in the mere pleasures of sense; because, when any one of those objects which you love is absent, or can't be come at, you are certainly miserable; and if the faculty be impaired, though the object be present, you can't enjoy it. So that this sensual good depends upon a thousand things without and within you, and all out of your power. Can this then be the good of man? Say, Horatio! what

think you, Is not this a chequered, fleeting, fantastical good? Can that, in any propriety of speech, be called the good of man which even, while he is tasting, he may be miserable, and which, when he cannot taste, he is necessarily so? Can that be our good, which costs us a great deal of pains to obtain; which cloy in possessing; for which we must wait the return of appetite before we can enjoy again? Or, is that our good which we can come at without difficulty; which is heightened by possession; which never ends in weariness and disappointment; and which, the more we enjoy, the better qualified we are to enjoy on?

HOR. The latter, I think; but why do you torment me thus? Philocles! show me this good immediately.

PHIL. I have showed you what it is not; it is not sensual, but it is rational and moral good. It is doing all the good we can to others, by acts of humanity, friendship, generosity, and benevolence. This is that constant and durable good, which will afford contentment and satisfaction always alike, without variation or diminution. I speak to your experience now, Horatio! Did you ever find yourself wearying of relieving the miserable, or of raising the distressed into life or happiness? Or rather, don't you find the pleasure grow upon you by repetition, and that it is greater in the reflection than in the act itself? Is there a pleasure upon earth to be compared with that which arises from the sense of making others happy? Can this pleasure ever be absent, or ever end but with your being? Does it not always accompany you? Doth not it lie down and rise with you, live as long as you live, give you consolation in the article of death, and remain with you in that gloomy hour when all other things are going to forsake you, or you them?

HOR. How glowingly you paint, Philocles! Methinks Horatio is amongst the enthusiasts. I feel the passion: I am enchantingly convinced, but I don't know why; overborn by something stronger than reason. Sure some Divinity speaks within me; but prithee, Philocles, give me coolly the

cause, why this rational and moral good so infinitely excels the mere natural or sensual.

PHIL. I think, Horatio, that I have clearly shown you the difference between merely natural or sensual good, and rational or moral good. Natural or sensual pleasure continues no longer than the action itself; but this divine or moral pleasure continues when the action is over, and swells and grows upon your hand by reflection. The one is inconstant, unsatisfying, of short duration, and attended with numberless ills; the other is constant, yields full satisfaction, is durable, and no evils preceding, accompanying, or following it. But, if you enquire further into the cause of this difference, and would know why the moral pleasures are greater than the sensual, perhaps the reason is the same as in all other creatures, that their happiness or chief good consists in acting up to their chief faculty, or that faculty which distinguishes them from all creatures of a different species. The chief faculty in a man is his reason; and consequently his chief good, or that which may be justly called his good, consists not merely in action, but in reasonable action. By reasonable actions, we understand those actions which are preservative of the human kind, and naturally tend to produce real and unmixed happiness; and these actions, by way of distinction, we call actions morally good.

HOR. You speak very clearly, Philocles; but, that no difficulty may remain upon my mind, pray tell me what is the real difference between natural good and ill, and moral good and ill, for I know several people who use the terms without ideas.

PHIL. That may be. The difference lies only in this: that natural good and ill is pleasure and pain; moral good and ill is pleasure or pain produced with intention and design; for it is the intention only that makes the agent morally good or bad.

HOR. But may not a man, with a very good intention, do an ill action?

PHIL. Yes, but, then he errs in his judgment, though his design be good. If his

error is inevitable, or such as, all things considered, he could not help, he is inculpable; but if it arose through want of diligence in forming his judgment about the nature of human actions, he is immoral and culpable.

HOR. I find, then, that in order to please ourselves rightly, or to do good to others morally, we should take great care of our opinions.

PHIL. Nothing concerns you more; for, as the happiness or real good of men consists in right action, and right action cannot be produced without right opinion, it behooves us, above all things in this world, to take care that our opinions of things be according to the nature of things. The foundation of all virtue and happiness is thinking rightly. He who sees an action is right, that is, naturally tending to good, and does it because of that tendency, he only is a moral man; and he alone is capable of that constant, durable, and invariable good, which has been the subject of this conversation.

HOR. How, my dear philosophical guide, shall I be able to know, and determine certainly, what is right and wrong in life?

PHIL. As easily as you distinguish a circle from a square, or light from darkness. Look, Horatio, into the sacred book of nature; read your own nature, and view the relation which other men stand in to you, and you to them; and you'll immediately see what constitutes human happiness, and consequently what is right.

HOR. We are just coming into town, and can say no more at present. You are my good genius, Philocles. You have shown me what is good. You have redeemed me from the slavery and misery of folly and vice, and made me a free and happy being.

PHIL. Then I am the happiest man in the world. Be steady, Horatio! Never depart from reason and virtue.

HOR. Sooner will I lose my existence. Good night, Philocles.

PHIL. Adieu! dear Horatio!

# Renaissance and Reformation in Northern Art

From Schongauer to Holbein, Master Drawings from Basel and Berlin,” an exhibit at Washington, D.C.’s National Gallery of Art, is a wonderful opportunity to view nearly 200 drawings and watercolors by the greatest Swiss and German artists of the Northern Renaissance period (c. 1465-1545).

The exhibit, which includes works by Martin Schongauer, Hans Holbein, the Elder, Albrecht Dürer, Mathias Grünewald, Lucas Cranach, the Elder, and Hans Holbein, the Younger, among many other leading artists of the time, focusses especially on the work of Dürer and Holbein the Younger, both of whom, like other Northern masters, were strongly influenced by the Italian Renaissance. Dürer visited Italy twice, once in 1494-5, and again in 1505-7; and, although it is not known for sure whether Holbein ever travelled there, he was without doubt familiar with the work of the Italian Renaissance from paintings and prints, which were widely circulated in Germany, Switzerland, and The Netherlands at that time.

These drawings were produced in what was then the Holy Roman Empire,

during a period of tremendous religious conflict and bloody warfare: the Protestant Reformation (Luther posted his 95 Theses in 1517), the Peasant Wars (1524-26), the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and the series of wars culminating in the mass-murderous Thirty Years War (1618-1648).

A number of the leading artists were directly involved in the events of the Reformation/Counter-Reformation. One of the most outstanding of these was Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), who was a close personal friend of Martin Luther; the two were godparents to each other’s children. In 1505, Cranach

became court painter to the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, and his brother and co-ruler, John of Saxony. In 1508, Lucas was sent to The Netherlands on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor Maximilian I, an indication of his importance in the affairs of his day. By 1519, he was a member of the Wittenberg Council; later, in the 1540’s, he became Burgomaster of the city.

By 1534, Cranach was important enough to travel with the Elector John Frederick and Philipp Melanchthon, a leading scholar, to a religious disputation in Dresden that had been requested by Cardinal Albrecht and Georg, Duke of Saxony. Melanchthon was professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, where he met Martin Luther, for whom he wrote the Augs-

burg Confession of the Lutheran faith. During the 1520’s, Lucas had illustrated Reformation broadsheets with polemical woodcuts.

An excellent example of Cranach’s artistic and moral outlook is a sensitive portrait of a peasant, painted around 1525, or soon after the Peasant Wars began. It is a simple watercolor sketch, where the immediacy of the brush strokes, and the intimacy of the perspective, allow us to look directly into the soul of the man, through his eyes. The hint of a smile around the mouth, and the rough-hewn texture of his skin, suggest that the subject is a common man, a worker or peasant, with a strong character and an optimistic outlook on life, despite the tragedy unfolding around him.



Martin Schongauer, “The Madonna with a Pink,” c. 1475-1480.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett



Lucas Cranach, the Elder, “Head of a Peasant,” c. 1525.

Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett

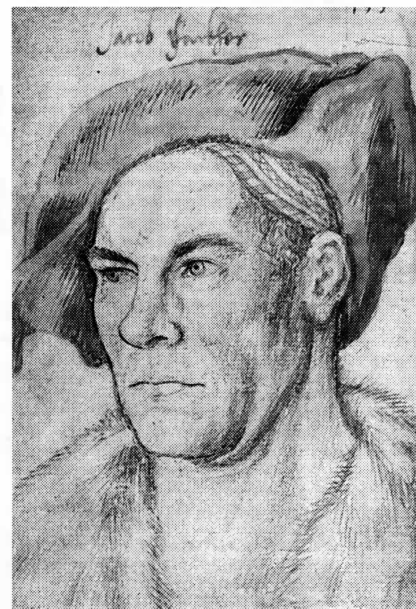
### From Gothic to Renaissance

The earlier painter and engraver Martin Schongauer (c. 1450-91) is considered to be one of the most important Gothic artists before Dürer, who strongly influenced the latter.

One of the loveliest drawings in this exhibit is Schongauer's "Madonna with a Pink" (c.1475-80). The grassy bench on which the Madonna sits is a convention which would have been read as the "closed garden" (*hortus conclusus*), a symbol of Mary's virginity, while the pink (a carnation) represents the nails on the cross. Yet, the symbols themselves are subsumed by the ethereal light that pours in from the left side of the picture, almost dissolving the trellis which surrounds the flower pot, and causing the air around the head of the Virgin to shimmer. The Christ child is held both firmly and gently by the beautifully rendered hand of the Madonna, whose sweet expression is tempered by her

foreknowledge of the child's coming Passion. The baby Jesus allows himself to be protected, for now; but his eyes also see into the future. The paradox of past and future is underscored by the pink, which is at one and the same time a beautiful, fragrant flower, and a harbinger of the suffering to come.

Hans Holbein, the Elder (c. 1460/65-1524) also painted mostly religious altarpieces and portraits. He travelled to The Netherlands, where he saw the work of the great Flemish master Rogier van der Weyden, which afterwards strongly influenced his work. Holbein ran a large workshop in Augsburg and left behind many silverpoint drawings. These were mainly portraits, and occasional nature studies, and were produced as preparatory drawings for paintings, often religious altarpieces. Holbein used his drawings to capture individual characteristics (as opposed to idealized features), which he then used in the figures



Hans Holbein, the Elder, "Jakob Fugger (the Rich)," c. 1509.

who people his religious panel paintings; i.e., in the Italian Renaissance manner.

The drawing of Jakob Fugger ("the Rich"), c. 1509, was one of many portraits of the powerful banking family produced by Holbein. The Fuggers were bankers to the Hapsburgs, and financed the Holy Roman Empire's wars against Italy, France, and the Turks, as well as bankrolling the election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. Under Jakob, the family reached its greatest renown. In this simple silverpoint drawing, Holbein tells us both that Fugger is rich, as attested by the fur hat and collar; but also that he is probably not very nice, judging by the hard expression of the eyes. In fact, the Hapsburgs were some of the nastiest oligarchs to have inhabited Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire.

A completely different mood is presented in the double portrait of Holbein's two sons, Ambrosius and Hans the Younger [SEE inside back cover, this issue], both of whom became artists in their own right. Hans, who would become by far the most important artist in the family, would have been about 11 years old, and Ambrosius 14, at the time their father portrayed them in 1511. Not at all sentimental, the portraits nevertheless reveal the emerging, and distinct,



Albrecht Dürer, "Spring in a Forest, with St. Paul and St. Anthony," c. 1500.

characters of each of the boys. [Works in the exhibit by Hans Holbein, the Younger are discussed on the inside back cover of this issue.]

### Portraying the ‘Motion of the Mind’

Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), unquestionably the greatest German artist of the Northern Renaissance of the Fifteenth century, was the son of a Nuremberg goldsmith, Albrecht Dürer the Elder. After learning his father’s craft, he studied in the workshop of the painter Michael Wolgemut.

In 1494, at age 23, Dürer set out for Venice, where he first encountered the works of Italian Renaissance masters Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, and Polaiuolo. Later, in 1505-1507, he made a second Italian pilgrimage. This time, after staying in Venice for a period, he travelled on to Bologna, Florence, and probably, Rome.

Dürer made other journeys to Switzerland and The Netherlands, and devoted the last years of his life to theoretical writings, influenced by Leonardo da Vinci (*The Teaching of Measurements*, 1525; *The Art of Fortification*, 1527; and *Four Books on Human Proportion*, 1528).

One of the exhibit’s most elegant draw-

ings by Dürer is “Spring in a Forest, with St. Paul and St. Anthony,” c. 1500, done with pen and black ink. It takes a few moments before you see both monks, sitting on the edge of a well in the left foreground, but if you look carefully, you will notice the two saints, one facing outward, the other seated sideways next to him. They are engaged in deep conversation. That the two monks have been identified at all, is owing to the presence, in the most minimal of sketches, of a raven above their heads. According to the “*Legenda aurea*,” when St. Anthony visited St. Paul in the Theban desert, a raven brought them bread each day, but, because they were so engrossed in intellectual discourse, they forgot to eat! Viewers familiar with Rembrandt’s etchings will be reminded of his “St. Jerome in an Italian Landscape,” executed some 150 years later. Surely, Rembrandt was familiar with this particular work of Dürer’s.

In his “Portrait of a Young Woman,” 1515, Dürer gives us one of the most thoughtful portraits of a young girl in art history. Children are always the repository of optimism, even in terrible times. Here, we can imagine her thinking happily, perhaps in anticipation of something about to happen, or perhaps of a special secret shared with a friend, as a slight smile plays about her lips. It is the “motion of the mind,” here so eloquently depicted, that draws us into the little girl’s world, and makes us wish to know her better.

One of the most striking of Dürer’s drawings is the “Head of the Evangelist Mark,” 1526. It is rendered on paper prepared with a brown wash, with lead-tin point, and its ghostly



Albrecht Dürer, “Portrait of a Young Woman,” 1515.

appearance immediately brings to mind St. Paul’s words, “for now we see through a glass darkly,” as Mark appears to us as if viewed through a dark glass, or through the mists of time. We are riveted by the expression in his eyes, which look off into the distance. Or is it the future he sees, with a strangely evocative suggestion of fear, hope, awe, and trepidation?

Mark’s Gospel begins poetically, with a quote from the prophet Isaiah, forecasting the coming of the Messiah:

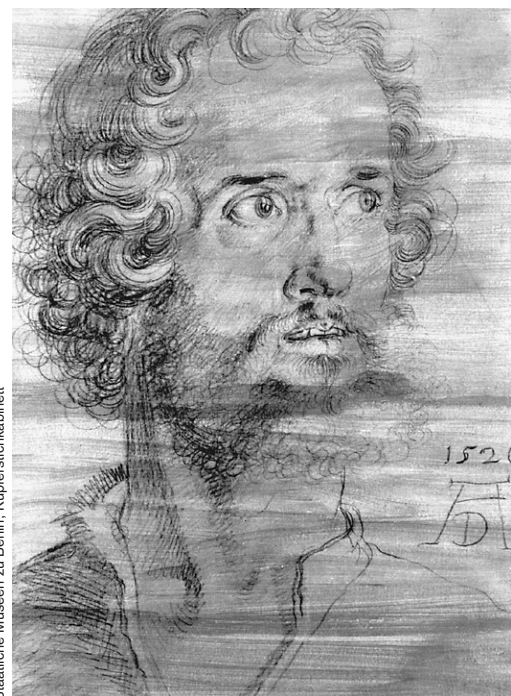
“Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee,

“The Voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, Make his paths straight.”

Remember these words as you view the evangelist’s hauntingly beautiful face.

—Bonnie James

*The exhibit is open from Oct. 24 to Jan. 9, 2000. All the works on display have been loaned from the Öffentilche Kunstsammlung Basel and the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.*



Albrecht Dürer, “Head of the Evangelist Mark,” 1526.



# Stop Racist Attempt To Overturn Voting Rights Act

November 10, 1999

To: The Hon. Ed Rendell, Chairman, Democratic Party

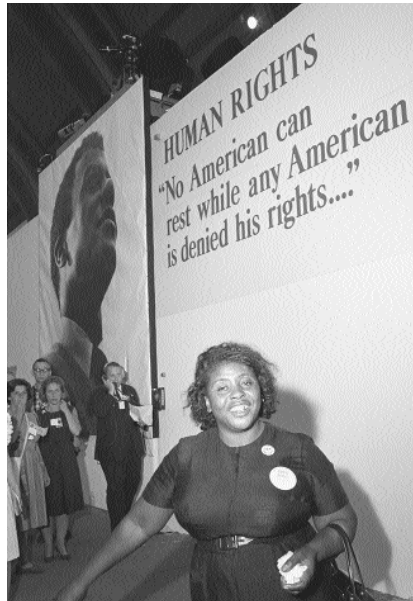
The Hon. Joe Andrew, Chairman, Democratic National Committee

## Gentlemen:

We were shocked and disgusted to learn that on August 16, 1999 the Democratic National Committee (DNC), through its attorney, John C. Keeney, Jr., submitted a plainly anti-civil rights, implicitly pro-racist argument before a Federal district court panel, which concluded with a call for nullification of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The argument was made in the course of a hearing on a DNC motion to dismiss a lawsuit brought by Democratic Presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche, and Democratic voters from Virginia, Louisiana, Texas, and Arizona. The lawsuit, which was filed in 1996, charges that Donald Fowler, then Chairman of the DNC, violated the Voting Rights Act, when he ordered state Democratic parties to disregard the votes of thousands of Democrats in the 1996 Democratic Presidential primaries and caucuses, who had cast their votes for Lyndon LaRouche. Ironically, Mr. Fowler justified his outrageous behavior by lying that Lyndon LaRouche was a racist!

First, let it be said that Lyndon



*Civil rights heroine Fannie Lou Hamer en route to the Democratic Party National Convention in August 1964. Hamer led the fight to seat the integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation, representing 80,000 black Mississippians, against the decision by the Party Credentials Committee and other Party officials to seat an all-white delegation.*

LaRouche does not have to defend his qualifications as a "bona fide" Democrat. It was the LaRouche faction of the Democratic Party that took the point against Newt Gingrich and his "Contract on America," when some of us were busy "triangulating." And, it is well known, that when President Clinton came under attack by Ken Starr, while some Democrats—cowards and traitors—called on the President to resign, the LaRouche faction of the Party mobilized support for the President, and initiated Amer-

icans to Save the Presidency.

Let it also be said, that the stink of racism in this action by attorney Keeney is, unfortunately, consistent with the racism shown by his father, John C. (Jack) Keeney, who, as a Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, has been a key figure in the illegal targeting, persecution, and prosecution of African-American public and elected officials.

Gentlemen, we understand that these acts of gross injustice occurred before your terms of office began. Be that as it may, it falls upon you to effect an immediate, public repudiation of this racist policy. It is our firm position, that this must be done, not only to protect the personal honor and integrity of the Democratic Party leadership, but also because the failure to do so will surely have disastrous consequences: We will lose the Y2000 elections, including the Congressional elections; the Democratic Party, as the party of FDR and JFK, will be destroyed; and, we will be in danger of losing all that we hold dear as Americans.

Yours,

**Hon. Theo Mitchell, Esq.,**  
Democratic Senator (ret.),  
South Carolina State  
Legislature,  
Former Democratic Party  
Nominee for Governor,  
South Carolina

(continued)

*The following is a partial list of endorsers of the above letter. Affiliations are for identification purposes only.*

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JL Chestnut, Civil Rights Attorney, Selma, Ala.

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A.M.E. Logan, Jackson, Miss.

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Hollis Watkins, Southern Echo, Jackson, Miss.

Matthew Fogg, President, Congress Against Racism & Corruption in Law Enforcement, U.S. Marshal, Washington, D.C.

Rev. Dr. Carl Washington, President, The Baptist Ministers' Conference of Baltimore and Vicinity, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. C. Blakley, National Congress of Black Churches, Los Angeles, Calif.

Unanimous vote of Eastside Ministers Union of Southern California

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Rev. Robert L. Davis, Vice President, Eastside Ministers Union of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Rev. C.E. Kelly, Vice President, Eastside Ministers Union of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Ron Meyers, President, Meyers Foundation, Tchula, Miss.

Rev. Nimrod Q. Reynolds, National Secretary, SCLC, Anniston, Ala.

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*I am a thinking candidate. My job is to cause my fellow citizens to become thinking citizens again, efficiently thinking citizens—to find the natural, organic leaders within the citizenry, wherever they are, and to bring them together, as leaders who will help awaken the rest of the population.*

—LYNDON H. LAROCHE, JR.  
Dec. 4, 1999

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Hans Holbein, the Elder,  
 'Ambrosius and Hans Holbein  
 the Younger,' 1511.



Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

# When Europe Was Rent By Religious Warfare

The first known published drawings of Hans and Ambrosius Holbein, the two artist sons of Holbein the Elder, were for a printed copy of *The Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, the leading Christian humanist of his day.

time, but also in foreknowledge of the future, when Europe would be rent by religious warfare?

Holbein the Younger would become court painter to Henry VIII in 1536, despite his earlier personal friendship with Sir Thomas More, England's leading humanist, and with More's friend Erasmus. More had been executed in 1535 by Henry, for his refusal to sanction making the king head of the Church in England.

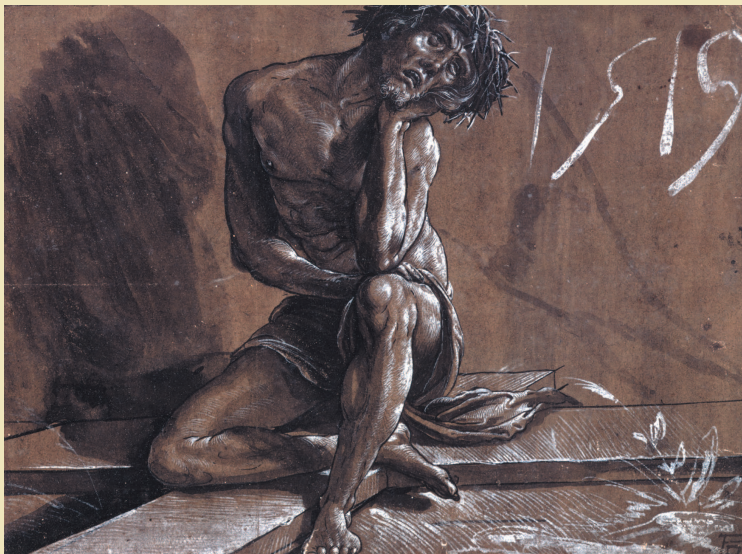
Some of these complex relationships are reflected in Holbein's 1527 'Study for a Family Portrait of Thomas More,' drawn while Holbein was More's house-guest in England. After preparing individual portraits of each of the sitters, he composed the picture as a draft for a

painting which is now lost. The drawing presents the More

family at prayer, or in contemplation. In a painting done by Rowland Lockey (c. 1590) after Holbein's own painting of this subject, a number of alterations were made, some of which may reflect the instructions—likely More's—seen in red on the Holbein drawing. Lockey removed references to Catholic religious practice: More's wife Alice no longer kneels, but sits; his seated daughter Cecily no longer holds a rosary, but converses instead with her sister Margaret (who is reading Seneca's *Oedipus*); another sister, Elizabeth, holds an edition of Seneca's letters. More was famous for educating his daughters in the Classical tradition.

Holbein presented the drawing to Erasmus, as a gift from More, in 1528.  
 —Bonnie James

[SEE 'Renaissance and Reformation in Northern Art,' a review of 'From Schongauer to Holbein']



Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Hans Holbein, the Younger, 'Christ at Rest,' 1519.

Holbein the Younger's 1519 'Christ at Rest,' shocks with the intensity of its pain. Christ sits on the cross which is lying on the ground, his head held on his left hand, the elbow resting on his knee. He is obviously in agony, and exhausted from carrying the cross. His crucifixion is imminent.

The date 1519 is unusually prominent in the upper right. Venetian intrigues among Protestant and Catholic factions were about to drown Europe in blood for the next 130 years. Is Christ suffering, perhaps, not only from the events taking place in his

Hans Holbein, the Younger, 'Study for a Family Portrait of Thomas More,' c. 1527.



Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett

## The Birth of the Sovereign Nation-State

‘The U.S.A. is the highest expression so far of the development of the modern nation-state, which originated in Europe between the time of the Council of Florence, and Louis XI’s France and Henry VII’s England during the later Fifteenth century.’ William F. Wertz, Jr., traces the ideas that brought about the triumph over feudal oligarchism of Christian-Platonic nation-states committed to the moral and intellectual development of their people.



Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Wharton Sinkler

## The Aesthetical Education of America

*What allowed the American Revolution to be a success?* Author Robert Trout analyzes the tradition from the Massachusetts Bay Colony of John Winthrop and Increase and Cotton Mather, to the work of Benjamin Franklin, in light of Friedrich Schiller’s *Letters on the Aesthetical Education of Man*, a study of the failure of the French Revolution to establish republics in Europe. Two Leibnizian dialogues by Franklin complement Trout’s historical essay.

## ‘For Bruegel, his world is vast’

### Interview with art critic Michael Gibson

Author of several works on the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the *International Herald Tribune’s* Michael Gibson discusses the artist’s works as an expression of the Renaissance spirit of individuality and exploration.

