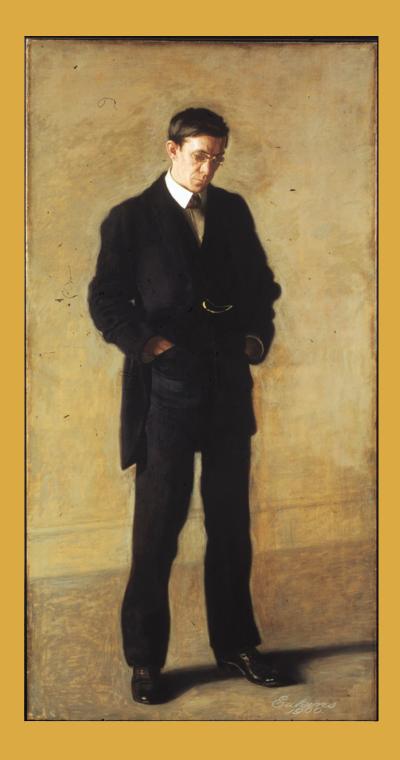
# FIDELIO

Journal of Poetry, Science, and Statecraft



# 'We are bound together by qualities of the human mind...'



Astronomical observatory at Tophane (Istanbul), Turkey, 1580.

The effective citizen of a republic is to be found where great ancient and modern philosophers, such as Plato and Moses Mendelssohn, found him, in a person conscious of the essential immortality of the human soul. Indeed, for reasons I have given at length in relevant locations, no competent theology could exist without Plato's own development of that conception.

All the accomplishments of

modern European civilization are chiefly derived from that conception of the specific nature of the sovereignty of the human individual personality. This is the indispensable, ecumenical conception of constitutional statecraft, which is only typified by the combination of the best which the Fifteenthcentury Iberian Peninsula, and heirs of Alfonso Sabio, in particular, inherited from their combined Moorish, Jewish, and Christian culture.

The distinction of the human species from all lower forms of life, is that only the sovereign cognitive (creative) powers of the individual human mind, can discover and employ universal physical principles. It is the discovery and transmission of such discoveries over

and transmission of such discoveries over successive generations, which lifts the human species to those higher levels of power in and over the universe. This benefit occurs, as it could occur only among human beings, through the transmission, through replication, of such individual acts of discovery, from preceding

generations, to the present and future of society. Such discoveries of principle have a quality of impact upon human existence, which only genetic change to a higher species could mimic in the animal kingdom.

Thus we are bound together by those qualities of the human mind, through which discovery of universal physical principles is variously generated or regenerated in the mind of the individual member of society. We are therefore bound together by the means through which societies develop those qualities of relations among persons through which cooperation in employing these discoveries may occur.

—Lyndon H., LaRouche, Jr. March 5, 2002

[SEE "How 'Democracy' Became Diseased"]



"The Construction of the Fatehpur Sikri," India, 1586-7.

## FIDELIO

"It is through beauty that one proceeds to freedom."

—Friedrich Schiller

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Fidelio is dedicated to the promotion of a new Golden Renaissance based upon the concept of agapē or charity, as that is reflected in the creation of artistic beauty, the scientific mastery of the laws of the physical universe, and the practice of republican statecraft for the benefit of our fellow man.

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Thomas Eakins, *The Thinker* (*Portrait of Louis N. Kenton*) (1900). Restore the American Intellectual Tradition! (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1917. 17.172)

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## The Crash Is On!

s this issue of *Fidelio* goes to press, the global financial collapse which Lyndon LaRouche has forecast is an onrushing reality, despite the Herbert Hoover-like denials of U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Paul "the fundamentals are strong," "the recession never happened" O'Neill. On the record, LaRouche is the most successful long-range economic forecaster of the past thirty-five years. He has never

published a forecast which failed to materialize. The present world and U.S. monetary-financial system is disintegrating, exactly as he

forecast it would. And now, as the system is disintegrating, the only workable reform on the table is that of LaRouche.

In the first half of 2002, U.S. stock-market values alone have lost \$1.5 trillion. Moreover, just as the New Economy bubble of the dot.coms and telecom sector has burst, with the Nasdaq falling almost 75 percent in market value since March 2000, the next to burst will be the housing bubble. The financial pages of U.S. newspapers have rapidly become police blotters. Enron, Arthur Anderson, ImClone, Tyco, WorldCom, are not cases of "loan assassins," however. The fraud is systemic. It is the way business is done. And the biggest fraud of all, is the data provided by the U.S. government itself. There is as much substance to the government statistics, designed to prop up the financial bubble and promote the "economic recovery," as there was to WorldCom's profit reports.

The U.S. current account deficit for the first quarter of 2002 was a record \$112 billion. Sustaining such a deficit requires a flow of \$1.5 billion a day in foreign investment into the United States. But, the inflow has already now dropped by 55 percent. As a result, the dollar is collapsing against both the euro and the yen.

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The collapse, accurately forecast only by LaRouche, can not be avoided.

Under these conditions, unless LaRouche's economic solution is acted upon, the danger is that, not only will the financial collapse accelerate, but the Bush Administration will move decisively towards fascist, police-state measures domestically, and war in the Middle East, by as early as the August-September-

October period. President Bush's speech on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which he effectively gave the goahead to the Israelis to

eliminate Yasser Arafat, must be seen in this light.

EDITORIAL

What is the alternative? As LaRouche has stressed most recently in presentations in the United Arab Emirates and in Sao Paulo, Brazil, reported in this issue of *Fidelio*, the only alternative is to put the entire system through the equivalent of Chapter 11 bankruptcy reorganization; to create a New Bretton Woods system, junking free trade, deregulation,

## For the Love of Truth

The greater the gift I must bequeath upon you, and what greater gift than truth has any man to give to man?—the more I must take caution that its value is not debased in my hands.

There is none among you to whom history has nothing important to convey; however different the paths toward your future destinies, it somewhere binds them together; but one destiny you all share in the same way with one another, that which you brought with you into this world—to educate yourself as a human being—and history addresses itself to this human being.

The course of studies which the scholar who

privatization, etc., and returning to protectionism; to promote the Eurasian Land-Bridge; and to defend the sovereign nation-state as the only institution capable of promoting the General Welfare.

As LaRouche has emphasized, such a reform is hated by all American Tories and their lackeys, almost as much as they hate God Himself. All of the notable expressions of lying and hatred against LaRouche and his proposals come chiefly from what is known as the "American Tory" persuasion, who recognize in LaRouche what they regard as an obnoxiously effective expression of that patriotic American Intellectual Tradition of Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt, which they had hoped had been stamped out.

In this special double issue of *Fidelio*, we present you with a clear choice between the American Intellectual Tradition of Lyndon LaRouche, and the American Tory tradition of the neo-Confederate Nashville Agrarians, and such of their offspring as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, two of the

men most responsible for the destructive paradigm shift of the last 35 years, the consequences of which we are now suffering.

This choice is presented in two features and a number of supplementary articles: Lyndon LaRouche's "Freedom vs. 'Democracy': How 'Democracy' Became Diseased"; "Seduced from Victory: How the 'Lost Corpse' Subverts the American Intellectual Tradition," by Stanley Ezrol; and a package of articles on the origin of the sovereign nation-state—"Henry VII and the Creation of Shakespeare's England," by Robert Trout, and "William Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More: The Conscience of Kings," by Paul Gallagher.

Whether the world survives the coming months is ultimately up to you. Contrary to the existentialist Jean Paul Sartre, who wrote in *No Exit* that Hell is "other people," we do have an exit from Hell, and that exit is to organize other people. In this war to save humanity, we have but one weapon—our love of the truth. Let us wield it as Lyndon LaRouche has done.

feeds on bread alone sets himself, is very different from that of the philosophical mind. The former, who, for all his diligence, is interested merely in fulfilling the conditions under which he can perform a vocation and enjoy its advantages, who activates the powers of his mind only thereby to improve his material conditions and to satisfy a narrow-minded thirst for fame, such a person has no concern upon entering his academic career, more important than distinguishing most carefully those sciences which he calls "studies for bread," from all the rest, which delight the mind for their own sake.

Who rants more against reformers than the gaggle of bread-fed scholars? Who more holds up the progress of useful revolutions in the kingdom of knowledge than these very men?...

How entirely differently the philosophical mind comports itself. . . . All his efforts are directed toward

the perfection of his knowledge; his noble impatience cannot rest until all of his conceptions have ordered themselves into an organic whole. ... New discoveries in the sphere of his activities, which cast the breadfed scholar down, delight the philosophical mind. ... Even should these new discoveries leave it in ruins, a new chain of thoughts, a new natural phenomenon, a newly discovered law in the material world overthrow the entire edifice of his science, no matter: He has always loved truth more than his system, and he will gladly exchange the old, insufficient form for a new one, more beautiful. Indeed, if no blow from the outside shatters his edifice of ideas, he himself will be the first to tear it apart, discontented, to reestablish it more perfected.

—Friedrich Schiller, from "What Is, and to What End Do We Study, Universal History?" Freedom vs. 'Democracy'

# How 'Democracy' Became Diseased

by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

March 5, 2002

Since the period of transition, from the LTCM crisis of August-September 1998, to the January 2001 close of the two-months-long Presidential election-crisis, a fundamental change has been under way inside the U.S.A., and also the world in general. The previously developing breakdown-crisis of the world's present monetary-financial system entered its present terminal phase, in time to greet the inauguration of a new President, George W. Bush. The intensity of the crisis has increased by steps, including the giant step of September 11th, since that Presidential inauguration.

Already, now, what had seemed, to the wishfully self-deluded many, to have been the inevitable, irreversible trends inhering in the policies reaffirmed under the Clinton Presidency, are being wiped away. During my address of Saturday, February 16th, and my written statement of February 19th I warned that we are presently encumbered with a decadent political-party system, a system which is ill-suited to meeting the challenge

This essay originally appeared in Executive Intelligence Review, March 22, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 11).

of the profound changes now fully under way. Those dramatic changes are in process, chiefly in triumphant defiance of that doomed system in its present form.

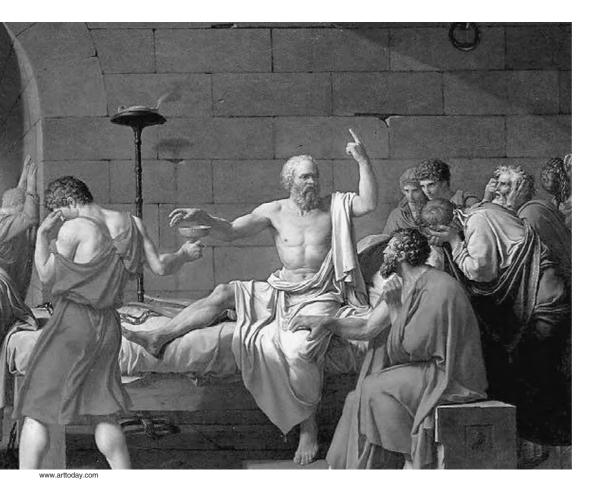
This present statement adds a crucial new dimension to the matters I addressed in that February 19th report.

For reasons I shall set forth, during the course of this report, the notion of "democracy," as the term had come to be defined in practice during the preceding two decades and more, does not permit effective responses to the most crucial among the kinds of life-or-death challenges which reality is now shoving onto the government's agenda.

For this reason, a critical reexamination of the institutions of political-party-led government, is now mandatory. The challenge immediately before our government and the constituencies, is to define the practical meaning of the name of "democracy" in ways which are consistent

 <sup>&</sup>quot;After the Collapse of Enron: Next Comes the Cluster-Bust!," keynote address to the ICLC/Schiller Institute Presidents' Day Conference, Executive Intelligence Review, March 1, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 8).

<sup>2. &</sup>quot;Can the Democratic Party Survive?" Executive Intelligence Review, March 8, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 9).



The judicial murder of Socrates: mob rule organized by the Democratic Party of Athens. Painting by Jacques-Louis David, "The Death of Socrates," 1787 (detail).

with the continuation of that peculiar Constitutional form of government upon which our nation's past constructive role of leadership in world affairs has depended.

During the recent quarter-century, the official meaning of the word "democracy" in the U.S.A. had been shifted radically away from what it had signified during the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt. That change occurred in the form of a shift away from sundry earlier, loose, rule-of-thumb understandings, toward a thoroughly nasty, narrow-minded coincidence with the profascist dogmas of Bertrand Russell's accomplice Herbert George Wells. I emphasize the indisputably fascist intentions summed up by Wells himself in his 1928 *The Open Conspiracy*.

Wells' book, which has served, continually since 1928, as the open pact among Fabian circles of Wells and Russell, is key to understanding the continuing basis for the rise of our nation's utopian political-military faction, during the time since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, and through the present day. That, in turn, is prerequisite for understanding the real challenge presently confronting the political system of the U.S.A., including its political parties.

The present codification of the term "democracy," as signifying Wells' utopian schemes, is echoed in the trend toward establishing an imperial form of what is termed, in technically precise, academic language, as universal fascism. That signifies: the dissolution of the existence of

The task before us, a task on whose outcome the continued existence of our republic may depend absolutely, is the rapid recruitment of young people, and others, to emerge, soon, as true leaders. That is the purpose of this appeal on behalf of the cause of true freedom?

the sovereign nation-state, in favor of a global imperial order, ruled through the mechanisms of military tyranny like those of the Roman legions which the Nazi Waffen-SS echoed. Typical is Samuel P. Huntington's proposed parody of that Waffen-SS, his *The Soldier and the State*.<sup>3</sup> This trend is typified by utopians such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, his Huntington, Henry A. Kissinger, and other associates and other co-thinkers of the late Nashville Agrarian, Harvard Professor of Government, William Yandell Elliott. Those are the oligarchical, American Tory circles merely typified by the Smith Richardson Foundation.

Typical of the radiation of the Wells-Russell-centered "Open Conspiracy," to the present day, is the case of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. She avowed publicly her own and her father's faithful debt to the doctrine of Wells, an announcement which she made even while she was serving as President Clinton's Secretary of State. Her ugly admission on that occasion points to the source of certain strategically significant, strident notes which erupted in Clinton Administration foreign policy, during her tenure.

Out of Albright-linked Brzezinski's initiatives to that effect, sprang that present quasi-dictatorship over our nation's party system, which is known as "Project Democracy." "Project Democracy" is, in fact, a by-product of the continued drive of the imperial utopian faction toward establishing world rule under universal fascism. Incredible? It is sometimes difficult for persons trapped within a rolling barrel, to discover the direction into which they are being maneuvered.

The leading antecedents for that intentionally misleading term "Project Democracy," are broadly traceable in ancient European history, from such evidences as the judicial murder of Socrates by the Democratic Party of Athens and the related, obscene meaning given to the name of "popular opinion," *vox populi*, by ancient Rome.

### 'Project Democracy's' Arcane Roots

However, Project Democracy's own use of the term "democracy," embodies a more narrowly specific variety of irrational, gnostic belief. By "gnostic," one signifies, in practice, the substitution of a controlling form of arbitrary belief in some unknowable principle, such as "secret knowledge," which is deemed to be "self-evident," even when its existence is unprovable by rational means. Examples of typical gnostic beliefs include Physiocrat

François Quesnay's *laissez-faire*, and Adam Smith's plagiarism of Quesnay's term, under the substituted name of "free trade." In effect, Smith copied the text of the book, but added his own title.

That abuse of the term "democracy" has evolved out of a precedent from within medieval Europe, from a religious sect known as the "Bogomils." I have explained the continuing historical significance of that sect's influence in numerous published locations earlier. In short, the "Bogomils" were a neo-Manichean sect of Byzantine origin, which was spread from the Balkans into Italy and southern France, variously, under such titles as the Cathars, or, in English slang, "the buggers."

The connection is the following.

Those nasty meanings of "popular opinion" which I address here, more or less took over official English-language usage in the U.S.A., under the influence of those utopian uses of the term "democracy" which have been practiced in the U.S. during the recent thirty-five-odd years. As I shall explain here in due course, those usages echo the "bugger" sect's doctrine of "The Elect," a term synonymous with much of the contemporary U.S. use of the term "Establishment." The transmission of that doctrine into modern times, appeared in the guise of such forms of empiricism as the teachings of such modern gnostics as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Bernard Mandeville, Physiocrat François Quesnay, David Hume, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and Immanuel Kant.

The currently popular connotations of "democracy," as a synonym for popular opinion, have often served in the past, as now, as a symptom of the influence of the American Tory tradition in our country, the tradition opposed to what utopian Henry A. Kissinger has denounced as the American intellectual tradition.

The crucial feature of the influence of all of those mentioned and kindred empiricist ideologues, such as H.G. Wells and his followers Zbigniew Brzezinski, Samuel Huntington, and Michael Novak's radically empiricist American Enterprise Institute, is the systematic denial of the existence of actually knowable truth. This denial is premised upon the indicated feature of the "bugger" tradition.

Typical among those contemporary denials of the existence of knowable truth, are the arguments of such existentialist followers of Kant as Karl Jaspers, Hannah Arendt, and Nazi philosopher Martin Heidegger. That latter, axiomatically irrationalist dogma, as practiced in the U.S.A. by Arendt and her accomplice Theodor Adorno, has been a significant environmental factor in promoting the influence of a specifically American variety of fascist movement now associated with such rabid American Tories as Brzezinski and Huntington.

Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press: 1957). Reviewed in Fidelio, Fall 2001 (Vol. 10, No. 3).

Laser fusion experiment, University of Rochester Laboratory for Laser Energetics, 1985.

Freedom is the exercise of the mental power to overturn false ruling assumptions, and to generate hypotheses which, when verified experimentally, are in fact additions to

our stock of knowledge of universal physical principles. In that case, 'truth' and 'freedom' are two ways of expressing the same idea.

Hence, as a result of those influences, we have such outcomes as the recent two decades' perverse uses of that notion of "democracy" and "popular opinion" within the U.S. Congress. Saving the U.S.A. from its present, willful plunge toward self-destruction, demands the uprooting of such radically empiricist, Wellsian myths as those of the rabid utopians Kissinger, Brzezinski, Huntington, Madeleine Albright, *et al.* Such were the corrupt influences leading to the establishment of Project Democracy.

I have addressed the crucial issue so posed in various published locations, such as my recent "Economics: At the End of a Delusion," in which the scientific side of the matter is developed at necessary length. Here, I rely upon public access to those earlier publications, to summarize the relevant portions of that earlier argument.

## The Fight for Freedom

The issue in U.S. political processes today, is the inseparable connection between any meaningful use of the term "freedom" and the notion of truthfulness. I explain.

Many among the silliest, even most dangerous beliefs known to man, have enjoyed the charm of being upheld as popular tradition. This pathetic trait is the most common cause of the self-doom which nations and cultures have often brought upon themselves. So it is with that popular notion of democracy which expresses the childish wish that nothing in society should be decided contrary to popular opinion. Pathetic ejaculations such as, "You can't put the toothpaste back in the tube," or "Go along, to get along," or the reckless use of inherently tendentious "opinion polls," typify this commonplace symptom of the mind-set of the professional underling.

Many people, even ostensibly literate adults, will stubbornly insist on blind religious faith in popular opinion, even in face of the such abominations as the confirmation of the Adolf Hitler dictatorship by a vote of the overwhelming majority of the popular opinion expressed among German citizens at that time. The toleration of and support for the practice of chattel slavery, that done according to the teachings of John Locke, is a similar example of the evil often done on behalf of the silliness of blind faith in wisdom of the corrupted popular will.

Similarly, the destruction of the U.S. economy, away from the vigorous economy of the period from Roo-

<sup>4.</sup> Executive Intelligence Review, Feb. 8, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 5).

sevelt's "New Deal" through post-war reconstruction, into the terrible destruction which has been wrought as the aftermath of the Nixon and Carter Administrations, reminds us, once again, that even the long-persisting decisions of a popular majority, such as those of the recent thirty-odd years, are often wrong, even terribly wrong.

As I have emphasized earlier, in the indicated and other locations, and as many celebrated thinkers before me have pointed out, the doom which once powerful nations and cultures have brought down upon themselves, is usually the fruit of no factor so much as popular opinion itself.

Typical, among the great Classical tragedies which assist a population in understanding the actual making of history, is the case of Hamlet, whom Shakespeare portrays, contrary to the opinion of him prevalent among Romantic academics, as doomed precisely because he refuses to break free of the burden of the prevalent custom of his self-doomed kingdom. So, once-mighty Athens destroyed itself, to become a mere colony of Macedonia, as Rome also destroyed itself, precisely because it could not shake the fatal embrace of its own popular customs and opinion.

All great Classical tragedy and related compositions, such as those of ancient Greece, Boccacio's *Decameron*, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Shakespeare's histories and tragedies, and the dramas and writings on history of Friedrich Schiller, teach the same crucial lesson, and usually show us, with the essential precision which only great Classical artistic composition can achieve, exactly how the specific cultures referenced in those compositions either virtually destroyed themselves, as Cervantes showed why Sixteenth-century Hapsburg Spain was bringing about its own decay, or plunged themselves, through the sway of popular opinion, into extended periods of great troubles.

As I wrote recently on the subject of the current state of the Democratic Party, "Among you Democrats, as among Republicans of today, the fault in all this lies, essentially, exactly where Shakespeare pointed, when he put the following words into the mouth of his character Cassius: 'Men at some time are masters of their fates: the fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings.' You have become, more and more, like the self-doomed ancient Democratic Party of Athens, or the foolish so-called citizens of ancient Rome, the slaves of an Orwellian, mass-media-dictated tyranny, which most of you refer to, dreamily, as 'popular opinion,' or, among most members of the Congress, 'the market.'"

Such is the tragic challenge which looms over the U.S.A. today.

If we wish to free ourselves from the grip of our unfolding national tragedy, we must rise above the professional underling's foolish, blind faith in the simple popular vote as such. The noble essence of our wonderful U.S. Federal Constitution is expressed in two higher, scientifically grounded principles of universal natural law. These are, first, the defense of the institution of nationstates, and, secondly, that such states must be efficiently committed to promotion of the general welfare of all subject persons, both of the present and their posterity. Instead of regarding the voter's Constitutional franchise as a matter of rule by the bitch-goddess known as popular opinion, let us recognize the actually lawful, and efficient basis for the universality of the franchise. Let us return to the form of self-government which is self-rule, not by mere opinion, but citizens' choices informed by the truthful fruits of reason.

#### How Underlings Don't Think

It has been the plausible, somewhat truthful argument of many modern historians and social theorists, that the typical source of the potential mass base for a fascist movement or regime, is populism. Those scholars' views may be fairly described as equal to saying that the typical expression of a fascist mass movement, is the same pattern of behavior witnessed in the behavior of a lynchmob. It would be better to treat the term "populism" as a kind of slang word. I prefer the term which Shakespeare put in the mouth of Cassius: "the fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

The appropriateness of the preferable term, "underling," is manifold.

I have used the term frequently to denote the slave who queues at the back door of the master's house, saying: "We don't ask for freedom; just pay us some reparations, and we will not ask for freedom." That slavish fellow is saying to his master and himself, "I do not claim to be actually human; I am an underling." If he adds the phrase, "and proud of it!" we should recognize him as a professed populist, and potential recruit to the timely arrival of a fascist mob.

Take the case of the debate over education of the former slave, which raged over the decades following the defeat of the Confederacy, a debate which rages, in fact, to the present day. Take the related, disgusting populist attacks on Frederick Douglass, or on President Abraham Lincoln, as typical of the appetites engendered by the mob-like mentality of the professional underling.

The struggle for freedom for descendants of African

slaves, was most effectively led by men and women like Douglass, who defined freedom as essentially a developed quality of the individual human mind. Such men and women insisted that those of African descent should have access not only to reading and writing, but to mastery of the greatest Classical science and literature from the entirety of European civilization, and beyond that. They should become, not merely "employees," but enjoy the qualities of self-development required of the citizen of a true republic, educated as a person, instead of merely a prospective employee. The underlings retorted: "No, we should desire nothing but the destiny which has been preassigned to us."

A contrary opinion asserted, that education for freed slaves must not seek to educate the pupils "above their expected station in life." This opinion was not limited to policies for education of freed slaves; it is a philosophy of education savagely applied to the majority of the U.S. population by today's generally accepted policies of classroom education. Such prevalent trends in U.S. education today, have some ugly similarities to what might be recalled from the days of "blab school" for poverty-stricken "mountain whites." Today, even at the university level: "Don't educate people above their future station and paid employment in life." Many among today's university professors, and not only professors of economics, are capable of delivering nothing but exactly that outcome for their immediate victims, the students.

As the economic and cultural policy of the U.S. degenerated from a rational, pre-1965 producer's culture, to a lunatic, "post-industrial" consumer culture, the educational and employment policies of our own and other nations degenerated in a way consistent with those changes. So, today's university graduate is awarded a mean-spirited destiny like that which the American Tories of the post-Lincoln U.S. assigned to the freed slave.

In either case, former freed slave or today's typical university student, such educational policies treat the students not as truly human beings, but as "underlings." People who accept such notions of their role in society, have defined themselves, in their own minds, as of an inferior species, as "underlings." It is the mentality of the "underling" which represents the potential mass base of support for the "lynch mob" of yore, or the "democratic" base of support for trends toward universal fascism in the U.S. today.

The fight for freedom, now as before, is essentially a fight within the individual. It is a fight to uplift him, or her, from the habit of thinking like an underling. If you give them freedom for a moment or two, but do not remove the habit of being an underling from them, they

will shuck off newly gained freedom, as it were this January's torn Christmas wrappings. We seek to give our people freedom; but, as Benjamin Franklin warned, once the U.S.A. had been given the Federal Constitution which made it a true republic: "We have given you your freedom. Can you keep it?" Providing the needed quality of universal education then typified that issue.

My use of "underling" is not some form of mere rhetoric. There are precisely defined, scientifically definable differences between the person whose sense of personal identity is that of a human being, and another whose sense of identity is that of an underling.

#### Citizens and Their Leaders

The best people of any society, those who do not think of themselves as underlings, fall into two general classifications.

The greater number of such people do not merely accept the name of being "made in the image of the Creator"; they actually know it; not as mere phrase-mongering, but, rather, as a good professional actor might say, they actually "own" that idea. For that reason, they are not underlings, but truly free human beings. Sadly, among our people today, too few have had the combined opportunity and courage to rise to the condition of being free persons in their own minds; they have accepted those meager privileges which the ruling establishment allots to the serfs of popular opinion.

Thus, so far, among the good people, there is a much, much smaller ration of persons who are also actually true leaders; even a much smaller ration among our people than a generation or two ago. The distinction that makes the true leader, is a sense of immortal identity, as higher than their merely mortal one. This decadence is, chiefly, the effect of the shift from the sane form of society, a producer society, to what is called a consumer society. The effect of such a shift, is inevitably, as in ancient Rome, a spiral of moral decay.

The good citizens not only know that they, unlike the lower forms of life, are made in the image of the Creator; their attachment to their true, immortal identity is so powerful a motive, that they can not be easily corrupted by excessive attachment to the mortal concerns of personal family and community values. The Rev. Martin Luther King, speaking on the subject of the "mountaintop," showed himself thus as such a true leader. His like has not appeared as a leader on that same national stage since Martin's death, to the present day.

The task before us, a task on whose outcome the continued existence of our republic may depend absolutely, is the rapid recruitment of young people, and others, to

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Washington, D.C., 1967.

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emerge, soon, as true leaders. That is the purpose of this appeal on behalf of the cause of true freedom.

The effective citizen of a republic is to be found where great ancient and modern philosophers, such as Plato and Moses Mendelssohn, found him, in a person conscious of the essential immortality of the human soul. Indeed, for reasons I have given at length in relevant locations, no competent theology could exist without Plato's own development of that conception.

All the accomplishments of modern European civilization are chiefly derived from that conception of the specific nature of the sovereignty of the human individual personality. This is the indispensable, ecumenical conception of constitutional statecraft, which is only typified by the combination of the best which the Fifteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, and heirs of Alfonso Sabio, in particular, inherited from their combined Moorish, Jewish, and Christian culture.

The distinction of the human species from all lower forms of life, is that only the sovereign cognitive (creative) powers of the individual human mind, can discover and employ universal physical principles. It is the discovery and transmission of such discoveries over successive generations, which lifts the human species to those higher levels of power in and over the universe. This benefit

occurs, as it could occur only among human beings, through the transmission, through replication, of such individual acts of discovery, from preceding generations, to the present and future of society. Such discoveries of principle have a quality of impact upon human existence, which only genetic change to a higher species could mimic in the animal kingdom.

Thus we are bound together by those qualities of the human mind, through which discovery of universal physical principles is variously generated or regenerated in the mind of the individual member of society. We are therefore bound together by the means through which societies develop those qualities of relations among persons through which cooperation in employing these discoveries may occur.

Because we live within that kind of social process, we individual human beings are, at the same time, both mortal and immortal. To be a moral person is to locate one's self-interest in the relatively immortal outcome of one's living and having lived, rather than merely the relatively bestial obsession with mortal sensory pains and satisfactions from immediate personal, family, and community forms of mortal life as such.

It is that quality of moral outlook, on our debt to the possibilities and hopes of progressive development of

society, from the past and into the future alike, which defines the essential quality of a true citizen, rather than a mere underling. This concern for the progressive development of mankind, including commitment to realization of the frustrated just aspirations of those who have lived before us, constitutes the fundamental principle of moral law of all modern civilization, the principle of the primary obligation of government, to promote the general welfare, otherwise termed the "common good," of present and future generations.

Thus, the explicit, irrepressible conflict between the respective Preambles of the Federal and Confederate Constitutions, sharply defines, in the blood of a great Civil War, the superior authority and meaning of the Preamble of our Federal Constitution over all other interpretation of the proper law of our republic.

Those thus qualified to be considered as truly citizens of a republic, are thus assorted into two general subtypes: ordinary citizens, and leaders.

The ordinary citizen recognizes his or her obligation to behave as a citizen, to develop children into the quality of citizens of a republic, to participate in society as a citizen, and to make decisions bearing upon the adoption of the nation's policies of practice as a citizen's obligations require.

The true leader of a republic must satisfy a significantly higher standard of passion and performance than the bulk of the citizens. For him, or her, it is not sufficient to be a mortal person with a sense of immortality, but to be devoted wholly to an overriding passion of service to immortality as a cause in and of itself, as the Rev. Martin Luther King's "mountaintop" address typifies this quality of commitment, the model quality of commitment which the Christian associates with the Passion of Jesus Christ.

In such future time that mankind may have developed to the level of true mental as well as biological maturity, all adults would be qualified as leaders of society. Even in that case, we should still be obliged to choose leaders, but as leaders chosen from among leaders. Unfortunately, at present, we are far from even an approximation of that accomplishment. In our present state, the best we can achieve is the selection of leaders who serve as the conscience of those who need to be reminded of their responsibilities as citizens.

I, frankly, am disgusted by supposed leaders, who like typical demagogues, address the cupidity of their audiences with words to the effect, "I am just another low-down, dirty dog, like you. Therefore, you should vote for me!" or, words to the same effect, "I go along, to get along!" The evidence is, as you identify that bitter, nauseous aftertaste still lingering in your mouth right now: You have either voted for, or negligently tolerated, the

wrong choice of candidate, supported the wrong policy, selected the wrong education, the wrong entertainment, and other such things, most of the time, for most of the past thirty-odd years. Otherwise this nation, and its economy, could not be in the mess in which it finds itself today. You do not need a father figure. What you need is a "Dutch uncle"! You need leaders in the mold of the Rev. Martin Luther King.

You need to be reminded, that you are often thinking and acting like just another underling, even most of the time, and we all have the evidence now in hand to prove just that. For the most part, your chosen leaders were not qualified to be leaders, and most of our voters were not behaving as citizens. The mess coming down on you right now, is the price of nothing as much as your own foolishness, the insistence of most of you, on thinking and acting as underlings, rather than as citizens.

## Z. Truth as Freedom

The intelligent use of the term "human freedom," signifies a quality not found in the decision-making of lower forms of life. Freedom is the exercise of the mental power to overturn false ruling assumptions, and to generate hypotheses which, when verified experimentally, are in fact additions to our stock of knowledge of universal physical principles.

This notion of freedom is best expressed in terms of the science of physical economy, my specialty. Here, in this branch of science, freedom is expressed in the form of "free energy" of that system which is society. This means, that through cooperation in the use of a valid, discovered universal physical principle, mankind's power in and over the universe is increased, over and above what were feasible without the addition of such a principle.

In that case, "truth" and "freedom" are two ways of expressing the same idea.

By "universal physical principles," we signify any discovered principle, whether of what is usually signified as physical science, or scientifically provable principles of social cooperation, if the application of those principles produces a measurable, beneficial physical effect of a type which qualifies as universally valid. Thus, the principle of the general welfare, on which the modern sovereign nation-state republic is based, is a universal physical principle, since its application results in an implicitly measurable increase in the society's power in and over nature. Great Classical drama and poetry, reflect universal physical principles, because of the effect of the improved quality of cooperation they make available to a society.

The crucial point, for the science of physical economy, is that society's gain in "free energy," through the discovery and cooperative use of universal physical principles, is shown to be truthful in the sense that any valid experimental proof of a universal physical principle sets a standard for definition of the word "truth," as opposed to the alternative, "false."

Thus, the political term "freedom," strictly used, signifies nothing other than "truth." Opposition to truth so defined, is falsehood, rather than being characterized by the evasive term, "a difference of opinion." However!

Knowledge pertaining to matters of freedom exists, as knowledge, only as a product of the sovereign creativemental powers of the individual human mind. Such a discovery, if potentially valid, is called an hypothesis. Truth is expressed as crucial experimental proof of the validity of such hypotheses. Hence, this is the basis for defining the meaning of "personal freedom," including "political freedom."

The difficulty inhering is the fact that such freedom exists only in the form of an activity within the sovereign confines of an individual human mind's powers to discover validatable hypotheses. The difficulty is that the cognitive processes occurring in one person's mind can not be witnessed by means of the faculties of sense-perception of another. No principle could ever be discovered through an act of deduction. No principle could be demonstrated by "ivory tower" forms of mathematics at the blackboard, for example.

Principles are known only through the conjunction and agreement of hypothesizing and experiment. The act of discovery can be known by a second mind only through a combination of two means: first, replicating the experience of discovery of the relevant hypothesis, and, second, sharing the experimental validation of the hypothesis.

The notion of "freedom" thus enjoys the corollary significance of the individual's personal right to explore the domain of knowledge. For the same reason, it also signifies the moral and political right of the individual to access the store of existing human knowledge of matters pertaining to universal principles and their application.

For example, we make a corresponding distinction between persons who have merely learned what they have been taught, as a dog is taught to perform tricks, and those who have come to know the experience of discovering the relevant principle *de novo*. The proper primary goal of education, is not to prompt the pupil to learn, but to come to know.

Thus, a free society is one in which individuals are developed according to such views of freedom.

It is a society within which individuals are able to con-

tribute to correcting and otherwise enriching the stock of knowledge of society. It is a society in which relevant forms of cooperation are fostered, with the aim of promoting the common good. It is a form of society which is dedicated to increasing mankind's power, *per capita, per* square kilometer of the Earth's surface: man's power to exist in, and over the universe as a whole. Progress so defined, is the goal of society, and the means by which the work of one generation achieves immortality in the benefits of increased power transmitted to its successors.

Free deliberation in a true republic, is the interaction of such free individual minds to the purpose of joyfully promoting the achievements of freedom for the present and future of that society as a whole. It is this quality of commitment to progress which elevates a society above the level of the mere beasts, its commitment to a universal principle of human progress, so defined.

#### 'Free Trade' Buggered Progress

Physiocrat Quesnay and his followers echoed the gnostic Cathars in insisting that the increase of wealth taken as profit by the aristocratic landlord, was earned by that aristocrat through the magical agency of his title to that estate. The serf was, for Quesnay, nothing more than a form of cattle, who deserved no more than the care provided for herds of four-legged cattle. Non-interference with that profit was called the principle of *laissez-faire*, which Adam Smith adopted as "free trade."

The same magical principle borrowed from the "bugger" Elect, also provides the implicit basis for the empiricists Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Bernard Mandeville, and utilitarian Jeremy Bentham. Even in 1759, prior to his foraging among the fields of the French Enlightenment, Smith had expressed the same conception in his *The Theory of the Moral Sentiments;* it was a pervasive view among the empiricist followers of Paolo Sarpi, which Smith applied to political-economy after his study of the work of Quesnay, Turgot, *et al.* 

Such fellows were arguing, in effect, that there exist little green men under the floorboards of the universe. These curious, mythical miscreants are assigned the arbitrary power to change the outcome of the roll of the dice, to make some men rich, and others poor. Thus, what chances to please those supposed entities must be accepted as the rules of the game. Similarly, as Leibniz emphasized, God must intervene periodically into Newton's universe, to wind it up from time to time.

Such conceptions of a universe based upon either statistical cheating, or cheating statistics, are the characteristic feature of the British empiricist and congruent systems of thought about man and the universe in general.

Scene from Friedrich Schiller's "Don Carlos," Shakespeare Theatre, Washington, D.C., 2001.

The principle of the general welfare, on which the modern sovereign nation-state republic is based, is a universal physical principle, since its application results in an implicitly measurable increase in the society's



power in and over nature. Great Classical drama and poetry, reflect universal physical principles, because of the effect of the improved quality of cooperation they make available to a society.

In economics, this results in the substitution of the profits of trade for the profits of production. In such doctrines, man gains profit only by, either, stealing from nature, or stealing from other people. Like Newton's universal clock, the world is winding down; it is undergoing entropy.

In reality, in physical economy, true profit is earned by mankind, because mankind's discovery and cooperative use of universal physical principles have increased the total of the combined natural and other wealth of the universe, or, at least, the Earth, or at the very least, a local economy. In economic science, earned profit is a reflection of the fruit of anti-entropy. This latter sort of profit is the fruit of the creative powers of the individual human mind, the power to discover and to cooperate in use of experimentally valid universal physical principles, the fruit of implicitly endless scientific progress, in that sense.

In the science of physical economy, true economic cycles are the result of a combined process of entropy (attrition) and anti-entropy (scientific and related progress). An economy may enrich itself, temporarily, by depleting nature, or previously created man-made wealth: hence attrition, entropy. That economy secures a contrary, anti-entropic effect, through the realization of the benefits of investing in scientific progress.

The cycles so defined are, variously, short-term, medium-term, and long-term. The most important cycle to be considered in defining the horizon of present national economic policies, is between one and two generations, a quarter- to a half-century. This means, that a sane society is both protectionist, in Hamilton's, List's, and Carey's sense of the term, and is also dominated by long-range investments, such as those adopted in the so-called "indicative planning" of President Charles de Gaulle's Fifth Republic, or the long-range planning of Jean Monnet earlier.

This means, that a rational organization of a national economy assumes the form of a division of labor in government between public and private enterprise. The government assumes responsibility for that which pertains to the development of the economy as a whole, and government also defines conditions intended to encourage relevant categories of private entrepreneurship. The purpose of the latter, is, as Hamilton emphasized, to foster an abundance of the benefits which can be harvested only from the improvement of the creative activity of the individual human mind.

Thus, government should think a quarter- to a halfcentury ahead. The participation of the citizenry as a whole in that deliberation, should be the normal course of the business of government and of the people in their private capacities. To bring that about, we must develop our people as a citizenry, not underlings, and craft the functioning of our institutions, including our political parties, in accord with that general mission of endless progress. We must define our national agenda as, predominantly, a long-range agenda, and define it in the general terms I have indicated here.

#### War and Peace

At this time, our nation, and the world, are imperilled by a conception of a long, essentially global state of warfare. This is a notion of national and world affairs echoing the awful decadence of ancient Rome, and the notions implicit in Napoleon Bonaparte's imperial war-making, and in a world which had been ruled by the Romanlegions-like Nazi Waffen-SS. This is the utopian notion which has been associated most conspicuously with such Golems of Nashville Agrarian William Yandell Elliott as Henry A. Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Samuel P. Huntington. This is also the natural outcome of that empiricist misconception of society associated with Thomas Hobbes. If the present doctrine of "the long war" were to persist, the entirety of this planet would now soon be plunged into the worst dark age known to any history.

The idea of perpetually inevitable conflict, made notorious by the mathematics pupil, Hobbes, of empiricist Paolo Sarpi's lackey Galileo, is a natural product of the empiricist misconception of the nature of man and society. If and when we consider the matter differently, it should be evident that warfare is a temporary, not a permanent characteristic of planetary society. This is no utopian sort of optimism; the premises are scientific and solid.

The aims of a republic, as I have indicated some leading features of that here, are directly contrary to the idea of perpetual states of either ongoing, or imminent warfare among states. The only justified function of warfare in modern times, is to defend with the utmost efficiency the existence of the republic and communities of principle among republics, from the resurgence of those more brutish forms of government, such as the Roman Empire and feudalism, which preceded the emergence of the modern sovereign nation-state republic. The object of strategic policy, must be to secure the planet for a community of respectively sovereign nation-state republics.

In fact, the only great danger of major warfare on this planet today, comes from the influence of those utopians who have devoted much of the Twentieth century to bringing an anti-republican form of world government into supremacy over the planet as a whole. Those utopians are, presently, the only major threat to civilization, in part, or whole.

The way the present threat developed is most simply identified, by pointing to the principle of conflict central to Hobbes' doctrine. As I have pointed out here, the natural impulse of the republic, is the fostering of endless progress through cooperation in discovery and utilization of universal physical principles.

The existence of the perfectly sovereign nation-state form remains indispensable, for cultural reasons. If a people is to deliberate, it must deliberate in terms of the culture made efficiently available throughout the pores of society. "Efficiently available" is the operative term. Thus, the world of nations must cooperate in a decentralized way, to a globally centralized effect which might be aptly identified as "the common aims of mankind."

Today, the immediate task of nations, is digging our way out of the awful mess we ourselves have made of this planet, including digging out the relevant rubbish sitting as "popular opinion" in the minds of our people and the follies of our institutions.

The object of society, is to develop the relations among peoples and nations to the degree, that each matured adult has an active sense of participation in the building of the future of humanity as a whole, a world in which each nation proudly carries out its mission in the division of labor of the world as a whole.

If some force threatens such a peaceful, constructive order, that force must be efficiently repelled, but constructive peace among a community of sovereign nations, and avoidance of war, must become the basis for relations among states.

Since the U.S. republic has still the capability of assuming a unifying role, not easily replaced, of leadership among nations, the reform of our political-party system should be mustered around the effort to bring about those specific forms of economic cooperation to bring the world out of the mess the U.S. and its parties have contributed so much to creating during the recent thirty-five-odd years, in particular.

This does not mean utopian follies such as those associated with President Woodrow Wilson. It should signify the mustering of those changes needed to bring the world out of the condition represented by the presently ongoing terminal phase of economic collapse caused by the present monetary-financial system. The hotly contested steps toward returning to a "fair trade"-oriented producer society, from the follies of a "free trade"-oriented consumer society, now provide the pivot on which to mobilize the discussion of the broader issues immediately before us.

## Seduced from Victory

# How the 'Lost Corpse' Subverts the American



## Intellectual Tradition

by Stanley Ezrol

Men at sometime are masters of their fates. The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

—Cassius to Brutus, from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* 

Equestrian statue of Ku Klux Klan founder Nathan Bedford Forrest, Nashville, Tennessee. Forrest is the leading knight-errant in the fantasy life of today's "Lost Cause" revivalists.

A lengthier version of this article, from which the current material has been edited and excerpted, appeared in the Aug. 3, 2001 issue of Executive Intelligence Review (Vol. 28, No. 29). Writing at that time, the author began: "Most of us know, or at least suspect, with good reason, that the nearly stillborn Bush II administration's bungling, yet brutal, attempt at 'management' of the . . . strategic calamities of 2001, threatens to open this new century with even worse terror than that of the last, devastating, century of war." It is with a sense of the terrifying confirmation of this forecast of the consequences of the cultural malady highlighted here, that we again present this antidote. The author's full text contains a treatment of the history of the American Tory tradition, including the Eighteenth century's Jonathan Edwards, and the Nineteenth century's Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James.

he historical features of the last thirty-five years' "Southern Strategy," which imposed the Presidential "choice" between Al Gore and George W. Bush on the United States, are readily available, and yet it remains for us, in this report, to explain why we allowed matters to come to this state of affairs. We must discover how we must develop the immunity to any future such pestilence. Just as many millions of us have been eager to gobble down the deadly, but imperceptible E. coli bacteria provided, at no extra cost, with our fast-food hamburgers, we have accepted an organized array of opinions regarding political-economic policy, philosophy, and theology, which are what Vladimir I. Vernadsky would call the "natural products" of an evil intention, 2 an evil intention heretofore unknown to almost anyone, in its essential details.

This report will focus a microscope on a particular variety of what President Franklin Roosevelt identified as the "American Tory" infection, the avowedly "counter-revolutionary," Ku Klux Klan revivalist, pro-fascist, Confederate loyalists known as the Nashville Agrarians. You will discover the extent to which well-known institutions and shapers of culture have, in fact, been, or been trained by, totally open, public, stubborn partisans of bloody treachery

against the United States and its mission. These partisans number amongst the most celebrated cultural lights of Twentieth-century America: poets and novelists, including Robert Penn Warren and William Faulkner; historians, including Ken Burns and Shelby Foote; political leaders, including Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski; and educators, including Cleanth Brooks and John Crowe Ransom—all of whom have been promoted as ostensibly benign, almost boring, "thinkers."

Through the microsopic inspection which we conduct in these pages, we will point out the characteristic features of the oligarchical system of ideas which our nation was founded to destroy, and the peculiar variety of this infection which is our main enemy today. Our intention is, that once this class of disease has been identified, you will come to understand how it has poisoned not only much of what you think, but, more important, the way you think. This occurs, generally, through the mechanism of unconsciously accepted ideas about how the universe functions. These are mechanisms which control your opinion in spite of the popular delusion, that you must accept the opinions you swallow and repeat, because they, like your hamburgers, are made according to your habituated, acquired tastes.

## I. The American Republic

OUR REPUBLIC WAS FOUNDED out of the great conflict between two great principles. The first, the Renaissance idea of the nation-state<sup>3</sup> dedicated to the Common Good, or General Welfare. The second, the anti-Renaissance, medieval, or feudal idea of the empire composed of feuding warlords, in constant conflict over their property titles to land and to those serfs or slaves who work it, as well as to financial accounts.

The English colonization of America had been launched by friends and followers of the great ecumenical Tudor Renaissance leaders, Thomas More, William Shakespeare, William Gilbert, and Thomas Harriott, who sought

to preserve the idea of a nation from that Venetian-manip-

ulated religious sectarian warfare, which had dominated

Europe from 1511 on, and was to continue until the 1648

Out of that conflict, Benjamin Franklin, in direct collaboration with Göttingen University's Abraham Kästner, the scientific heir of Leibniz and progenitor of Carl Gauss, and with the circles of Moses Mendelssohn, Gotthold Lessing, and their allies amongst the champions of

basis for the bloody conflicts from 1848 to date.

Treaty of Westphalia. The immediate impulse for the establishment of an independent nation here, came from the 1688-1714 drive to expel the influence of our own intellectual forebear, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, from England, and to establish England as the British Empire enforcer, modelled on ancient Rome, for the world's capital of financier power, Venice. This plunged Europe and its American colonies into a new century of war, culminating in the unstable 1815 Congress of Vienna agreement between the British, Hapsburg, and Russian Empires, which has been the

 <sup>&</sup>quot;Southern Strategy: Assault on the American Republic," Executive Intelligence Review, Jan. 1, 2001 (Vol. 28, No. 1).

See Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., The Economics of the Noösphere (Washington, D.C.: EIR News Service, 2001).

See Helga Zepp LaRouche, "Nicolaus of Cusa, Towering Genius of the Renaissance," *Fidelio*, Summer 2001 (Vol. X, No. 2).

Leibniz's tradition throughout Europe, designed what became the United States, to be the cradle of the greatest advance in civilization in the history of humankind.

We start with the ideas that forced England's American colonies to separate forever from the London regime. The Earl of Shaftesbury's 1688, so-called "Glorious Revolution," which placed the Anglo-Dutch House of Orange on the English throne and launched the 25-year campaign to establish the British Empire, included a plan to eliminate the American colonies' status as self-governing commonwealths.<sup>4</sup> Shaftesbury's "idea man" in this assault, was his philosopher of law, John Locke, who you were probably taught was a mentor of our own Founders. But, he wasn't. He was one of the creators of the British disaster, culminating in the coronation of the first George I, that made our revolution necessary. Locke's theories of political economy were promoted, along with degenerate loon Sir Isaac Newton's mathematics, to replace the philosophy of our real forefather, G.W. Leibniz.<sup>5</sup>

By contrast with Leibniz's idea of "Happiness" in the joy of Creation, Locke's theory of government, expounded in his Two Treatises of Government, starts with the lie, that there once existed a predator-versus-predator "State of Nature" in which all men are servants and propertyslaves; and, that this is the work of God, "made to last during His, not one another's pleasure." In this state, Locke claimed, any man has the right to forcibly seize back property taken by another, or kill a murderer, "as a lion or tiger," or even a thief who seizes property by force. Anyone whom one has the right to kill, Locke reasons further—in accord with the logic of the Roman assassin, Cassius, portrayed in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar—one has the right to enslave, "For, whenever he finds the hardship of his slavery outweigh the value of his life, it is in his power, by resisting the will of his master to draw on himself the death he desires."

From the State of Nature, Locke derives his own "God,"—"Property," sometimes known as "shareholder value." "Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state

#### The 'Lost Cause'

A fter the Civil War, a movement of Romantic nostalgia for the "Lost Cause" of the Confederate States of America was launched. At the center of this mythology was the idea that the slave plantation system was run by a race of gallant knights, who were so honorable and chivalric, that to toil in bondage to them was actually more pleasant and natural, than to work for commercial agricultural and industrial enterprises, because the plantation owners cared more for their human property, than the capitalist exploiters did for their labor.

The myth was promoted through such books as Edward A. Pollard's *The lost cause: A new Southern history of the war of the Confederates,* published in 1867, and later President T. Woodrow Wilson's multi-volume *History of the American People,* published in 1902. Other contributions included Thomas Dixon's novel, *The Clansman,* on which Hollywood's first feature film, *The Birth of a Nation.* was based.

The Agrarians wrote a slew of histories and biographies in service of the Lost Cause. These include their Agrarian manifesto, *I'll Take My Stand*, as well as: Allen Tates's biographies of Confederate General Stonewall Jackson and President Jefferson Davis; Andrew Nelson Lytle's *Bedford Forrest and his Critter Company*, in homage to to the Tennessee General who served as the first Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan; and Robert Penn Warren's biography of John Brown, which made the point that the slaves never "worried their kinky heads" about freedom.

This Agrarian reverence for the Lost Cause did not end in the 1930's. As recently as 1981, Pulitzer Prize winner Robert Penn Warren wrote *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back*, in homage to the Confederate arch-traitor, on the occasion of his posthumous exoneration under President Jimmy Carter.

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that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property," he explained. Of course, John Locke never found anything in a State of Nature, and certainly never produced any "labour," but, if you asked him or his Yahoo followers, both then or nowadays, to give back anything they claimed as "Prop-

<sup>4.</sup> For a detailed treatment of this process, see H. Graham Lowry, *How the Nation Was Won: America's Untold Story, Volume I, 1630-1754* (Washington, D.C.: EIR News Service, 1988).

<sup>5.</sup> Although it has been argued that the founding of the United States involved a political movement without an associated cultural Renaissance, the United States was the cutting edge of the great Leibnizian revolutions in politics, music, mathematics, and physics of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. This story remains to be told in full, but see Philip Valenti and Anton Chaitkin, "The Anti-Newtonian Roots of the American Revolution," Executive Intelligence Review, Dec. 1, 1995 (Vol. 22, No. 48); and two articles in Fidelio, Summer 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 2): David Shavin, "Philosophical Vignettes from the Life of Moses Mendelssohn," and Steven P. Meyer, "Moses Mendelssohn and the Bach Tradition."

erty," you'd likely find one of these "wild savage beasts" Locke advises you to kill if it gets in your way, baring his fangs in front of you. As you will realize upon considering how things that might be claimed as "property" are actually produced, what the Lockeans really believe, is that anything they say is theirs, is; and that they can kill anyone they want to, to keep it.

Locke's fable was used to justify the hideous system of absolute property rights in African slaves, removed "out of the State that Nature hath provided" through forcible relocation at the cost of millions who died in the kidnapping raids, the horrid trans-Atlantic shipments, and the other aspects of this removal from the State of Nature. Under Shaftesbury's patronage, Locke helped produce a draft for the Carolina Constitution, which established this principle of "law," which has been the most pernicious internal enemy of this republic from that time until today.

Our Founding Fathers rejected Locke's government of, by, and for Property, when they struck the word "Property" from an early draft of the Declaration of Independence, and replaced it with Leibniz's "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Our own General Welfare principle, in opposition to Locke's, recognizes the right of all citizens to that which is necessary for the continued productive life of themselves and their progeny. Yet, like malaria, Locke's idea keeps coming back. It is his claimed right to human "Property" and the breaking of the alleged "compact" to defend it, which was the sole cause cited in South Carolina's 1860 Declaration of Secession; and hence, defending the slavery idea of human worthlessness, and the system of political economy that required it, was ostensibly the sole cause of the founding of the Confederate States of America and its Civil War against our republic. Those who today praise the Confederate defense of "states' rights," should ponder why it was that the one right denied the states by the Confederate Constitution, was the right to outlaw property in slaves.

Like his property theory of government, Locke's companion fraudulent theory of knowledge, expounded in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, was also an attack on Leibniz. Along with the whole genus of oligarchical philosophers, Locke denies that man can come to know universal physical principles. All man is capable of, he claims, are "simple ideas" derived only from "sensation and reflection." Locke claims that complex ideas are no more than the repetition, comparison, and conjunction of simple ideas, and that, "it is not in the power of the most exalted wit or enlarged understanding, by any quickness or variety of thought, to *invent* or *frame* one new simple idea in the mind." Locke denies the evi-

dence of all human history—that man actually expands his understanding of the *intentions* of the Creator and his creatures—he claims that man is totally incapable "to fashion in his understanding one simple idea, not received by his senses from external objects, or by reflection from the operations of his own mind about them."

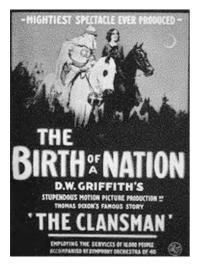
Locke then rejects the idea of man created in God's image, saying, "God has given us no innate ideas of himself; ... he has stamped no original characters on our minds," and divides the universe into two distinct types, "cogitative" beings, which are revealed to the senses, and "incogitative" beings. Thus, he rejects the obvious: That our "sense perceptions" are internal to our own minds, and may be triggered by "outside" processes, but are, at best, like Plato's shadows on the wall of a cave, partial and indirect evidence of those processes. In reality, man can verify his understanding of the "intentions" of the Creator, which are in no way revealed through the senses, only by demonstrating, through experiment, that he can make the universe obey his wishes. That capacity is the source of "happiness" which our nation was founded to un-Locke.

The Lockean oligarchical enemy persisted through the Revolution and the 1789 founding of our republic in various forms. These included the gnostic, fake-Christian cults of the "Great Awakening," the Boston-centered Transcendentalist movement of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the culture of slavery, which solidified in our South. The simmering, often bloody conflict against the American Intellectual Tradition, culminated in the 1861-1865 Civil War, in which Abraham Lincoln, the minority candidate of a minority party—a President who had to sneak into the capital for his inauguration, to avoid assassination—was able to inspire our nation to its great victory.

## The 'Lost Cause': The Dead That Walk and Talk

After the military defeat of the Confederacy, the battle-front shifted to financial and cultural warfare. The alliance among New England and New York financial interests and Southern drug-running and slave-trading interests, promoted a pro-Confederate counteroffensive, which has been more dangerous than the shooting war itself. The central feature of this counter-evolution was the creation of the Romantic legend of the "Lost Cause," as representing, not our deadly enemy, but the authentic "spirit" of the nation [SEE Box, page 17].

Within days of the close of the war, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. Despite this, the program of "internal improvements," notably railroad building and the development of the Agricultural and Mining Schools, launched

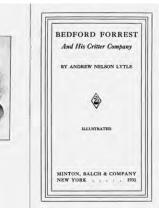




The 1915 feature film "The Birth of a Nation" was used by KKK enthusiast President Woodrow Wilson (above) to launch both the born-again Klan, and the Hollywood movie industry.

Nashville Agrarian Andrew Nelson Lytle's "Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company" spurred the "Lost Cause" revival.







Walter L. Fleming, Dean of Nashville's Vanderbilt University, produced this insider history of the Klan (left), writing a lengthy introduction. **Below:** Ku Klux Klan rally in Savannah, Georgia.



by Lincoln and his economic adviser, the world's greatest economist of that time, Henry C. Carey, continued. As a result, by the time of the famous 1876 Chicago World Exposition, the United States was clearly the dominant industrial, and economic force in the world, and had developed the base from which much of the world would be literally electrified in the course of the succeeding half-century.<sup>6</sup> In the same period, an American current of Classical musical composition, based on the "Negro" Spiritual, was fostered here, by the work of such artists as the Fisk Jubilee Singers, and the later help of Antonin Dvořák.<sup>7</sup>

The American Tory opposition to these developments was fierce. The events of the next thirty-six years, including the assassination of Republican President James Garfield in 1881, and ending with the assassination of Republican President William McKinley in 1901, delivered the White House to a pro-Confederate, Wall Street, British Empire fanatic, Theodore Roosevelt. This had its effect, much as has the recent period since the assassination of President Kennedy, through the Vietnam War, and the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Robert Kennedy, and other Civil Rights leaders. Then, two generations of war, and the assassination of three Presidents in thirty-six years, left many Americans vulnerable to the idea that not the hard, but joyful work of discovery, but rather, the raw, unthinking lust for wealth and power, was the surest means of progress.

Theodore Roosevelt's "Lost Cause" administration was, in fact, a coalescence of the shade of the Confederacy with the heirs of Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Transcenden-

See Anton Chaitkin, "The Lincoln Revolution," Fidelio, Spring 1998 (Vol. VII, No. 1); also, "Leibniz, Gauss Shaped America's Science Successes," Executive Intelligence Review, Feb. 9, 1996 (Vol. 23, No. 7).

<sup>7.</sup> See Dennis Speed, "The Classical War Against Multiculturalism: Brahms' Compositional Method," *Fidelio*, Winter 1993 (Vol. II, No. 4).

talist" school. Briefly, "Transcendentalism" attacked the scientific method of Leibniz, and Kästner's movement, including Franklin, Gauss, and Bernhard Riemann. They asserted that there was no method for discovering new scientific principles, but that new or changed ideas emanated from mysterious sources—including, quite literally, demons and intoxication, or, simply, "random action." In support of this insanity, they promoted Charles Darwin's "natural selection through survival of the fittest" hoax, as the alleged proof that there was no evidence of the principle of cognition in the design of the universe.

Emerson's two star protégés were the life-long friends, William James and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. James founded the Harvard Psychology Department, as a center for experimentation with mind-altering drugs, out of which he developed the theory of knowledge he called "pragmatism." One of his students was Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt nominated Holmes to the Supreme Court, from which position he did more than any other figure of the first half of the Twentieth century to undermine the authority of our Constitution and replace it with British "common law" notions.

Now, focus on the cultural aspects of this post-Civil War campaign for the "Lost Cause."

In Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866, Confederate Generals and Scottish Rite Freemasons Albert Pike and Nathan Bedford Forrest, along with other "Templars of Tennessee," founded the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan's founders and defenders describe it as a secret fraternal organization, modelled on ancient cult practices, intended simply as a way for idled former Confederate soldiers to amuse

themselves, which developed into a force of vigilantes, or "regulators," dedicated to terrorizing freed slaves who didn't know their place, and any whites who might defend them. Their costumes, symbols, ranks, and precepts, were an infantile mimicry of an ancient mystical warrior cult. This wonder of imbecility, with its Grand Dragons, Wizards, Giants, Cyclops, Magi, Monk, Exchequer, Turk, Scribe, Sentinel, Ensign, Centaurs, Yahoos, and Ghouls who organized themselves to lord it over the Realms and Dominions comprising the Invisible Empire, became a major terrorist force throughout the nation.<sup>8</sup> The incongruity between the Klan's own self-description and their bloody work, reminds one of Shakespeare's Hamlet's famous quip, "No, no, they do but jest, poison in jest; no offence i' the world."

Founder Albert Pike was the Sovereign Grand Commander, and intellectual—as well as gastronomical giant of the Scottish Rite order. He became the principal author of the Scottish Rite "Bible," Morals and Dogma,9 and is now honored with a bust and crypt in the nether regions of the order's Mother Temple in Washington, D.C., as well as a prominent statue provided for by an Act of the United States Congress, in the capital's Judiciary Square. Pike identified Masonry's roots in the same occult traditions (Rosicrucianism, Zoroastrianism, Theosophy) as New England Transcendalist Ralph Waldo Emerson's Swedenborgianism—the fundamental idea being, that there are no knowable ideas, only mysteries, which some people have been given the key to, and others haven't. God likes some, and doesn't like others, and that's all there is to it, and we know who we are, and we know who you are.

## II. The Nashville Agrarians and Twentieth-Century Romanticism

CLASSICAL CULTURE WAS SIMILARLY under attack in Europe in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. The Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the installation of Louis Napoleon at the head of the French Second Empire, typified the developments leading to the bloody "geopolitical" wars of the Twentieth century. The

German "God is Dead" school, epitomized by the mad philosopher of the irrational will, Friedrich Nietzsche, and the lust and rage-driven Mazzinian bomber Richard Wagner, was on the rise. In Britain, Emerson's friend John Ruskin and his pro-Venetian school spawned a movement in the arts, especially painting, known as the

<sup>8.</sup> J.C. Lester and D.L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment*, with Introduction and Notes by Walter L. Fleming (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1905).

<sup>9.</sup> Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite

of Freemasonry Prepared for the Supreme Council of the Thirty-Third Degree for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, and Published by Its Authority (Charleston, S.C.: 1871).

pre-Raphaelites, which explicitly called for a return to pre-Renaissance, feudal culture and political organization. Various cults and secret orders, claiming to be modelled on pagan mysticism, were formed, or re-invigorated, including Theosophy, Rosicrucianism, and Freemasonry's "Order of the Golden Dawn." Each of these was but a re-packaging of the idea of the especially privileged, whether called "Elect," "Adepts," "Ascended Masters," "Magi," or "Little Green Men." These cults became the inspiration for a dizzying assortment of schools of literature, music, dance, philosophy, and psychology. What "conspiracy theorists" see as secret plots and disguised intentions, is actually much more insidious. Much as occurred with the succeeding "counterculture" of the last third of the Twentieth century, the Euro-American "intellectual" elite was largely, and quite openly, mired in the extended social relations of this shifting pattern of cult associations. The essential features of "Little Green Men" irrationalism remained as the basis for the whole shebang, as individual alliances shifted between various of these "theological" cults and the new political "-isms"—socialism, communism, fascism, Nazism.

H.G. Wells, a protégé of Charles Darwin's boss, Thomas Henry Huxley, blended the ideas of "God"caused, "Nature"-caused, "Technology"-caused, and "Geopolitical"-caused doom, into a unified notion of ultimate "Godzilla" terror [SEE Box, page 32] for which the only solution was global tyranny. Wells' early political success in the United States was his control of the policies of the Klan cheerleader-made-President, Woodrow Wilson. 10 In fact, Huxley was the patriarch of a British-centered grouping, identified as the New Dark Ages Conspiracy, 11 which formed an Anglo-American alliance for doom with the Emerson Kindergarten and the Lost Cause aficionados here. Leading figures included Wells, Huxley's grandchildren, Julian and Aldous, whom Huxley hired Wells to train, and Lord Bertrand Russell, the latter the most infamous of the so-called Cambridge Apostles.

The quintessential product of this rancid stew was Aleister Crowley, known to his friends as "The Great Beast," a leader of Rosicrucian Freemasonry and darling of the "Quatuor Coronati" Masonic branch of British Intelligence, whose career encompassed five decades of

## Who Were the 'Nashville Agrarians'?

The overtly fascist, pro-Confederate, pro-slavery, pro-Ku Klux Klan "Nashville Agrarian" movement was founded and led by a small group of poets and literary critics grouped around *The Fugitive* magazine, who, when fascism became unfashionable, went on to found the literary movement, known as "The New Criticism," which has dominated American literary education since the 1930's. The idea of "The New Criticism" is, that the role of all art is to focus human thinking away from big ideas and toward those sensual concerns which humans share with the beasts.

The leading figures of this movement were:

- **Robert Penn Warren.** Three-time Pulitzer Prize winner; first "Poet Laureate of the United States"; Hollywood movies were made based on his novels *All the King's Men* and *A Band of Angels*.
- John Crowe Ransom. Long-time editor of *The Kenyon Review;* mentor of poets Robert Lowell and Randall Jarrell; poetry adviser to the Library of Congress.
- Allen Tate. Editor, *The Sewanee Review* and *Hound and Horn;* poetry adviser to the Library of Congress; U.S. representative to the C.I.A. proprietary organization, The Congress of Cultural Freedom.
- Cleanth Brooks. Founding co-editor of Louisiana State University's *Southern Review*; Cultural Attaché, United States Embassy, London.
- Andrew Nelson Lytle. Long-time editor of *The Sewanee Review*.

The entire American literary establishment is dominated by the "New Criticism." Close direct collaborators of the core "Fugitive" group included Nobel Prize-winning novelists William Faulker and Ernest Hemingway, as well as Ford Madox Ford, Thomas Wolfe, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, James Dickey, Ken Burns, Eudora Welty, Albert Erskine, Maxwell Perkins, Malcolm Cowley, W. H. Auden, William Butler Yeats, Archibald Macleish, Ezra Pound, and T. S. Eliot—i.e., the leading lights of Twentieth-century American "literature."

—SE

Stuart Rosenblatt, "Southern Strategy 1: Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party's Legacy of Shame," *New Federalist*, April 23, 2001 (Vol. XV, No. 9).

<sup>11.</sup> Carol White, *The New Dark Ages Conspiracy* (New York: New Benjamin Franklin House Publishing Co., 1980). Also see, Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "The Wells of Doom," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Dec. 19, 1997 (Vol. 24, No. 51).

activity in Britain, the European continent, and North America.

The fashionable pornographers of the "Gay Nineties" through the "Roaring Twenties"—such heroes of today's counterculture as D.H. Lawrence, H.G. Wells, Aldous Huxley, the Virginia novelist James Branch Cabell, and the leading promoter of Friedrich Nietzsche, H.L. Mencken—were all in Crowley's orbit. Beyond his immediate following, the chic Brits, and the American forerunners of the "Beat" and "Hippie" eras—who, much like Emerson, preferred the seedy nightlife of Paris and the Caribbean to their home towns in places like Missouri or Idaho-all knew Crowley or his cult. They all had friends who had visited Crowley's "Abbey of Thelema," to join in the "sex magic," the animal sacrifices and blood-drinking, and the opium and heroin use, which would, eventually, cost Crowley his respectability, but would build the legacy which his admirers among today's establishment entertainment figures, including Mick Jagger and Sir Paul McCartney, have emulated. This wider circle included such enshrined cultural icons as Ernest Hemingway; F. Scott Fitzgerald; Edmund Wilson of Princeton University and The New Republic; John Peale Bishop of Princeton (who went from being a Beat poet in the Twenties to war-time propagandist for Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs Nelson Rockefeller); William Butler Yeats's one-time house-boy Ezra Pound, who became a propagandist for Mussolini, but to this day remains a darling of both the supposedly patriotic neo-Conservatives as well as the doped-up counterculture; T.S. Eliot; Gertrude Stein; Sylvia Beach; and Isadora Duncan.

Out of this mess, arose the monstrosity which is at the core of this story, the Nashville Agrarians, the heirs of the Ku Klux Klan, who came to dominate the nation's politics, culture, and theology in the Twentieth century.

It started in 1915, the same year that Hollywood gave birth to evil twins: the modern movie industry and the born-again Ku Klux Klan. The second Klan was launched by Hollywood's first full-length feature motion picture, D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*. The film, now revered as a great "classic," features then-President Wilson's praise of the Klan in its opening frames. He promoted the film and the Klan by sponsoring showings at the White House, the Supreme Court, and for the assembled government and diplomatic grandees of our capital. That same year, in Nashville, Tennessee, a seemingly random group of Vanderbilt University students and

faculty began meetings and discussions on philosophy and poetry in the home of a Rosicrucian mystic of an allegedly Jewish Masonic family, Sidney Mttron Hirsch.

Vanderbilt itself had just gone through a tumultuous ten-year process of takeover by Wall Street money, in part coordinated by the involvement of then-President Theodore Roosevelt, Supreme Court Chief Justice William Fuller, and Britain's financial mogul in America, J. Pierpont Morgan. From then until now, Vanderbilt has been one of the leading recipients of Wall Street foundation money—Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, the works. The stated purpose of this seizure of Vanderbilt from its former Southern Methodist affiliation, was to turn it into the Southern center of John Deweyite, "Pragmatic"-style teacher training and culture generally.<sup>13</sup> Vanderbilt's histories do not explain why this "conversion" to New England-born Pragmatism should have included the appointment, in 1917, of Walter L. Fleming, one of the nation's leading KKK partisans, as Dean, but, perhaps, you're beginning to get the idea.

The Nashville-based core of the Hirsch circle was drawn from, and had the financial and other backing of, the leading families and business interests of Nashville, including the Cheek-Nichols family which owned Maxwell House Coffee. They were to found a literary magazine in 1922, called *The Fugitive*—hence the appellation "Fugitives"—and a political movement in 1930, the "Nashville Agrarians." The early meetings, at which Hirsch reclined on a chaise, propped up by feathery pillows, surrounded by his acolytes, perfected the circle as practitioners of Nietzschean or Rosicrucian "Little Green Men" occultism. This is how Fugitive Donald Davidson described the Hirsch salon:

[We] fell silent and became listeners when—as always happened—Sidney Hirsch picked out some words—most likely a proper name like Odysseus or Hamlet or Parsifal, or some common word like foot or fugitive—and then, turning from dictionary to dictionary in various languages, proceeded to unroll a chain of veiled meanings that could be understood only through the system of etymologies to which he had the key. This, he assured us, was the wisdom of the ages—a palimpsest underlying all great poetry, all great art, all religion, in all eras, in all lands. All true poets possessed this wisdom intuitively, he told us, solemnly, repeatedly. Furthermore he proved it later on, when we began to forsake philosophy for poetry, by pointing out that some image that had crept into our verses, no matter what we intended it to mean, revealed exactly the kind of mystic symbolism he had traced from the Ramayana to Homer to

<sup>12.</sup> Mark Calney, "D.W. Griffith's 'The Birth of a Nation,' Hollywood, and the KKK," *Executive Intelligence Review*, April 2, 1993 (Vol. 20, No. 13).

<sup>13.</sup> Stanley Ezrol, "Vanderbilt University and the Night Writers of the Ku Klux Klan," *New Federalist*, Oct. 7, 1996 (Vol. X, No. 39).

Sophocles to Dante to Shakespeare to William Blake.<sup>14</sup>

Most histories of the Fugitives/Agrarians tend to dismiss Hirsch's influence as unimportant, but his training and early leadership was the basis for everything the Fugitives and their disciples were to become. The Fugitives later developed Hirsch's "Little Green Men" method into the dominant school of English Literature, the so-called "New Criticism." It was Hirsch who, in 1922—after a seven-year association interrupted by the war—proposed and pushed through the idea of starting a poetry magazine, and named it The Fugitive. John Crowe Ransom, who went on to become the acknowledged founder of what might be better dubbed "The New Crittercism," and is otherwise called the leader of the group, introduced his 1930 work, God Without Thunder, with an adoring note to his mentor, "S.M.H.," and reports that Hirsch was the source of a proposal he made in the American Review, in 1933, to build a new capital city in the heartland of the country.

Forty years after the salon first met, the Rockefeller Foundation financed a "Fugitives Reunion," at Vanderbilt University. The presiding figure at this event was *The Fugitive*'s "Editor in Absentia," William Yandell Elliott, who as head of Harvard University's Government Department, would later launch the foreign policy careers of Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger, the mentors of two generations of Democratic and Republican policy "gurus," notably including our last Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, and her virtual foster sister, current National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice.

At the reunion, Elliott—who had been an intimate of London's literary elite, was then serving on Dwight Eisenhower's National Security Council, and had spent years, in conjunction with his favorite, Kissinger, hosting world leaders at Harvard's International Summer Seminars—said, "Sidney had this dominating, almost mesmeric habit of addressing people in the Socratic manner. . . . The insights that he had about the struggle of myths and systems, and the nature of the struggle of the people who became the epic exemplars, was superior in its political insight to any figure I've known."

Eyewitnesses report that in that period, Hirsch's home, which Elliott visited, featured occult artifacts, a life-size nude portrait of himself, and a human pelvis hanging from the ceiling, which Hirsch would caress as he engaged in conversation.

Although Hirsch's family were wealthy Nashville

merchants, Sidney led a Bohemian existence. After a career as a Navy boxer, he worked as a model for a sculptor named Chase, with whom he roamed the degenerate seas. He is said to have posed for August Rodin (who had a brush with Aleister Crowley) and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, and to have met William James' favorite student, Gertrude Stein, and Lorado Taft (a Chicago sculptor and art historian, with whom life-long homosexual Stark Young, of whom you'll learn more, had a flirtation as well). In 1913, with support from the Nashville Art Association and the Board of Trade, he produced *The Fire Regained*, a Dionysian pageant on the subject of "Lesbian Love"—complete with hundreds of sheep, doves, dancers in diaphanous costume, and the Governor's wife, Lucy McMillan, playing the goddess Athena.

Hirsch's "kids" became remarkably successful. Of the handful at the core of what we now know as the Fugitive/Agrarian group, John Crowe Ransom, William Yandell Elliott, Bill Frierson, Robert Penn Warren, and Cleanth Brooks became Rhodes Scholars; Andrew Nelson Lytle studied at Oxford; Stark Young was a lifelong intimate of top British cultural warrior Julian Huxley (whose primary foray into United States politics was as a founding faculty member of Rice University in Houston, Texas, under the patronage of Captain James Baker, grandfather of George W. Bush's lead attorney, the third of that line), and a leader of British spymaster H.G. Wells' *New Republic* group.

Allen Tate became an intimate of the above-mentioned Crowleyite literati, in Greenwich Village, Paris, and other Bohemian outposts, who were patronized by the British establishment, and of Gertrude Stein. In the Twenties, Tate frequently published in Wells' *New Republic, The Nation, Saturday Review of Literature,* and the literary pages of many other journals. In the Thirties, he served as editor of the horsey *Hound and Horn*.

The story behind the British promotion of the Fugitives, however, originated prior to their meeting with Hirsch, and, really, prior to their births. The Nashvillecentered core of the group, and their out-of-town cousins, were part of a leading clique composed of the second- and third-generation descendants of the "Tennessee Templars" who had founded the Ku Klux Klan. Ransom was the great-nephew of James R. Crowe, a leader of Scottish Rite Freemasonry in Tennessee, and one of the inner circle of Masons, with Albert Pike and Nathan Bedford Forrest, who had founded the Klan. Crowe was cited by author Walter Fleming as a key source for his "insider" history of the KKK. Ransom's mother, Ella, had fond memories of evenings spent by the fireside with the other Crowe women, sewing sheets together for Klan rallies. Stark Young's father and

Thomas Daniel Young, Gentleman in a Dustcoat: A Biography of John Crowe Ransom (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), p. 92.

Cleanth Brooks' grandfather fought in Bedford Forrest's "Critter Company" during the Civil War. William Yandell Elliott's grandfather was an ostensibly anti-slavery Republican, who reportedly provoked an incident after the Civil War, resulting in the deaths of eight freedmen. He, nonetheless, belonged to the same Masonic Lodge in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, as James D. Richardson, who, as a Congressman in 1898, caused Federal land in the nation's capital to be set aside for the monument to Klan founder Pike. Young, Lytle, Frank Lawrence Owsley, Ransom, and Elliott all claimed connections to the McGehee family—one of the wealthiest and largest slave-holding families in the South, which claimed descent from the British Stuart royalty. Robert Penn Warren's connection was less royal: his father worked as a clerk for the McGehee retail chain in Kentucky.

Thus, to summarize, the Fugitives were, by family and social connections, Anglophile, pro-Confederate, "White Sheet" babies, who were given an intensive indoctrination in "Little Green Men" theology by Sidney Hirsch. Apart from the support given his efforts by Nashville's leading commercial, cultural, and political institutions, Hirsch himself appears to have been the village loon.

The Fugitive journal was launched in 1922, sandwiched in time between the installation of Mussolini's Fascist government in Italy, and Adolf Hitler's rise to prominence in the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923. The electorate had replaced the Klan's Woodrow Wilson with a pro-industrial Republican, Warren G. Harding. Under Harding's leadership, the Anglophile Klan revival which had led the U.S.A. into World War I was threatened with being side-lined. At the time, William Yandell Elliott and Bill Frierson were at Oxford doing their Rhodes Scholarship studies. Elliott was listed on The Fugitive masthead as "Editor in Absentia." He, in fact, promoted the Nashville Fugitives, arranged publication deals, and so on, amongst the British literary elite. At Oxford, he worked through a late-night drinking and discussion circle including the mystic poet and estranged Lodge brother of Aleister Crowley, William Butler Yeats, and long-time Fugitive intimate, Robert Graves. Graves is known today for his adoring history of the Roman Empire, I Claudius, and his promotion of the cult of the White Goddess. Thus, the Fugitives became leading figures in the "modernist" literary establishment of the Twenties, with a definite aroma of what we would recognize today as "Bohemian," "Beat," "counterculture," and definitely "weird."

They were to become something different, however. In 1923, President Harding died mysteriously from food poisoning. He was the fourth President to die suddenly in office in sixty years. The other three had been gunned down by assassins. He was succeeded by Wall Street's Calvin Coolidge, whose policies were to create what we know, unjustly, as the "Hoover Depression." The change in the Fugitives was prompted when, as some viewed this matter, Satan decided to promote what he advertised as a fight between Jesus and Science, in Dayton, Tennesseethe celebrated "Scopes Monkey Trial." It was planned in Richmond, Virginia, in 1925, in the home of occultist, pornographic novelist James Branch Cabell, at a meeting between his friend, the Baltimore curmudgeon journalist H.L. Mencken, known as the leading popularizer in the United States of Nietzsche, and the Nietzschean atheist attorney, Clarence Darrow. A fourth, unseen, presence in the room would have been the mutual friend and collaborator of Cabell and Mencken, "The Great Beast," Aleister Crowley himself. Crowley and Mencken had collaborated in spreading "pro-German" propaganda in the United States prior to America joining the British side in World War I. (Whether their propaganda, painting the Germans as the Nietzschean super-race about to crush the American weaklings, helped turn the tide for Britain or Germany, is not the subject of our story here.) Mencken had introduced Crowley to Cabell, who, in his medieval "Sorcerers and Dragons"-type sex fantasy novels, expressed ideas he shared with Crowley through the mouth of his fictional hero, Juergen, who often repeated the following slogans:

Do that which pleases you. For all men that live have but a little while to live and none knows his fate thereafter. So that a man possesses nothing certainly save a brief loan of his body: and yet the body of man is capable of much curious pleasure.

and,

I'll drink anything once.

To this day, Crowley's followers use excerpts of Cabell's novels as scripts for their black-magic rituals. Cabell was, himself, an heir of one of the most respected Freemasonic families of the "Old South." His family relations include the notorious "Randolphs of Roanoke," whose most notorious figure—the drug-addicted John Randolph—is, today, a hero of the Buckleyite conservative movement; as well as Air Force General and Deputy Director of the C.I.A., George Cabell, and the recent Kissingerian intelligence agents and diplomats, David and Evangeline Bruce. The Bruces, of course, like the McGehees and MacGregors, trace their lineage to Robert the Bruce—the forebear of the Stuart line of Scottish and English royalty. Thus Cabell, himself a "Green Men" occultist, was a cousin to his sometime collaborators and sometime competitors amongst the Fugitives.



The Fire Regained Sidney M. Hirsch

Rosicrucian mystic Sidney Mttron Hirsch organized the Nashville study group that founded "The Fugitive" literary magazine in 1922. It became the Nashville Agrarian political movement in the 1930's.



Satanist Aleister Crowley promoted drug use and "sex magic." A favorite of British Intelligence's Quatuor Coronati Freemasonic Lodge, he intersected all the period's counterculture movements.



Novelist Gertrude Stein, dovenne of the Paris avant garde, was the protégé of Harvard psychologist William James, and James' "Varieties of Religious Experience."



Bohemian poet Ezra Pound worked for Mussolini during

World War II. Later, he directed a KKK cell while incarcerated in a Federal mental institution.





Trial" was planned by novelist James Branch Cabell (right), with Nietzsche-popularizer H.L. Mencken (above).



What Cabell, Mencken, Darrow, and the unseen Crowley agreed to, was to launch a court fight, to be argued by Darrow and publicized by Mencken, against the Tennessee laws banning the teaching of Darwinism. This was to become the "Scopes Monkey Trial," in which the Satanists of medievalist Cabell's Richmond parlor, undertook to represent the forces of Huxley's Darwinism, which they called "modern science," against the Biblethumping "Christians" represented by former Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson, William Jennings Bryan. By doing this, they turned the hermetic division between science and morality championed by empiricist philsophers Locke, David Hume, and Immanuel Kant, into a popular fighting issue. To the extent you, or anyone you meet today, believes that religion, morality, and aesthetics are matters of irrational taste, while science comes only from cold experience, Cabell's plot, planned in Richmond and executed in Dayton, deserves at least some of the thanks.

The Fugitives were offended by the treatment given the South by Mencken and others in and around this trial. They were particularly upset at Mencken's essay about the South, "The Sahara of the Bozart," in which he alleged that Southern whites were genetically inferior to the "mulattoes," because, he argued, the whites were largely Celtic, whereas the "mulattoes," were enriched with the Norman (out of which came the Venetian-allied English Plantagenet Kings) genes of the plantation owners. There followed several years of feverish correspondence amongst the Fugitives and their friends, out of which arose a project to re-launch Confederate culture. It seems that Mencken's prodding of the White Sheet baby poets had about the same effect as his war-time "defense" of Germany.

### Night Writers of the KKK: I'll Take My Stand

The result of the Fugitives' fevered response was a series of hotly promoted books and articles published by 1931. These included biographies of Confederate President Jefferson Davis and General Stonewall Jackson by Allen

Tate; Andrew Nelson Lytle's fawning biography of the Klan's First Imperial Wizard: Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company; and John Crowe Ransom's call for a Godzilla theology takeover of all existing religions in God Without Thunder. The flagship of the Night Writers' fleet was I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition, by Twelve Southerners. 15 This literary assault, published, debated and promoted in the period of descent into economic depression following the 1929 stock market crash, and leading into the installation of the Hitler Nazi regime in Germany and the initiation of last century's second global war, was the articulation of the main outlines of what was to later triumph as the Gingrichite Conservative Revolution of the 1980's, culminating in the year 2000 election of George W. Bush.

As you will see, this involved the open takeover of American culture by the Godzilla theology of Rome and kindred Empire cultures, clothed as good ole' Southern Americanism. You may be shocked, or amused, to learn that this Southern tribe are the "kissin' cousins" of the ecology freak counterculture, which organized the Gorey mess in the Democratic Party to lose to Bush.

Allen Tate coordinated the production of I'll Take My Stand from Paris, financed by a Guggenheim fellowship arranged by a curious individual then known as Ford Madox Ford, in whose apartment he stayed while working on his biography of Stonewall Jackson, which he subtitled, "The Good Soldier" after one of Ford's novels. Thursday afternoons, he called at the salon of William James' favorite student, Gertrude Stein, and her "wife," the hashish-baking Alice B. Toklas. Although Stein and Toklas became heroes to the Beat and hippie generations, they were no liberated couple. According to Tate, Stein would sit in the front room with the men, including such dissolute expatriates as Ernest Hemingway, John Peale Bishop, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, to discuss matters literary and philosophic, while Toklas served the ladies her famous hashish-laced brownies in the rear. With this provenance, it should be no surprise that I'll Take My Stand was dedicated to the Ku Klux Klan's authorized historian, Walter L. Fleming.

To understand the Agrarian variety of American Tory treason:

1. First read from the joint statement of the *I'll Take My Stand* twelve, drafted by White Sheet baby John Crowe Ransom, which, but for the word, "Southern"

and, perhaps, one or two others, could be from any "environmentalist" tract of the 1970's or later. Note the "Little Green Men" rejection of the idea that man has "power over nature," which Ransom claims is "something mysterious," and the strange idea that, as long as they have some slave to do it for them, "labor" is good in itself, and, therefore, the less efficient the better:

All tend to support a Southern way of life against what may be called the American or prevailing way . . . Agrarian *versus* Industrial.

The capitalization of the applied sciences has now become extravagant and uncritical; it has enslaved our human energies to a degree now clearly felt to be burdensome.

The philosophy of applied science is generally quite sure that the saving of labor is a pure gain. . . . This is to assume that labor is an evil, that only the end of labor or the material product is a good.

The true Sovietists or Communists ... are the Industrialists themselves. They would have the government set up an economic super-organization, which in turn would become the government. We therefore look upon the Communist menace as a menace indeed, but not as a Red one; because it is simply according to the blind drift of our industrial development to expect in America at last much the same economic system as that imposed by violence upon Russia in 1917.

We receive the illusion of having power over nature, and lose the sense of nature as something mysterious and contingent.

It is strange, of course, that a majority of men anywhere could ever as with one mind become enamored of industrialism: a system that has so little regard for individual wants. There is evidently a kind of thinking that rejoices in setting up a social objective which has no relation to the individual. Men are prepared to sacrifice their private dignity and happiness to an abstract social ideal, and without asking whether the social ideal produces the welfare of any individual man whatsoever. But this is absurd. The responsibility of men is for their own welfare and that of their neighbors; not for the hypothetical welfare of some fabulous creature called society. <sup>16</sup>

2. Among the individual essays which follow, John Crowe Ransom's "Reconstructed But Unregenerate," elaborates further the connection between "environmentalism" and the oligarchy's "Little Green Men" cult. Note the slavish admiration for England, and the appeal to intellectual sloth which abhors the "infinite series" of progress in favor of the mind-dead siren call of "tradition." To this dopey, lazy brain, even slavery is preferable

<sup>15</sup> I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition, by Twelve Southerners (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930).

to an American-style life of creativity:

The nearest of the European cultures which we could examine is that of England; and this is of course the right one in the case. . . . England was actually the model employed by the South. . . . And there is in the South even today an Anglophile sentiment quite anomalous in the American scene.

England differs from America doubtless in several respects, but most notably in the fact that England did her pioneering an indefinite number of centuries ago, did it well enough, and has been living pretty tranquilly on her establishment ever since. ... Their descendants have had the good sense to consider that this establishment was good enough for them. They have elected to live ... in accordance with the tradition which they inherited, and they have consequently enjoyed a leisure, a security, and an intellectual freedom that were never the portion of pioneers.

In most societies man has adapted himself to environment with plenty of intelligence to secure easily his material necessities from the graceful bounty of nature. And then, ordinarily, he concludes a truce with nature . . . . But the latter-day societies have been seized—none quite so violently as our American one—with the strange idea that the human destiny is not to secure an honorable peace with nature, but to wage an unrelenting war on nature.

This is simply to say that Progress never defines its ultimate objective, but thrusts its victims at once into an infinite series. Our vast industrial machine . . . is like a Prussianized state which is organized strictly for war and can never consent to peace.<sup>17</sup>

Then, Ransom pronounces his "feed the people to the lions" opposition to loving God's "other children":

Along with the gospel of Progress goes the gospel of Service. . . .

The feminine form is likewise hallowed among us under the name of Service . . . service means the function of Eve, it means the seducing of laggard men into fresh struggles with nature . . . it busies itself with the heathen Chinese, with the Roman Catholic Mexican, with the "lower" classes in our own society. Its motive is missionary. Its watchwords are such as Protestantism, Individualism, Democracy, and the point of its appeal is a discontent, generally labeled "divine."

Slavery was a feature monstrous enough in theory, but, more often than not, humane in practice; Industrialism is an insidious spirit, full of false promises and generally fatal to establishments. The attitude that needs artificial respiration is the attitude of resistance on the part of the natives to the salesmen of industrialism. It will be fiercest and most effective if industrialism is represented to the Southern peo-

ple as—what it undoubtedly is for the most part—a foreign invasion of Southern soil, which is capable of doing more devastation than was wrought when Sherman marched to the sea. <sup>18</sup>

3. "The Irrepressible Conflict" by Frank Lawrence Owsley—who, in effect, succeeded Fleming in Vanderbilt's chair of Lynchin' and Cross Burnin'—is a bloody assault against the freed slaves, but what's worse is his open recognition of his heritage, from Rome to Locke, which leads to the sentiment that it's better to be a lump of manure rotting on "the soil," than to have to think. He starts with a justification for the Klan's terrorism after the Civil War:

There was no generosity. For ten years the South, already ruined by the loss of nearly \$2,000,000,000 invested in slaves, with its lands worthless, its cattle and stock gone, its houses burned, was turned over to the three millions of former slaves, some of whom could still remember the taste of human flesh and the bulk of them hardly three generations from cannibalism. These half-savage blacks were armed. Their passions were roused against their former masters by savage political leaders like Thaddeus Stevens, who advocated the confiscation of all Southern lands for the benefit of the negroes, and the extermination, if need be, of the Southern white population; and like Charles Sumner, whose chief regret had been that his skin was not black.

Not only were the blacks armed; they were upheld and incited by garrisons of Northern soldiers, by Freedman's Bureau officials, and by Northern ministers of the gospel, and at length they were given the ballot while their former masters were disarmed and, to a large extent, disfranchised [sic]. For ten years ex-slaves, led by carpetbaggers and scalawags, continued the pillages of war, combing the South for anything left by the invading armies, levying taxes, selling empires of plantations under the auction hammer, dragooning the Southern population, and visiting upon them the ultimate humiliations. ... The rising generations read Northern literature . . . Northern textbooks were used in Southern schools; Northern histories, despite the frantic protests of local patriotic organizations, were almost universally taught . . . , books that were built around the Northern legend. 19

The real cause of conflict, Owlsey explains, was that

the North was commercial and industrial, and the South was agrarian. ... All else, good and bad, revolved around this ideal—the old and accepted manner of life for which Egypt, Greece, Rome, England, and France had stood. His-

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid.

tory and literature, profane and sacred, twined their tendrils about the cottage and the villa, not the factory. Each word, name, sound, had grown from the soil and had behind it sweet memory, stirring adventure, and ofttimes stark tragedy. ...

[I]t was the Romans of the early republic, before land speculators and corn laws had driven men from the soil to the city slums, who appealed most powerfully to the South. These Romans were brave, sometimes crude, but open and without guile—unlike the Greeks. They reeked of the soil, of the plow and the spade; they had wrestled with virgin soil and forests. . . . The industrial North demanded a high tariff . . . . It was an exploitative principle, originated at the expense of the South and for the benefit of the North. ... The industrial North demanded internal improvements—roads, railroads, canals—at national expense to furnish the transportation for its goods to Southern and Western markets. ... The South objected to internal improvements at national expense because it had less need of transportation. ... The North favored a government-controlled bank. ...

Slavery had been practically forced upon the country by England—over the protest of colonial assemblies. . . . However, when the Revolution came and the Southern colonies gained their independence, they did not free the negroes. . . . Negroes had come into the Southern Colonies in such numbers that people feared for the integrity of the white race. For the negroes were cannibals and barbarians, and therefore dangerous. No white man who had any contact with slavery was willing to free the slaves and allow them to dwell among the whites. Slaves were a peril, at least a risk, but free blacks were considered a menace too great to be hazarded. . . .

These [economic and social rights] were not the only interests which the state-rights doctrine was expected to protect from an overbearing and unsympathetic national government. Perhaps the greatest vested interest was "personal liberty," the old Anglo-Saxon principles expressed in the Magna Carta, bill of rights, *habeas corpus* act, supported in the American Revolution, and engrafted finally in every state constitution. . . . Jefferson had called the "inalienable rights of man" and Locke and Rousseau had called the "natural rights"—right of life, liberty, property. <sup>20</sup>

Since the Confederate Constitution unequivocally supported the right to slave ownership, and granted its states no rights to overrule that "personal liberty," Owsley, and all supporters of the Confederate model of "states rights" and "personal liberty," place themselves in the peculiar position of asserting that "liberty" requires the right to slave ownership. Unfortunately, this is not a dead idea. *Southern Partisan* magazine, the well-respected organ of Buckleyite Conservativism, whose pages

have been graced with adoring interviews by notables including Attorney General John Ashcroft, former Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, Senator Jesse Helms, Senator John East, Senator Phil Gramm, and former Virginia Republican Party Chairman Patrick McSweeney, re-published this genocidal essay in 1991 as part of its sixtieth anniversary homage to *I'll Take My Stand*.

Two of the essays in *I'll Take My Stand* directly attacked universal public education, saying that there was no point in providing real education for anyone but a small elite, and certainly not for Negroes.

4. John Gould Fletcher of Arkansas, who claimed that growing up in the former home of Albert Pike inspired him to his career as an imagist poet, a British Fabian Socialist, and an ardent booster of Benito Mussolini, <sup>21</sup> and who later founded the Arkansas Folklore Society and drowned himself, presented his case against universal education, and in favor of the Southern, "Private Academy" system, which is the idea behind today's "school vouchers" movement, and many of our "home schoolers":

[W]hat is the good of sending an unspoiled country boy or girl to a city high school and still later to a college, if after some seven years' sophisticated flirting with knowledge he or she has to return and unwillingly take up ploughing and washing dishes again?...

[A] considerable proportion of our population are negroes. Although there is no doubt that the negro could, if he wished, pass easily through the high school and college mill (such a task does not require any profound knowledge . . .), yet under the present social and economic conditions under which he has to live it is simply a waste of money and effort to send him there. . . .

The inferior, whether in life or in education, should exist only for the sake of the superior. ... We can pick out the most promising and enterprising pupils who appear in our high schools annually and set them apart, as actual students taught by real teachers, to form an intellectual *elite*. ... We

<sup>21.</sup> After he wrote in support of Mussolini in *The Freeman*, the *New York Times* invited Fletcher to do a feature in praise of the dictator. The result was, "The Downfall of Civilization: Mechanical Industrialism and the Progressive Enslavement of Men's Souls," by John Gould Fletcher, *The New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 13, 1924, p. 6. After what today would be recognized as a radical ecologist rant, he wrote, "And we must also in an attempt to build life and living culture up from the foundation of the working class, realise that at each step it is the money power and the mechanical power that we have to fight.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Certain attempts are being made in this direction—perhaps most notably in Italy—but... the modern form of Caesarism... is but the first step in freeing the human spirit from the hydra-tentacles of mechanical barbarism."

can also support ... such institutions for training the negro as Tuskegee and the Hampton Institute, which are adapted to the capacity of that race and produce far healthier and happpier specimens of it than all the institutions for "higher learning" that we can give them.<sup>22</sup>

5. Robert Penn Warren, who was to become the most famous and "successful" of the Night Writers—first Poet Laureate of the United States, winner of three Pulitzer Prizes, author of two Hollywood movies, co-author of the ubiquitous college textbook *Understanding Poetry*, and so forth—wrote "The Briar Patch," which despite attacking equal education for "the negro," was controversial amongst the Agrarians, for being a bit more genteel than Cousin Owsley's attack on the supposed cannibals:

[After Reconstruction], [t]he negro was as little equipped to establish himself, as he would have been to live again, with spear and breech-clout, in the Sudan or Bantu country. The necessities of life had always found their way to his back or skillet without the least thought on his part. ... He did not know how to make a living. ... Always in the past he had been told when to work and what to do.

For what is the negro to be educated?

Booker T. Washington realized the immediate need of his race; he realized that the masses of negroes ... had to live by the production of their hands, and that little was to be gained by only attempting to create a small group of intellectual aristocrats in the race.

In the past the Southern negro has always been a creature of the small town and farm. That is where he still chiefly belongs, by temperament and capacity. . . .  $^{23}$ 

6. Allen Tate's "Remarks on the Southern Religion" reflect his agreement with Ransom's attacks on Christianity, and, something which is often the subject of his letters to friends: his plain old preference for stupidity over "intellectual agility," like the fellow with the "Stars and Bars" on his pick-up, or the teenie-bopper at the mall, who, in the words of the old Tareyton ad, would rather fight than change their minds. Some years later, he, like his friend, the Missouri-born defector to Britain, T.S. Eliot, became a pro-feudalist Anglo-Catholic:

[S]ince the Christian myth is a vegetation rite, varying only in some details from countless other vegetation myths, there is no reason to prefer Christ to Adonis. [T]he old South ... was a feudal society without a feudal religion.

The South could remain simple-minded because it had no use for the intellectual agility required to define its position. Its position was self-sufficient and self-evident; it was European where the New England position was self-conscious and colonial. The Southern mind was simple, not top-heavy with learning it had no need of. . . .

We are very near an answer to our question—How may the Southerner take hold of his Tradition? The answer is, by violence. For this answer is inevitable. He cannot fall back upon his religion. ... Reaction is the most radical of programs; it aims at cutting away the overgrowth and getting back to the roots.<sup>24</sup>

7. Andrew Nelson Lytle, who went on to be the long-term editor of the *Sewanee Review*—one of the nation's leading literary magazines, published by the Episcopal Church's flagship Southern university, the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee—as well as a founder of the traditionalist Anglican Society for the Book of Common Prayer, contributed "The Hind Tit," where he, like Cousin Owsley, says he'd really just rather be a stinkin' goat than a "progressive farmer":

Since 1865 an agrarian Union has been changed into an industrial empire bent on conquest of the earth's goods and ports to sell them in. This means warfare, a struggle over markets, leading, in the end, to actual military conflict between nations . . . men, run mad by their inventions, supplanting themselves with inanimate objects. . . .

[T]he Republican government and the Russian Soviet Council pursue identical policies toward the farmer . . . Russian Soviet is the more admirable. It frankly proposes to make of its farmers a race of helots. . . .

... [P]rophets do not come from cities. ... They have always come from the wilderness, stinking of goats and running with lice. ... The progressive-farmer ideal is a contradiction in terms. A stalk of cotton grows. It does not progress ... as soon as a farmer begins to keep books, he'll go broke shore as hell.

Industrialism gives an electric refrigerator, bottled milk, and dairy butter. Industrialism saves time, but what is to be done with this time? The milkmaid can't go to the movies. . . . In the moderate circumstances of this family . . . she will be exiled to the town to clerk all day. If the income of the family can afford it, she remains idle, and therefore miserable. . . . It is true that labor-evicting machines will give a greater crop yield. . . . It means overproduction and its twin, price deflation. It [the South, I suppose—SE] is our own, and if we have to spit in the water-bucket to keep it our own, we had better do it. 25

<sup>22.</sup> I'll Take My Stand, op. cit.

<sup>23.</sup> *Ibid.* There has been a debate, carried out in good faith, regarding Booker T. Washington's educational policies. Regardless of Washington's actual intentions, which appear to have been just, it is clear that the Agrarians wished to use his name and reputation to promote their own views on education.

<sup>24.</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid.

8. The manifesto's conclusion was by the bestknown Agrarian at the time, the homosexual drama critic Stark Young. He was also the Agrarian most closely allied with the Wells-Huxley-Lord Bertrand Russell, "New Dark Ages" crowd. He had been a special friend of Julian Huxley, since 1912, and was to remain so until Huxley's death. He made it clear in his letters that he was similarly devoted to Huxley's brother, Aldous, the mescaline and LSD fiend, who was, he wrote, "closer far in sentiment to Julian than anybody knows." As such, Young was involved in the circles including Colonel Edward House and Sidney Mezes, who ran Woodrow Wilson's policies during World War I and at the Versailles peace negotiations. Huxley had been brought to Houston, Texas before the war by House's friend, Captain James Baker, grandfather of George W. Bush's lawyer, The Third, to found Rice University. Young was a leading figure in the Wells circle operations in the postwar United States, including The New Republic and the New School for Social Research. He was particularly close to the Communist Party financier, Dororthy Elmhirst Straight, who also paid to bring many Frankfurt School and related academics to the United States, under New School and other auspices. In "Not in Memoriam, but in Defense," in case anyone doubted that when Cousins Lytle, Owsley, and Ransom talked about the intrinsic appeal of labor, they meant watching, not doing, he acknowledged that the aristocratic slave system was the stuff the Agrarians' dreams were made of:

There was a Southern civilization whose course was halted with those conventions of 1867 by which the negro suffrage in the South—not in the North—was planned, and the pillaging began. At the outset we must make it clear that in talking of Southern characteristics we are talking largely of a certain life in the old South, a life founded on land and the ownership of slaves.

The aristocratic implied with us a certain long responsibility for others; a habit of domination; a certain arbitrariness; certain ideas of personal honor, with varying degrees of ethics, *amoure propre*, and the fantastic. And it implied the possession of no little leisure. Whether that was a good system or not is debatable. I myself think it . . . better than a society of bankers and bankers' clerks, department-store communities, manufacturers and their henchmen and their semi-slaves, and miserable little middle-class cities. . . . Good system or not, from this Southern conception of aristocracy certain ideas arose, about which this book to a fair extent, has been written.<sup>26</sup>

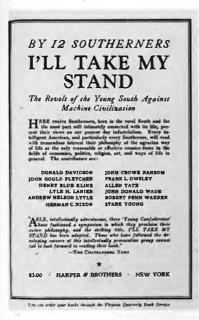
9. The Jungian psychologist, Lyle Lanier, also contributed an article. Another Fugitive psychiatrist, Merrill Moore, did not contribute. I mention this because Carl Jung was responsible for building a "Little Green Men" theory of psychology and psychoanalysis. He claimed that an individual's personality was based on his heritage—his racial or cultural background—what he publicly called "archetypes" or "the collective unconscious," and privately referred to as communications from gods and spirits. He claimed that the "Little Green Men," told him that everyone's heritage included belonging to polygamous matriarchical societies, and that everyone had a spiritual responsibility to screw around as much as possible. He became a regular at the Swiss sex-magic resort at Ascona, also frequented by many of Crowley's followers. As such, he was the family analyst of later C.I.A. director Allen Dulles and the mistress and assistant, Mary Bancroft, whom he provided Dulles, despite his known affection for Nazism. So, there was a special affinity between the Jungian and the Agrarian movements.

#### In the Company of Critters

Released in tandem with I'll Take My Stand was Andrew Nelson Lytle's homage to the Klan's first Imperial Wizard, Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company. 27 "Critter Company" was the name given to Forrest's cavalry outfit, and as Fugitive and "New Critic" Lytle tells the story, the instincts of the "critters" were far more acute than those of their riders. In 1996, Southern Partisan compared Lytle's tome to Homer's epics, and the Southern League has engaged in at least three fights over the last five years, in Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, to build or preserve monuments or schools honoring Lytle's mass-murdering hero. In Critter Company Lytle presented the myth, now promoted especially by "Carlist" Catholic reactionaries and their "Southern Strategy" friends, that the United States was founded, not as the bastion of the Renaissance idea of the nation-state, but, rather of the anti-Renaissance feudalist revival:

The Forrests had been on the move for a good many years. They were a part of that vast restlessness which had spread over Europe after the breakdown of medieval life, and which, because it could not be contained entirely by the rigid discipline of nationalism, continued by overflowing into the Americas. Here, in the newly occupied continent of North America, the Europeans set about to

<sup>27.</sup> Andrew Nelson Lytle, *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1931).







"I'll Take My Stand," the 1931 manifesto of the Nashville Agrarians, promoted Confederate feudalism against industrial progress. Above: Agrarians Stark Young (left) and John Gould Fletcher.



Nashville Agrarians John Crowe Ransom (right) and Robert Penn Warren. Ransom was the leading figure in the still-dominant school of American literature, the "New Criticism."



"Fugitives" celebrate at a 1956 reunion of the poetry magazine at Vanderbilt University.

Included are Allen Tate (bottom left), Donald Davidson (bottom right), Merrill Moore (top center), Robert Penn Warren (middle right), John Crowe Ransom (bottom center), and Sidney Hirsch (top right).

William Yandell Elliott, who became the Harvard mentor of utopian geopoliticians Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Samuel Huntington, stands at the top left.

appease their nostalgia for feudalism.

Lytle concluded of the Ku Klux Klan, that, "It was the last brilliant example in Western Culture of what feudalism could do."

Apologists for the Agrarians generally give the impression that "Agrarianism" somehow involved a policy of agriculture-based or "family farm"-based economy, but you should realize that it is pure "Lost Cause" Romanticism, having nothing at all to do with successful farming. Andrew Nelson Lytle, the one Agrarian who came from a farm family, and lived on farms much of his life, was so ignorant of what agricultural production really involved that he said that horses, unlike tractors, don't cost anything to produce or maintain. Allen Tate's wife Caroline Gordon explained, "Allen feels toward Nature as I do towards mathematics—respectful indifference. He walks about the garden hailing each tomato and melon with amazement—and never sees any connection between planting seeds and

eating fruit." $^{28}$  As you will see, Gordon may not have realized which Mellons Tate was hailing.

## Snuff All True Religions: God Without Thunder

Now, we come to John Crowe Ransom's call for the destruction of Platonic Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and all kindred religious currents, in *God Without Thunder*. Our Southern Partisans still reprint and brag about *I'll Take My Stand* and *Critter Company*, but they don't say much about *God Without Thunder*. In it, Ransom explains the roots of the American Intellectual Tradition in Plato and the Platonic Christians, and demands that this tradition be wiped off the face of the Earth by destroying all

<sup>28.</sup> Thomas A. Underwood, *Allen Tate: Orphan of the South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 119.

modern religions from within, with Godzilla cults like the Nazis' beloved "Thunder God" fables. Here he openly presents the Anti-Christ lies and myths which are the axioms which, unawares, poison the thinking, not only of the Yahoo "fundamentalist," "traditionalist," and "environmentalist" fanatics who are most obviously affected, but of many of your friends and neighbors.

If you've ever wondered what the study of philosophy has to do with you, you're about to find out. Ransom's systematic attack on our tradition, starting with Plato's "ideas," his support for a "Mother Goddess" rather than the Christian Trinity, his hatred of the "Filioque" clause, over which the Eastern and Western Churches split, and his fake promotion of Humean kookery as science, are all issues which, with some thought, can be understood by you. After all, Ransom's work was popularized by the Night Writers, and has formed the basis for the "Religious Right" movement that has now put someone dumb enough to please Allen Tate into the White House. If this tribe, which has professionally cultivated utter stupidity for four generations, can understand the monumental ideas in the history of human development well enough to hate them, surely you can understood them well enough to begin to love them.

Ransom opens God Without Thunder with "A Letter to S.M.H.," the very Sidney Mttron Hirsch whom most of the Agrarians' boosters would rather you thought the Agrarians had, by then, dismissed as a crank. In it, he says that he writes "to explain to the Western world of America, as if in simple untechnical monosyllables, the function of the myths in human civilization." In his first section, "The Dynasty of Heaven Changes," he presents the oft-told lie that there is a difference between his preferred God, the "Godzilla" of the Old Testament, and the cognitive, benevolent, and, therefore, he says, phony "God" of the New Testament, whose "image" man has inherited:

The doctrine which is now becoming so antiquated with us is that of the stern and inscrutable God of Israel, the God of the Old Testament. The new doctrine which is replacing it is the doctrine of an amiable and understandable God. We wanted a God who wouldn't hurt us; who would let us understand him; who would agree to scrap all the wicked thunderbolts in his armament. And this is just the God that has developed popularly out of the Christ of the New Testament: the embodiment mostly of the principle of social benevolence and of physical welfare. ... It is the religion proposed by the scientific party . . . . The new religion represents God as a Great Man with all the uncertainties left out: a Great Man whose ways are scientific and knowable and whose intention is amiable and constant ... he is the modern scientist glorified and apotheosized. . . . And when God has once been conceived as a scientist, he is also con-

## The Tory Ideology: Godzillas and Little Green Men

The American Tory opposition to the American Intellectual Tradition is characterized by the following belief structure:

- Godzilla theology. The denial that man is in the image of God or deserving of anything other than death and damnation, and the belief that all knowledge and authority come from secret sources ("Godzillas" and "Little Green Men").
- Opposition to the Renaissance nation-state and support for empire, especially the British. Hatred for the actual cultural achievements of European civilization, and affection for its legacy of hideous "feudal" and other oppressions.
- Denial of any connection between Reason and Sentiment, Science and Emotion, Truth and Beauty. This includes the claim that precise, logical, mathematical determinism, is the only "science," and that the only alternative mode of cognition is wild irrationalism.
- Hatred of real cognitive work. The belief that drug-induced or similar states of wild irrationalism are the source of "creativity," and that belief in the cognitive capabilities of man is an "evil" to be eradicated.
- Opposition to technological progress, internal improvements, high protective tariffs, and freedom. Support for "free trade" and slavery.

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ceived as one whose processes likewise aim at human good.<sup>29</sup>

He expressed the wishful thought that "[t]he Roman Church" had "held on to its medievalism," and never accepted this "New" God. The "Old Testament God," was so frightening, Ransom claimed, "Not even his prophet Moses could bear to look upon his face." In support of this whopper, he quotes Scripture:

And when Jehovah saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush. . . . And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

<sup>29.</sup> John Crowe Ransom, God Without Thunder, An Unorthodox Defense of Orthodoxy (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1930).

In making this claim, Ransom, who was the son and grandson of Methodist ministers, and himself a Bible class teacher, ignores the famous account in Deuteronomy, where it is reported that God, some decades later, talked to Moses "face to face, as if to a friend." This is quite an important idea to Philo and other Platonic Hebrew theologians, and an important link to Platonic Christianity. This idea of a God who appears to Moses, and to most others, in a cloud or a pillar of smoke, but later "face to face," is consistent with Paul's description in the famous Epistle to the Corinthians. Of course, Ransom well knew that the Hebrews' Jehovah was not the God of Thunder. Ransom's God wasn't ours, it was Hitler's: the Roman Jupiter, or the Norse Wotan or Odin. He liked the "Fundamentalists," 30 because, like the cash-loving Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, they believed in what was "worth believing in," not what was true:

My own view is that all first-class religionists are Fundamentalists, and that it is the Fundamentalists, properly speaking, who constitute the Church. ... In effect the Fundamentalist does not any longer distinguish myth and fact. But why should he, if the myth is worth believing in?

Speaking of "the affair of Dayton, Tennessee," which his master Satan had arranged, Ransom says:

Fundamentalism occupied itself there with defending a myth. ... They were confronted with a cruel pair of alternatives: whether to admit exceptions to a body of doctrines which they had loyally adopted ...; or to continue holding to them ... at the cost of public ridicule, and even on pain of establishing in their own minds a painful contradiction between the natural and the supernatural.

Having established his preference for lies which have "cash value," over Truth, Ransom proceeds in Chapter Six, "Satan as Science," to turn Christianity upside down with the idea that Satan, also known as Lucifer, is the same figure as the Greek God Prometheus, who, according to Aeschylus, brought the fruits of science and technology (and not merely fire) to man:

Prometheus was the Demigod or Man-God whom the Greeks represented as endeavoring to alienate mankind from Zeus the malevolent despot... He is to be understood as offering the blessings of science... But Prometheus comes down to us in a rather different role from that of Lucifer: his reputation is better.

The "Man-God Christ" of the Platonic Christians, he says, is really Satan, Lucifer, or Prometheus. The story of the Garden of Eden teaches, he claims:

In the victory of science they found the first sin, the cause, prototype, and essence of all specific and actual human sins. Therefore in this myth we have the story of the perilous step man had taken towards his later civilization when he introduced agriculture and ate of flesh . . . here lay the origin of the strife between the animal species, when man began to enforce the fact of his superiority by militance and aggression.

It is evident that Israel since then has followed Lot's and David's example rather than Abraham's. That race seems committed almost beyond all others to cities and industrialism, and to the scorn of nature and the pastoral and agrarian life. It does not seem to have been altogether a happy choice.

He concludes this section with evidence that he knows his enemy:

Christ as the Logos, is the Patron of Science; the Reason which governs the universe. ... The Logos is the Platonic Idea, for the Platonists of the Christian era had substituted the one word for the other.

In Part Two, "The New God's Limits," he directly attacks "Americanism" as the fruit of this "sin," saying, "Science as a cult is something of an Americanism." Ransom starts with praise of the Nazi forerunners Kant and Schopenhauer, to which he counterposes a nasty attack on that loving student of Benjamin Franklin, Percy Bysshe Shelley. He quotes *Prometheus Unbound*, in which Shelley metaphorically identifies Benjamin Franklin as Prometheus:

Shelley was the prophet of the new God, who anticipated the religious attitude of our leaders of today. ... He undertook, in his drama, to unbind Prometheus, the spirit of science, from his rock .....

He then quotes Shelley's unmistakable identification of Prometheus with Franklin:

The lightning is his slave; heaven's utmost deep Gives up her stars . . .

And then twists the knife in the memory of Shelley, who drowned under suspicious circumstances before his thirtieth birthday:

<sup>30.</sup> Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.'s "The Bestiality of the Fundies," *Fidelio*, Winter 2000 (Vol. IX, No. 4), provides some depth on the question of "Fundamentalism" today.

<sup>31.</sup> Here we have an example of the importance of following ideas, not words. Shelley, in his "Defence of Poetry" and elsewhere, identifies Lucifer and Satan with Prometheus. Nonetheless, it is clear that Shelley passionately holds to the idea of man's participation in the work of Creation, which Ransom hates.

This is the very language of the moderns talking about the triumphs of their science; but it is terribly juvenile. As a matter of fact, Shelley was young, and it was not in him to grow much older.

In concluding his attack on American science, the Anglophile Ransom does something very strange. Apparently unable to find an American to represent what he chooses to attack as "Americanism," he quotes his own collaborator, the British Fabian global Empire fanatic, Lord Bertrand Russell, making the claim, "Physical science is thus approaching the stage when it will be complete. ... Given the laws governing the motion of electrons and protons, the rest is merely geography . . . . " Russell's absurd determinism is the fraudulent basis for all "ecology"-freak attacks on science. Like him, they start, whether they know it or not, or admit it or not, with the entirely disproven assumption that no new science is possible. Only were we all so stupid and heartless as to make that falsehood true, would the world be doomed by each "last" invention, as they claim.

In his Part Three, "Ghosts: Including the Holy," Ransom continues the attack on his fake stand-in for "science," by borrowing from Ralph Waldo Emerson's know-nothing generalizations on the concept of the Transcendental. "Pure mathematics is at the base of the sciences," he asserts, in agreement with his Lord Russell, but in disagreement with the actual American tradition of science, and continues, "But there are some defects in pure mathematics. . . . Though all things seem numerable and measurable, this is not quite true. We must to that extent fail to possess the world as a precisely known system of objects. The defects of mathematical technique come to light when we examine the mathematical infinites. . . . The failure of the decimal system to express the quantity 1/3 stands for all the notorious failures of our sciences to embody the concrete objects of our sensible experience."

Here, of course, Ransom proves the utter worthlessness of his own railing against science, and that of all ecologists who join him in this absurdity. In fact, from Archimedes, to Cusa, to Leonardo, to Kepler, to Gauss and Riemann, it is mastering this idea of the incommensurability of the different classes of the "infinite," which is the starting point of science. Only one lamely stuck in the belief, now disproven for 2,500 years, that the universe follows some single mathematic formula, could take this as proof against science. As Riemann so eloquently pointed out in his 1854 habilitation paper, made famous by Lyndon LaRouche's frequent citation over the last thirty years, physics is not mathematics, but the study of nature's intentions. Mathematics may be used to construct a map, but not the landscape being mapped.

Despite Ransom's claim, the fact that no map can precisely portray the Earth's terrain, doesn't mean that it is impossible to figure out how to get around. Asking for directions in our rural South, however, can sometimes go far toward making you think he's right.

So, Ransom goes back to the "Little Green Men" theory, which he had learned so well from Sidney Hirsch:

Each demon stood for the secret, or ineffable, or transcendental individuality of some individual and private person. Socrates had his demon, which presided over his mind and told him the strange things he must say. . . . A demon is the embodiment of variety and freedom who resists determination . . . a demon is a devil . . . .

And, he slanders Plato for his contribution to the idea that the universe is produced by intention:

The fiction is the representation of this infinite system by a fabulous being: a Logos, a Word, a Principle, a Law, a Cause, a Whole, a Universal, a Platonic Idea—or God himself, construed as the aggregate and energizing unity of all the masses. . . . The Platonic Idea was a grand specimen of the ghost Logos.

He then presents his version of the "Mother Goddess" theology which should be very familiar to students of, or adherents to, the ecology craze. It is very close, in fact, to the views later expressed by Club of Rome fanatic, and one of Al Gore's mentors, Elizabeth Dodson Gray.<sup>32</sup> Notice that he seems to divide male and female as the empiricists did Truth and Beauty. (Ransom, nonetheless, married a woman. Many of his friends did not.)

God is the Father, the masculine, cosmic, and rational Creator. But the material is the Mother, who is feminine, anarchical, and irrational. It is a significant fact, and it has proved rather detestable to Occidental theologians with their special interest in the Logos aspect, that the Holy Ghost for the Old Testament authors, and for Christ himself speaking his native Aramaic, was of the feminine gender. But this was the right gender for defending the demonic and irrational aspect of his being.

And, he attacks Christianity for rejecting Godzilla:

But the New Testament authors very nearly lost the Pneuma, or the Holy Ghost, out of their excessive devotion to the Logos as personified in Christ. ...

And that was the very beginning of Occidentalism: the substitution of Logos the Demigod for the Pneuma, the Holy Ghost the Tetragram, the God of Israel . . . so Christ now rules over

<sup>32.</sup> Elizabeth Dodson Gray, Why the Green Nigger? Green Paradise Lost (Wellesley, Mass.: Roundtable Press, 1981).

the Occident instead of God. The Orthodox or Eastern Church, nearest to the source of our religion, which was an Oriental source, has consistently declined to represent Christ the Logos as coordinate with the Holy Ghost. In rejecting the famous Filioque clause of the Western canon, this Church has maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeds from God the Father (that is, the God of Israel) but not from God the Son: an admirable doctrine rightly entitled to the name of Orthodoxy.

Perhaps the most critical moment in our history ... was ... the moment when the Roman Church sanctioned the doctrine of Filioque. In that moment Occidentalism emerged as a definitive historical polity which was to glorify the rational principle and deny the irrational principle. ... Western empire has developed out of that choice, and Western science, and Western business.

To be filled with the Holy Ghost, as all the preachers in the early chapters of the Acts were supposed to be, was to possess magic and to be able to work wonders. ... Then Saul of Tarsus enters the story, and the book becomes mainly a chronicle of his doings.

Ransom is, of course, right about the *Filioque*. Man shares in Creation with God, and, therefore, shares with God the understanding and mastery over nature, which Ransom correctly identifies as the object of his hatred, and it is that idea which his followers are fighting to drive from all religions, in whatever way they can. In his epilogue, "By Way of a Program," Ransom issues the call which the fanatic "Religious Right" follows today, whether or not they've ever heard of or read Ransom:

They [the priests] have in effect come to this arrangement with the naturalists: "If you will leave us the name and honor of our Gods, we will surrender to you their powers and see that you are not interfered with in your naturalism and your secularism." ... For Christ is the spirit of the scientific and ethical secularism of the West.

A new religion being totally impracticable as a thing to propose, the only recommendation that it is in my power to make is this one: We had better work within the religious institutions that we have, and do what we can to recover the excellences of the ancient faith. The churches must be turned from their false Gods toward their old true Gods—whenever, and however, and so far as this proves to be practicable.

But why should one not dispose of this vexing problem by saying, ever so simply: Let the West go into the Greek communion....

The West will scarcely do what I might ask in this matter. ... The only local example of a church of this faith with which I have any actual acquaintance is situated in a Wyoming mining town: I cannot pronounce the names of its members. ... The thought of joining them is, in brief, abhorrent.

Or why not advise the Western world to enter the Synagogue, . . . and find the God of Israel in his greatest purity?

Once more, and with all respect, the word suggests itself: abhorrent. For better for worse, a man is a member of his own race, or his own tribe. . . .

I will mention another possibility. Why should not the Western world go Roman? ... My Western world does not want to do anything of the kind. The history of the Western world is a history of political separation from the Roman church, which is now definitely a rejected polity. ...

And next: Why not bid the West go Anglican, or Episcopal? I am now getting much nearer home. ... I am an Anglophile, and I wish my country might be more so. But I am not so Anglophile as I am American. And I find myself sometimes, as I find my neighbor more frequently, abhorring Anglicanism and Episcopacy.

#### Therefore, Ransom issues the following call:

With whatever religious institution a modern man may be connected, let him try to turn it back towards orthodoxy.

Let him insist on a virile and concrete God, and accept no Principle as a substitute.

Let him restore to God the thunder.

Let him resist the usurpation of the Godhead by the soft modern version of the Christ, and try to keep the Christ for what he professed to be: the Demigod who came to do honor to the God.

In this, Ransom was in total agreement with the program of Nazi psychoanalyst Carl Jung. This is from Jung's 1910 letter to his mentor and rival, Sigmund Freud, in which he explains how his intentions differ from those of his teacher:

I think we must give [psychoanalysis] time to infiltrate into people from many centers, to revivify among intellectuals a feeling for symbol and myth, ever so gently to transform Christ back into the soothsaying god of the vine, which he was, and in this way absorb those ecstatic instinctual forces of Christianity for the *one* purpose of making the cult and the sacred myth what they once were—a drunken feast of joy where man regained the ethos and holiness of an animal. That was the beauty and purpose of classical religion.<sup>33</sup>

#### Agrarians on Tour

The Night Writer assault of 1930-31 launched a five-year campaign of frenzied promotion, during which the Agrarians were a central part of the cultural opposition to Franklin Roosevelt and the agitation for appeasing Hitler and Mussolini. Roosevelt was engaged in a cam-

Quoted in Richard Noll, The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung (New York: Random House, 1997), p. 65. Noll is quoting from The Freud/Jung Letters, edited by William McGuire and translated by Ralph Manheim and R.F.C. Hull (London: Hogarth Press, 1974), p. 294.

paign to revive Lincoln's age of technological progress, which had been slowed and reversed by the preceding sixty-five years of assassinations, shooting war, and cultural war. His plan to destroy Wall Street's "economic Royalists" included the invasion of the old Confederacy with such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, to forever destroy the Southern bastion of feudalism. A key parallel to Roosevelt on this point, was Louisiana's pro-Lincoln, pro-industrial Senator and Governor, Huey Long, who was subjected to a campaign of vilification which the Agrarians continued for at least fifty years after his 1935 assassination.<sup>34</sup> It was against this Roosevelt revival of the American Tradition, that our American Tory plague, with backing from their British and European cousins, launched the Agrarian counterattack.

That counterattack against Roosevelt included a series of highly publicized debates, involving various champions on either side, led by White Sheet baby Ransom for the Agrarians and his friend, Stringfellow Barr, for the opposition. Barr was a University of Virginia professor and sometime editor of the University's Virginia Quarterly Review (which was and remained an outlet for the Agrarians and their friends), who was to go on to an illustrious career as a side-kick to one of Bertrand Russell's top American operatives, the University of Chicago's Robert M. Hutchins. As such, he helped launch Hutchins' "Great Books" education program at St. Johns College in Annapolis, Maryland, and served as long-time President of the Foundation for World Government, and as a fellow for Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in Santa Barbara, California.

Writing from his Paris base of operations, Allen Tate had assured his Fugitive collaborator Donald Davidson that Barr was "solidly on our side," and proposed him to be one of *I'll Take My Stand*'s authors. Instead, Barr ended up playing Gore Vidal to Ransom's William F. Buckley in this pre-television, staged version of *Firing Line* 

The controversy was kicked off by Barr's essay, "Shall Slavery Come South?," in the October 1930 Virginia Quarterly. Barr doesn't name the Agrarians, but rather criticizes, in a gentlemanly way, those traditionalists who opposed industrialization of the South. Aside from asserting that industrialization was unstoppable, this essay would have fitted right in with I'll Take My Stand. In fact, Barr repeated the Agrarian claim of the superior-

ity of the slave system to the industrial, that has more recently graced the pages of the Agrarian Revivalists' *Southern Partisan* magazine under the byline of Marxist economist Eugene Genovese.

"I suspect that if the Old South had a soul, that soul consisted in a mature sense of social responsibility," wrote Barr. "The plantation master could not afford to let a thousand dollar slave starve. The factory master can let his slave starve. The doctrine of legal equality has been the rationalization of a capitalistic society living on a hire and fire economic basis, a profitable but irresponsible basis."36 An interesting argument, but did Barr not know that, in fact, on occasion, plantation masters did kill their slaves? He proposed that the "traditionalists" accept industrialization, but temper it with the good old plantation owners' paternalism, "For nobody knows better than the Southern traditionalist that, despite the American myth of equality and independence, the strong will always rule the weak and should do so with justice and mercy."

Lest there be any wishful belief that Barr had some sort of American-style industrialization in mind, the same issue of *Virginia Quarterly* also featured an article by Lord Bertrand Russell, which clarified the issue.

In "Thirty Years From Now," Lord Russell contrasted British industry and the British labor movement, to the American, in order to illustrate that "industry" can be just as "traditional," just as racist, and just as mind-dead, as the Agrarians might have wished, writing: "In Great Britain, it is common to find industrial workers whose grandfathers and great-grandfathers were also industrial workers in the same industries and the same localities. Think of the Lancashire proverb, 'Three generations from clogs to clogs.' "Restriction of immigration, I am convinced," he explained, "will be an immense gain to American radicalism. Comparison with the British labor movement strengthens this conviction. The foreign-born population of Great Britain is negligible; the Labor Party derives its strength from men and women whose ancestors have lived in the country from time immemorial. If America continues to restrict immigration it seems probable that within thirty years almost all the foreign elements except the negroes will have been thoroughly assimilated."37

The next issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review* continued to build the tension. Although it featured a full-page ad for *I'll Take My Stand* on the inside cover, billed as

<sup>34.</sup> See Brian Lantz, "Huey Long's Challenge to the Establishment," Executive Intelligence Review, Nov. 27, 1992 (Vol. 19, No. 47).

The Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson & Allen Tate, edited by John Tyree Fain and Thomas Daniel Young (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1974), p. 242.

Stringfellow Barr, "Shall Slavery Come South?," Virginia Quarterly Review (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia), Vol. 6, No. 4, October 1930, pp. 481-494.

<sup>37.</sup> Bertrand Russell, "Thirty Years From Now," ibid., pp. 575-585.

"The Revolt of the Young South Against Machine Civilization . . . available through the Virginia Quarterly Book Service," the issue carried a less than favorable review of the book, by H.L. Mencken's associate, Gerald W. Johnson. Johnson was, amongst other things, a New Republic contributor and the author of a children's book, The British Empire, which says that the United States separated from the Empire "for no really good reason." 38 Johnson further stirred the pot of controversy, which Mencken had stocked with his "Sahara of the Bozart," some half-decade earlier, asking, "Are they unaware of pellagra and hookworm, two flowers of Southern agrarianism? Have they never been told that the obscenities and depravities of the most degenerate hold of a cotton-mill town are but pale reflections of the lurid obscenities and depravities of Southern backwoods communities?"39

Again, lest you wonder what sort of modern times the University of Virginia's quarterly championed in opposition to the Night Writers, the same issue carried an article, "Boundaries of Utopia," by the prophet of the drugged society, Lord Russell's colleague Aldous Huxley.

The stage was now set for the genteel Ransom-Barr exhibition match. It occurred on Nov. 14, 1930 at the University of Virginia, under the sponsorship of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. The playwright Sherwood Anderson, a close friend of Agrarian Stark Young, served as moderator. In his introduction to the audience filling the 3,500-seat auditorium, he applauded Agrarianism. The following year, Anderson would support Communist Presidential candidate William Z. Foster against Roosevelt. Seated on the podium were the Governor of Virginia, the President of the University, perennial Socialist Presidential Candidate Norman Thomas, and various literary figures, including, of course, Aleister Crowley's friends, James Branch Cabell and H.L. Mencken.

This debate, and the others that followed it, were widely covered media events that turned the Agrarians into national celebrities. H.L. Mencken continued his promotional sparring with them for many years. T.S. Eliot initiated his practice, which lasted a number of years, of heaping praise on the Agrarians, with a favorable review of *I'll Take My Stand* in his British journal, *The Criterion*. Tate's friend, Edmund Wilson, after visiting the Tate non-producing farm, Benfolly, wrote a satirical sketch, "Tennessee Agrarians," for *The New Republic*. <sup>40</sup> The Italy-America Society, run by Italy's Fascist ex-

Finance Minister, the Venetian Count Volpi, paid Stark Young \$5,500 plus expenses to do a lecture series, which he described as "my mission to Italy." Young wrote, after meeting Mussolini, that he was "very warm, and very intelligent." His three-part series for *The New Republic*, "Notes on Fascism in Italy Today," countered Mussolini's bad press here. For this, he was inducted into the Order of the Crown of Italy, and dubbed "Commander of the Crown of Italy," which in no way diminished his association with Julian Huxley, Lord Bertrand Russell, or British spymaster H.G. Wells.<sup>41</sup>

#### Fascist Bedfellows

Over the next several years, the Agrarians collaborated with an assortment of Fascists, pro-feudal British Roman Catholics, and the odd satanist and communist, in efforts to undermine the Constitutional authority of the United States, and ensure that it would pose no serious threat to European Fascism and Nazism. It was in this period that H.G. Wells, in his book and movie, Things To Come, promoted the British strategy for a Thirty Years' War, beginning in 1939, to wipe out all industrialization. That Wells strategy required the prevention of effective U.S. participation in the war, and this is what the Agrarians attempted to guarantee by building a rearguard offensive here to weaken Roosevelt's re-industrialization policies, and to organize sympathy for Fascism. The European-American movement which the Agrarians led, was dedicated to Ransom's Godzilla-theocracy conquest of the planet.

This Agrarian-led alliance was the intellectual progenitor and shaper of all of the essential features of today's "Religious Right." Its main features are:

- An alliance of assorted "Godzilla" cults, operating, as John Crowe Ransom demanded, within otherwise respectable religious denominations.
- The belief that man's scientific capabilities are an aggression against animals and nature, and that man should stick to those qualities he shares with animals.
- The revival of theories premised upon feudal notions of economics and property rights, theories looking back to the traditions of Rome, Venice, Hapsburg, and like Empires.
- Unqualified support for Spain's Franco as, somehow, the re-birth of the beloved Spanish Hapsburg Inquisition; strong sympathy for Hitler and Mussolini; and

Gerald W. Johnson, *The British Empire* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1969), p. 16.

Gerald W. Johnson, "The South Faces Itself," Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 7, No. 1, January 1931, p. 157.

<sup>40.</sup> Underwood, op. cit., pp. 169-170.

Stark Young: A Life in the Arts, Letters, 1900-1962, edited by John Pilkington (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), pp. 352-369.

the related drive toward a "new world order" featuring such qualities recognized today as "globalization" control over trade relations, internal national political practices of all nations reviving the most brutally arbitrary concoctions of the Roman imperial tradition as "world rule of law," and so on.

Allen Tate took the lead in forging these odd alliances, with the help of William Yandell Elliott's drinking friends, and Ford Madox Ford. Ford was introduced to Tate by Tate's on-and-off-again first wife, Ford's secretary, Caroline Gordon, during Ford's mid-1920's New York stay.

Although little known today, Ford was at that time a major figure in British literature, as a poet and novelist, but, more importantly, as a promoter of others' work. A brief sense of his background should help develop a good flavor for the sort of disease-breeding intellectual swamp in which the Agrarian monster thrived.

Ford was an odd fish: a multiply divorced Catholic, at home amongst all varieties of oligarchical disease. He began as Ford Madox Hueffer, in the same species of occultism, that stinking gap between Victorian Britain and Nietzschean Germany, as did Aleister Crowley and Sidney Mttron Hirsch. (He later changed his name to Ford Madox Ford.) His father, Francis, had edited two magazines in Germany: The New Quarterly, devoted to promoting Schopenhauer, and Musical World, which promoted Richard Wagner. He got into some trouble in Germany in connection with Wagner, and so moved to London, where he toiled the rest of his life as music critic for the Times. There he married the daughter of pre-Raphaelite painter Ford Madox Brown, who was himself the nephew of pre-Raphaelite Dante Gabriel Rossetti. So, young Ford Hueffer's life was dominated by the pro-medieval "products" of the Transcendalist collaborator John Ruskin.

Ford became a fixture in Bloomsbury literary circles and the British Fabian Society. This circle included Ezra Pound, the one-time house boy to Crowley's estranged lodge brother, William Butler Yeats, who is now famous as a propagandist for Mussolini and darling of the Beat/Hippie set; William James' brother, novelist Henry; H.G. Wells, whom Ford supported in his attempt to take over the Fabian Society; James Joyce, the one-time dependent of Jungian cultist Edith Rockefeller McCormick; and Crowley's disciple, pornographic novelist D.H. Lawrence, whom Ford "discovered."

Ford's executive role in these latter circles was institutionalized, in 1908, with the editorship of the *English Review*. In the Twenties, he became a sort of patron, tour guide, and host to the whole American émigré set in London and Paris, including Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott

Fitzgerald, T.S. Eliot, Gertrude Stein, and, of course, Allen Tate. He also had contacts with, and introduced Tate to, a strange group of anti-Renaissance Catholics, known as the "Distributists," who are the heroes of today's Catholic enemies of John Paul II, including Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia; this group's plan was to reorganize the economy under medieval craft guilds. The two notable figures of the Distributionists were Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton, who became Agrarian collaborators.

In 1924, an international group of financiers, led by Crowley's one-time host and Yeats's patron John Quinn of New York, appointed Ford to run their Paris-based, English-language journal, transatlantic review. In this period, Ford's friends included Nina Hamnet of Crowley's Silver Star (A:A) Lodge, who provided housing for himself and his various mistresses. Others were Mary Butts and Cecil Maitland, who interned at Crowley's "Abbey of Thelema" in Sicily; and the author of the stories on which the play and movie Cabaret were based, Christopher Isherwood, who would later become the "spouse" of both W.H. Auden and Stephen Spender, the Hollywood pal of Aldous Huxley and "gay rights" pioneer. 42

In the mid-Thirties, the Agrarian/Distributist collaboration centered on an openly pro-Fascist journal, *American Review*, co-edited by Allen Tate and Seward Collins, a Princeton heir, one-time left-wing "secular humanist" associate of Paul Elmer Moore and that drug-pushing sex-psychologist Havelock Ellis, who turned Fascist in association with the Distributists.

The period culminated in 1936 with the coordinated publication of both the Agrarians' second joint manifesto, Who Owns America? A New Declaration of Independence, 43 which included essays by the Night Writers, as well as by Belloc and other Distributists, and William Yandell Elliott's The Need for Constitutional Reform. The latter was summarized and promoted in Who Owns America? by David Davidson. Who Owns America? was co-edited by Allen Tate and Herbert Agar. Agar, who began his collaboration with the Agrarians' fascist American Review based on Tate's invitation to join in making "a Conservative Revolution,"44 had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1933, and went on, during World War II, to found Freedom House, and serve in the Office of War Information propaganda unit. Freedom House remains to this day, a major "quango" (quasi-autonomous non-government

<sup>42.</sup> Max Saunders, Ford Madox Ford, A Dual Life (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Who Owns America? A New Declaration of Independence, edited by Allen Tate and Herbert Agar (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936).



British Fabian Ford Madox Ford (center) coordinated between émigré American literati and pro-Fascist Distributists. Here he meets with Ezra Pound (left), New York financier John Quinn (standing), and novelist James Joyce (right).



Agrarian/

(below).

Distributist heroes:

Spain's Francisco

Franco (right);

Benito Mussolini

and Adolf Hitler

The 1936 Agrarian manifesto, "Who Owns America?," signalled the Agrarian alliance with the Distributists. Above: The manifesto reviewed in the New York Times.





British anti-Renaissance Catholics Hilaire Belloc (left) and G.K. Chesterton (right) led the Distributist movement, the basis of today's "Religious Right."



HITLER AS DISTRIBUTIST



The Distributists were openly pro-Hitler, writing: "Never were Distributist measures passed under happier auguries in a centralized modern state." The "American Review" was their joint project with the Agrarians.



that keeps popping up in different ways—is that America was never intended to be a nation, but, rather, a loose federation of independent states, and that the "heresy," intro-

duced by the Whig and Republican Parties, and consolidated by Lincoln's Civil War victory, was to turn the United States into a nation with high tariffs and industrial progress, which "smashed the Jeffersonian state."

Most histories of the Agrarians attempt to explain their open embrace of Fascism as a result of ignorance of the ideology which was using them. This, however, just

organization) organ of British Empire "Project Democracy" policy in the United States and around the world.

Although Tate and Collins had, prior to 1933, engaged in a rather sterile public war of wits, they joined forces in the American Review in response to Roosevelt's launching of the New Deal. One of the "ideas" that cemented the relationship, was Collins' recommendation to Tate, that he read The American Heresy by Distributist Christopher Hollis.<sup>45</sup> The idea of the book, similar to Cousin Lytle's "nostalgia for feudalism" theory of America—a theory

<sup>44.</sup> Underwood, op. cit., p. 201. As Helga Zepp LaRouche has pointed out, based largely on Armin Möhler's "insider" report [Armin Möhler, Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932 (Darmstadt: 1972)], the Nazi and Fascist parties of the 1930's were fish riding a much broader tide of "Conservative Revolution," characterized by the very mind-set we have been describing here in conjunction with

the Agrarian and Distributist movements, and their successors to the present day. See Helga Zepp LaRouche, "Today's 'Conservative Revolution' and the Ideology of the Nazis: The Case of Martin Heidegger," Fidelio, Spring 1995 (Vol. IV, No. 1).

<sup>45.</sup> Christopher Hollis, The American Heresy (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1930).

isn't so. In Tate's correspondence negotiating the alliance with Collins, he pledged the Agrarians to "full support" for European reactionary movements, foreseeing that, "Great reactionary changes will mark the next half-century." The deal was sealed during a weekend retreat at Cornsilk, the Lytle family farm in Alabama, during which Collins talked mostly of his association with the Distributists, including his appreciation for Belloc's anti-Semitic book, The Jews. Writing of the meeting to Nelson Rockefeller's future publicist, John Peale Bishop, Tate said, "Collins has worked himself into a great froth over the Jews. Let us not discourage him." In the preface to the 1937 edition of that book, prepared during the period of his collaboration with the Agrarians, Belloc praised the Nazi government, writing, "There is no doubt that the Nazi attack [on the Jews] was sincere. Now there are two criticisms to be made of this attitude [of the Nazis]. The first is that the attack made upon the Jews in Germany is neither thorough nor final. The second is that you will not achieve a victory until you have some moral consecration for it. A murder may have some lasting political result if you can ensure the continuance of its effect by the continued prosperity of the murderer, and there is a grave and glaring injustice in the Nazi policy against the Jews."46 This injustice, Belloc explained, was merely that the Nazis had broken the German Lockean "contract" to permit the Jews full citizenship. The remedy he proposed was a new "contract" which would "legalize" the removal of all citizenship rights from Jews, not only in Germany, but in all non-Jewish nations.

In its first issue, Collins described the American Review as a forum for "Revolutionary Conservatives," and promised a "sympathetic exposition" of "fascist economics." Tate told Collins, "It is the only magazine I've ever read every word of which I was able to agree with." Tate himself wrote in the Review, "I belong to the white race, therefore I intend to support white rule. Lynching is a symptom of weak, inefficient rule; but you can't destroy lynching by fiat or social agitation; lynching will disappear when the white race is satisfied that its supremacy will not be questioned in social crises." Collins, in an article titled, "The Revival of Monarchy," welcomed Hitler as a "monarchical" anti-Communist. He called Mussolini, "the most constructive statesman of our age." 47

Most Agrarian historians lie that the Night Writers broke with Collins after he made headlines nationally with a scandalous interview given to journalist Grace Lumpkin. In fact, it was Agar alone who stopped publishing in the *American Review* as a result, and even he wrote to Tate of Collins, "I think he means well, has lots of good ideas, and is at heart a sweet fellow." Tate and the others *kvetched* about the bad publicity, but they kept publishing in the magazine until it closed at the end of 1937, and they continued cordial relations with Collins. According to the catalogue of Yale's collection of Collins' papers, Cleanth Brooks kept in touch through at least 1939, and John Crowe Ransom through 1945. Here are excerpts from the Lumpkin interview:

Lumpkin: Are you [a fascist]?

Collins: Yes, I am a fascist. I admire Hitler and Mussolini very much. I do not agree with everything they do, but...

Lumpkin: Do you agree with Hitler's persecution of the Jews?

Collins: It is not persecution. The Jews make trouble. Lumpkin: . . . You wish to do away with all progress? Collins: Yes.

**Lumpkin:** And do you wish to have a king and nobles, counts, dukes, etc., in America?

Collins: Yes, exactly!

Lumpkin: You wish to live as people did then?

Collins: Yes, do away with the automobile and go back to the horse.

Lumpkin: You wish to do without conveniences?

Collins: Yes.

**Lumpkin:** Without bathtubs? **Collins:** I never use a bathtub.

Lumpkin: You don't bathe?

Collins: I use a shower. I could rig up a shower. 48

In addition to re-statements of the old Agrarian themes, *Who Owns America?* embraced Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany as allies who must be appeased. The Distributist whom Belloc identified as Spanish fascist Francisco Franco's leading publicist, Douglas Jerrold, wrote:

The claims, made or implied, of Japan, Italy, Germany, and Poland, to overseas possessions or economic privileges represent only the first proposals for readjustment which the world will have to adopt. ...

Italy in particular is already on the way to freeing herself from dependence on foreign coal and one of the main aims behind her Abyssinian venture is to free herself from her dependence on American and Egyptian cotton.<sup>49</sup>

This collaboration paved the way for the short-lived "Alliance of Agrarian and Distributist Groups," which

<sup>46.</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *The Jews* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 3rd ed., 1937; 1st ed., 1922), pp. xl-xli.

<sup>47.</sup> This account of the Collins/Agrarian collaboration on the *American Review* is drawn from Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-210. I am grateful to Underwood for illuminating this story, which is otherwise largely obscured in the Agrarian histories, and for citing some of the contents of *American Review*, which is not readily available in otherwise well-stocked libraries.

<sup>48.</sup> Underwood, op. cit., pp. 240-244.

<sup>49.</sup> Who Owns America?, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

was revived after the war as Buckleyite Conservativism.

William Yandell Elliott's book, The Need for Constitutional Reform, written at the point when an urgent mobilization to defeat British Empire-spawned Fascism was required, rather continued Elliott's own life's project, as well as the intent of his 1932 book, The New British Empire: the destruction of the United States and its re-absorption into the British Empire. This, of course, is the project notoriously continued to this day by Elliott's "Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee" protégés, Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. 50 In place of our Constitutional government, Elliott proposed that the United States be broken down into ten or twelve regional blocs, and governed, as is Britain, by a "permanent civil service," rather than by elected officials. He wrote:

A Treasury and a Department of State without permanent civil service secretaries are incredible survivals of the days when amateur administration was possible. An adequate bureaucracy is essential to the functioning of any modern state. At the head of the whole civil service there should be an officer like the British Permanent Secretary for the Treasury, or some other suitable official, probably with us the Director of the Budget. All appointments and promotions should be cleared through him. To each department should be added an advisory committee representative of

all the great interests with which it comes into normal contact. . . . A General Economic Advisory Council should be formed from among selected members of these advisers and those of the Federal Reserve System.<sup>51</sup>

Of course, by "amateur," Elliott means "elected," and "great interests" are what in Elliott's beloved Britain are called "nobility." He went on to play a major role in the re-inventing of the Executive branch of the United States government after the war. In a continuation of the Cleveland through Wilson Administration "Civil Service" reforms, Elliott and his collaborators have established a host of extra-Constitutional "councils"—National Security, Economic Advisory, Economic Security, Domestic Policy, etc.—which function, just as Elliott proposed, to bring our "nobility" and their lackeys into the government, without benefit of election. This process is illustrated by the service of Elliott's protégé, Kissinger, as, essentially, the unelected Permanent Secretary of the Nixon-Ford Administration. As such, he played a major role in replacing Nixon with Ford without election, through first, hiring the staff that required "plumbing," and then urging Nixon to create the rogue "Plumbers' unit" to deal with them. At the termination of Kissinger's reign, the new President, Jimmy Carter, appointed Kissinger's alter ego, Zbigniew Brzezinski, as National Security Adviser.

#### III. The Postwar 'Critter' Takeover of American Culture

MOST HISTORIANS OF THE AGRARIANS claim that after 1936, the group returned to "littachah" and dropped their "Agrarian" concerns, but this is a blatant lie. Each of the core members we deal with here, Democrats and Republicans, Pulitzer Prize winners, those who remained in Tennessee and those who relocated to Yale or Harvard, participated in Agrarian organizing against the Constitution of the United States, through Agrarian events and publications, until their deaths. Each of the Agrarians then living, collaborated with the Buckley-supported, openly pro-Ku Klux Klan and anti-American Southern Partisan magazine, which launched a re-birth of the movement in 1979. In 1980, the supposedly most "liberal" of them, Robert Penn Warren, wrote "Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship

Back" for *The New Yorker*, on the occasion of the U.S. Congress's and Jimmy Carter's posthumous "exoneration" of the traitor. In it, he maintained the old Agrarian message of 1931: Davis' courageous, statesman-like resistance against the tyrant Lincoln. In 1981, they staged a highly publicized fiftieth anniversary celebration for *I'll Take My Stand* at Vanderbilt. In 1985, they publicly celebrated the assassination of Huey Long with help from Louisiana State University, which Long had built, and the Public Broadcasting System. Agrarian disciples continue to publish *Southern Partisan*, *Southern Patriot*, *Modern Age*, *Chronicles*, and books like Charles Adams' *The Case for Southern Secession*, with support from Cabinet members and Senators.

After the American Review period, the Agrarians con-

Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "Tweedle-Dum Goofs Again," and Stanley Ezrol, "William Yandell Elliott," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Dec. 5, 1997 (Vol. 24, No. 49).

William Yandell Elliott, The Need for Constitutional Reform: A Program for National Security (Whittlesey House, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), pp. 202-203.

tinued to operate in two related directions, which characterize their activity up to today. First, they vigorously organized for a new global empire under the control of Britain, in collaboration with the Wells/Russell British-American-Canadian foreign policy, intelligence, propaganda, and psychological warfare services, official and unofficial. Second, they took over a commanding position in the English-language literary establishment, and a powerful position in historical—especially American History—studies. It is notably typical of this intellectual and moral corruption, that Allen Tate's derivative and partially plagiarized biographies had already won the praise of noted historians Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager.<sup>52</sup> Through both prongs of this offensive, the Agrarians achieved total, direct, intellectual mastery of the postwar Conservative movement in the United States—as typified by the Buckley interests and the later Religious Right, and their global anti-industrialism has been integrated into the so-called "left-liberal" establishment constellation of forces and issues.

As we shall now see, the intention of the Fugitives' "littererah work," the "New Crittercism," was precisely the same as the Godzilla and Little Green Men theology of *I'll Take My Stand* and *God Without Thunder*.

#### The New Critters' Invisible Empire

In 1935, Commander of the Crown of Italy Stark Young's movie, So Red the Rose, about his family's loss of their plantations and slaves, premiered simultaneously in each of the eleven former Confederate state capitals, and was introduced by a national radio broadcast from the Governor of Virginia attending the Richmond screening. Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren were named co-editors of the Southern Review, based at Louisiana State University in the state's capital, Baton Rouge. Ford Madox Ford attended the celebrations releasing the first issue, and psychedelic superstar Aldous Huxley contributed an article.

After the *Southern Review* was closed during the war, the Critter influence spread like a metastasized cancer.

Penn Warren and Brooks's joint effort, *Understanding Poetry*, became the leading "Poetry 101" textbook used in America's universities. Brooks finished out his career at the elite Yale University, as, amongst other things, the leading interpreter of novelist William Faulkner's drunken ramblings. He also was appointed for a term as U.S. Cultural Attaché, under James Branch Cabell's cousins, the Bruces, in our London embassy.

Penn Warren also taught, for a time, at the prestigious Yale Drama School, which continues to serve as one of Hollywood's main training centers, having produced such "stars" as Jodie Foster, Meryl Streep, and Glenn Close. He won three Pulitzer Prizes, had two Hollywood movies made from his novels (most notoriously, his attack on the murdered Huey Long, *All the King's Men,* which won three Oscars<sup>53</sup>), and was named the first "Poet Laureate of the United States." In 1981, Democratic Gov. John Y. Brown of Kentucky arranged to fly Warren in his personal jet to the *I'll Take My Stand* fiftieth anniversary celebrations in Nashville.

The Critters' influence was also spread by protégés who may not have fully embraced the Agrarian cause. PBS superstar Ken Burns' fame, for instance, stems largely from his Civil War series. But it was Robert Penn Warren who, delighted with Burns' work on a film celebration of the assassination of Huey Long,<sup>54</sup> suggested that he collaborate with Agrarian historian Shelby Foote on a like-spirited treatment of the Civil War. Although, at first glance, the PBS series may appear to be informative and "balanced," think about it. Does it actually present the truth about the Civil War, "testing," as Lincoln said, "whether this nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated can long endure?" Or is this truth buried under interminable soap-opera spinning of the personal stories of people whose life's meaning is, thereby, cheapened by Burns? In the film, Foote declared his mystic reverence for the sword of Nathan Bedford Forrest, and in Memphis, Foote publicly opposed a campaign initiated by Lyndon LaRouche to remove Ku Klux Klan founder Albert Pike's statue from Federal land in Washington, D.C.

<sup>52.</sup> Underwood, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>53.</sup> Huey Long was killed by the Louisiana social set Warren and Brooks had joined at the University. He was shot by Dr. Carl Austin Weiss, the son of Brooks family physician, Dr. Carl Adam Weiss. Three weeks earlier, the assassin had treated Cleanth Brooks's foster brother in Brooks's home. Fifty years later, Robert Penn Warren commissioned current PBS superstar Ken Burns to produce a film celebrating the assassination, as part of the Agrarians' entertainment for *Southern Review*'s jubilee anniversary party.

According to statements by Mrs. Hodding Carter II (she was the wife of the later Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper editor,

who had been Brooks's roommate at Tulane University, and mother of the Carter State Department spokesman and current PBS talking head) and others interviewed on that film, the entire Baton Rouge and Louisiana upper crust had been openly clamoring for Long's assassination. She reports that when the shooting was announced, she started shouting, "Where's Hoddin'? Where's Hoddin'? because she, like each of her friends, thought that her husband might have been the shooter. The aging Warren creaked out, venemously, that Long was a "Mussolini," apparently hoping that no one remembered how fond he and his friends had been of Il Duce at the time.

<sup>54.</sup> See footnote 53.





Virtually all the icons of Twentieth-century American literature were in the orbit of the Agrarians. Above: Novelists Ernest





Novelist William Faulkner (left) was "discovered" by Fugitive Stark Young. Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe (right), and other Southern writers formed a bloc in the Modern Language Association.

British poet W.H. Auden. Connected to British Intelligence circles, Auden joined Cleanth Brooks and Andrew Nelson Lytle in Episcopal Church projects.

Hemingway (left) and F. Scott Fitzgerald (right).





Archibald Macleish, wartime Librarian of Congress. With Auden, Allen Tate, and others, he orchestrated the first Bollingen Poetry Prize award to Mussolinisupporter Ezra Pound.



Robert Penn Warren (left) became the first Poet Laureate of the United States. Kentucky Gov. John Y. Brown is at right.

The assistant at *Southern Review*, Albert Erskine, became a leading book editor, whose authors included Stark Young's "discovery," Nobel Prize-winning novelist William Faulkner.<sup>55</sup> Another of Warren's students, noted "bluesiologist" William R. Ferris of the University of Mississippi's Center for the Study of Southern Culture, was named director of the National Endowment for the Humanities by President Clinton in 1997. One of Davidson's and Brooks's students, Melvin E. Bradford, of whom you will learn more soon, had been rejected for the same post during the Reagan Administration. For a time, Agrarian collaborator Dixon Wecter held the coveted and influential—due to the massive publishing industry surrounding it—post of keeper of the secret Mark Twain papers.

Ransom left Vanderbilt University in 1937, for a chair

endowed for him at Kenyon College in Ohio by the Mellon-family-allied Carnegie Foundation. His going-away party in Nashville was sponsored jointly by Virginia Quarterly Review, Southern Review, Sewanee Review, Saturday Review of Literature, and Poetry, emceed by Ford Madox Ford, and attended by much of the nation's literati. Those who didn't attend, like T.S. Eliot, sent greetings and best wishes. At Kenyon, Ransom established the Kenyon Review and the Kenyon School of English summer session, which, along with his publishing, established him as the leading figure of "The New Criticism." His "honors" included the Bollingen Prize in poetry, about which we will have more to say, and a term as Poetry Consultant to the Library of Congress. Two students, who were to become well-known poets in their own right, Randall Jarrell of Nashville, and Robert Lowell of the Boston Lowells (nicknamed Caligula or Caliban after his manners and grooming), accompanied Ransom to Kenyon. Lowell had been treated by Fugitive psychiatrist Merrill Moore, then at Harvard, who consulted with Ford Madox Ford,

<sup>55.</sup> Stanley Ezrol, "William Faulkner: The 'Great American Novelist,' with Pure British Aroma," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Nov. 14, 1997 (Vol. 24, No. 46).

and convinced the family to accept consignment to the Fugitives as a course of treatment.

Tate and Lytle each served terms as editor of the Episcopal Church's prestigious Sewanee Review. The traditionalist Episcopal Society for the Book of Common Prayer was founded at Lytle's Monteagle, Tennessee farm, by a committee including not only Lytle, but Brooks and Brooks's friend, the alcoholic homosexual poet W.H. Auden. Tate became, at least amongst the literati, one of the best-known poets and critics in America. His friend T.S. Eliot praised him as the best poet working in America. He had a variety of academic assignments, most notably at the University of Minnesota, and Godzilla's own Princeton University, where he converted to Catholicism under the sponsorship of medievalist Jacques Maritain, another of Robert M. Hutchins' friends. The Princeton appointment had been arranged by his life-long friend, and friend of the other Night Writers, Scribner's famed book editor, Maxwell Perkins. He had been close to The New Republic's legendary literary editor, Edmund Wilson, and his successor Malcolm Cowley, a Stalinist, who later edited the popular Viking "Portable" paperback "classic" series. Hart Crane, the mystic, homosexual poet, financially supported by financier Otto Kahn, was another close friend. Tate was also a regular panelist in the 1940's on the CBS Radio program, "Invitation to Learning," along with the Mellon financial agent and friend of Stark Young, Huntington Cairns, Stringfellow Barr, and another life-long friend, the poet, editor, playwright, and critic Mark Van Doren. Van Doren was to be, among other things, the teacher of Beat poets Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, as well as the more "mainstream" critic and educator, Lionel Trilling.

After the war, Tate arranged for the Bollingen Foundation—an institution established by financier Paul Mellon specifically to promote the work of psychiatrist Carl Jung in the United States—to offer an annual poetry prize in conjunction with the Library of Congress. The Foundation, incidentally, was named after the Swiss town in which Jung had built his "Tower" getaway from his wife, in which he carried on his adulterous affairs. The prize was first presented in 1949 to Ezra Pound, then resident at St. Elizabeth's Psychiatric Hospital in Washington, D.C., for the Pisan Cantos he had written while in United States Army custody, awaiting trial for treason. This travesty was organized by Tate, his friend Archibald Macleish, the war-time Librarian of Congress, the other Agrarians, and their friends like Auden. As a result of the controversy surrounding this first award, the Library of Congress withdrew official support, but Bollingen continued the prize, eventually bestowing it on a number of the Night Writers.

In the Fifties, Tate and Cairns, who were both then regulars at Ezra Pound's literary salon at St. Elizabeth's, served on the board of *Confluence*, a culture magazine edited by Dr. Henry Kissinger at Harvard, under the patronage of William Yandell Elliott. In addition to entertaining his literary friends with goodies like champagne and caviar provided by Cairns, Pound was, at the time, the leader of a Ku Klux Klan "cell," whose leaflets he wrote and whose activity he directed. <sup>56</sup> Cairns' other accomplishments include editing the Bollingen edition of the complete dialogues of Plato.

The Night Writers and their Southern colleagues, including William Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, Thomas Wolfe, Eudora Welty, Katherine Anne Porter, Ellen Glasgow, and James Dickey, came to form an important bloc in the professional association for English teachers, the Modern Language Association (M.L.A.), and haunt, to this day, its Southern caucus, the South Atlantic Modern Language Association (S.A.M.L.A.). From 1975 through 1977, second-generation Agrarian M.E. Bradford was the President of S.A.M.L.A. The Winter 2001 issue of S.A.M.L.A.'s South Atlantic Review, includes articles on Robert Penn Warren, Christopher Isherwood, and W.H. Auden. The M.L.A. has been in the forefront of setting New York Times style-book type standards, based on Jeremy Bentham's "uniform and simple" diktat for publishing in the United States.

Recently, both a graduate of the Tennessee school system and an official of the Tennessee Historical Society have complained to the author that the state's Civil War history curricula, libraries, museums, and so forth are still dominated by the Agrarians' "damned cult of Nathan Bedford Forrest."

#### What Is 'The New Crittercism'?

Thus, the Night Writers' "New Crittercism" came to dominate American literary training, as well as the outlook of our broadcast and film industry. You should not be surprised to learn that the *intention* of the Night Writers' school is to use literature and art to destroy human cognitive thinking and replace it with "appetite," which, Ransom explained, is what we humans share with animals.

To do this, they observed in their "art" the strict division between Truth and Beauty specified by the British Empiricists and Immanuel Kant. On the one hand, they maintained the view that literature and other art, like their fake science, was based on a collection of meaningless rules, rather than on the intention to inspire real

<sup>56.</sup> E. Fuller Torrey, "Crazy Like a Fox," *The Washingtonian, January 1993*, pp. 55-58.

thinking. This was totally logical, as follows:

They were able to determine what the rules of good literature were, because these were the rules observed by the good writers. They first, of course, had to determine who the good writers were, by observing which writers followed the good rules.

In discussing these rules, they used terms like "literary merit" and "handsome diction." It's never clear what those things mean, except that they must have nothing whatsoever to do with the actual meaning, moral sense, historical truthfulness, or anything else about a literary work. They also accepted Jeremy Bentham's injunction that language must be uniform and simple. They hated puns and real metaphor—anything that forced creative thought from the reader. They also hated passion, with a passion. Thus, the Critters who had mobilized after Ezra Pound's indictment for treason, to prove that he was insane and could not be tried, then rallied to have him honored with the first Bollingen Prize in poetry. Tate defended the Pisan Cantos authored by the poet he insisted was nuts, saying they weren't "about anything. But they are distinguished verse." In his collection of essays, The World's Body, Ransom explains how poetry is to be used as a weapon against science, in favor of "our animal life":

We have elected to know the world through science, but science is only the cognitive department of our animal life, and by it we know the world only as a scheme of abstract conveniences. What we cannot know constitutionally as scientists is the world which is made up of whole and indefeasible objects, and this is the world which poetry recovers for us.<sup>57</sup>

The "aesthetic moment" appears as a curious moment of suspension,

between the Platonism in us, which is militant, always sciencing and devouring, and a starved inhibited aspiration toward innocence which, if it could only be free, would like to respect and know the object as it might of its own accord reveal itself.

Science gratifies a rational practical impulse and exhibits the minimum of perception. Art gratifies a perceptual impulse and exhibits the minimum of reason.<sup>58</sup>

In a 1926 letter to Tate, Ransom bluntly expressed his preference for the minds of "beasts":

Biologically man is peculiar in that he must record and use his successive experiences; the beasts are not under this necessity; with them the experience is an end in itself, and takes care of itself.<sup>59</sup>

As we saw in his vile dig at Shelley, Ransom hated poets who weren't animals like him. His most famous critical essay, "Shakespeare at Sonnets," was so puerile that even Penn Warren and Brooks hesitated before publishing it in the *Southern Review*. To just present the flavor of this down-home Rhodes Scholar's tantrum against one of the greatest human minds ever produced, I quote his attack on Shakespeare's Sonnet CVII (Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul / Of the wide world dreaming on things to come):

The world-soul is a technical concept, I suppose, in the sense that it was of use to Paracelsus and to other theosophists. It indicates a very fine image for some metaphysical poet who will handle it technically: for Donne or another university poet. It is not fit for amateurs. The question is whether Shakespeare's theological touch here is not amateurish; elsewhere it sometimes is, as in Hamlet's famous soliloquy beginning, "To be or not to be."

Also, from "Shakespeare at Sonnets," is an example of the kind of mindless literary rule the Critters insisted on, when it suited them. First, Ransom specifies the rule:

If the English sonnet exhibits the rhyme-scheme ABAB CDCD EFEF GG, it imposes upon the poet the following requirement: that he write three co-ordinate quatrains and then a couplet which will relate to the series collectively.

Then, upon concluding that Shakespeare breaks the rule, rather than throw it out, the damned Critter, who, despite all of his titles, never wrote a poem anyone would ever read except to make a grade, called Shakespeare a "careless workman"!

Following the empiricists, Ransom refuses to allow an idea which is independent of a direct sensory image. For instance, he takes this fragment from Shakespeare's Sonnet LXXIII:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang Upon those boughs which shake against the cold, Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.

Ransom understands the idea evoked by Shakespeare, but hates him for stretching the brain with a complex metaphor, writing, "[H]e will not quite risk the power of a single figure but compounds the figures."

So much for what the Critters say about their method. In their own literary work, the method of the Night Writers is to drown you in sensation. Their books are full of smells, sounds, and images. Even when they seem to deal with the workings of the mind, it is not cognition they deal with, but, rather, the experience of a parade of internal sensations. Donald Davidson's complaint to Tate, about Tate's most famous poem, "The Ode to the Con-

<sup>57.</sup> John Crowe Ransom, *The World's Body* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. x-xi.

<sup>58.</sup> Quoted in Young, op. cit., p. 312.

<sup>59.</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

federate Dead," made the case in part with his question, "But Allen, where are the dead?" Television and Hollywood-type cinema use the same method. The idea is to turn you into an impotent spectator of the world, but, more importantly, of your own mind. Although our movies, like our nation's most recent Presidential election-campaign, are filled with lust and gore, they do, as the Critters insist they must, lack passion. In fact, this indifference to violence, perversion, and degradation, seems to be the intention of these productions.

#### The One World Confederacy

As the "litterarah" careers of the Critters took off in the late Thirties, the world war, which the Agrarians had done so much to promote, approached. Elliott and other collaborators became increasingly involved in the Wells-Russell-Huxley efforts to guarantee that the war would wreck industrial civilization, and leave nothing but a global feudalism run by the British. As the foreign and domestic atrocities of the Fascists accelerated, the Night Writers' attempts to promote open sympathy for the cause became increasingly difficult. Once Hitler's invasion of Poland plunged all of Europe into war, they directed their efforts to sabotaging the American war effort from within, while claiming to support it. Their own correspondence during the war is lacking in any passion for the fate of their nation or any other, but focusses, rather, on their literary careers, with some mention of how they might take advantage of the war for advancement.

In 1940, key Agrarians and their friends joined with "left"-leaning One World Government types, in support of Wells' "Open Conspiracy" to use the war to create the "New British Empire." University of Chicago president, Bertrand Russell operative, and decades-long editor of Encyclopaedia Britanica, Robert Maynard Hutchins, organized a call published as The City of Man: A Declaration of World Democracy, by a group loosely called the "Committee on Europe." Its Executive Committee included William Yandell Elliott and co-editor of Who Owns America? Herbert Agar. Among the other members were:

- Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College, longtime Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, and associate of longtime *Washington Post* editor Felix Morley.
- G.A. Borgese, Italian "anti-Fascist" refugee brought to the University of Chicago by Hutchins, and the son-in-law of Thomas Mann, husband of Elisabeth Mann Borgese, who became a leader in both the United Nations and the Club of Rome "Limits to Growth" cult. All three were friends of Katharine Meyer Graham, late chairman and publisher of the *Washington Post*.
- Thomas Mann, the German refugee novelist, whose American career was sponsored by Agnes Meyer of the

Lazard Frères, *Washington Post* family. He was particularly close to Theodor Adorno, who is famous for pioneering work, leading to postwar "popular" music, in the use of sound to destroy mental functioning. He became W.H. Auden's "father-in-law" in 1935, when his daughter Erika married Auden for immigration purposes. His son Klaus had an affair with Christopher Isherwood, and his brother Heinrich wrote the novel on which *The Blue Angel* was based.

- Van Wyck Brooks, a top New England literary figure, among other things a biographer of Mark Twain.
- Christian Gauss, longtime literature professor and Dean of Princeton, who taught Edmund Wilson and F. Scott Fitzgerald, and recruited Tate to teach there.
- Alvin Johnson, a leader with Agrarian Stark Young of Wells' *New Republic*/New School for Social Research crowd.
- Lewis Mumford, a follower of the Distributists and one of the founders of Twentieth-century looney environmentalism.

The City of Man is a naked call for crushing all nations under the foot of one Godzilla Empire. This is what is now known as "globalization," as pursued by "Project Democracy" and its confederates. Herbert Agar's Freedom House and Elisabeth Mann Borgese's Club of Rome and United Nations, are now in the forefront of this drive to establish a world authority to destroy sovereign nations. The Agrarians' collaborator Julian Huxley was also a top U.N. official—the first director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).60 The City of Man was only one of many documents following the general plan of Wells' Open Conspiracy, but since you now know many of the participants, and know their role in collaboration with Hitler and Mussolini in support of a return to feudalism, I use that evidence here to demonstrate what the intention of "globalization" was and is.

One myth which is destroyed by taking these historical facts into account, is the idea that "Big Government" is an enemy of individual freedom. These apostles of absolute global dictatorship, who intend to control every aspect of life—family, church, education, technology, economy—are using that myth to destroy the strength of nations. They insist that they are doing so, because, as they tell you—apparently trusting that you're too stupid to get the point, or too frightened to do anything about

<sup>60.</sup> This does not mean that the United Nations always was, or even now is, an instrument of the British Empire. Franklin Roosevelt intended that it would serve a useful purpose as a permanent international forum, and it has, often, been a useful venue for the Non-Aligned nations and other anti-colonial forces. But the British always intended it to be an arm of their Global Empire.



Fabian spymaster H.G. Wells.



Lord Bertrand Russell. With Wells, he led the drive for One World Government.



In the 1940's, key Agrarians joined with "left"-leaning One Worldists in support of H.G. Wells' "Open Conspiracy" to create a New British Empire. Above: Scene from Wells' film "Things To Come." Below: United Nations official Julian Huxley.





Russell operative and University of Chicago president Robert M. Hutchins. His 1940 "City of Man" declaration echoed Wells' "Open Society." Below: "City of Man" author Thomas Mann (right) with brother Heinrich.



it—a properly constituted community of nations, of the people, by the people, for the people, is the one thing that protects you from them. Here's what they say:

England, where modern man first rose to his dignity, still holds out in tragic valor—a bastion in flames. But not even her survival in heroic self-defense would be adequate, without outside help, to the task of reshaping a world; and the alternative of defeat has been ominously intimated by her Premier himself—"until," he said, "in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old."

To this expiation by tyranny, now already an accomplished fact over a large expanse of the world, we oppose the ancient dream of man, which we deem imperishable. In an era of Apocalypse we call for a Millennium. Universal peace can be founded only on the unity of man under one law and one government. ... Therefore the City of Man must be much more than a League of Nations or a coalescence of continents. It must be the Nation of Man embodied in the Universal State, the State of States.

But it remains for all men of good will to make the

interval of preparation as short as possible, until the day comes when the heresy of nationalism is conquered and the absurd architecture of the present world is finally dismantled. Then, above the teeming, manifold life of free communities rising from the natural conditions of each one's soil and work, there will be a Universal Parliament, representing people, not states—a fundamental body of law prevailing throughout the planet in all those matters that involve interregional interests; an elected president, the President of Mankind—no crowned emperor, no hereditary king—embodying for a limited term the common authority and the common law; and a federal force ready to strike at anarchy and felony.

If that sounds almost good to you, the Committee now proceeds to set the hook:

But the fundamental principle is that the democratic concept of freedom can never include the freedom to destroy democracy and freedom. . . .

This is—in an interpretation suited to the modernist or post-modernist mind—the spirit which Christ called the Holy Ghost. In its ultimate sacredness He set a limit to all tolerance

and charity. "Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men."...

This common creed already exists; towards its luminous center all higher minds already point. . . . It teaches that a divine intention governs the universe—be it called God or Deity or the Holy Ghost or the Absolute or Logos or even Evolution. The direction of this intention is from matter to life and from life to spirit, from chaos to order, from blind strife and random impulse to conscience and moral law, from darkness to light.

It teaches that in the universe we know the human species is the spearhead of the divine intention. ... It teaches that man's growth or progress or evolution is not backward, toward the savagery of the superman or the gleam of the beast of prey, but forward, toward the radiance of the angel. It teaches that if the divine intention is to be fulfilled, the pursuit of the good, under the inspiration of faith, hope, and charity, must imply resistance to evil, with battle when necessary. ...

The factory, in whose self-contained despotism Fascism found an early blueprint of world-wide regimentation, must be no longer the penitentiary of the outcast, the Bastille of the proletariat. . . . The youth of the nations, enlisted for a limited term, should learn in federal factories, in public works, on communal farms, the skill of production in patience rather than the craft of destruction in terror.

They close with an appeal to "Americanism," but the Committee's "Americanism" is no more American than is Bertrand Russell's "science" which Ransom had tried to pass as such. Is it anything but yoking America to pull the Empire's chariot of doom?:

There must be a New Testament of Americanism, which will voice the commandments that have arisen from this age of denial and ruin, from America's desertion of the League of Nations to the cataclysm of 1940.

Union was proposed by the British Government to France, later than at the eleventh hour. But the offer, futile in the death-agony of republican France, remains a mere ideal milestone on the slow path of man toward the consciousness that the era of the nations is over and that unity will be achieved in the spirit of Evil if the spirit of Good is not good enough. . . .

Here—more precious than all the gold in Kentucky—the treasure of English culture is guarded, as Hellenism was preserved in Rome; and along with it the treasure and essence of all human cultures. . . . For here, and almost nowhere else, is man granted the right and duty of being Christian and human.

Ask yourself what they mean when they say later, "know what limits are set," or "pruning the tree of freedom." Their heirs claim to revere family, community, education, and church, but do they intend that any institution shall escape enslavement to their global theocracy?:

The primary groups of family, educational association, neighborhood, and church—each of them with its specific attributes and all of them with their combined contributions to the general purpose—must be restored in new forms with new life. This is tantamount to stating that a constitutional reform of democracy cannot be founded but on the spirit of a new religion ... [regarding] the relations between the community as a whole and the separate churches. [We require] definite tenets embodying the universal religion of Democracy, which shall underlie each and all of them. For virtually all of them have meddled in the anarchy of the nations and bowed to the powers that be. ... Therefore the hour has struck when we must know what limits are set by the religion of freedom, which is democracy, to the freedom of worship, and of what God we talk when we repeat, from the Gettysburg Address, that "this nation," and with this nation the world, "must have a new birth of freedom under God."

The pruning of this tree of freedom [!–SE] will not make it less fruitful. The organization of learning, with colleges and universities at the top of its structure, has built and builds the preparatory ground where democratic aristocracies are trained for leadership. But no aristocracy or leadership can subsist without a firm footing in inflexible principles and unshakable values. A reorientation of education and a supervision of its aims should be undertaken from this angle.

Wilson's "program of the world's peace" cannot be enforced . . . with judges but no sheriffs. . . . Therefore, that program, the only possible program as we see it . . . is a universal law first promulgated to all humanity, entrusted to the good will of those groups and communities that are progressively disposed to adopt it, then enforced on the rebels, finally to become the common peace and freedom of all the peoples of the earth. 61

So, you see, this Wellsian crew dropped the openly "pro-Confederate" flavor of Agrarianism, but retained the hatred of nation-states, of cognition, of science, of industrialism, of real religion and of public education, and the love of the British Empire, of Godzilla religion, of environmentalism, and of "aristocracies" which, otherwise, characterize the type. They fly the flag, "Democracy," over their hideous plan for "inflexible," "unshakable" control of all "principles" and all "values." When they speak of "peace," you should think of H.G. Wells' "Gas of Peace," which was used in *Things To Come*, to obliterate all opposition to his New Empire.

<sup>61.</sup> Herbert Agar, Frank Aydelotte, G.A. Borgese, Hermann Broch, Van Wyck Brooks, Ada L. Comstock, William Yandell Elliott, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Christian Gauss, Oscar Jaszi, Alvin Johnson, Hans Kohn, Thomas Mann, Lewis Mumford, William Allan Neilson, Reinhold Niebuhr, Gaetano Salvemini, *The City of Man: A Declaration of World Democracy* (New York: Viking Press; Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1941).

World War II, thanks to the fallen Roosevelt and his generals, ended decades short of H.G. Wells' hoped-for thirty years, and failed to entirely wipe out nations. Nonetheless, the Committee and their collaborators pressed ahead with their crusade. G.A. Borgese and Dr. Richard P. McKeon of Hutchins' University of Chicago, founded the "Committee to Frame a World Constitution" in 1946. Other members in 1947 were Mortimer J. Adler, who had moved from Hutchins' side to Harvard; Wilburg G. Katz, University of Chicago Law School; James M. Landis, Harvard Law; Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard and Union Theological Seminary; Beardsley Ruml, Chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Board; Albert Leon Guerard, Stanford University; Erich Kahler, New School for Social Research; Stringfellow Barr, then President of St. John's; and Harold A. Innis, University of Toronto. As we mentioned before, Barr was to serve later as President of the Foundation for World Government, and as a fellow at Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Elisabeth Mann Borgese went on to her U.N. and Club of Rome career, and Thomas Mann went to Hollywood, where he relived old days and ways with Christopher Isherwood, Aldous Huxley, and others of our cast resident there, where they were occasionally joined by Robert Penn Warren and other relevant visitors.

Thus, the whole "liberal," "World Federalist" phenomenon, including the not necessarily "liberal" globalization, is a slight variation on the theme, "pro-Confederate Agrarianism."

### Cleanth Brooks and the Confederate Yankee

After World War II, the Critters, beyond their strictly "litterarah" work, got involved in three related and overlapping sorts of political activity. As we've indicated, the purest strain of the Agrarian/Distributist infection produced the epidemic of the postwar "Conservative Revolution." Another strain was the "World Federalist" and globalizing current just described. The third was the closely related involvement of, especially, Elliott's Agrarian protégés, in the "Eastern Establishment" reorganization of U.S. government strategic and international policy.

First, examine the spread of the virus in its pure form. Cleanth Brooks left Louisiana State University for New Haven, Connecticut's Yale University. That is where Brooks, a life-long Democrat, who supported William Jefferson Clinton's 1992 Presidential campaign, made the contacts which were to shape the Conservative movement of the past half-century as a revival, expansion, and continuation of the Agrarian/Distributist/Fascist alliance of the Thirties. He met William F. Buckley, both Senior

and Junior, there, and all of the Buckley brothers and sisters. The initial Buckley family contact was through William F.'s younger brother, F. Reid, who was to live much of his life in Spain as a Carlist sympathizer, and Willmoore Kendall, who had taught with Brooks at L.S.U. and then moved to Yale at the same time as Brooks, and whose career included psychological warfare assignments for the military and the C.I.A., for which he called on Brooks and Penn Warren as consultants.

This association merged Buckley family oil-money, intelligence community, apostate Communist, and anti-Renaissance Catholic contacts, most notably the so-called "Carlist" partisans of the Spanish Bourbon monarchy and the allied Hapsburg imperial revivalists, with the Nashville Agrarians, to produce what we now know as the Gingrichites, the Religious Right, and so forth.

The first major job Buckley recruited these and others of the Agrarian tribe to, was support for the "McCarthyite" witch-hunts of the early Fifties. This "pruning of the tree of freedom," along with the hedonism of the Huxley-inspired Beat and later hippie movements, and the shocks of the Kennedy and other assassinations and the Vietnam War, softened Americans to retreat, in the aftermath of the Sixties, from the high point of Roosevelt's war leadership, into the anti-cognitive sloth of the "rock-sex-drug, backto-nature" counterculture and the "Southern Strategy." Buckley's first major organization, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, now known as the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, was founded for that purpose in 1953, and he hired Agrarians to be its "idea" men. To this day, its publications and programs are dominated by the Night Writers, and from this base they have become the key "intellectual" leaders of postwar American Conservativism.

The leader of this next Agrarian generation was Richard M. Weaver of Weaverville, North Carolina, a son of "dirt poor" North Carolina gentry. He was a socialist, of some sort, at the University of Kentucky, when *I'll Take My Stand* was published. He was so taken with it that he enrolled in a fellowship program under John Crowe Ransom at Vanderbilt. After Vanderbilt, he got his doctorate from Louisiana State University with Brooks and Penn Warren. His thesis was later published as *The Southern Tradition at Bay*. Since his ideas stray little from those of the elder Night Writers, I provide only this quote, which demonstrates agreement with Master Ransom's and Carl Jung's Godzilla counter-revolution against religion:

[T]he Southerner wanted the older religiousness of dreams and drunkenness—something akin to the rituals of the Medieval Church, and to the Eleusinian mysteries of the ancients.

From Vanderbilt, he went on to lecture at Hutchins' University of Chicago, where he published *Ideas Have Con*sequences. This book impressed an East Lansing, Michigan bookstore owner, who described himself later as a "Conservative Bohemian," named Russell Kirk. Kirk, the scion of a Mecosta, Michigan spiritualist family, invited Weaver to speak in East Lansing, which began a life-long association between the two. These two, along with Kendall, and some others, quickly took over the "intellectual" work for Buckley's operations, and related "Conservative" institutions. Later, second-generation Agrarian Melvin E. Bradford was moved into top-level positions in the same apparat. In the Sixties, Kendall, Bradford, and an ardent monarchist and Carlist, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, were all together at the University of Dallas. The University had been founded by Buckley's crowd in 1956, as a center for Godzilla Catholicism, which worked closely with the "Protestant" Fundamentalist center, the Dallas Theological Seminary. Wilhelmsen told me that it, and its Cistercian Abbey, have served as part of the Buckley apparat, and also a home away from home for the Archduke and would-be Holy Roman Emperor Otto von Hapsburg, who, despite his missing crown, does control immense wealth and power. In 1968, Buckley's Intercollegiate Studies Institute sponsored a "Southern Literary Festival" there, which featured a reunion of the remaining Agrarians, including Ransom, whose God Without Thunder program was the same as the University's mission. Today, the University of Dallas' website, which seems to offer courses of study such as "how to be a Hapsburg vassal," "reviving the Crusades," and "crushing the nation," declares, on its "Rome Campus" page, above a homoerotic photograph of an obelisk and two cupolas, "We are all of us still, in a sense, as T.S. Eliot has said, citizens of the Roman Empire."62

Kirk founded the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's journal, *Modern Age*, and Weaver, Kendall, Bradford, and Wilhelmsen also contributed to it. Kendall and Kirk had leading positions at Buckley's flagship *National Review*, and the others contributed to it. Kirk also held positions with the Heritage Foundation, and was the founding president of the Rockford Institute and founding editor of its journal, *Chronicles*. Heritage, of course, is one of the most powerful Conservative "think-tanks" in the nation, deserving of much greater notoriety than what it earned by hosting the "orientation" of Newt Gingrich's famous Headless Hordes of the Congressional class of '94.

In 1979, Kirk, Bradford, Wilhelmsen, Andrew Nelson Lytle, F. Reid Buckley, Kirk's protégé Thomas Fleming, and others, largely associated with the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, founded the *Southern Partisan*, which functions, to this day, as a rallying point for the revival of the Confederacy and the legacy of the Nashville Agrarians. As we said, alongside the glowing interviews given by "respectable" conservatives, including current Attorney General John Ashcroft, and "moderate" Night Writers like Cleanth Brooks, it has praised Lytle's *Critter Company* as literature on a par with Homer, and reprinted Frank Lawrence Owsley's blood-curdling defense of slavery and lynching from *I'll Take My Stand*. Other figures associated with this journal of treason include:

- Sam Francis of the Heritage Foundation and Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Former aide to Senator John East (also a friend of *Southern Partisan*) of North Carolina.
- Murray Rothbard of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, the Mont Pelerin Society, and the National Taxpayers Union.
- Llewellyn Rockwell of the Ludwig von Mises Insti-
- Patrick J. Buchanan, columnist, TV personality, and sometime Presidential candidate.
- Eugene Genovese, Marxist academic who supports the idea that slavery is better than capitalism.
- Charles Adams of the National Taxpayers Union, author of *The Case for Southern Secession*, a recent, dumbed-down entry of the *American Heresy* genre.

The Mont Pelerin Society is the most powerful promoter in the world today of the Free Market voodoo-economics cult of greed of the "Southern Strategy," which you now recognize as John Locke's government of, by, and for Property, having produced, amongst other things, the notorious University of Chicago dingbat, Milton Friedman. It is closely associated with the memory of founder Friedrich von Hayek, whose famous work, The Road to Serfdom, was published by Hutchins' University of Chicago. The Ludwig von Mises Institute, named for von Hayek's "Austrian School" disciple, and the National Taxpayers Union, better renamed the "Tax Dodgers," are closely related. Somehow their Lockean slogans, "privatization," "deregulation," and "shareholder value," have become so powerful that, even in the face of massive, genocidal failure, as in the California energy price-gouging and Katharine Graham's shutdown of D.C. General Hospital, opponents of these "property first" policies dare not attack the whole murderous idea, but meekly speak of "problems" with deregulation here or privatization there, and the need to avoid these "problems" while proceeding full-steam ahead with the program.

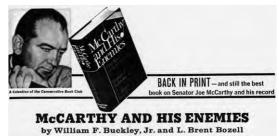
Thomas Fleming has now left *Southern Partisan* to succeed Kirk as both President of the Rockford Institute and editor of *Chronicles*. He is also on the board of the *Southern League* and edits its journal, *Southern Patriot*.

<sup>62.</sup> See the University of Dallas website at www.udallas. edu/rome/Romapage.html.



Agrarian Cleanth Brooks (left) introduced his colleagues to the William F. Buckley family, to found the post-war Conservative movement that spawned the Gingrichites and the "Religious Right." Seated, left to right: Brooks, Southern author Eudora Welty, John Crowe Ransom; standing, right: poet Richard Blackmur.

William F. Buckley, Jr., and his brother-inlaw L. Brent Bozell, authored this 1958 defense of McCarthyism.





"Southern Patriot" editor Thomas Fleming also heads the Rockford Institute and edits its journal "Chronicles" (below).

"Southern Partisan," founded in 1979, has become the favorite venue of Southern Strategy politicians, including Attorney General John Ashcroft and Senators Trent Lott, Jesse Helms, John East, and Phil Gramm.







The Southern League is agitating for a new Confederacy, the maintenance of the "Stars and Bars," and the construction of Nathan Bedford Forrest and other pro-Confederate monuments throughout the South. Under Fleming, both the League and Rockford have forged alliances with "indigenous" and "separatist" enemies of nations around the world.<sup>63</sup>

Frederick Wilhelmsen was one of the founders of another Godzilla Catholic institution, Christendom College, in Front Royal, Virginia, which has served as a Washington, D.C.-area bastion for Distributist-type enemies of Pope John Paul II and his concerns. Its student lounge is named "Chester-Belloc" after the Agrarians'

collaborators, Nazi sympathizers G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. Not surprisingly Buckley's Carlist, sometime C.I.A. brother-in-law, L. Brent Bozell, is also involved in that one.

One of the leading book publishers for this movement is Henry Regnery. Regnery Publishing was founded at the close of World War II, under the patronage of Robert M. Hutchins by Henry Regnery and former *Washington Post* editor Felix Morley.

These recent generations of dumbed-down Night Writers have few new "ideas," but I'll briefly mention one of Bradford's contributions to *Modern Age*, "On Remembering Who We Are." Bradford wasn't just whistling "Dixie," but had an elaborate philosophical argument against nations like ours, and in favor of empires like Rome. It was published at about the time President Reagan nominated him to head the National

<sup>63.</sup> See Mark Burdman, "Her Majesty's Separatists Meet: Lord Byron Foundation Brings Its 'Greater Serbia' Cause to the U.S."; Edward Spannaus, "Confederate Fleming Pushes Breakup of U.S."; and Umberto Pascali, "Lord Byronists Foment 'Clash of Civilizations' to Protect the Empire," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Feb. 28, 1997 (Vol. 24, No. 10).

<sup>64.</sup> M.E. Bradford, "On Remembering Who We Are: A Political Credo," *Modern Age*, Spring 1982, pp. 144-152.

#### The Agrarians Run Our Foreign Policy, Too

The Nashville Agrarians came to dominate American foreign policy with the same bestial thinking that underlies their "New Crittercism."

Most notable in this tragedy is the role of William Yandell Elliott, the Fugitive poet who was the leading figure in Harvard University's government department from 1925 through his retirement in 1963. His prize pupil was later National Security Adviser, Secretary of State, and eminence grise of Republican Party policy, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, who dedicated his 1957 book, A World Restored, to "Professor William Y. Elliott, to whom I owe more, both intellectually and humanly, than I can ever repay." Other Elliott protégés and associates include Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his friend, the popularizer of the "Clash of Civilizations," Samuel P. Huntington; John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy; Kennedy and Johnson's Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Johnson's National Security Adviser Walt Rostow; Ronald Reagan's National Security Adviser Richard Allen; and historian and Kennedy adviser Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

Elliott himself was a leading figure in the Council on Foreign Relations and a host of openly coupist think-tanks and policy pressure groups. He gave a series of seminars at United States War Colleges, between about 1957 and 1967, in collaboration with the Foreign Policy Research Institute, which led Arkansas' Senator William Fulbright to warn the Secretary of Defense of right-wing antigovernment activity within the military. Unpublished transcripts of these seminars, housed at the Hoover Institution's William Yandell Elliott archives, reveal that Elliott attempted to recruit American uniformed officers into a cult he called "The Roundtable for the Republic," based on the "Arthurian Legend," by telling them our government had gotten "tender." The cult's mission was to destroy our Constitution and reorganize the United States as a section of a "New British Empire."

--SE

Endowment for the Humanities. In it, he attacks the U.S. Constitution, because it is a creation of "principles derived from a definition of men . . . as vessels of reason," and makes a case for what he calls "natural" republics. The examples of "natural" republics he cites are Rome and the Serenissima Republic of Venice, for a thousand years the loan-shark capital of the world. That is the Venice infamous for the secret execution orders of the Council of Ten, the Bravo's stiletto, and the corpses silently slid into the ooze of its Romantic sewage-stinking canals, whose government Verdi identified in the opera I Due Foscari, with the slogan, silencio, myster. His list includes the United Brotherhood of The Netherlands, and the Nazis' beloved Thule. These republics he praised for being composed of "men and women who are of one heritage, one blood, and one religion," who tolerate outsiders as subjects, not citizens, just as Belloc had proposed "Christian" nations should treat Jews.

So, the Gingrichite Conservative Revolution was nothing but the continuation—with little change, because that's the way they likes it—of the ideas of the old, bestial, Nazi-sympathizing Agrarian/Distributist alliance.

#### Controlling National Security

While those Critters who continued to openly identify with their gurus served the Empire faction from the leadership of the forces of "Conservative Revolution," William Yandell Elliott's protégés and others operated to the same effect from within what is sometimes called the "Eastern Liberal Establishment," while nonetheless maintaining relations with their White Sheeted comrades. For the more than half-century since the end of World War II, the main issue confronting us was whether Franklin Roosevelt's plan to replace "Economic Royalism" and "Eighteenth-century" British Empire methods, with an American-led community of equal, sovereign nation-states, would succeed. The Critters were determined that it should fail.

William Yandell Elliott's role in creating Dr. Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski at Harvard University, today's premier training institution of America's Establishment elite, is only the leading example of this.

Kissinger was Elliott's leading protégé, assistant, and right-hand man from 1946 until Elliott left Harvard in 1963. His duties included assisting Elliott in preparing Harvard's standard textbook, *Western Political Heritage*. This became the main "source" book for training each Harvard freshman in Sidney Hirsch's "Epic Examplars" view of history. Following dozens of excerpts selected out of twenty-five centuries of philosophy and political sci-

ence, the text concludes with a somewhat moderated call by, apparently, the greatest of them all, William Yandell Elliott, for a global Godzilla Empire. The dimension added to this call, after the war, by the whole Wells-Russell crew, including Elliott, was that the danger of nuclear war made global control of industry (which these Yahoos always wanted anyway) an urgent necessity.

Kissinger's work with the Rockefeller Foundation, "Caliban" Lowell's cousin, Harvard's McGeorge Bundy, John J. McCloy, and others in establishing the "Mutually Assured Destruction" doctrine and its corollaries, is fairly well known, as is his work, for Elliott, on the Harvard Summer School International Seminars, which brought him into contact with leading figures from around the world. What is less widely known, is that throughout this period, Kissinger was trying to fit in as a good ole' Critter.

In the early Fifties, Elliott arranged for Kissinger to edit a "culture" magazine, Confluence, which published the works of the Night Writers and their circle. His coeditors, Allen Tate and Huntington Cairns, were both then regulars at Fascist propagandist Ezra Pound's salon at St. Elizabeth's political asylum for the "addled discreetly put away." As director of the Summer Seminars, Sir Henry worked with Critter Andrew Nelson Lytle, who chaired its Humanities division in 1954, and again with Tate during the Summer of 1959. I have not discovered whether Kissinger, who served in that period as Elliott's aide-de-camp, accompanied his mentor to the Rockefeller-funded "Fugitives Reunion at Vanderbilt," in 1956, but in tape-recorded remarks to that gathering, Elliott said he brought the Fugitives to Harvard on a number of occasions for poetry events. Presumably the editor of Confluence would have been involved.

Just as Elliott acknowledged his spiritual debt to his master, Sidney Hirsch, Dr. (now, "Sir") Henry Kissinger, dedicated his 1957 book, *A World Restored*, to "Professor William Y. Elliott, to whom I owe more, both intellectually and humanly, than I can ever repay." Kissinger's debt to the Empire's Night Writers was, otherwise, acknowledged in his infamous May 10, 1982 speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, where, as part of the organizing for "Project Democracy," he declared his loyalty to the Empire, and his treachery against the American Intellectual Tradition, as follows:

Many American leaders condemned Churchill as needlessly obsessed with power politics, too rigidly anti-Soviet, too colonialist ..., and too little interested in building the fundamentally new international order towards which American idealism has always tended. The dispute was resolved according to American preferences—in my view, to the detriment of postwar security.

Fortunately, Britain had a decisive influence over

#### Nuclear War Strategy and Kooky Poetry: The Same Mumbo-Jumbo

Most histories of the Fugitives insist that neither their literary achievements, nor the government policy career of William Yandell Elliott, were connected to the pro-Fascist "Agrarian" movement, which is portrayed as a temporary aberration, abandoned by most of the Fugitives by 1937, and *never* embraced by Elliott. However, not only were all phases of the movement informed by the same kooky cultism taught by Nashville's Sidney Mttron Hirsch, but this was well known, and discussed in depth, amongst Elliott's Harvard and other Establishment colleagues.

Most notable is the transcript of a closed "literary" session of Harvard's "William Yandell Elliott Conference on the Marriage of Political Philosophy and Practice in Public Affairs" which celebrated Elliott's retirement. Although Harvard's rules prohibit release of its files on this event until the year 2013, it is available in Box 1 of the Hoover Institution Elliott Archives. The conference was addressed by notables including Dr. Henry Kissinger and then National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, as well as by Agrarians Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and Andrew Nelson Lytle.

Elliott prefaced his remarks by referring to "these long evening discussions when we used to talk about the role of myths and symbols" with "Johnny" [Crowe Ransom], Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, Andrew Lytle, and the other Fugitives, forty years earlier. "Allen," he said, "has always thought of the literary arts as affording a foundation for political philosophy." Elliot said that he and the other surviving Fugitives ought to produce Epic poetry in the tradition of the "Arthurian legend" and the Niebelungenlied, to provide new myths as the philosophical basis for his "Round Tables for the Republic" cult, which, kooky as it sounds, has been the basis for the policies of at least five National Security Advisers and two Secretaries of State over the last forty years, and which has now brought us to the brink of global religious warfare.

—SE

America's rapid awakening to maturity in the years following.

In my White House incarnation then, I kept the British Foreign Office better informed and more closely engaged than I did the American State Department.<sup>65</sup>

The following year, Night Writer Robert Penn Warren was one of three Rhodes Scholars specially honored at Oxford's eightieth anniversary celebration of the Scholarships. Queen Elizabeth II made a point of engaging him in private discussion, bypassing other notables in attendance, including then-Governor of Arkansas William J. Clinton.

#### Making Us the Enemy

One most pernicious effect of the Night Writer disease, is that "Americanism," as they and we understand it—a passion for strong nation-states dedicated to the Common Good, through fostering man's role in the image of God—has been made into the "enemy image" for the United States intelligence and foreign policy establishments. Seeking out and destroying this "enemy" is the mission of "Project Democracy," established in 1982 to fund a network of "quango's," including arms of both the Democratic and Republican Parties, the trade-union movement, and the Chamber of Commerce, with the openly declared intention of interfering in politics in ways the official C.I.A. was then prohibited from doing. The replacement of elected popular leaders in a dozen or more "developing" nations with Elliott-style international "permanent" bureaucrats, under the banner of global "Democracy," is this outfit's stock-in-trade.

Although there is probably more that we don't know about it than what we do, the Critters, both "liberal" and "conservative," have been incorporated into these intelligence operations, moving through a network of cultural and political front groups.

For example, during the war, Allen Tate wrote to Andrew Nelson Lytle, stating that he wanted to get a job

in intelligence, and had met with the forerunner of the C.I.A., the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Among his war-time friends was Librarian of Congress Archibald Macleish, whose duties, reportedly, involved various "information" assignments beyond mere librarian duty. Prior to his appointment as Librarian, Macleish had been a close friend and travelling companion of wartime Fascist agent Ezra Pound, and had collaborated with Pound, later C.I.A. top official James Jesus Angleton, and later National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, in producing a Yale literary magazine, Furioso. Afterwards, he was an Assistant Secretary of State, who cooperated with Night Writer soul-mate Julian Huxley in setting up UNESCO, and also participated in various intelligencelinked cultural activities. Macleish was involved, for instance, in John Train's *Paris Review* in the 1950's.<sup>66</sup>

Although we don't know whether or not Tate ever officially joined the OSS, we do know that he met a young woman, Eleanor Phelps Clark, who was employed there, first at the French, and later at the Italian desk. Tate introduced Clark to Robert Penn Warren, and they married some years later. Although Clark's official duties at OSS were behind desks, immediately before the war she had been a leader in Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, serving on Trotsky's staff in Mexico at the time of his assassination. Penn Warren himself had visited Italy twice in the years immediately before the war. The reasons given for these visits do not explain why he remained there dangerously past the October 1939 Nazi invasion of Poland. But in 1964, Penn Warren wrote an apparently autobiographical novel, Flood, about a Nashville and Ivy League writer hired by an "ex-OSS" man.<sup>67</sup>

In 1952, Tate and Stark Young's discovery, William Faulkner, then a Nobel Prize-winning drunk, went on an international tour for an acknowledged C.I.A. "proprietary," the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Robert Penn Warren had been invited to accompany them, but did not. The Congress had been founded at a major conference in Berlin in 1950, under the sponsorship of

<sup>65.</sup> Henry A. Kissinger, "Reflections on a Partnership: British and American Attitudes to Postwar Foreign Policy, Address in Commemoration of the Bicentenary of the Office of Foreign Secretary," May 10, 1982, Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London. Text provided by Dr. Kissinger's office at CSIS.

<sup>66.</sup> Train was from a top Wall Street family, the brother of the Republican Club of Rome kook Russell Train, but he set up *Paris Review* as a sort of successor to Ford Madox Ford's *transatlantic review*, to promote the works of Aldous Huxley and other counterculture heroes from Paris.

Thirty years later, John Train was to host a series of "salons" which brought together news media types with state and Federal prosecutors, the Anti-Defamation League, and others, with the intention to railroad Lyndon LaRouche to prison and destroy his

organization. In 1983, Elliott's protégé Henry Kissinger and Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) director David Abshire, arranged for President Reagan's Foreign Intelligence Advisery Board (PFIAB), to officially declare Lyndon LaRouche a foreign security threat, which "legitimized" his illegal prosecution and imprisonment under Reagan's Executive Order 12333. The support for Kissinger's demand came from notable sources, including *Washington Post* publisher Katharine Meyer Graham's attorney, Edward Bennett Williams, and Freedom House. All of the principal Justice Department and related operations against LaRouche and his associates, from that time to the present, have been the fruit of that January 1983 action, at the instigation of Edward Bennett Williams, on behalf of Kissinger.

<sup>67.</sup> Joseph Blotner, *Robert Penn Warren, A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1997), *passim*.

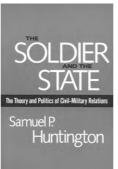








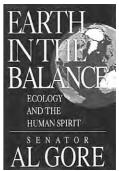
Among Agrarian William Yandell Elliott's protégés at Harvard were Henry A. Kissinger (above, with William F. Buckley, Ir.), Zbigniew Brzenzinski (left), and Samuel P. Huntington (top, right). Brzezinski became National Security Adviser to "Southern Strategy" President Jimmy Carter (top, far right). Huntington authored the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, and the utopian military tract "The Soldier and The State."







Above: Atlanta's Conservative Revolutionary Newt Gingrich (left), and the Harvard- and Vanderbilttrained Mother Earth cultist Al Gore (right). Both Gingrich and Gore were outgrowths of H.G. Wells' "futurology" movement. Right: Gore's Limits-to-Growth ecology tract, "Earth in the Balance."



Katharine Graham's friend at the C.I.A., Frank Wisner, and Pragmatist John Dewey's "reformed" Bukharinite Communist protégé, Sidney Hook. Its stated purpose was to attract people in "the arts" away from Communism, toward whatever it was.

The honorary sponsors of the Berlin conference included Dewey, Bertrand Russell, and Allen Tate's sponsor in the Catholic Church, Jacques Maritain. The participants included Buckley associate James Burnham, Night Writer colleague Tennessee Williams, and later long-term head of the AFL-CIO's International Division, Irving Brown.<sup>68</sup> Brown's "International Division" remains, to this day, one of the major "quango" spy fronts.

It is, amongst other things, the largest single recipient of money from "Project Democracy," which was established in 1982, pursuant to Ronald Reagan's pledge to the British Parliament the previous year, to replace activities like the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which the C.I.A. was no longer permitted to fund. The later Agrarian-allied operation, Christendom College, was established on land purchased from Brown's "George Meany Center" in Front Royal, Virginia, and featured C.I.A. personnel, including William F. Buckley's brother-in-law Brent Bozell and former Deputy Director Vernon Walters.

In 1962, the forces of what was to become known as the "Southern Strategy," initiated several institutions to formulate policy, and shape the ideas behind policy making. These included two closely related, largely Catholic and Southern think-tanks in Washington, D.C., the Cen-

<sup>68.</sup> Allen Tate and Donald Davidson, *The Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson and Allen Tate* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1974), pp. 363-364. Michael Warner, "Origins of the Congress of Cultural Freedom, 1949-50," in *C.I.A.: Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 38, No. 5 (a version sanitized for the public is available from the C.I.A.'s World Wide Web Page, www.odci.gov).

Executive Intelligence Review Special Report, "Project Democracy: The 'Parallel Government' Behind the Iran-Contra Affair," April 1987.

ter for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the American Enterprise Institute. After their respective periods of government disservice, both of Elliott's protégés, Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the Nixon-Ford National Security Adviser, Secretary of State, and, in effect, Prime Minister, Henry A. Kissinger, joined CSIS, with which they remain associated to this day. It was under the auspices of CSIS and the "Military Reform Caucus" of the Congress, that Atlanta's Conservative Revolutionary, Newt Gingrich, and the Harvard- and Vanderbilt-trained Mother Earth cultist, sometime Congressman and Senator from Grand Ole' Nashville, later Vice President of the United States, Al Gore, joined with various Democrats and Republicans, including the first Bush's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, to formulate the post-Cold War imperial military policy later implemented in Panama, Iraq, Bosnia, and elsewhere.

Gingrich and Gore collaborated in two of the nuttiest operations around. Both of them were outgrowths of the Wellsian "futurology" movement, and both are deeply tied to the Club of Rome "Limits to Growth" cult of Elisabeth Mann Borgese and others. These were the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future, and the World Futures Society. These institutions were crawling with "Little Green Men"—New Age spiritualism, psychedelic drug promotion, "human potential" fads, and Pentagonrelated Rand Corporation-type prediction and analysis operations. They claimed, essentially, to have invented the future. Of course, in one sense, they did believe they had invented the future; but, they overlooked the name of the institutions which had invented them. What came out was not their invention, and it was not, and never will be, the future.

What they did, in concert with the curious Alvin Toffler, was to take the Night Writers' dream and our nightmare, that creative thought was forever banned, and make that the fundamental assumption about the future. Having done that, they created computerized algorithms and so on, which proved, based on the programmed-in assumption that no new idea would ever occur, that the future was a disaster, and that the only hope we have is to kill everyone. Of course they didn't, necessarily, in all cases, say "kill everyone"; they, more often, speak of "limits." Limit growth, limit consumption of energy, water, food. Limit production of everything. They even claimed, sometimes, that some people would be permitted to live.

President Jimmy Carter's energy adviser, Dennis Hayes, for instance, produced a pamphlet, using their Systems Analysis methods, to prove that people could cut energy consumption in half without reducing their living standards, through measures like eating fifty pounds of

kelp (seaweed), instead of getting the same protein content from one pound of meat.

#### A New Birth of Freedom

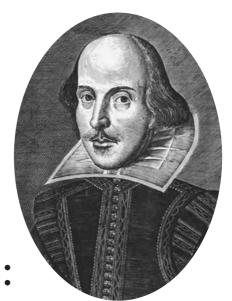
So, here we are. Our news and entertainment media, educational institutions, and the political factions they promote, including our foreign policy and intelligence establishments, almost universally accept some package of varieties of the Agrarian program—hatred of cognition and science, hatred of sovereign nation-states dedicated to the General Welfare, embrace of globalism, the suppression of science and technology, and other manifestations of human cognition, in favor of animal-like existence, and pleasure in drugged or kindred states of wild irrationalism. By tolerating, and in many cases embracing, this, our citizens have permitted the Year 2000 "Project Democracy"-style Gorey mess and Black Sheet coup to install the current, intellectually challenged occupant of the White House.

It may take some more thinking, some re-reading, some reflection on your own experiences, maybe even some checking on your own into the history I've reported here, but, you now have the vaccine. All human beings have been endowed with the capacity for real creativity. What you now know is that some people, fortunately a rather small, biologically and intellectually in-bred, multigenerational clique of degenerates, don't like that. Furthermore, you know that they have, to a large extent, controlled the various ways in which we are taught to think, largely by controlling the fundamental, unconscious beliefs, which are the basis for our judgments. To do this, they permit certain things to be published, released as movies, taught in schools, etc., and others not to be. They can get awfully nasty—lynchings, assassinations, frame-ups, firings, slanders, and so on, with those who don't know their place. But that's not much of a threat anymore, because the Wall Street, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Vanderbilt, and Sewanee Critters have no plan now, in any case, but the global "pruning of the tree of freedom" and that will cost not only freedom, but most of our lives.

You may protest, "Nobody tells me how to think," and that is partly true. For the most part, nobody does. They don't have to. Most of us, unfortunately, most of the time, just think the way they want us to, as if it were "natchal." Now you have been told, and should know, that it is not natural. So why not bury the Lost Corpse for good, and have fun figuring out how to revitalize this planet, building on that American Intellectual Tradition, which Henry Kissinger stated, in London, on May 10, 1982, that he has attempted to destroy, but which has been the source of all of our republic's true victories, to date?

Through his history plays, Shakespeare brilliantly succeeded in bringing to life—and passing to future generations—the most profound moral lessons of statecraft and citizenship, as they arose in the universal history of Plantagenet England

# William Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More:





# The Conscience Of Kings

by Paul Gallagher

hen Henry VII finally ended the "war of each against all" of the English feudal barons, and created an English nation whose monarchy was based on middle-class allies and the common welfare, he did so by ending the dismal, 400-year dynastic rule of the Plantagenet kings.

Their dynasty named for a yellow flower of that Normandy which they had invaded from Scandinavia in the Eleventh century, these Norman (Norseman) kings and their barons could never decide whether they were kings of Normandy, dukes of Aquitaine, princes of Anjou and of Sicily, kings of England or of France, tyrants of Ireland, or crusading knights of Jerusalem. They were "crusader kings": all their Plantagenet and Anjou branches were the playthings of the maritime empire of Venice, controller of the Crusades, and Venice's "each against all," divide-and-rule domination of Europe before the Renaissance. Ruling England was never as important to these kings as invading, crusading, and devastating elsewhere, and this was the only way they knew, momentarily, to unite the feuding and vengeful oligarchs around them.

In this unfitness to rule for the general good, the Plantagenets were as bad a scourge on the peoples subjected to them, as those earlier Merovingian kings whom Charle-

William Shakespeare (right), Sir Thomas More (left). magne overcame to create the Holy Roman Empire, and to launch the Carolingian Renaissance with the aid of Irish and English Classical scholars. But worse, under the Plantagenets, England lost this, its early-Middle-Ages fame as a flame of knowledge and learning for all Europe; it became, instead, a backwater almost untouched by the Golden Renaissance of the Fifteenth century.

#### The Plantagenets and 'The Anchorians'

The Plantagenet kings were in the mind's eye of Sir Thomas More when he wrote these words, spoken by the traveller Raphael in *Utopia*, More's parable of statecraft:

... the Anchorians, a people that lie on the South-east of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretentions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered, but found that the trouble of keeping it was equal to that by which it was gained; . . . they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against [the conquered kingdom], and consequently, could never disband their army; that in the meantime they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the least advantage to the people ... and their laws fell into contempt. ... To this I would add, that after all those warlike attempts, the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and of people that must follow them; perhaps on some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore, it seemed much more eligible that the king should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big, for him.

This thrust at the Plantagenets is made, in *Utopia*, when the philosopher-traveller Raphael is speaking with the narrator More about "'John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England: a man . . . that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character he bore.' " Morton was Chancellor and chief advisor to the same King Henry VII who ended the Plantagenet nightmare and made "his ancient kingdom" into a nation. Morton lived for Shakespeare through Thomas More, who had been brought up and educated as a ward in Morton's household. More knew in detail from Morton the terrible lessons of the reign of the last Plantagenet king, Richard III, since Morton had been directly involved in 1484-5 in bringing that tyranny (and the Wars of the Roses) to an end. More wrote out the History of King Richard III,

which was "the meat that Shakespeare fed on" for his famous tragedy of 1592, *The Life and Death of King Richard III*, in which John Morton appears in his historical role as the Bishop of Ely.

This tragedy presented to Shakespeare's audiences of Tudor England, with the most brutal force, the impossibility of going back to the Plantagenet ideal of warrior/invader kings, whose only allegiance was to their families' ancient wealth, powers, and privileges. It is a justly famous example of what Germany's great dramatist Friedrich Schiller called "the theater as a moral institution"—not one for day-to-day moral instruction, but one for impressing the moral sense of the citizens with the fundamental principles of statecraft and the common good.

#### Shakespeare's 'Friendship' with More

To compose this Classical portrait of the English oligarchy, Shakespeare chose More's history, although there were other chronicles of the Wars of the Roses available, which were used by other playwrights dealing with Richard III—one of the signs that Shakespeare knew More's mind as a leader of the Renaissance. In 1596, Shakespeare collaborated with other playwrights in a *Play* of St. Thomas More. Its dramatic and political force centered on how More, after calming and ending dangerous popular disturbances in London in 1525, entered a courageous confrontation with his king, Henry VIII, demanding justice and mercy for the prisoners charged with the rioting. Although less known than More's later confrontation with Henry over his erecting the rule of a state Church in England, this scene of 1525 was an examplar of the "crimes of truth" for which Henry VIII would ultimately execute More in 1534. The Play of St. Thomas More was banned from performance by the censors of Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I; however, its idea of the ruling virtue of mercy soon reappeared in Shakespeare's great dramatic comedy, Measure for Measure.

Shakespeare may also have known More's *Utopia* itself. It had been written in 1516, when the 25-year-old Henry VIII faced the choice between ruling his "own ancient kingdom as well as he could," or reverting to invading France again, like a Plantagenet; but it could not be published in England until shortly after Shakespeare's birth.

William Shakespeare's mind owed much to that of More. Shakespeare employed the Classical drama of which he was master, to finally "bury" the corpse of the Plantagenet dynasty a century after Henry VII had killed it, by showing the English the cruel folly which the Plantagenet nobility had been, so that the English might reject such folly in themselves and in Tudor

England's state and society.

Lyndon LaRouche has observed that Shakespeare's historical dramas, featuring his ten plays of the English kings, are to be viewed as a bloc expressing a unified idea of universal history. In the development of these Plantagenet tragedies, as Classical dramas, the threat of doom to society lies in the threat that these kings and other leading characters will fail to break free of the force of custom and false axioms of popular belief, which they must change in order that their people survive. LaRouche adds, that this spectacle of tragedy as the fear in the leaders of society of urgently needed change in the dominant axioms of thought and custom, is

then the method Shakespeare carries through to the "legendary" historical tragedies as well, most famously to *Hamlet*. The Classical drama of a Shakespeare thus moves the spectators to see the threat of this grip of folly and custom at a great moment, as if it were threatening them—it is—and to experience their own powers to escape it.

Shakespeare began to compose these dramas of the English kings—there may be eleven of them, as an *Edward III* is now being attributed to the Bard—essentially as soon as he became the primary playwright for his first theater company (probably the Lord Strange's Men) in 1589. He took the Wars of the Roses as virtually his first subject, for a series of at least four dramas, all being performed by 1592, and sometimes performed as a ensemble of plays, both at the Tudor court and in the public theater. This unified group of plays included *Henry VI, Parts 1, 2, and 3*, and the celebrated *Richard III*.

The chronicles on which these plays were based, were used as well by other playwrights of the Elizabethan stage, Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries. Often, playwrights like Shakespeare were given already-extant plays, to rewrite for their companies. In other words, much of Shakespeare's audience, like that of the ancient Classical Greek tragedians Aeschylus and Sophocles, already "knew" the stories of history and of "myth" from which the playwright was composing. But, did they know the *turning points* of that history? That was the question: the points of crucial decision—to change, or to remain in the safe "sanctity of custom"—which had determined which path that history took.



Shakespeare's "Henry V," performed at the reconstructed Globe Theatre, London.

#### Shakespeare and Marlowe

William Shakespeare and his contemporary Christopher Marlowe stood out, immediately and completely, from all the other Elizabethan playwrights who used the same stories for their plays. First of all, they alone achieved a masterful beauty in the use of blank verse, the unrhymed, five-measure poetic line which had been first used in English—"invented"—only during the 1570's, in the writing of philosophical poetry. Brought to the stage, blank verse was a revolution in bringing intelligibility and natural clarity of the characters' thoughtprocesses to the spectators. Undistracted by rhyming couplets or clever "doggerel" lines, the actors could speak so as to convey the flow of their characters' thoughts as if the characters were really thinking them. Yet, with blank verse, the greatest poetic beauty and concentrated expression was also possible—by which Shakespeare's dramatic verse transformed the English language.

Only Shakespeare and Marlowe achieved this. Their lines alone can be mistaken for one another's, but are distinguished from all others by their signature beauty and power. (Marlowe, in fact, wrote a lost play on King Richard III just before Shakespeare succeeded him as playwright of a certain company—and it is possible, that Richard's celebrated opening soliloquy, "Now is the Winter of our discontent/Made glorious Summer by this son of York," was taken from Marlowe.) The blank verse of Shakespeare was chosen 150 years later by Gotthold Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, as the verse model for the Ger-

man national theater, which took Classical drama from the tragic, to the higher level of the "sublime." <sup>1</sup>

Thus, the plays of Shakespeare and Marlowe often drove other playwrights' versions of the same plays off the Elizabethan stage, as if by the appearance of a new and superior species.

Secondly, their use of these histories as dramatic metaphors for the follies which the English citizens of Tudor times needed to relive to overcome, was also unique. In the hands of Shakespeare in particular, the stories from the chronicles were transformed, often by the unforgettable changes which he made to the "factual" histories—inventions by which those turning points of history were marked and remembered ever since, although they were Shakespeare's own creations. Thus, for example, if his first grand dramatic subject was the Wars of the Roses—as scholars of the London theater-performance records believe—then the most celebrated scene, that in the Temple Garden where those wars were named, was, in fact, Shakespeare's invention. What was the dramatist's purpose?

#### Discovering 'What Was Not There'

In the first play of the the Henry VI trilogy, after the opening Act, in which Plantagenet occupying armies in France begin to feel the resistance led against them by Joan of Arc, the scene suddenly shifts to London, to the Temple Garden of one of the Inns of Court. There, a feuding group of great lords of England pluck from the briar bushes the famous roses by which they choose sides and broach civil war: white roses for alliance with Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York; red roses for the Earl of Somerset, the "Lancastrian" side of this "quarrel that will drink blood." King Henry VI himself was at this time (1430) but nine years old, his government directed by a council of barons led by his uncle the Duke of Gloucester. In the next scenes, faced by an intensifying French national uprising led by the Virgin of Orleans, the English barons sail young Henry over to Paris to be crowned king of France. They do this even as they are igniting civil rebellion to threaten his throne in England!

By this juxtaposition, Shakespeare created the most stinging irony—the same feudal barons who would place this young Plantagenet on France's throne by war, will never consent to let him grow to rule them in peace in England. From the opening of the play—the funeral of the "hero king" Henry V, full of black foreboding for the future—Shakespeare stuck under the spectators' skins the disaster of the centuries of Plantagenet rule, and moved them to shudder at the tragic ironies of it. And the key turn of his screw is the Temple Garden scene of

the roses, the metaphor of English oligarchical discord and vengeful hatred, the scene by which the ensuing civil war was to be remembered.

But this scene had no "factual" historical basis, however; it was Shakespeare's sovereign invention, key to the method of his tragedy. By so placing it, Shakespeare launched the Wars of the Roses, dramatically, in 1430, in Henry VI's boyhood, at the point the liberation struggle for the French nation had just begun. In historical "fact," the battles of the Wars of the Roses began in the later 1450's, when Henry had been on the throne for decades. Shakespeare created a dramatic shift, which made his audience see the great English barons as permanently in a war of each against all, and all against France, and never willing to let their king *govern* his own people.

Shakespeare makes another such dramatic transformation in the second part of this trilogy, in his use of "Jack Cade's rebellion," which occurred at the time when Henry VI's overthrow by Richard, Duke of York, was approaching (although this Richard did not take the throne, which fell several years later to his son Edward). Stuart Rosenblatt has described<sup>2</sup> how Shakespeare, showing the most penetrating sense of universal history, makes the mighty Duke Richard the behind-the-scenes author of this rebellion of tradesmen and poor artisans. Richard, flashing the same intensity in evil scheming for power that makes his tyrannical son notorious in Richard III, employs Cade to lead a chaotic rebellion, using popular discontent among the poor and ignorant as a means of irregular warfare by his aristocratic faction, to weaken the throne of England. These were "Venetian methods" which few in Tudor England understood, methods of the sort used repeatedly to disorient Henry VIII or to destabilize Queen Elizabeth I. And Shakespeare, with genius, depicts Jack Cade and his lieutenants as illiterates who hate learning, ready to kill anyone for the crime of merely being educated—fierce emblems of the backwardness of Plantagenet England during the Fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance of continental Europe.

The historical Jack Cade was no illiterate, and modern histories of the Wars of the Roses period turn up no conspiracy or connection between Cade's Rebellion and Richard of York, who, while the rebellion briefly raged, was about to return from Ireland with an army. But Shakespeare saw, and made his spectators see, "what was not there" in the chronicles, and what modern scholarly historians do not see.<sup>3</sup>

#### History of Ideas

The Life and Death of King Richard III was the fourth and last of the "Wars of the Roses plays" Shakespeare apparently composed to be performed as a series, beginning

1592—perhaps by two combined theater companies, and with unusual financial backing from some who wanted the truth of those Wars understood by Queen Elizabeth and her subjects. *Richard III* is the most famous exemplar of Shakespeare's method of creating *true*, *universal history*—fundamentally, the history of ideas in dramatic form—from the bits and pieces of chronicled "fact" available to him.

This play became the definitive history of how the Wars were finally ended and England united as a nation, for centuries after it was composed and first performed. Shakespeare wrote it in "spiritual partnership" with his predecessor Thomas More. By taking More's history as the basis for *Richard III*, Shakespeare gave an "eternal" authority to More's devastating portrait of the revenge-killing cycles of the English oligarchical families of the Plantagenet era.

More also showed how such rule had to destroy itself, by insisting on noting the psychological disintegration of Richard III before the battle of Bosworth, which Shakespeare made into an unforgettable Fifth Act scene. In the final century of that Plantagenet era, the great families so exhausted themselves in these blood orgies, that by 1484, half the titled baronies of England were empty, because there was no surviving adult male in the family; the children had become wards of the king; the family holdings confiscated by the crown, or added to those of other, temporarily victor-families in this war of each against all. When Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, crossed from France with

a small force of French, Welsh, and English soldiers, Richard III could muster only 8,000 knights and soldiers from all of England to defend his usurped throne. Henry ended the Wars of the Roses, and as King Henry VII, united and began to rebuild an exhausted and prostrate nation.

Thomas More became a teacher, and also the conscience—finally the tragic conscience—to Henry's famous son, Henry VIII; as Pope John Paul II has recently declared St. Thomas More to be the conscience and patron saint of all statesmen and political leaders [SEE Box]. As we have seen, his *Utopia* of 1515 was a piece of this work accomplished by More. It was also part of a great effort by the English Erasmians who were Henry VIII's friends, to pull him back from the brink of that 1516 Hapsburg Empire-allied invasion of France (involving his fantastic delusion that he was Henry V Plantagenet reincarnated!), which began his long downfall from his father's level of governance and statecraft.

More's History of King Richard III would have shown his king everything that he must not be, and must not do, if he were to "govern well his own ancient kingdom," although it was not to be published in its English version until after both Thomas More and Henry VIII were dead. From Shakespeare's revelation of it in 1592 until today, Richard III has been perhaps the most-often performed of all of the plays of Shakespeare, certainly the most famous of all "history plays." Richard III is the authoritative idea of that evil quality of the English oli-

#### Pope John Paul II on St. Thomas More

On Nov. 4, 2000, John Paul II declared Thomas More the Patron Saint of Statesmen and Politicians. The declaration constituted an extraordinary challenge to all political leaders in the world today. For, to declare Thomas More their Patron Saint, is to challenge them to become like the great humanist, to conceive and live politics as he did.

In his address, the Pope said: "Yours can well be deemed a true and genuine vocation to politics, which, in practice, means the governance of nations, the formulation of laws, and the administration of public affairs at every level." The Pope proceeded to examine the nature and aims of politics, from a Christian standpoint. "Politics is the use of legitimate authority in order to attain the common good of society.... Political activity ought therefore to be carried out in a spirit of service."

And the aim is to attain justice, "which is not content to apportion to each his own, but one which aims at creating conditions of equal opportunity among citizens, and therefore favouring those who, for reasons of social status or education or health, risk being left behind or relegated to the lowest places in society, without possibility of deliverance."

"This is the scandal of the affluent society of today's world, in which the rich grow ever richer, and the poor grow ever poorer, since poverty tends to additional poverty," the Pope said. Especially through the process of globalization, he added, this polarization has become exacerbated. The problem with globalization, is that it has divorced economic policy from morality. What must be done, is to reassert this morality, "to conform the laws of the 'unbridled' market to the laws of justice and solidarity."

garchy which had to be overcome at that turning point in history, around the year 1485, when the English nation-state was born with the aid of its Renaissance predecessor, the France of Louis XI.

Since the work of the English Enlightenment dilettantes Dr. Samuel Johnson and Horace Walpole in the mid-Eighteenth century, there have arisen entire schools of history aimed at debunking Shakespeare's and More's history as an invention. These historians have clamored that Richard III was no hunchback; may not have killed the young princes, sons of his dead brother King Edward, in the Tower; had sound reasons for those foul acts he did commit; and was no more or less a tyrant than other kings of the period. Recently, some in this school have even suggested that More really drew Richard III's sinister character as a disguised portrait of the man who overcame Richard's tyranny—Henry VII!

But here again, Shakespeare's view of the "factual accuracy" of the details of More's work is not the point. Shakespeare was seeking not factual details about Richard III, but historical truthfulness. No better picture will ever come to life, of the vicious, every-family-foritself anarchy of a ruling oligarchy, than *Richard III*'s Act I, Scene 3. In this scene—Shakespeare's own invention—Richard himself plays little role except as the object of prophecy by an old queen of the Plantagenet-Anjou dynasties. She prophesies that the evil Richard will be the vehicle of fate, by which all these mutually revenge-seeking oligarchs *destroy themselves*.

This is the great truthfulness of the play. Richard, the tyrant, does not destroy the great barons and ladies one by one, although he appears to do so; they destroy themselves, by tolerating and even welcoming his constant instigation of war and destruction. Their fantasies convince them that their families will become more powerful and wealthy thereby. The drama's tragic figure is the Earl of Buckingham, a great baron initially more powerful and wealthy than Richard, who has the potential means to enforce peace, but becomes instead Richard's chief conspirator in war and usurpation. Too late, Buckingham realizes what his fantasy has created, and attempts to raise powers in rebellion against Richard, but is defeated and executed. Thomas More was in a position to understand this underlying problem very well, because his own mentor, John Morton, had tried to move Buckingham and other nobles to join forces against Richard nearly a year before Buckingham finally raised his doomed revolt.

So, the failure of any of the leading nobles to break from the Plantagenet "axioms" of bad rule, doomed them finally to erect a deadly tyrant who would destroy them all—which, ironically, gave way through the ascension of Henry Tudor to the creation of a nation based on citizens rather than barons, and on principles of general welfare rather than unending war. The words of Henry (about to be crowned Henry VII, and to make the defeated tyrant's niece, Elizabeth of York, his queen) close the drama:

England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself; The brother blindly shed the brother's blood, The father rashly slaughtered his own son, The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire: All this divided York and Lancaster, Divided in their dire division— O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth, The true succeeders of each royal house, By God's fair ordinance conjoin together! And let their heirs,—God, if thy will be so,— Enrich the time to come with smooth'd-fac'd peace, With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days! Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord, That would reduce these bloody days again, And make poor England weep in streams of blood! Let them not live to taste this land's increase That would with treason wound this fair land's peace! Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again; That she may long live here, God say Amen!

This is the kind of historical truth bequeathed to Shakespeare by Thomas More, the patron saint of statesmen and political leaders, who gave his life for that truth. Lyndon LaRouche put it thus in a writing of Oct. 25, 2001, entitled "God Has Blessed Me":

The impact of More on Shakespeare's work, including Shakespeare's treatment of the lessons of the history of England, from Henry II through the overthrow of the terrible Richard III, typifies the genetic quality of the cultural transmission of truthfulness, even at all risk, from one generation to its successors.<sup>4</sup>

#### **NOTES**

- 1. For Lyndon LaRouche on the sublime and Classical theater, see Anita Gallagher, "*Nathan the Wise*: Timely Attack on the 'Clash of Civilizations,'" *Executive Intelligence Review*, Nov. 23, 2001 (Vol. 28, No. 45), p. 71.
- 2. Stuart Rosenblatt, "The 'History Plays': Using Shakespeare To Fight the Jacobin Mobs," *The New Federalist*, Oct. 1, 2001 (Vol. XV, No. 27), p. 9.
- 3. Shakespeare turned the same kind of spotlight upon a different period of history in his *Julius Caesar*, wherein he took Plutarch's and Suetonius's histories of oligarchical Rome, and created his own leading dramatic character, the Roman plebian mob—*vox populi*. He thereby placed the clue to the tragic "Sphinx's riddle": what drove the noble Brutus to cast away his better qualities and destroy the Roman Republic he wished to save?
- 4. Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "God Has Blessed Me," *The New Federalist*, Nov. 5, 2001 (Vol. XV, No. 32).

Henry VII and the Creation Of Shakespeare's

England

by Robert Trout

A bout six hundred years ago, a handful of individuals made a revolution in statecraft, with the creation of the institution of the sovereign nation-state. King Louis XI (r. 1464-85) established the first such nation-state in France. The second was established in England under Henry VII (Tudor), who reigned from 1485 to 1509.

These governments were monarchies, not republics. Most Americans think of a republic simply as the political form of self-government, with representatives selected through elections. But the establishment of self-government has always been a paradox. Are the people able to govern themselves? Good government is not simply the creation of good institutions: As Benjamin Franklin is reported to have warned his fellow-citizens after the Constitutional Convention, they had a republic, only if they "could keep it."

The plays of William Shakespeare were a continuation of the process set in motion by Henry VII and the circle of Renaissance humanists led by Erasmus of Rotterdam and his friend Thomas More, to create a true republic in England, through the education of the population in the principles of statecraft required for self-government. The effort was not realized in England, however, nor in Europe, but ultimately, in the founding of the United States of America.



Prior to the establishment of the English nation-state under Henry VII, some 95 percent of the population lived in conditions little better than cattle. Serfs worked the land using agricultural techniques that were little changed from generation to generation, and which had actually deteriorated over the preceding two centuries. At the time of Henry's accession in 1485, the population of England was approximately 2.25 million people, fewer than it had been two centuries earlier; the average life expectancy was little more than thirty years.

In the Fifteenth century, prior to the reign of Henry VII, England was dominated by a feudality of approximately sixty powerful families, head-

ed by hereditary barons. These lords often controlled substantial territory, where they exerted more power than the king's own bureaucracy or civil service.

Below this nobility were the gentry of England, some 6,000-9,000 gentlemen, esquires, and knights, who were given land, money, and position in exchange for service, especially military service. The Duke of Buckingham, for example, had no fewer than 2,000 such retainers in 1454. The English kings, captive of this feudal structure, possessed little military power independent of the feudal lords, who used their private armies for private warfare and revolt for their own ends.

The Plantagenet dynasty, founded by Henry II of the Norman-French House of Anjou, seized the English throne in 1154 and ruled England until the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485. The centuries of Plantagenet rule were a period defined by early attempts in Europe to create the nation-state, against opposition by Venice and its Plantagenet allies.

Through its domination of trade and banking, Venice maintained a stranglehold over the economy of Europe. Attempts by rulers such as Frederick II Hohenstaufen in Sicily and King Alfonso X (the Wise) in Spain to establish nations, were viewed as a threat to Venetian power. The Venetians encouraged warfare to block these efforts, repeatedly deploying the military power of the Plantagenets to achieve their ends.

During the Thirteenth century, the usurious practices of the Venetian financiers caused severe economic contraction, setting off financial disintegration by the 1340's. The social collapse and Black Death which followed killed off more than a third of the European population.

In 1337, the Plantagenet King Edward II launched a war against France that would last for more than a hundred years. Rampaging English armies carried out vicious pillaging, severely depopulating the country. It was almost a century later, in 1429, that the French peasant girl Joan of Arc presented herself to lead the French armies. Under her leadership, the French were able to retake Rheims and crown the French Dauphin as king. Although the French would later adopt an appeasement policy and end the offensive, Joan's intervention was a crucial inspiration to the founding of the French nation under Louis XI.

The English position in France continued to deteriorate. In 1449-50, a French offensive, using superior cannon—the result of French advances in metallurgy—succeeded in blasting the English out of sixty castles. In a period of one year, English control of France completely collapsed.

After England had suffered this ignominious defeat,

the allied noble families turned on each other in fratricidal civil war—the "Wars of Roses." The English crown was contested for by the opposing Houses of Lancaster and York.

The ensuing period of violence did great damage to England. As Shakespeare describes is it in his *Tragedy of King Richard III*, every atrocity became the justification for another, leading to a vicious circle of revenge and bloodletting. However, this also greatly weakened the feudal nobility, reducing the number of feudal lords by almost half, and making it possible for Henry VII later to consolidate the power of the central government.

#### Shakespeare's Platonic Dialogues

Following the murder of Christopher Marlowe in 1593, William Shakespeare became the leading playwright of England. He launched his career in 1592 with a trilogy of plays on Henry VI which became immensely popular.

During his career, Shakespeare wrote plays covering the history of England from King John (1199-1216) to King Henry VIII (1509-1547). These plays centered on a series of great crises, resulting from the question of the legitimacy of the rulers and the kingly succession. These were pressing issues at the time, as the nation's political leadership pondered who would succeed Queen Elizabeth I.

Shakespeare demonstrated how these crises resulted from the failure of the flawed axioms governing the behavior of both England's rulers and her population. He used the history plays to develop for the audience the recognition that there exists a higher law, than the written law of the land—a higher law, to which the rule of feudal factions must give way. Shakespeare repeatedly showed that the refusal of nations and rulers to act according to this higher law, brought inescapable consequences for even the most powerful.

Shakespeare portrayed the Plantagenet dynasty as laboring under a curse of illegitimacy, which passed from generation to generation. The fundamental axiom of the Plantagenet reign—rule by a nobility that rejects responsibility for the common good—placed every successive regime in the inevitably downward trajectory.

But Shakespeare was confronted with another set of axioms to overthrow—those of the population, whom he sought to uplift. How does one generate in the mind of the audience, its identity as citizens of a republic? Each member of society must be shaped by a new axiom, the higher (natural) law that must form the direction of government. Then, government is no longer rule by force, but instead, a dialogue between the governing and the

governed, over how the nation can best follow the precepts of natural law to promote the General Welfare. Self-government flows from this principle.

Shakespeare's plays gave his audiences the chance to look over the shoulders of previous rulers, and witness how their failures led to tragic consequences, not merely for themselves, but for the kingdom as a whole. Through this process, where the audience was engaged in a dialogue with the history of its own nation, a population that had little concept of self-government, was brought to create within its own minds the qualities necessary for self-government.

In his essay, "A Philosophy for Victory: Can We Change the Universe?," Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., addresses the question of how the playwright accomplishes this.<sup>2</sup> The Classical stage does not present a literal portrayal of all the events that have occurred. So, the Chorus in the Prologue to Shakespeare's *Henry V*, informs us that we must imagine the clashing of armies, where we see only a handful of men. The goal of the playwright must be to create a truthful representation of *the idea underlying the events*. LaRouche states that "the composer must . . . create on stage the idea which may not correspond exactly, in every detail introduced, to the actual history, but corresponds, with historical truthfulness, to the essence of the historical reality referenced."

By generating such "Platonic ideas" in the minds of his audience, Shakespeare engaged them in the intellectual exercise necessary to qualify them as citizens. It is the ability of the citizenry to replicate this process of generating ideas, which makes republican government function, since competent statecraft requires a voluntarist approach to changing the axioms governing policymaking. The development of the concept of free will, or the ability of an individual to intervene to effect an advance in civilization, arises from developing in the individual the ability to generate just such ideas within his own mind.

The republican circles around Henry VII's younger contemporaries, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Thomas More, undertook as their ultimate goal the transformation of the population into a republican citizenry. And Shakespeare's plays were one of the most powerful tools in accomplishing this mass education of the population.

#### Henry VII's Background

Little is known about Henry Tudor's education, either in England or in France. However, one of his tutors, Andreas Scotus, an Oxford teacher, is reported to have said of him, "Never have I seen a boy of such quickness, so capable of learning, at that age."<sup>3</sup>

Henry cannot have missed the dramatic changes taking place around him in France. While England was being destroyed by infighting among the feudal lords, France's dramatic development under Louis XI, where the conscious promotion of industry, science, and technology enabled the nation to double its output in twenty-two years, demonstrated the successful nature of the new institution, the nation-state.

Henry's father died before he was born, and, for much of his life, he was under the care of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, who had been an honored guest at the court of Louis XI. Jasper Tudor first fled England in 1461, travelling to Louis XI's court, where Louis made him a member of his household. Jasper returned to England to aid in the restoration of Henry VI in 1470; when Henry VI was deposed again in 1471, he again fled England, this time taking his nephew Henry with him.

Several contemporary commentaries were written about Henry Tudor's character. Polydore Virgil, an Italian who settled in England and wrote a history of the period, said of him: "His spirit was distinguished, wise and prudent; his mind was brave and resolute and never, even at moments of greatest danger, deserted him. He had a most pertinacious memory. Withal he was not devoid of scholarship. ... He was gracious and kind and was as attentive to his visitors as he was easy of access. His hospitality was splendidly generous; he was fond of having foreigners at his court and freely conferred favors on them. ... He was most fortunate in war, although he was constitutionally more inclined to peace than to war. He cherished justice above all things; as a result he vigorously punished violence, manslaughter and every other kind of wickedness whatsoever."4 The Milanese ambassador praised Henry's inherent cautiousness, his tendency to deal openly and fairly with others, and his willingness to consider all sides of important questions.

#### Governing 'After the French Fashion'

In 1485, after Henry Tudor's forces landed in England and defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth on August 22, he was crowned King Henry VII. Henry acted quickly to consolidate power. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV of the opposing House of York, for the purpose of ending the wars between the two opposing Houses.

Neither revenge nor weakness disfigured the first months of the reign. The past years of bloodthirsty violence were forgotten. Following the Battle of Bosworth, Henry pardoned virtually all those who had fought against him. An Italian wrote to the Pope in December, 1485: "The king shows himself very prudent and clement: all things appear disposed towards peace." Thus, an uprising in the north collapsed after Henry offered pardon to all who laid down their arms.

The Spanish ambassador reported that Henry VII showed a desire to "govern England after the French fashion" —i.e., the fashion of Louis XI. He rapidly consolidated power in himself, while surrounding himself with a council of men, drawn largely from the middle classes, who shared his commitment to establishing a nation-state dedicated to the General Welfare of the entire population, rather than rule of the nobility. At no

#### The Magna Carta Versus the Nation-State

A lthough the Magna Carta is claimed to be one of the first documents that established the traditions leading to the founding of republican government in the United States, the opposite is the case. The Magna Carta, imposed on the English king in 1215 by feudal barons, was a charter establishing the rights of the nobility, against the efforts of the monarch to rule a unified nation.

The document contained guarantees that the king will not force the nobles to carry out internal improvements such as constructing bridges. It demanded that the king practice free trade, by prohibiting the government from imposing tariffs and controlling trade. Finally, the Magna Carta gave the lords the right to set up their members as a court that could over rule decisions of the king. If the king did not accede to the decisions of this court, the lords could carrying out acts of revolt, violence and pillage, short of murdering the king and his family: "those . . . barons shall, together with the community of the whole land, distrain and distress us (the King) in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress had been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children;" Unstated in the Magna Carta, is that the vast majority of the population had no rights, as these feudal lords set themselves as a law unto themselves. --RT

period of English history were the nobles more conspicuous at court, yet at no period did they have less real power, than during Henry VII's reign.

John Morton, who played a key role in organizing the conspiracy to bring Henry Tudor to power, was Henry VII's most senior advisor throughout his life. Morton had been born in 1420 and had studied at Oxford. He had risen to high positions in both the church and government under Kings Henry VI and Edward IV, although he was jailed by Richard III. Being a man of great integrity, intelligence, and vision, Morton would openly disagree with Henry VII, which won the king's respect, rather than resentment. Indicative of his outlook, was Morton's undertaking, when he was Bishop of Ely, to drain the fens between Wisbech and Peterborough; he also constructed a dike and waterway to the sea for barges and small craft.

Morton helped educate the young Thomas More, who lived in Morton's household. More later said of Morton, "In his face did shine such an amiable reverence as was pleasant to behold, gentle in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. . . . In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent."

Henry was also joined in France by Richard Fox, who became another key advisor. Born in approximately 1448, Fox studied first at Cambridge, and then in Paris, where he joined Henry. He came the closest to being the king's Foreign Minister, negotiating many key treaties, and was involved in promoting the Renaissance "New Learning" in England, as we shall see below.

Henry VII rapidly and firmly took up the duties of the monarchy, restoring order and checking waste. He raised the crown far above the nobles, and formed an alliance with the middle class, acting through their representatives in the House of Commons, who feared the return of the days of civil war, and realized that their survival and livelihood was dependent on the king's protection. Thus, Henry drew his strength from the loyalty of the common classes, not from the feudal nobility.

Henry VII introduced a fundamental change in the conception of law in England. He consciously acted to replace the arbitrary rule of the nobility, typified by the Magna Carta, for example, with reforms that made everyone legally accountable, regardless of his station. Only months after being crowned, Henry moved against the lawlessness of the feudal nobility, ordering an oath to be taken in Parliament, by the Lords and members of the House of Commons, on Nov. 19,

1485, "for the reform of divers crimes and enormities." By the terms of the oath, they swore not to "receive aid, or comfort murderers, felons, or outlaws, not to reteine any man by indenture, or other, not to give liverie, signe, or token contrary to law, or take, cause to be made, or assent to any maintenance, imbracerie, riotts, or unlawful assemblie, not to hinder the execution of royal writs, nor lett any known felon to bail or mainprise."8

Henry VII outlawed livery, and the maintenance of private armies. The armed bands who, wearing their feudal badges, had overawed the countryside, intimidated sheriffs, and bullied juries, now had their days numbered. Putting an end to the brigandage of the nobility required numerous statutes, since the feudal lords did not readily give up the practice of private war. But, by the end of Henry's reign, the typical English nobleman had been forced into other occupations than the medieval ones of riot and civil war.

Henry created a centralized judicial system, with a system for appeal of cases. By an Act passed in 1495, machinery by which appeal from the verdict of a jury might be made was established. The effect of these centralizing statues can hardly be exaggerated, as they introduced efficient local administration. To accomplish this, the King enlisted many minor members of the country gentry in his service, who became the props of the Tudor throne. Henry also created the Court of Requests, a poor man's court of equity, where the poor could sue without payment of fees, and were given free legal aid. Statutes were passed to protect the poor from injustice, and to penalize dishonest juries.

In November 1487, the Star Chamber Act created the Star Chamber as a court of appeals for those who were unable to get justice in courts controlled by the nobles. This Act allowed members of the King's Council to form themselves into a court, and hold judicial sessions in the Star Chamber. This "Council in Star Chamber" usually consisted of seven or eight bishops, along with several other councillors. Virtually every one of the three hundred cases heard during Henry's reign was initiated by private suit, and not by government process. The most frequent complaint addressed to the Council, was that defendants had come riotously, with force of arms, and evicted the plaintiff from his house or land. The sentences were remarkably humane. (This Court, which began as a place where the weak could appeal cases that had been rigged by the nobility, degenerated in less able hands into a weapon of cruelty, and finally perished in well-earned ignominy. Under Cardinal Wolsey, it evolved into the "Court of Star Chamber," which existed until its abolition by the Long Parliament in 1641.)

Henry VII's reforms had the effect of transforming the judicial system, from one dominated by the whims of the nobility, to one based on a system of law, grounded in a commitment to the General Welfare. However, unlike the United States, England has never had a written constitution, not even to this day. There has never been an English Solon, or an English Constitutional Convention, as America's founders held in Philadelphia in 1787. Instead, the English Constitution consists of a body of statutory law, customs, and judicial interpretations; it is frequently called a customary or unwritten constitution. Consequently, many of the reforms introduced by Henry were reversed by the Venetian financial oligarchy, as it gained control over England during the following centuries. The role Henry defined for the monarch, as a strong chief executive of the nation, with the commitment and power to promote the General Welfare, was destroyed. Instead, the British monarch became the equivalent of a Venetian doge, or chief executive of the aristocracy. It was only with the founding of the United States of America, by men who were heirs to the best traditions of England, and Europe overall, that a nation was brought into being whose written Constitution explicitly stated the commitment to "promote the General Welfare" for the citizens and their posterity, with institutions designed to carry out this task.

## Economic Development for the Common Good

Under Henry VII, England experienced a fundamental shift from feudalism, to a policy of government-directed economic development, based on a conscious design to promote the General Welfare. Henry's reform of the economic system, while not complete, laid the basis for transforming England into a modern nation. He strove to increase the productivity of the population through government-directed improvements in infrastructure, technology, and the living standards and productivity of the population.

The description of Henry's policies as the "Mercantile System," a name given them by later opponents, does not adequately convey the actual commitment to the improvement in the conditions of life for the common man. The Crown drew to itself more and more power. But, this great expansion of central control was almost uniformly beneficent in effect, as it was in intention. Author Gladys Temperley writes, "We cannot point to a single one of Henry's commercial statutes that was designed to forward any selfish interests of the king or his advisers."

Henry VII's economic policies fostered the development of England's nascent shipbuilding, iron, and cloth industries. Henry commissioned England's first blast furnace in 1496. Below: Page from William Gilbert's "De Magnete," England's first great scientific treatise, extols the productive value of iron for manufacturing.





Regulation of foreign trade and development of the merchant fleet resulted from the Navigation Act of 1489. The government subsidized construction of merchant ships to bolster the Navy in times of crisis.



Henry placed an export duty on undressed wool to encourage domestic cloth manufacturing. Right: Sixteenth-century weaving and dyeing.





Henry made the centralized government of the state the final arbiter of all economic policy decisions. For example, a series of Acts were passed controlling the craft guilds in particular instances. Even more significant was the step taken in 1504, when the guilds were brought under the control of the courts by an Act declaring that no guild regulation could be binding until it had been approved by the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the chief justices of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas, or the judges on circuit.

The modern conception of a corporation, as a legal individual, whose existence was created and determined by the government, was developed during Henry's reign. The issuance of patents for new inventions—a spur to technological advance—was begun in this period.

Another of Henry's first acts as king was to separate the expenses of the royal household from the revenues of the state. The fact that previous kings had made no such distinction, reflects their outlook: that the kingdom was, in effect, their personal property. Henry was the first English king in a century to be solvent, something he achieved through careful management, and by limiting wasteful expenses. The kings of France and

the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V had incomes ten times larger, but squandered their money on expensive wars.

During his reign, Henry VII implemented a series of monetary policy measures. A new coinage was issued to ensure a standard currency, and weights and measures were standardized. Henry also accumulated a large treasury, strengthening him against rebellion and invasion, since potential opponents knew he did not lack the financial means to defend himself. By an Act of 1487, Henry outlawed usury: the Act was to restrain the "dampnable bargayns groundyt in usurye, colorde by the name of newe Chevesaunce, contrarie to the lawe of naturell justis, to the comon hurt of this land." <sup>10</sup>

The national government also arrogated to itself the right to control prices and regulate wages. It is no exaggeration to say that by the end of his reign, the influence of Henry VII touched the lives of his subjects at almost every point. The idea that the central government had the right and the responsibility to regulate economic activity for the purpose of promoting the common good, had become firmly rooted as the governing principle of the nation.

Regulating Foreign Trade. Henry mandated state control of foreign trade, for the purpose of promoting national economic development. Much of his legislation was designed in a protectionist spirit. The development of both a navy and a merchant marine were central to the kingdom's military and economic security. The merchant fleet would supplement the small royal Navy, as well as allow England to control its own trade.

The prior state of affairs, inherited by Henry at his accession, seemed almost hopeless. The merchant fleet, like everything else, had decayed, and foreign ships carried the sea-borne trade of England. In addition, trade was severely hindered by the insecurity of the roads and the sea, as well as by constant warfare.

One of Henry's first acts to control the nation's foreign trade, was the passage of the Navigation Act in 1489. The Preamble of the Act noted that the fleet was so decayed, that England would soon lack the power and ability to defend herself.<sup>11</sup> This temporary Act forbade the importation of wine or wood from Guienne or Gascony, except on English, Irish, or Welsh ships, manned by their sailors. It was renewed in 1490, during which interval Henry had succeeded in obtaining a share of the carrying trade in Italian wine. This law mandated that no foreign ship could be freighted in an English port, while an English ship remained unladen. Although the Navigation Acts may have hindered England's foreign trade at first, by the end of Henry's reign the English merchant fleet was flourishing. Customs duties increased by 28 percent.

The Cloth Industry. Central to Henry VII's economic policy was the promotion of English manufactures. Although many of his laws continued those previously implemented by Edward IV, Henry's policy was motivated by a clear principle, from which he designed a coherent plan. His efforts met with considerable success.

The most prominent of these efforts was Henry's treatment of the wool trade and the cloth industry. Henry placed an export duty—in some cases, as high as 70 percent—on the export of undressed wool, to encourage the development of a native cloth industry. Meanwhile, the duty on exported cloth was never higher than nine percent of its value. A 1489/90 statute gave English clothmakers the right to buy wool, before it could be exported. A statute of King Edward's was re-enacted, forbidding the export of unrowed and unshorn cloth, whereby "outlandissh nacions with the same dapry arne sette on labour and occupacion to their greate enriching, and the kynges true liegemen . . . for lake of such occupacion dailly fall in great number to ydelnes and povertie." <sup>12</sup>

Transformation of the Iron Industry. Henry's army is reported to have had a significant number of cannon at the victorious Battle of Bosworth, an emphasis undoubtedly learned from the French, who used them against the English with devastating effectiveness to end the Hundred Years' War. In 1449-50, the French had conducted sixty successful siege operations in one year, using powerful cannon to blast the English out of their French holdings. The manufacture of these cannon was made possible by advances in the French iron industry, such that, by the end of the Fifteenth century, French cannon had acquired a high international reputation, owing to their splendid quality, rapidity of firing, and use of cast-iron shot, rather than stone balls.

French production of iron cannon was made possible through the development of the blast furnace, which was able to heat iron above its melting point, so that the metal could be poured into molds. (Using previous methods, iron products were manufactured at temperatures below the melting point, a much less efficient process.) The new blast-furnace method, which increased productivity fifteen-fold and made possible a much broader range of products, represented a tremendous advance in a technology that was key to the expansion of industry overall.

Henry VII was the first English king to manufacture iron cannon, based on his commissioning the first blast furnaces in England. In so doing, he revolutionized the English iron industry, laying the basis for the transformation of the English economy in the following centuries. The first blast furnace was set up by Henry in 1496 on royal land, to manufacture cannon balls as part of preparations to defend England from Scottish invasion. Shortly thereafter, cast-iron cannon were produced.

Henry also increased the number of gunners in royal service. They numbered 30 in 1489; by 1497, there were 49 gunners at the Tower of London alone. Many were foreign nationals, many French. These gunners were not only artillerymen, but also experts in shot and gun founding. Although Henry's cannon were produced to defend the nation from foreign invaders, the existence of such a stockpile, capable of reducing any feudal castle, served as a powerful deterrent to England's quarrelsome feudal nobility.

Creation of the Navy. Henry VII created a national Army, centralizing control over the military and ending the power of the nobility to make war. Central to this effort was the development of the Navy.

When Henry ascended the throne, only four ships were owned by the Crown, and pirates roamed the Channel unchecked. Henry built three large men-o'-war,

which became the nucleus of the Navy. The "Harry Grace a Dieu," was a 1,000-ton, four-masted ship, with about seventy guns and a crew of 700. Many of the guns were manufactured in England. The government also subsidized the construction of merchant ships, under an agreement that these ships could be hired into the Navy in time of crisis.

The city of Portsmouth was developed as a fortified naval station, capable of meeting the needs of a permanent navy. The first drydock in the British Isles was also constructed at Portsmouth, which was ready for use by May 1496.

Central to the long-term success of Henry VII's program, was the increase in the merchant marine encouraged by the Navigation Acts, because the increase in overseas trade demanded the maintenance of a strong navy.

Foreign Policy for Peace. Henry VII took great interest in foreign affairs. In 1497, the Milanese ambassador reported that Henry was so well informed about events in Italy, "that we have told him nothing new." Even the courtiers knew so much about Italian affairs, that the ambassador fancied himself at Rome.

Only once did Henry fight a war on foreign soil, when he sought to contain the ambitions of France's Charles VII, which presented a threat to England. However, Henry signed the Treaty of Etaples with Charles in 1492, in which he gave up the English claim to the French throne. Never again did Henry take up arms outside Britain, and his policy was consistently to promote peace among the other nations of Europe. This was a great benefit to England, as the nation could concentrate on its economic development, while the rulers of France, Spain, and other nations squandered tremendous resources on wars which often weakened them.

#### Launching the English Renaissance

Henry VII surrounded himself with men who promoted the Renaissance's "New Learning." The King himself was clearly fascinated by the political and cultural life of the main Italian states, and during his reign, the English court was a more interesting and cosmopolitan place, than it was to be in the time of his successor. Foreign scholars were likely to receive a warm welcome, and Henry was also the leading patron of English writers and poets.

Henry's interest in the arts was widely recognized, and a knowledge of the Classics was regarded as an avenue to royal favor, encouraging others to master the Renaissance learning. Erasmus reported in 1505, that London had eclipsed both Oxford and Cambridge, and had become the country's most important educational center, where "there are . . . five or six men who are accurate scholars in both tongues [Greek and Latin], such as I think even Italy itself does not at present possess."

After studying in England, most of these scholars travelled to Italy, to master the new Platonic learning. Thomas Linacre, for example, was hired by Henry upon his return from Italy around 1500, first as a tutor to his elder son Arthur, and then as the King's personal physician. Linacre later became the first president of the Royal College of Physicians, which was incorporated in 1518. William Grocyn travelled to Italy to be educated, and on his return initiated the teaching of Greek at Oxford.

One leading royal patron of education was Lady Margaret Beaufort, the King's mother. She has been described as "more nearly the typical 'man of the Renaissance' than her son," and even though her "influence and endowments were . . . religious rather than secular, they were outward looking and humanist, never scholastic." Lady Margaret was the only woman whose advice the King ever sought or heeded.

Margaret was only fourteen when her son Henry was born. She died in 1509, outliving her son by several months. As a child, she was taught reading, writing, and French. Her tutors remarked on her intelligence. She desired to learn Greek and Latin, but her mother refused to hire a tutor to educate her in the languages that were reserved for men who joined the clergy. As an adult, she completed an English translation of Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*, which had been begun by William Atkinson, as well as translating another religious work.

Lady Margaret promoted the education of the entire population. She was a devout Christian, who championed the preaching of simple but eloquent sermons, which would uplift even the lowliest churchgoer. She promoted the printing of books, and was a leading patron of the first English printer, William Caxton, and his successor.

In 1494, Margaret met John Fisher, a friend and collaborator of Erasmus, who was to be her lifelong confidant, counsellor, and companion. Fisher became the Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of Cambridge University. He encouraged Margaret to patronize projects that promoted the New Learning. As a result, she supported the founding of two colleges at Cambridge, Jesus College in 1497, and St. John's College after her death in 1509, through a grant in her will. St. John's, which opened in 1516, became the leading college at Cambridge for the next thirty years.

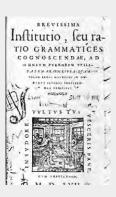
Another patron of education was Bishop Richard Fox, the man who played a key role in Henry VII's foreign



Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, was a patron of the New Learning.







Desiderius Erasmus (of Rotterdam) (top right) led the scholars who launched the English Renaissance. In addition to Thomas More, Erasmus's collaborators included Thomas Linacre (far right), John Colet (right), and William Lily, whose 1557 "Short Introduction to Grammar" (left) was used in schools up to the Nineteenth century. Above: A Tudor schoolroom, 1573.





policy. In 1517, Fox and Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, founded Corpus Christi College, whose statutes set out in detail a humanist curriculum. Initially, Fox had wished to found a college to educate clergy in the New Learning, but ultimately, the college accepted students destined for secular employment.

Although Henry and his circle favored the New Learning, the universities remained dominated by medieval scholasticism. The efforts of Henry and his circle were ultimately successful, however, as they opened the door for a circle of scholars associated with Erasmus of Rotterdam to create a revolution in education, which led to the great flowering of culture and the English economy during the next hundred years.

# The Erasmus Circle

The central figure in the circle that launched the English Renaissance was Erasmus of Rotterdam.<sup>14</sup> Born to poor parents in Holland in 1467, Erasmus was educated by the Brotherhood of the Common Life, a teaching order modelled on à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, that took in poor, but promising children. Several of his teachers inspired

him to dedicate his life to the promotion of Platonist Classical learning.

Erasmus became the leading humanist thinker of his age, and his name was a household word throughout educated Europe. He published his first work, the *Adages*, in 1500. Works such as *In Praise of Folly* and *The Handbook of the Militant Christian* become enormously popular, precisely at the moment when printing was coming into vogue. His works spread far and wide, and played an important role in promoting literacy throughout Europe.

Among Erasmus's key collaborators in England were Thomas More (1478-1535) and John Colet (1467-1519). They were the nucleus of a small group of Classically educated scholars, formed during the reign of Henry VII, who dedicated themselves to creating a Renaissance that would usher in an age where society would be governed by reason. Colet was the son of a London mercer, who was Lord Mayor in 1486 and 1495. He travelled to Italy, where he became a fervent promoter of Platonism. More was the son of a London lawyer. He studied Greek and Platonic philosophy at Oxford, and became a key leader of the English Renaissance during

the reign of Henry VIII.

These scholars proceeded from the idea that, since man's nature was to be made in the image of God, he could comprehend God's nature through reason. They rejected the stultifying, Aristotelian logic of the scholastics, whose commentaries dominated theology, and sought instead to reintroduce the writings of the early Church Fathers and the New Testament itself, in which they recognized an outlook coherent with Platonic philosophy. For example, in his Praise of Folly, Erasmus attacked the Schoolmen for completely missing the central message of Christianity on faith and charity, as stated by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 13, that all displays of piety are false, unless they are motivated by charity or agapē. Erasmus satirized the methods of the scholastics, arguing that the most important sections of the Epistles of the Apostle Paul failed to meet their standards. Erasmus said: "Paul could present faith. But when he said, 'Faith is the substance of thing hoped for, the evidence of things not seen,' he did not define it doctorally. The same apostle, though he exemplified charity to its utmost, divided and defined it with very little logical skill in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter 13."15

Erasmus both promoted and used the method of Socratic dialogue in his writings. In his *Handbook of the Militant Christian*, he demonstrated that the Christian must look beyond sense certainty, to the realm of Platonic ideas. Through this, man can escape the temptations of the flesh, and rise to the spiritual realm. Erasmus says: "Creep not upon the earth, my brother, like an animal. Put on those wings which Plato says are caused to grow on the soul by the ardor of love. Rise above the body to the spirit, from the visible to the invisible, from the letter to the mystical meaning, from the sensible to the intelligible, from the involved to the simple." <sup>16</sup>

Erasmus, Colet, and More championed the use of education to transform citizens into the equivalent of Plato's "philosopher king," and sought to bring such men into governing positions in society. A recurrent theme in Erasmus's writings is, that true nobility is based on transforming oneself through learning, so that one's behavior is guided by reason, to seek to do the good. This could be achieved by bringing the Platonic method to children, through schooling in the Classics.

Erasmus first travelled to England during the reign of Henry VII, in 1499. At Oxford, he found John Colet lecturing on the Epistles of Paul. The lectures were well attended, as they rejected the scholastics' Aristotelian method. Colet brought out the coherence of Paul's Epistles with the philosophy of Plato.

The work of Colet and others in bringing this approach to Oxford and Cambridge Universities was

very controversial, and was only possible because of the support of both Henry VII and later Henry VIII. The universities continued to be dominated largely by the old scholastic methods, however. Therefore, Erasmus and his collaborators set out to recruit a new generation, by introducing the Platonist method of education.

The circle around Erasmus, More, and Colet began to establish schools which became models for the transformation of the educational system. Around 1510, More set up a school in his home, where he taught his own and other children. More's three daughters were famous examples that girls could become highly educated.

During the last years of the reign of Henry VII, Colet finalized plans for a school based on Platonist methods of education. In 1510, Henry VIII granted a license to establish St. Paul's School, which became the model for the reorganization of the English grammar schools throughout the country.

Colet asked Erasmus to become the first headmaster of St. Paul's. When Erasmus declined, Colet selected William Lily, who had studied at Oxford and in Italy. Lily had also travelled to Rhodes to learn Greek.

When Colet asked Erasmus to write a curriculum for the new school, Erasmus produced *De Ratione Studii* (*Concerning the Aim and Method of Education*), which stressed that language should be learned, not as a collection of grammatical rules, but as it is spoken. It must be mastered by studying the greatest authors in Greek and Latin.

Erasmus wrote a series of dialogues and exercises, aimed at teaching language. His *De Copia* and *Colloquies*, or dialogues, were designed to educate students in language as it was spoken, rather than as written text. Erasmus designed these as Platonic dialogues. Indeed, Colet rejected the teaching of logic, because he recognized would it stultify the mind.

Lily, Colet, and Erasmus collaborated in drafting a grammar textbook. By 1542, this text had been adopted as the official Latin Grammar used throughout the schools in England. Its use continued up through the Eighteenth century, and, in a modified form, in many schools even into the Twentieth.

St. Paul's School had many detractors, and in a letter to Colet, More wrote that some opposed St Paul's, because it was serving as a Trojan horse which would bring forth those who would expose their ignorance. The school was defended by Henry VIII's court circles, which continued to promote the transformation of education that had been launched by Henry VII. During Henry VIII's reign, numerous schools were established on the model of St. Paul's, whose method of instruction increasingly became the standard for English grammar schools in general.

The transformation and expansion of the educational system led to a dramatic increase in literacy. By 1615, following the end of the Tudor dynasty with the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, the literacy level in England had reached around 33 percent, one of the highest rates in the world. This was considerably higher than France, where the literacy rate was only around 20 percent at that time.<sup>17</sup>

The Erasmian educational system, and the emphasis on education, was brought to America by the Massachusetts Puritans. Erasmus's *Colloquies* was brought by the English colonists to America, where it was used throughout the grammar schools of New England. By the time of the American Revolution, the literacy rate in New England was approximately 90 percent, the highest in the world, and a key factor in why the American colonists were able to make the Revolution.

# Thomas More and Henry VIII

When Henry VII died on April 21, 1509, he left England dramatically transformed. He had found it racked by civil war; he left it solidly united. Feudalism had been replaced by a nation-state on a solid foundation.

Many people believed that in Henry VIII, England would find a great king. His father had ensured that he was well educated in Renaissance learning. The Venetian ambassador Ludovico Falieri said of him, "Grand stature, suited to his exalted position, showing the superiority of mind and character . . . . He has been a student from his childhood; he knows literature, philosophy, and theology; speaks and writes Spanish, French, and Italian, besides Latin and English." <sup>19</sup>

One person whose assessment of Henry VIII was less positive was Lady Margaret Beaufort. With her son's death, she had lost her best friend. Her grandson, she found quite distant from her, and very different in character from his father.

Unfortunately, Henry VIII proved to be a pawn of Venetian manipulation. Unlike his father, he became involved in continental wars which were completely destructive to England's interest. He failed to continue the English exploration of the New World, begun by John Cabot under the patronage of Henry VII. Many of Henry VII's economic initiatives were abandoned. Ultimately, Henry VIII became a pawn in the Venetian-manipulated wars of religion.

Ironically, the heir to the legacy of Henry VII was not his son Henry VIII, whose reign was filled with contradictions and ended in tragedy. Rather, the man who best carried forward the efforts launched by Henry VII to establish a true nation-state, was Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor, Thomas More, whose most famous work, *Utopia,* suggested that the position of king should be an elective office.

Utopia is one of the greatest works on constitutional law ever written. More was probably the individual best qualified to serve as England's "Solon of Athens," but it was not possible for him to play such a role. Instead, he sought to further the much longer-term process of creating a citizenry capable of establishing a republic.

The period from the Sixteenth century through to the Treaty of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648, was a relative dark age in Europe, dominated by the attempt of the Venetian oligarchy to destroy the newly emerging nation-states by pitting them against each other in wars of religion. Henry VIII was a willing pawn in these schemes. Almost from the beginning of his reign, he abandoned his father Henry VII's policy of peace and economic cooperation. Under the direction of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Henry VIII imagined himself as a master manipulator, who ordered the relations of Europe, and played off one continental nation against another. Cardinal Wolsey even used his position as a mediator between Francis I of France and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, to manipulate the two states into a war. England repeatedly changed sides in alliances, and spent enormous amounts of money fighting wars that in no way served the actual national interest.

Eventually, Henry VIII was induced to break with the Church in Rome, and to align England as a participant in the religious warfare that devastated Europe from the time of Martin Luther until the Peace of Westphalia. The nominal issue was Henry VIII's desire to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon, who had failed to produce a male heir. However, Venetian agents at he Court, such as Francesco Zorzi, manipulated the issue, to ensure a complete split between Henry VIII and the Roman Church.

# More's Commitment to the General Welfare

On Nov. 4, 2000, Pope John Paul II issued an Apostolic Letter proclaiming St. Thomas More as "Patron of Statesmen and Politicians." John Paul II saw in Thomas More a model of how leaders must serve the common good. John Paul II described this responsibility in a public address the same day:

"Politics is the use of legitimate authority in order to attain the common good of society: a common good which, as the Second Vatican Council declares, embraces



Sir Thomas More (left), Lord Chancellor under King Henry VIII, was proclaimed "Patron Saint of Statesmen and Politicians" by Pope John Paul II in 2000. The leading exponent of Erasmus's New Learning in England, More was famous for educating his daughters in the Classics. Below: "Study for a Family Portrait of Thomas More," Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1527.



Io.Clemens. Hythlodaus. Tho.Morus. Per, Aegid.

More's "Utopia" was a Platonic treatise on statecraft, in which progress and the betterment of the populace were counterposed to perpetual feudal warfare. Above and right: Illustrations from "Utopia," 1518.



'the sum of those conditions of social life by which individuals, families and groups can achieve complete and efficacious fulfillment.'"

John Paul II says of More in his Apostolic Letter: "In this context, it is helpful to turn to the example of Saint Thomas More, who distinguished himself by his constant fidelity to legitimate authority and institutions precisely in his intention to serve not power but the supreme ideal of justice. His life teaches us that government is above all an exercise of virtue. Unwavering in this rigorous moral stance, this English statesman placed his own public activity at the service of the person, especially if that person was weak or poor; he dealt with social controversies with a superb sense of fairness; he was vigorously committed to favoring and defending the family; he supported the all-round education of the young. His profound detachment from honors and wealth, his serene and joyful humility, his balanced knowledge of human nature and of the vanity of success, his certainty of judgement rooted in faith: these all gave him that confident inner strength that sustained him in adversity and in the face of death. His sanctity shone forth in his martyrdom, but it had been prepared by an entire life of work devoted to

God and neighbor."

In *Utopia*, More developed the idea that government must promote the General Welfare of all of its citizens. To achieve this goal would require that all the nation's citizens be schooled to become Platonic "philosopher kings." As More states, "For it is impossible that all should be well, unless all men are good."

More wrote *Utopia* in the form of a dialogue between himself and a fictional character, named Raphael, who has sailed, both geographically and intellectually, "as Ulysses and Plato." More says that Raphael has studied philosophy, "learning Greek, since the Romans left us nothing that is valuable except Seneca and Cicero." Raphael describes to More the imaginary land of Utopia, which has achieved a far higher level of civilization than that of Europe at the time.

In a satire on the current practices of government, Raphael argues that a counsellor who advised a king to see himself as the guardian of his people, would be rejected by the king in favor of other advisers who would tell him that he should follow only his own interest. Raphael says, "I would urge the king to tend his ancestral kingdom and improve it as much as he could. He should love his people

and be loved by them." The king's other counsellors would reject this, however, and give the king contrary advice:

"Thus the counsellors agree with the maxims of Crassus: a king can never have enough money, since he has to maintain his army; a king can do nothing unjustly even if he wants to; all property belongs to the king, even the very persons of his subjects; no man has any other property than what the king out of his goodness thinks fit to leave him; the king should leave him as little as possible, as if it were to his advantage that his people should have neither riches not liberty."

Raphael then asks: Suppose I were to advise the king and his counsellors that, "both his honor and his safety consisted more in his people's wealth than in his own. Suppose I should maintain that men choose a king not for his sake, but for theirs, that by his care and efforts they may live comfortably and safely. . . . If I should press these views on men strongly inclined to the contrary, how deaf they would be to it all!"

In discussing foreign policy, More ridicules the practice of almost all European rulers of the time, of treating relations among states as a war "of each against all," in the phrase coined by its later enthusiast Thomas Hobbes. The Utopians' approach, More explains, is superior: They seek alliances based on common interest, and fight wars only when they have a just reason, seeking to win them with as little bloodshed as possible.

More, by describing a dialogue at the dinner table of his former patron John Morton, discusses the foundation of justice in a society which is run on the basis of the General Welfare. More argues that the moral uplifting of the population, is the foundation for any effort to control crime, and that the harsh punishments of the time did not deter crime.

More draws a picture of a Utopian government, as a republic in which most government positions were to be elected; the prince, for example, was to be elected for life. For such a government to function, however, would require leaders who were committed to the common good, as well as a population capable of electing such leaders and advising them in carrying out the functions of government. More tells Raphael: "Your Plato thinks that commonwealths will only become happy when either philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers. No wonder we are so far from happiness, when philosophers do not deign to assist kings with their counsels."

An advanced system of universal education is presented. Commenting on the parasitical nature of the European aristocracy, More remarks that in Utopia, since the entire population works, and there is no aristocratic class that consumes without producing, everyone in Utopia has leisure time for study. Among the subjects empha-

sized are music, geometry, and astronomy, with the same approach to these subjects as that of the Greeks. In a biting attack on the scholastics. More says of the Utopians, "they equal the ancients in almost everything, but they are far behind our modern logicians. For they have not yet invented the subtle distinctions and hypotheses which have been so cleverly worked out in our trifling schools of logic and taught to the boys here."

More saw this idea of the General Welfare as completely coherent with the teachings of Christ. In *Utopia*, he argues that Christianity is coherent with reason. Later on, in debates over the views of Martin Luther, More rejected Luther's doctrine that denied free will and the importance of doing God's work, as leading mankind to an immoral life. More, in disputing Luther's doctrine stated, "But they fight against faith and deny Christ, who, while they extol only grace and faith, deny the value of works, and make men callous to living well."

As John Paul II referenced, More did not see a life dedicated to virtue and the service of the General Welfare, as a life of grim, humorless determination. More says of the Utopians, "They disagree with the grim and gloom eulogist of virtue, who hates pleasure and exhort us to toils and vigils and squalid self-denial, and at the same time commands us to relieve the poverty and lighten the burdens of others in accordance with our humanity. So they conclude that nature herself prescribes a life of joy (that is, of pleasure) as the goal of life. That is what they mean by saying that virtue is living according to nature."

More asserts that man must fulfill his need for sustenance, and not live the life of an ascetic. But, beyond this, he shows how man can find a higher pleasure than the sensual, which is the pleasure one derives from living a life coherent with reason.

Not long after the publication of *Utopia*, More found himself permanently engaged in the royal service. At this period of his reign, Henry VIII delighted in surrounding himself with men of note and learning. Humanist scholars found a cordial welcome from him and from the Queen. John Colet was their chosen preacher; Linacre, the royal physician; Tunstall, the Master of the Rolls.

The King was determined to attach so brilliant a man as More to his Court. "He could not rest, until he had dragged More to his Court—dragged is the word," wrote Erasmus, "for no one ever tried more strenuously to gain admission to Court, than he did to escape from it." "He hates despotism and likes equality," wrote Erasmus of More. "He is fond of liberty and leisure, though no one is more ready and industrious when duty requires it. He was much averse from spending his time at Court, though one could not wish to serve a kinder or

more unexacting prince."20

Erasmus described how More used his position to protect the poor: "You would say that he had been appointed the public guardian of all those in need." He also used his position to promote the educational reforms launched by his circle. Perhaps the greatest positive accomplishment of the reign of Henry VIII, was the expansion and transformation of the educational system. Backed by Henry VIII, More was able to protect the New Learning against attempts to stifle it. In 1518, More delivered his famous address defending with all his force the New Learning of the humanists, with special reference to the teaching of Erasmus.

More was appointed Chancellor in 1529, after the downfall of Cardinal Wolsey. By then, however, Henry VIII was completely caught in the Venetian trap. He had embarked on a course of setting himself up as the supreme religious authority in England. The Venetian grouping wanted More out of the way, and succeeded in getting him executed. More was replaced as Chancellor by Thomas Cromwell, who was completely committed to the Venetian strategy.

# Shakespeare and the Reign of Elizabeth I

It was under Henry VII's granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth I, that the combination of the new institutions of the nation-state, and the improvements in education, brought the most dramatic results. In many ways, the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, was the most dynam-

ic in English history.

Elizabeth's government carried out policies to protect and develop England's industries. In some industries, such as coal production, the rate of expansion even exceeded that which occurred during the Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth century. The iron industry, which had stagnated or even declined through the reign of Henry VIII, grew four-fold over the next sixty years. The shipbuilding industry was expanded through new laws, and more rigorous enforcement of old ones. The government also protected and encouraged industries where England had previously been dependent on imports, such as paper-making, glass-making, salt production, copper mining, gunfounding, and the manufacture of gun powder.

The expansion of literacy launched by the Erasmus-More circle, continued under Elizabeth. By the end of her reign, the literacy level in England had reached around 33 percent, one of the highest rates in the world at that time. And the English language reached its highest level of development during this era, as exemplified by the works of Shakespeare and the King James version of the Bible.

Although records about William Shakespeare's youth are very limited, enough is known to show that he was a product of the cultural revolution that had been launched a half-century earlier by the circle of Erasmus and Thomas More.

Shakespeare was born in April of 1564. He probably

# Shakespeare's Histories: The Lawlessness of Feudal Rule

In his history plays of England's Plantagenet dynasty, Shakespeare poses the question of the king's responsibilities and personal qualities of leadership, against the backdrop of a feudal society whose government is necessarily unlawful and illegitimate, because it rejects the principle of the common good as the basis for statecraft.

- The earliest king whom Shakespeare wrote about was King John, who reigned from 1199 to 1216. Shakespeare portrays the King as governing not by law, but his own ability to assert his own power. King John repeatedly acts arbitrarily and violently, while justifying his behavior with speeches about how his legitimacy is derived directly from God. John's ugly behavior so outraged the people, that he brought on his own downfall.
- In *Richard II*, Shakespeare shows how a nation governed by feudal codes, quickly degenerates into rule by the strongest. Richard II (r. 1377-1399) violates the

time-honored arrangements between king and feudal lords, seizing lands to finance his wars of foreign conquest, and justifying his actions by claiming the divine right of kings. His cousin, Bolingbroke, rallies the country to reject Richard II's violations of the feudal order, and in the end crowns himself King Henry IV. An unjust king has been replaced by one whose claim to the throne is illegitimate.

• The lack of legitimacy runs like a curse throughout Shakespeare's histories of Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and Richard III. *Henry IV* revolves around the attempts of a faction of the nobility, centered around the Percy family, to overthrow Henry. The revolt fails, because the opposing lords fall out among themselves over plans to divide the kingdom into three. This scheme proves their claim to the English throne to be even more illegitimate than that of Henry himself.

entered school around age five, and moved on to grammar school at seven. Here, he would have used William Lily's *Short Introduction to Grammar*, which was the standard Latin primer of the day.

Shakespeare's play *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, contains a parody on the Lily text, with a young boy—appropriately named William—being drilled on Latin grammar:

**Parson Evans:** Nominativo, hig, hag, hog; pray you, mark: genitivo, hujus. Well, what is your accusative case?

William: Accusativo, hinc.

**Parson Evans:** I pray you, have your remembrance, child. Accusativo, hung, hang, hog.

**Mistress Quickly:** 'Hang-hog' is Latin for bacon, I warrant you.

Parson Evans: Leave your prabbles, 'oman.—What is the focative case, William?

William: O, —vocotivo, O.

Parson Evans: Remember, William: focative is caret.

Mistress Quickly: And that's a good root.

Evans: 'Oman, forbear. Mistress Page: Peace!

Parson Evans: What is your genitive case plural, William?

William: Genitive case? Parson Evans: Ay.

William: Genitivo: horum, harum, horum.

**Mistress Quickly:** Vengeance of Jenny's case! fie on her! never name her, child, if she be a whore.<sup>21</sup>

In grammar school, Shakespeare would have been taught Erasmus's Cato, and the works of Terence and

Plautus. At the age of eleven, he would have graduated to works by Cicero, such as *De Officiis* and Erasmus's *De Copia*. Shakespeare's mastery of the subjects was good enough, that he is reported to have worked as a tutor is the house of Alexander Hoghton.

Beyond Shakespeare's use of Thomas More's History of King Richard the Third, in writing his own Life and Death of King Richard III, the clearest evidence of More's direct influence on Shakespeare, and Shakespeare's greatest tribute to More, is contained in the sections that Shakespeare contributed to a play on the life of More. The play, written by Anthony Munday, was rejected by the censors, and Shakespeare re-wrote several sections, trying to make it acceptable, so it could be performed. In one scene, Shakespeare shows More, as sheriff of London, calming a riot against foreign residents on May Day of 1517. Later, Shakespeare portrays More as reflecting on his appointment as Chancellor, vowing to reject the corruption brought on by honour, high office, and wealth:

It is in heaven that I am thus and thus,
And that which we profanely term our fortunes
Is the provision of the power above,
Fitted and shaped just to that strength of nature
Which we were born withal. Good God, good God,
That I from such an humble bench of birth
Should step as 'twere up to my country's head
And give the law out there; ay, in my father's life
To take prerogative and tithe of knees
From elder kinsmen, and him bind by my place

- Henry V won a series of spectacular victories against the French during his short reign, from 1413 to 1422. Shakespeare's *Henry V* centers around the victory at Agincourt, and ends with Henry V forcing a treaty on the French King that names Henry as his heir. But Shakespeare portrays the war as, among other things, a thoroughly corrupt undertaking, motivated by a desire for plunder. The play ends with a negotiated peace and marriage, overshadowed by a warning of impending disaster.
- The premature death of Henry V left the kingdom in the hands of squabbling factions of the nobility. The three plays that Shakespeare wrote about Henry VI were his first. The collapse of England's position in France, and the disintegration of England, is shown, with the factions of the English aristocracy squabbling while the King, Henry VI, is portrayed as a virtual bystander, incapable of directing events.
- Edward IV of the House of York triumphed over King Henry VI of the House of Lancaster in 1471.

When Edward IV died in 1483, he left the government in the hands of his brother, Richard, who was named regent. Richard quickly seized power and crowned himself King Richard III, murdering his potential rivals. Richard's brutal behavior rapidly alienated the nobility and common people, who sought out Henry Tudor, then in France, as an alternative. A conspiracy was hatched in England, while Henry gathered an army around himself in France, and returned to victory at the Battle of Bosworth.

The transition from Richard III to Henry VII was not merely a change of dynasty. While in France, Henry assembled the core of his future government, including the services of a number of learned men, such as Richard Fox and John Morton, who remained his advisers for life. Henry VII was a new type of ruler, whose actions were based on a fundamentally different conception of nation-state government, as opposed to the feudal brigandage of the Plantagenets.

—RT

To give the smooth and dexter way to me That owe it him by nature! Sure these things, Not physicked by respect, might turn our blood To much corruption. But More, the more thou hast Either of honour, office, wealth and calling, Which might accite thee to embrace and hug them, The more do thou e'en serpents' natures think them: Fear their gay skins, with thought of their sharp stings, And let this be thy maxim: to be great Is, when the thread of hazard is once spun, A bottom great wound up, greatly undone.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, Shakespeare portrays More as a model for everyone: motivated by a desire to do God's work in promoting the General Welfare, and knowing that to become fixated on his own wealth and power, would bring about his own undoing. Indeed, Shakespeare's works, which have been the most widely circulated literature in the history of the English language, played a vital role in the education of the population to become this sort of citizen.

But, the world during this period was increasingly governed by the axioms created by Venetian manipulation. Europe was increasingly split into hostile blocs, rather than governed by the community of principle sought by Henry VII, Erasmus, and More.

Beginning with decisions made in the early 1580's, the Venetian financial oligarchy moved its base of operations into The Netherlands and England. In 1600, the British East India Company was formed, which grew into one of the ugliest instruments of British colonialism. A century later, this Venetian financial oligarchy was firmly in control of England.

However, even deadlier than the oligarchy's financial

subversion, was its cultural subversion. In Europe and in England, itself, the culture was gradually subverted with the re-introduction of the ideology of Aristotle in new forms, such as philosophical empiricism.

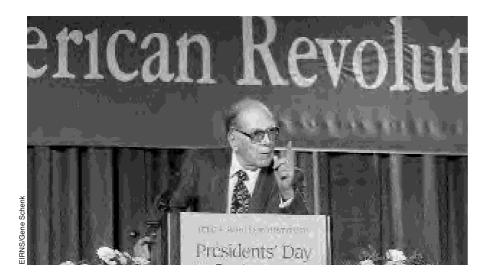
Finally, the flawed nature of the monarchical form of government was demonstrated, when Elizabeth picked a completely unworthy successor, James of Scotland, who became James I of England. Elizabeth, who had no children, chose a successor with no commitment to the English Renaissance.

Under James I, the cultural decay accelerated. James rejected the most important aspect of the Tudor revolution, the creation of a literate, educated population. Indicative of the reactionary direction of the new regime was the rise of men like Francis Bacon, who eventually became Lord Chancellor. Bacon told King James, that the education of the working classes would cause a shortage of farmers and artisans, and fill up the kingdom with "indigent, idle and wanton people." He advised James that there were too many grammar schools.

Ultimately, there developed in England a group of republicans committed to the principles of a nation-state dedicated to the General Welfare, which Henry VII had established as the basis for the English nation. When they found England, under the Venetian-style ruling class that had captured it, to be intolerable, they followed the path that John Cabot had taken over a hundred years earlier, beyond the grip of that oligarchy, establishing, on the shores of North America, a colony that would grow into the first true nation-state republic, explicitly dedicated to the principles for which Henry VII had fought. This marked the completion of the struggles waged by Henry VII and his collaborators three centuries earlier.

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- 3. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1972), p. 16.
- 4. Quoted in Chrimes, *ibid.*, pp. 298-299.
- 5. Gladys Temperley, *Henry VII* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 51.
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- 10. Ibid., p. 192.
- 11. R.H. Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951).
- 12. Temperley, op. cit., p. 183.

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- 14. Donald Phau, "Ersamus of Rotterdam: The Educator's Educator," *Fidelio*, Summer 1995 (Vol. IV, No. 2).
- Desiderius Erasmus, The Praise of Folly, in The Essential Erasmus, trans. by John Dolan (New York: New American Library, 1964), p. 144.
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- 17. Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974).
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- 20. Enid M.G. Routh, *Thomas More and His Friends* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 89.
- 21. Quoted in Anthony Holden, William Shakespeare, The Man Behind the Genius (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), p. 33.
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Conference keynotes: Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. (left), Helga Zepp LaRouche (below).

of this grouping in the Israeli leadership. Put together, these elements represent the detonator for a religious war, a Clash of Civilizations, of which the Ariel Sharon-led dictatorship in Israel is the leading edge.

LaRouche underlined his own role in averting the danger the Clash of Civilizations poses for the whole world, concluding, "And we, who are not going to live to see it, can think 50 years ahead—two generations—and say, 'At

Washington, D.C. Conference

# 'Continue the American Revolution!'

Over 900 people, including more than a dozen state legislators and at least 100 students, met in Reston, Va. over Presidents' Day weekend, to engage in a dialogue with American statesman and 2004 Democratic Presidential precandidate Lyndon LaRouche and the leaders of his political movement.

LaRouche's keynote speech put the strategic conjuncture sharply into focus, going back to 1971, when

Richard Nixon took the dollar off gold. LaRouche said, I warned then that we were headed toward a disintegration process that would lead to fascism, if certain changes weren't made. And, "as of Sept. 11, and looking at the events of Sept. 11, and what's behind them, we are at the edge of fascism—globally, right now."

LaRouche re-

viewed the apparatus that directed the Sept. 11 coup attempt against the Bush Administration, as he did in his campaign's recent Special

Report, "Zbigniew Brzezinski and September 11th." He began with the military grouping that had to be involved, followed by the fascist policy-makers, and then the collaborators

Brzezinski and began with the hat had to be the fascist polihe collaborators

Brzezinski and sibility of planet, we hat sibility of planet, we have beings, and who live in LaRougan informs



last, we have within our reach, the possibility of establishing an order on this planet, which is fit for the human beings, and *all* of the human beings, who live in it."

LaRouche's keynote was followed by an informative and polemical presenta-



Dr. Simbi Mubako, Ambassador to the U.S. from Zimbabwe, addresses conference.





American Intellectual Tradition: panelists Nancy Spannaus, Graham Lowry.

tion by Simbi Mubako, the Zimbabwean Ambassador to the U.S., on the way the British and the I.M.F. are trying to return his country to colonialism.

After a brief musical offering by the Schiller Institute chorus, the evening session took up "Brzezinski's and Huntington's Universal Fascism: The Special Case of Sharon's Israel."

## Dialogue of Cultures

The second day of the conference was keynoted by Helga Zepp LaRouche, LaRouche's wife and founder of the Schiller Institute. She took up the theme of the alternative to the Clash of Civilizations—namely, the dialogue of cultures, beginning with the call she herself had put forward last October, along the lines of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa's dialogue, "The Peace of Faith."

Zepp LaRouche demonstrated to the audience, the way in which to uncover the universal principles, *from above*, that can unite mankind despite

our divergent, and apparently conflicting, religions and cultures. She took up, in particular, the ancient religions of India and Egypt, and brought out the common themes of man's relationship to God.

What you find, she said, is that the concept of *imago dei* exists in all the major religions, even as certain breakthroughs were made in specific cultures,

Top right: Brzezinski's Universal Fascism: panelists Jeffrey Steinberg (podium) and Harley Schlanger. Right: Schiller Institute chorus, under the baton of John Sigerson. such as the watersheds of the Italian Renaissance and the American Revolution. A dialogue of cultures must be

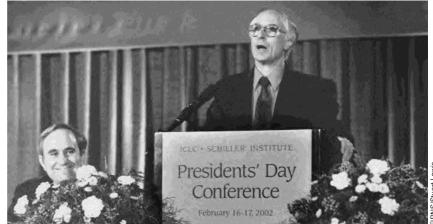
based on the best periods of all cultures, she said.

The final panel of the conference dealt with the American Intellectual Tradition as key to economic recovery, with presentations on the heritage of Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, with particular emphasis on the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

# Int'l Webcasts

During the first five months of 2002, Democratic Presidential pre-candidate Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. addressed three seminars in Washington, D.C., all of which were webcast.

On January 24, LaRouche issued a moral challenge to U.S. and world political leaders, to step forward with him in a life-or-death battle to save civilization. In the face of both a systemic financial breakdown crisis, and a threat of world empire by the fascist gang around former Carter National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Harvard political scientist and global strategist Samuel Huntington—the gang which inspired the attempted coup d'état of Sept. 11—LaRouche said that the world desperately needs leadership which will







EIRNS/Stuart Lew

# Hear Strategic Direction from LaRouche

face reality, and act to support the establishment of a community of principle among sovereign nations, in order to restore economic growth.

The problem, LaRouche said, is that there is a crisis of leadership in Europe and the Americas. "We have people in this country who could be part of the solution, including seasoned political figures, if they were brought together as a force. But we don't have them together at this time, and one of the things I'm trying to do today, is to shame them into moving in that direction. Step forward, and begin to show the kind of leadership this country needs for this crisis. Bypass the two parties. Just give some leadership outside the two-party framework, and then come back and reorganize the party system by showing a leadership which can rally the American people."

How can people find the courage to fight? For that, LaRouche offered his own role: "I can offer you the credibility of my success as a forecaster, which is— I can promise you, I can assure you—is unmatched. I can offer you my dedication to what I've told you I'm dedicated to. I can offer you my knowledge and commitment to try to attempt to use the influence of the United States, to bring about a reorganization of a worthless, bankrupt monetary system. I can promise you the use of my knowledge, and that of others I can rally to me, to bring about the economic mobilization to restore this nation, and other nations, to what they should be. I can promise you that I am committed not to an empire, but to what some people call a multi-polar world: a community of principle among perfectly sovereign nationstates, which I think is the only way this planet can be managed. And I can promise you that I'll fight now, and I'll fight until I die. I will not quit."

#### Peace, or Perpetual War?

In a speech webcast on May 1, LaRouche said: Either people follow his pathway to peace, or face the outbreak of "perpetual war," in the style of the



Memorial Day webcast viewed at Washington, D.C. seminar.

Roman Empire, or worse.

Americans and international leaders alike have been alarmed to see the ongoing disintegration of the U.S. Presidency, which has, in fact, led it to support the war drive of Israel's Nazi-like butcher, Ariel Sharon. At the same time, representatives of the Anglo-American crowd which controls Sharon, are promoting a process of expanding warfare in Asia, South America, and the rest of the Middle East.

LaRouche stressed repeatedly the need for action in the true national interest of the United States, a national interest which has not been understood by any President since 1964. He also invoked the action of President Dwight Eisenhower from 1956, when he intervened sharply against England, France, and Israel in the Suez Crisis. Building the political environment, by telling the truth, to permit that kind of decisive action to be taken in the Middle East, is the crucial task of those who wish to save civilization.

# How To Win the Peace

Then, on May 28, LaRouche presented a Memorial Day address on how to locate courage in oneself to inspire others to the necessary fight.

Here, LaRouche sharply contrasted the war-fighting perspective of today's

dominant political faction in Washington, to the outlook of the traditional American military, in which the purpose of war is to win the peace. The function of war, he said, is to defend the concept of man made in the image of the Creator, and to bring the human race together as a community of sovereign nation-states.

Unlike animals, man can make discoveries of universal scientific principles, which are things which cannot be felt, smelled, or seen. By thinking in terms of principles, one has the power to deal with great crises, because one is aware of his or her power to transform, and improve, the universe and mankind.

LaRouche gave the example of Jeanne d'Arc, a real historical case of a young peasant girl who took the responsibility to save her nation, thus providing the example which inspired the republican tradition of the nation-state, which eventually came to fruition in the founding of the United States itself.

Republicans in Europe built the United States, LaRouche emphasized, and it would not have happened without great leaders like France's Jeanne d'Arc and England's Thomas More.



"Iniziativa Italia" forum: Lyndon LaRouche (left), host Danilo Broggi (right).

# Italy: Economic Development To Defeat Clash of Civilizations

Lyndon LaRouche addressed two meetings at the prestigious Palazzo dei Giureconsulti in the center of Milan, Italy on March 21-22. The first, a dinner organized by a leading regional legislator in the Lombardy area, consisted of about 100 representatives of political, business, and professional circles from the region. The second, a public event organized by the entrepreneurs' association "Iniziativa Italia," was attended by over 100 businessmen, press, students, and supporters of the LaRouche movement in Italy.

LaRouche, whose fight for a new, just economic system and global development has been well known in Italy for nearly 30 years, also had an official meeting March 22 with the Presidency of the Lombard regional Parliament, including a delegation of regional legislators from both the government and opposition parties.

At both events, as well as in several private meetings, LaRouche emphasized the importance of entrepreneurship as a driving force for economic development, as opposed to the model of the corporate manager, who is oriented toward finance and the marketplace—a model which is now going down the drain along with the bankrupt international financial system. Small and medium-sized businesses,

with their orientation toward advancing productive technologies, form the perfect complement to the large-scale infrastructure projects that are at the center of LaRouche's proposals for rebuilding the world economy, as exemplified in his Eurasian Land-Bridge proposal.

Key to the role of the production-oriented entrepreneur, said LaRouche, is the goal of promoting the common good. Thus, as opposed to those who seek to maximize short-term financial profits, small and medium-sized businesses must be oriented toward creating jobs and real value in the economy.

LaRouche was very well received at both events, with many of the participants thanking him for his courage in waging an international fight for these ideas. Danilo Broggi, the president of Milan's Association of Small Enterprises, introduced LaRouche by saying that if he had to condense LaRouche's economic views into a slogan, it would be, "More production and less finance." He also concluded the meeting with a statement that his positive impression of LaRouche had been strengthened, and that the central message of the meeting had been the ability of the economic system, and the building of infrastructure, to contribute to the common good.

# Arab Oil Conference 'The Mideast As

Lyndon LaRouche was a featured speaker at a June 1-2 conference on "The Role of Oil and Gas in World Politics," held in Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates. LaRouche's presentation, "The Middle East as a Strategic Crossroad," went to the heart of the only strategy for breaking out of perpetual war and developing the region. He told the 150 leading Arabs and others present, that fresh water development was more crucial even than oil to the region's future; and that new Land-Bridge transportation corridors across Eurasia and into Africa were the key to its development.

In its Arabic-language press release, Abu Dhabi's influential Zayed Centre for Coordination and Follow-Up (ZCCF), which hosted LaRouche, announced that "the conference would be an appropriate opportunity for the attendance by the major American

# Brazil: LaRouche

In a solemn ceremony June 12, Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. was awarded honorary citizenship of Sao Paulo by the City Council of that city of more than 18 million people, the third largest in the world. LaRouche was invited to Brazil to receive this honor by Dr. Havanir Nimtz, the principal representative on the Sao Paulo City Council of the PRONA party, founded by Dr. Eneas Carneiro, one of Brazil's preeminent cardiologists and a former Presidential candidate.

LaRouche and his wife Helga Zepp LaRouche, accompanied by Dr. Eneas, visited a plenary session of the City Council on June 12, and were introduced to the body by Councilwoman Havanir. The Council session was later formally suspended, in order to convene the special session awarding LaRouche his citizenship. After the official proclamation was handed to LaRouche, Dr. Havanir and Dr. Eneas each spoke about LaRouche's work and contributions.

If there is to be hope for the world,

# A Crossroad'

politician and a Presidential candidate in earlier and coming elections, Lyndon LaRouche. . . . The invitation of the American Presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche, according to the ZCCF, was extended to him as an appreciation of the positive stances expressed by LaRouche towards the causes of the Arab nation and the just causes in all parts of the world in general."

LaRouche gave the second major presentation on the opening day of the conference, which drew energy ministers and other leaders from Mideast nations to Abu Dhabi. He concluded by telling them, "Under present conditions of general bankruptcy of the world's financial system, while a large-scale reorganization of bankrupt assets is underway, the crucial margin of economic recovery will be the creation of new, low-cost, long-term credit, which will be initially inject-



Lyndon LaRouche addresses conference at Zayed Centre for Coordination and Follow-Up, flanked by U.A.E. Oil Minister Obeid Bin Saif Al-Nasseri (left) and Mohammad Khalifa Al Murrar, Executive Director of the Centre (right).

ed, largely, for essential programs of long-term building of basic economic infrastructure. This investment in infrastructure will then cause expansion of agricultural and industrial development. This investment must be supplied largely by perfectly sovereign nation-states, under terms of simple interest for loans of up to a quarter-century or greater maturity. Under these conditions, there must be a greatly increased flow of high Please turn to page 85

# Made Honorary Citizen of Sao Paulo



City Councilwoman Dr. Havanir Nimtz presents Lyndon LaRouche with honorary citizenship of Sao Paulo. At rear: Helga Zepp LaRouche and Dr. Eneas Carneiro (left).

the United States has to be brought back to its senses, Mrs. LaRouche said in brief remarks during the ceremony. There are two Americas: that which continues the intellectual tradition of its Founding Fathers, and that of the Tories, still allied to the British Empire. The decision to grant honorary citizenship to my husband, she said, sends the most powerful possible message about which United States the world wants.

LaRouche gave three additional public addresses during his week-long visit to Brazil. His first, on "The Global Systemic Crisis and the End of 'Free Trade," was given at a forum sponsored by the Alumni Association of the Superior War College (ADESG), held in the auditorium of the Latin American Parliament in Sao Paulo on June 11. Former Superior War College director Gen. Oswaldo Muniz Oliva, and Cong. Marcos Cintra, who currently heads the Congressional committee which deals with the negotiations for the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), offered their comments following LaRouche's remarks.

On June 13, LaRouche was the featured speaker at a business luncheon sponsored by the Sao Paulo Commercial Association. The following day, he keynoted the Fifth "Brazil-Argentina: The Moment of Truth" Seminar, orga-

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# Dialogue of Cultures

# Institute Hosts German-Iranian Festival

Two cities in Germany, Düsseldorf and Wiesbaden, were scenes of extraordinary events sponsored by the Schiller Institute and the German-Iranian Theatre Forum on April 20 and April 27, respectively. The theme of both was "Living Dialogue Instead of War of Cultures—A Festival of Persian and German Poetry"—a theme that therefore presented a direct challenge to the ruling "Clash of Civilizations" culture.

In Duesseldorf, 130 people came to participate in a symposium, a discussion, and an evening cultural program. In Wiesbaden, the audience ranged from 80 for the symposium, to 150 for the evening program.

The symposium began with a presentation by Helga Zepp LaRouche, founder of the Schiller Institute, entitled "Unity in the Manifold: The Culture of

the Silk Road." She went directly into the middle of the battlefield, so to speak, by taking on Samuel Huntington's concept of a coming "Clash of Civilizations," and his thesis that there cannot be an understanding among the different religions. She contrasted this viewpoint to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa's concept of unity in manifold, and his dialogue "De Pace Fidei" ("On the Peace of Faith"), in which representatives of religions from all over the world are led to discover the basis for collaboration and peace, despite their doctrinal differences.

The next speech, by Vida Bahrami of the German-Iranian Theatre Forum, on the Fourteenth-century poet Muhammad Schams-ad-Din Hafis, was given in Persian, with a very short German translation.

Dr. M. Assemi, publisher of the Ger-

man-Persian magazine *Kaweh*, began his presentation by reciting the opening verses of Schiller's "Die Glocke" ("The Bell") in German. Dr. Assemi praised the dialogue of cultures, and warned that religion should not be misused.

The next speaker, Ahmed Rahimi-Nawardamouz, also from the German-Iranian Theatre Forum, was a young man who stated that, in their essence, all Persians are poets—they have a very metaphorical, poetical way of looking at things, and thinking.

The final speaker was the Schiller Institute's Muriel Mirak Weissbach, who spoke on "World Poetry: Translation as a Means for Understanding Among Peoples."

The evening program was presented by the "Dichterpflänzchen" ("Budding Poets"), a poetry recitation group spon-

# We Need an International Protocol For the Banning of Violent Videos!

On May 1, Helga Zepp LaRouche, founder of the Schiller Institute and lead candidate of the BueSo Party slate in Germany's fall elections, issued a call for the banning of violent video games. Excerpts follow.

In the wake of the gruesome massacre committed by 19-year-old Robert Steinhaeuser, responsible citizens can only have one reaction: Germany must call upon the United Nations to establish a protocol for a worldwide ban on the production and sale of films, computer games, and videos glorifying violence. This is necessary, because this "New Violence," as manifested in the massacre in Erfurt, is by no means a "sociological accident" or a "freak incident." Rather, it

is a worldwide phenomenon, one which represents as grave a threat to human civilization, as does the outbreak of a new life-threatening epidemic disease.

The ugly reality is, that even if the sale of such satanic computer games were banned tomorrow, this would not repair the damage that has already been done. We must therefore ask ourselves: What has brought a considerable part of our society to the point of tolerating ever more perverse forms of violence in such "action movies" as "Terminator" (Robert Steinhaeuser's favorite movie), and in such games as "Doom," "Quake," and so forth? What is wrong with the axioms in the minds of many adults in our society, who notice only now (if they notice anything at all) that

these products are bestial, and that they aim at producing a bestial outcome?

The idea of molding soldiers into blind obeyers of orders and eager killing machines, comes out of the utopian military doctrine of such people as Samuel Huntington, as he set this forth in his book, The Soldier and the State. It runs directly contrary to the tradition of Lazare Carnot and Scharnhorst, who developed the concept of the citizen-soldier, whereby the officer in particular should be of exemplary character, with an especially refined sense of the General Welfare, one who should be able to think for himself, and be able to creatively carry out the assigned objective. ...

## **Utopian Military Doctrine**

If one takes stock of the past three decades' history in the United States, it becomes quite evident that the responsibility for this phenomenon of youth violence must be placed at the feet of



Helga Zepp LaRouche addresses Dusseldorf Festival, with panelists Dr. M. Assemi of Kaweh magazine (left) and Birgit Vitt of the Schiller Institute (right).

sored by the Schiller Institute, whose members are from Duesseldorf and Wiesbaden, and a small theatre group, led by Iradj Zohari, which presented excerpts from the fairy tale "Turandot," after Elias ben Nezami.

those military and elected officials who, despite overwhelming evidence presented by medical and psychological experts, and despite the empirical experience of a widespread de-sensitization among youths, did nothing to halt this process of degeneration. Indeed, one cannot help but get the impression that this process was intentionally encouraged. After all, how could global military operations be carried out, if it weren't for a steady supply of emotionally immature, trigger-happy young recruits?

## Spiritual Demoralization

This plague of violence-glorifying horror films and computer games has now spread around the globe. The fact is likewise inescapable, that this has led to a dangerous state of spiritual desolation and demoralization among a large percentage of those who consume these media products.

A ban on violent videos, and cooper-

ation with responsible representatives of the media, are correct and necessary measures. But these alone will not be sufficient to block access via the Internet or across national borders, nor will it succeed in reversing the effect of those products which are already circulating among our young people, and generally in the population.

Therefore, Germany should propose that the United Nations establish an international protocol for the banning of these violence-glorifying videos.

And, secondly, we will only be able to heal the damage that has already been done in our country, by returning immediately to an educational policy based on the Christian-humanist image of man, in the tradition of Wilhelm von Humboldt. That is the only way we will be able to give our children and young people the spiritual strength to reject these bestial conceptions on their own.

# Middle East.

Continued from page 83

technology to regions and localities of the world in which there is critical lack of sufficient technological inputs.

"These measures must be adopted," LaRouche said, "not as a matter of taste, but as a matter of survival."

The Zayed Centre conference was extensively covered throughout the Arab world. Dubai's Business Satellite Channel featured clips of LaRouche speaking, and said, "The discussion was dominated by the events of Sept. 11." Egypt's *Al-Hayat* cited at length LaRouche's warnings of financial crash and proposals for reorganization of the financial system with long-term credit and trade agreements.

# Sao Paulo

Continued from page 83

nized jointly by his associates in the Ibero-American Solidarity Movement (MSIA), and the Ibero-American Integration and Identity Movement (MINEII) founded by friends of Argentine Colonel Mohamed Alí Seineldín. The seminar, held at the auditorium of the ADESG in Sao Paulo, opened with a public exchange of ideas between LaRouche and Col. Seineldín, the latter speaking by telephone from his military prison in Argentina.

Helga Zepp LaRouche opened the second panel of this seminar with a presentation on the strategic importance of the Eurasian Land-Bridge for the integration of Ibero-America. Dr. Vasco de Azevedo Neto, former federal Congressman and Presidential candidate, followed her, speaking on the necessity of completing the Great Waterway, his name for the long-overdue project to link the Orinoco, Amazon, and La Plata river basins of South America.

During their visit, Mrs. LaRouche was also invited by the Sao Paulo State Appellate Criminal Court to discuss the threat of the New Violence, and her proposal for international legal action banning the most violent video games [SEE Box, facing page].

# 'The beauty of Bach is the freedom he gives us . . . ?

# András Schiff, Pianist

András Schiff gave a piano recital in Hamburg, Germany, on April 25, 2001, which aroused such a storm of enthusiasm in the audience that, following the artist's contentrich, as well as extraordinarily technically demanding, concert, three encores were called for. Schiff had deliberately provoked his audience with the program: Bach's art of composition ran through the entire concert like a "red thread." The principles of Classical composition could be heard clearly, not only

from Beethoven and Schumann (of course), but in the "modern" works by Janáček and Bartók (both of whom were composing at the beginning of the last century). And, Schiff manifests this self-same courage—to use deliberate intellectual challenges to surprise and to educate his audience—even beyond the concert hall.

For example, his fight against the absurdly high "Karajan-tuning," which he broadened with a new battle on the sidelines of the last Salzburg Festival. Because of his invitation, members of the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonics (both of which orchestras play at an extremely high pitch, even above A=445 Hz), as well as opera singers, and even conductors, discussed Schiff's proposal, "to at least agree on 440 Hz as a least common denominator." Immediately, Hildegard Behrens, representing the interest of singers, argued for

For me, Bach is a very religious man, in the best sense of the word: a man who considers the composing of music as a mission, as a duty.

> Schiff's proposal; given that, certainly none of the participants were startled when, after some hesitation, the Berlin, as well as the Vienna Philharmonic musicians, supported the

proposal. Yet, even this small consensus was not possible, because, unfortunately, the influential conductor Pierre Boulez buried the discussion, with nothing resulting at the end.

Ortrun and Hartmut Cramer had an opportunity to conduct an extensive conversation with the pianist. This interview appeared originally in the Third Quarter 2001 issue of Ibykus, the German-language sister publication of Fidelio.

On the day after the Hamburg concert,

Fidelio: We were very inspired by your concert last evening, and it can serve as a good starting point for our conversation. Above all, we noticed, of course—and that fits well into a discussion about the music of Johann Sebastian Bach—that you began with an early piece by Bach—"Capriccio über die Abreise des geliebten Bruders" ["Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother"], and then covered a very large musical timespan, up to Janáček and Bartók, and then, interestingly, ended ultimately with Bach again, as an encore. Natural-



ly, that prompts the question: What value do you place on Bach's music? András Schiff: Of course, "framing" with Bach was no accident—I wanted to close the circle. And Bach's value? That's not easy to put into words. Bach's music is very important for me; it is the most important for my life. The entire music literature following Bach—all music intrigues and interests me, and everything I treasure in music comes from Bach. If a composer has no relationship to Bach, then, it doesn't really interest me at all. Bach is an entire musical, yet human, worldview. Here, the music must be spiritual, not physical. It can make me happy, and sustain me, but it is much more. It is the content of Bach's music that intrigues me so.

Above all, Bach's lack of egotismthe incredible devotion and modesty. With Bach, we don't have the "image of genius" that certainly so strongly characterizes Mozart. But, people must be very clear about Bach's enormous gift, his uniqueness. For me, Bach is a very religious man, in the best sense of the word: a man who considers the composing of music as a mission, as a duty. The quality that comes forth in his work is truly astounding; he writes his compositions day-in and day-out, and yet, they don't seem labored. Bach's music radiates this purity: purity in the polyphony, as well as clarity and transparency of the entire composition, whereby each voice, each note is important. In Bach, nothing is subordinate.

This is otherwise an aesthetical principle in art for me. I'm mainly thinking here about economy—that one not write as many notes as possible. In this respect, composers such as Liszt and Berlioz fail completely: because, first of all, they have nothing to do with Bach; and second, they lack the modesty, as well as the economy and discipline. I could remove half of a gloss by Liszt and the piece wouldn't suffer. You can't remove one note from a Bach fugue!

Bach's music is the most important for my life. Bach is an entire musical, yet human, worldview. The music must be spiritual, not physical. It is the *content* of Bach's music that intrigues me so.

Fidelio: You said something very important at the beginning: That all great composers arise out of Bach, that you hear him poking out from inside the music, since among other things, you consciously work out the reference to Bach. Even in the Janáček and Bartók—as well as the Beethoven and Schumann—Bach was heard inside the music

Schiff: That's natural, since I'm very influenced by Bach, and haven't played, and don't play, any other composer as frequently as Bach. I do it every day. I play other composers very frequently, too—some also every day,

some not. But I play Bach every day.

Fidelio: So, you do exactly what Pablo Casals did? He played Bach every day, too.

Schiff: Yes, I've indirectly learned, or ascribe that to Casals. To be sure, you have to have an urge for it, too. A spiritual, but above all an intellectual—yes, even a physical urge. I do it instead of pianistic exercises and scales, which bore me to death.

Fidelio: Bach thought so too.

Schiff: Surely. I'm very much against it, when people drum into a young musician's head, to play études. Most young musicians exercise incorrectly, and stupidly—and hence, lose a lot of time. Moreover, it's not efficient when people sit for ten to twelve hours at an instrument. That must not be, and is lost time. If you work daily, say, three, four hours, very concentrated and intelligently, then people achieve much more! Never permit a person to exercise mechanically! Mechanization of music-making is unworthy of human beings! When you walk through the corridors of music schools, you very

often hear how people will play a passage taken from a piano piece mechanically, fifty times in succession, rapidly and loudly. It's frightful to witness how idiotically people practice.

**Fidelio:** How did you handle that in your development? Did the study of Bach's music play a very great role?

Schiff: Yes, its influence was very great. In Hungary, I had the good fortune to get a very good education; but concerning Bach, studying with George Malcolm—which happened entirely fortuitously—had the greatest influence on me. Because, the art of fostering Baroque music and style did not generally exist in Hungary then. Of course, Bach was part of our study—that's the case everywhere; but in almost every music school in the world, one is taught, today, just as one was a hundred years

ago. Almost nothing has changed there. And that's bad, because it has petrified a bit. Even in Hungary it was so, even though I had great teachers there, especially György Kurtág.

From Kurtág, and my other teachers Pál Kadosa and Professor Ferenc Rados, I learned a great deal about Bach, too. I benefitted as well from the fact that Kadosa and Kurtág were, first of all, composers. My development was shaped more by composers, than by pianists. That's why I have—even though, unfortunately, I'm no composer, for this I have no talent—an "antenna" to think musically as a composer. At least, that's my goal.

Next to Bach, I have occupied myself very intensively with Bartók, and have even studied his recordings as a pianist. I know them very well, and esteem them very much.

**Fidelio:** Do you mean, the recordings that Bartók made as a pianist?

Schiff: Yes. Indeed, whether Bartók was playing his own music, or playing piano works of Bach, Beethoven, or Chopin—and thank God these documents provide it—there is simply a much more elevated kind of music-making, than that which "interpretersonly" do. It's difficult to explain why that is so, but composers "see behind the notes"—they recognize the coherence, the structure.

To a certain extent, a composition is a primeval forest; one can easily go astray. An interpreter is the equivalent of a scout, but they don't all know the way! Another comparison would be to a mountain guide, with whom one makes the grand tour of the Himalayas. A composer knows how to get through in a case like this; it's incredible, but because of this knowledge, he is able to realize tremendous freedom.

To perform music like that, would be my chief aim; and that has everything to do with Bach.

Fidelio: Did Béla Bartók hold Bach's music in high esteem, too?

Schiff: Above everything else! It's especially interesting, because Bartók was, of course, a Twentieth-century Classical master—although it shouldn't be for-

gotten that his roots still lay strongly in the Nineteenth century. He was born during the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and for a while Liszt was his ideal. Among others, he studied with Liszt's pupil Thoman, and therefore his way of thinking was initially influenced by Liszt; and also by late Romanticism, for example Richard Strauss-Bartók wrote a piano reduction of Zarathustra. But then he drew far away from this direction—I believe, because he occupied himself very intensively with Bach. He even prepared an entire edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier; indeed, a very interesting one. Although I don't play it, because Bartók changes the order of the pieces ...

Fidelio: ... Based on what criterion? **Schiff:** Based on degree of difficulty. He regarded these works literally as "teaching pieces," and began with two-part fugues, and then continued to three- and four-, up to the five-part fugues, which he put at the end, because they are naturally the most difficult in the collection. In addition, he supplied Bach's score with dynamic markings, articulation, etc., as was the custom in the Nineteenth century among publishers. That is legitimate as interpretation of these works; however, unfortunately, it influences us-especially as it is in print-negatively. Of course, this isn't an issue any more—such editions aren't used now, only the original text; although, as we know, even there gigantic differences exist.

tion of differing editions, in light of what you previously mentioned—the key word was "guide"—then it's certainly interesting to pursue this; whether one follows every detail, or even imitates, is a completely different matter.

Schiff: It's very interesting today, to know how such giants as Bartók, Busoni, or Francis Tovey intensively—or, very intimately—interpreted such a gigantic musician as Bach. One would simply like to know their opinions. That's why the study of such editions is important. But each interpreter must decide for himself how he's going to

play Bach. The beauty of Bach is the

Fidelio: Still, if you consider the ques-

freedom he gives us. It never existed after him again. A Bach score is a *quasitabula rasa*—yet full of spirit. Bach gives nearly no instructions; he specifies nothing regarding tempo, dynamics, phrasing, articulation, accentuation. Only the notes are there—but *how* we get them to ring, there we have endless possibilities. Although, within a certain framework.

Bach's music radiates a purity in the polyphony, as well as clarity and transparency of the entire composition, whereby each voice, each note is important. In Bach, nothing is subordinate.

Glenn Gould, for example, whom I otherwise much admire, because he is a brilliant interpreter, is very often outside this framework, in my opinion, because he considers Bach to be abstract material. In my opinion, Bach is not abstract, but an historical figure. He hails from a certain time and a relatively strictly defined, geographical region—Germany, or rather, Thuringia and Saxony-and he is very Protestant. For that reason, people can't say Bach could be independent of religion. That's nonsense. Anyone who doesn't engage himself with Protestant church music, can't do much with Bach: with his chorale melodies, the cantatas—indeed, even the German language plays a great role for Bach. It's very easy for an Englishspeaker to say, "That has nothing to do with his music." It's a good excuse, since these people don't speak a word of German! So, the matter isn't settled there.

I've clearly witnessed this, when I had the good fortune to be able to conduct the *St. Matthew Passion*.

Fidelio: Where?

**Schiff:** First, in Winterthur, then in London; three times altogether. It was

certainly always a dream of mine, and now it's happened. It was a key experience for me, illuminating everything. For example, it confirmed my belief, how important the language, or the general culture is, for music. In preparing, I couldn't stop finding interesting things: Quotations in the great choral settings from Bach's instrumental works—for example, in the Second Part of the Passion, a "turba" chorus, 1 "Sein Blut komme über uns" ["His blood be on us"]. I detected this really innocuous "Echo" there, from the "French Overture," where it's called "Echo," and people play it as such: merry and joyful. But, when one adds the cited text, it makes one's blood boil! Interestingly, it's even in the selfsame key—B minor.

Previously, I had no idea of this coherence. And that's only one example of how connected and intertwined Bach's sacred and secular music are. There also exist in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Part I, a Prelude in E-flat minor, and a Prelude in B minor, which could be part of the *St. Matthew Passion*. By the same token, we find minuets, bourrées, gavottes, gigues, also dance settings, in the *Passions* and religious cantatas; everything goes hand in hand. That's why Bach's music is no abstraction, but something very concrete.

Fidelio: Furtwängler had a fitting reply to the endless controversy of music historians, over whether people should be permitted to perform Bach only in churches, or also in the concert halls. Furtwängler's terse reply was: "What's that? Wherever Bach is, is church!" Schiff: Magnificent!

Fidelio: So, for that reason, with Bach, it doesn't matter, whether one, for example, goes to church every Sunday, because his music is accompanied by an entire worldview.

**Schiff:** Yes, people say that God is everywhere; and so also in Bach's music throughout. His music is something divine. A manifestation of divinity.

**Fidelio:** When you study such a work as the *St. Matthew Passion*—for the first time for yourself, as a conductor, since that is originally not your field—how do

you go about it? You'll probably say, you've worked on it your entire life ... Schiff: Actually, yes, but naturally not concretely, because I only studied this piece over the recent years. I'm no conductor—I have not studied conducting, but I have studied music. So, I intensively studied the full score, and played it many times. For this, playing the piano is not a bad thing, because you can play the St. Matthew Passion almost entirely on the piano alone—which doesn't work on a flute. Moreover, you can analyze the work quite well by playing the full score; but, it's also very important to know what one can not do while study-

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Johann Sebastian Bach

ing on the piano. Much has to be done "away from the piano." For example, during a walk in the woods. There a person can develop many thoughts, and also analyze and integrate.

**Fidelio:** Beethoven and Brahms set the example for that.

Schiff: Yes, that's how a person can really reflect, and that's why I'm most fond of walking. Many thoughts come to me that way. What's most important to me with conducting is homework. Before I go to an orchestra rehearsal, I

must prepare, and mark my material very precisely: bowing, articulation, phrasing, dynamics, accents. I try to make it as precise as possible.

**Fidelio:** You, yourself, even mark the bowing of the strings?

Schiff: Yes, even the bowing of the strings. In this I'm helped—unfortunately, I don't play a string instrument—in

tions], there are even voices with wrong notes and incorrect harmony—and those haven't been rectified. I can't understand the conductors, who hold rehearsals, and only then, so to speak, "see and hear what emerges."

**Fidelio:** Coming back to the piano: What came across in yesterday's concert, above all, was your incredible ability,

In the *St. Matthew Passion*, Bach has genuine comprehension of Judas, he is incredibly human. Then the passage, where the Scribes say: 'What is it to us?'—

it is so incredibly real. It happens every day on the street, when we observe or look away. People kill and get killed; it's war, but nothing troubles us. That's why Bach's music is so important!

that I have often played with excellent string players, and have learned from them. Besides, in this regard, I always show my work to my wife, who is a great violinist. If something is entirely wrong, she warns me. She plays it for me, and then we discuss it. Meantime, I rarely make serious errors; should they happen sometimes, I adhere to the corresponding objections of the first violinist. The main thing is, that a conductor must come to the first rehearsal with a clear conception, not only with respect to the sound of the

piece, but also, for example, in regard to the bowing.

**Fidelio:** Would such careful preparation have been entirely self-evident formerly?

Schiff: I don't know. In former times, I believe that conductors did much better, than today. They brought their material with them—good material. I am astonished that nowadays many conductors come to rehearsal with bad editions—particularly hazardous are those of the Vienna Classical period. In Peters [Edi-

with the wide range of composers you covered, to shade or color dynamically. Where did you learn this?

Schiff: I learned that through my development and previous musical experience, but it is also a necessity. Every musician has a "sound-imagination." Some have little of it, some a lot. It's like the richness of visual color: many people are satisfied with black and white, others use more color, some a whole palette. I always heard richness of color, but couldn't realize it, because I was too young.

People talk so much today about technique: "Such and so pianist has great technique." Mostly, this is misunderstood—the pianist celebrated today by music critics as a "fantastic technician," is mostly the one who plays the fastest and the loudest, and doesn't hit any wrong notes. But, on the contrary, great technique signifies, to me, an infinitely alive "sound-imagination" and "-inventiveness"—and then, to realize this. In this way, the realization of the richness of color is achieved. If a pianist hears only two colors, the realization of those is no great art. To me, in this sense, Alfred Cortot, who played many wrong notes, had the greatest technique, because he produced an unbelievable richness of color on the piano, millions

of colors—like a great painter. That's very important to me. That's why painting and the other arts, to me, are so important.

Recently, I was at a Frans Hals exhibit, and in the notes it was stated, that he could depict over thirty shades of black alone. You can see it in his paintings: there's a tremendous technique hidden below the surface, of course, but moreover, a corresponding *conception*. First comes the idea, then the technique. And not the reverse!

Today, the concept of technique is continually misunderstood. What now is often described as technique, is actually mere mechanics. Mechanics is something motor-like, machine-like. Technique is much more refined, something humans have evolved.

**Fidelio:** It's the concrete expression of a creative idea, which brings forth the technique.

Schiff: Absolutely.

Fidelio: Back again to the *St. Matthew Passion*. Your thoughts about it make a very strong impression; to which, one could add as a sort of footnote: The part "Sein Blut komme über uns und unsere Kinder" ["His blood be on us and our children"], is today often used to justify calling Bach an "anti-Semite."

Schiff: For God's sake, of course Bach is not that! Really, I am one-thousand percent Jewish! Of course, I know the reproaches: I have often had problems with many of my Jewish friends, who at first refused to go to such a Bach concert. When, despite this, they have come anyway, they were grateful. I'm of the opinion that there is not a trace of anti-Semitism in Bach.

Although, all the active participants in this piece—even more so in the Gospel of John, as in the entire New Testament— were after all Jews. I believe Jews must learn that there exists another worldview than theirs. Reality isn't "it's the world against us," but rather, the fact that there are human beings who get along with one another, and do not act against one another. This is a question of fellow human beings, and thus of relations among human

beings. The people—how easily the people are influenced! It has nothing primarily to do with Jews, Christians, Romans, etc. It is about the *mass* of the people, who, being so easily influenced, can, indeed, be manipulated.

Besides, how Bach portrays characters like Pilate and Judas, is very important. In the *St. Matthew Passion*, for example, Bach has genuine comprehension of Judas, he is incredibly human. So much so, that Bach conveys this comprehension of, and pity for, Judas, to the listener, too.

Then the passage, where the Scribes say: "Was gehet uns das an?" ["What is it to us?"]—it is so incredibly real; because, it happens nowadays, every day, on the street; when we observe or look away. It's an awful mess: "What is it to us?" People kill and get killed; it's war, but nothing troubles us. That's why Bach's music is so important! For heaven's sake! Bach is not anti-Semitic. No, I oppose such an opinion.

Fidelio: Lessing, in his Nathan the Wise, has portrayed it so beautifully, in the "Parable of the Rings," where he develops that the greatness of the three great monotheistic religions, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, exists in that they worship the same God, and stand for the idea that each person is in God's image; also, endowed with reason, and able to think creatively. To that extent, these religions are universal. In the "Parable of the Rings," Lessing shows this in a poetically beautiful way. And it's also the creed of the Schiller Institute-man, each man, in the likeness of God. On this basis, every culture manifests a reflection of it. In fact, no culture could have developed, if the form of image of man which predominates, didn't reflect this creative gift—this likeness of mankind to God. On that account, no culture can say: "We are the sole culture." Instead, one must seek after what is primary: What joins all cultures to one another? It is, so to speak, the highest common principle!

Schiff: Absolutely!

**Fidelio:** Exactly this interests us in music. You are right, one is able to learn

very much from the other art forms, but in the realm of music—if you wish to express it religiously—with really great music, be it Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, or Schumann, and so forth, we humans are nearest to God.

Schiff: Yes, I sense that very much also; but, unfortunately, not all people have the antennae for this. The reference to "the Almighty" is always there. One need only discover it. For this, one has to educate, or invite a person. Today, unfortunately, the prevailing opinion is often that Classical music is for the elite: many, even whole groups of people sometimes feel themselves excluded. They are not excluded, but heartily welcome! Of everything, I find it most wrong when nowadays one "dilutes" Classical music to make it more intelligible, or more popular. Music has to be performed on the highest level, and you hope that people will come and listen; and I believe that it's not so few people who do. Compared to Pop culture, proportionally, there are naturally fewer, but it has always been like that. Yet, this proportion, compared to the time of Bach or Mozart, has grown tremendously, in my opinion.

Fidelio: Since you were just now speaking of education: Although, in yesterday's concert, you of course didn't point the familiar "pedagogue's forefinger," your pedagogical intention was very intelligible.

Schiff: Yes, I didn't "point a forefinger," but I was definitely acting pedagogically. I always do that: above all, because, I think of the young people who come to the concert-hall, and we must show concern for the upcoming generation. It is very worrying that at the concerts—however much I love and value old people—the average age is very old, and this is the case worldwide. That's the tendency. Although, with this older audience, I find that a concert must be much more than mere entertainment.

Often, concerts are superficial, and the audience leaves the hall without thoughts and new ideas. A concert is an important undertaking for me. In the first place, I have to devise a program

that speaks for itself. As pianists, we have many, endless possibilities, of course-violinists and 'cellists, for instance, or even wind-players, have far fewer choices. But the solo repertoire for piano has enormous treasures, which need to be cultivated; especially the great Bach works. One can perform a wonderful cycle: The Well-Tempered Clavier, the Partitas, "English" and "French Suites," the "Italian Concerto," the "Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue," as well as the "Goldberg Variations." Those are nearly all the important piano works by Bach. One can then continue with Mozart sonatas, as well as Beethoven and Schubert sonatas, with Schumann, and so on.

But, with regard to content, you can also make a mixed program coherent. Like yesterday, where each piece was allied with the others. To begin with, referencing the common Bach source. I consciously placed this very unfamiliar Bach piece at the beginning, his "Capriccio über die Abreise des geliebten Bruders"; perhaps, around here, it's not so unfamiliar, but I played that program two days ago in Warsaw, and practically no one had ever heard this "Capriccio." They were all astonished, and I said: "Indeed, there are such Bach pieces, too"-not merely the "Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue," or the "Italian Concerto." This is a quite younger Bach; you can see a young man hiding within it. Incidentally, it also is one of the first examples of "program music."

**Fidelio:** Even Bach's words are charming in themselves, where, among other things, he says: "Cajoling of friends, to hinder him from the journey" ...

Schiff: ...Yes, "cajoling," and "various calamities" that could happen to him, or "general lament of friends." ... Naturally, Bach's model was Kuhnaus's *Biblical History in Six Sonatas*<sup>2</sup>; he learned that from him.

I recently played this "Capriccio" in a program that bore the title "Les Adieux." Naturally, in the concert, I also played the "Les Adieux" sonata by Beethoven. I am entirely certain that Beethoven was acquainted with this

"Capriccio" of Bach. Otherwise, he wouldn't have composed the "Les Adieux" like this. For example, the bugle-call—the coherence with Bach's "Aria del postiglione" and subsequent fugue on the postilion bugle-call, is evident. And, many of these sorts of connections exist in this sonata. Incidentally, in this connection, I intentionally play one of the lesser-known Beethoven sonatas. What I particularly value in the Opus 27, No. 1, is the uniqueness of its form. This sonata is a "Sonata quasi una Fantasia"; entirely thorough-composed. And, because the form of this sonata is unique—"quasi una Fantasia"—it fits well with the Schumann "Fantasie," which again is nothing else but a camouflaged sonata.

From the history of the origin of this Schumann "Fantasie," we know, in the first place, that it was thought of as a "memorial" to Beethoven. Of course, it is also a love poem, generally, the first love poem in piano music. At the time Robert Schumann wrote the "Fantasie," he was separated from Clara. The "Fantasie" is a "crying out," in an apparently hopeless period; but it's also a memorial to Beethoven—Schumann quotes Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" at the end of the "Fantasie."

**Fidelio:** That was definitely heard.

Schiff: And, only because I discovered—quite by chance—a few years ago, the original, Schumann-composed ending of the "Fantasie." At the suggestion of the musicologist Charles Rosen, I went to the Library of Budapest, where there is an old transcription of the Schumann "Fantasie," which has an entirely different concluding section, than is played customarily. This transcription, with remarks by Robert Schumann, has, in the meantime, been published by Henle as the original text; but, people played the Schumann "Fantasie" with the conventional ending for practically one hundred years. The original, Schumann-composed ending, quotes the theme from Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte." So, therefore, here too a circle closes itself, like Bach's Goldberg Variations, where the first and third sets end alike.

I believe such a program fulfills its aim, namely, that the intelligent, sensible listener, should leave the hall filled with new ideas. That would be my wish.

Fidelio: Entirely in the sense of Schiller, who, in his "Theater as a Moral Institution," demanded that the onlooker leave the theater, or the concert-hall, a better person than he had entered.

Schiff: Excellent! Schiller can say this, but I can't! And yet, one hopes that at some time, one will also achieve this. It must be so, for we are living in a terrible world, in regard to the education level of the general population.

Fidelio: Since you have presented the relationship between Bach, Beethoven, and Schumann so beautifully, how did you, in this connection, come up with the pieces of both Janáček and Bartók? Schiff: First, because, I wished to show how music itself always develops further. One could proceed chronologically, even beyond this—in the above-mentioned program, "Les Adieux," I also played pieces of the underrated contemporary composer Kurtág. Kurtág wrote small miniatures for piano; completely wonderful, small poetical pieces. One was named "Les Adieux in-Janáček's Manier [Style]," and, content-wise, it fit so fantastically in the "Les Adieux" program, that I included it.

As to the program of yesterday's concert: Janáček and Bartók are composers who were born in the Nineteenth century, but were masters of the Twentieth their compositions date from the Twentieth century. Of all Twentieth-century composers, these two are the closest to me, by far. That is, I have enormous difficulties with the "Second Vienna School"; difficulties I can't resolve—or will not resolve. Also, when I said before that all great music derives from Bach, so too has the music of Schönberg much to do with Bach. However, something about it irritates my nervous system. Actually, there are pieces of Schönberg which sound indescribably hideous, for example, his last piano piece, Opus 33, or the "Horn Quintet"—nothing exists in the world that irritates me more.

And, then, this equalization of the twelve tones; I can't think that way, it is against my nature.

Fidelio: It's against nature in general. Schiff: Yes, I agree; even if one actually wishes to avoid such remarks *ex cathedra*. However, with few exceptions, apart from—and those concern Alban Berg, who sometimes didn't break so radically with the Classical tradition, like Schönberg or Weber, for example—what the "Second Vienna School" produced, is not real music.

In contrast to Schönberg, Berg, and Weber, an entirely different line is represented by Janáček and Bartók; not decadent, but extremely sound. The roots of their music rest in language and folklore—both have cultivated the treasure of folklore and their own language.

Both are of completely different natures, but yet they are related. Their music grabs me, it is so direct. Janáček has no inhibitions, overall; he's simply not ashamed. It's so unbelievably honest, and he opens his heart and his soul. His few pieces for piano are really worth gold: the sonata in two movements 1.X.1905, and the "Im Nebel" piece played yesterday. That's almost all. I just recorded them on CD; I play these pieces again and again, since, in the first place, they are unknown—even still today and also, because this music radiates so much force and warmth.

Moreover, I was stimulated by the paradox, that in the program there are three completely great German masters, Bach, Beethoven, and Schumann. Janáček, of course, had nothing against German culture, but was a great opponent of the then-ruling monarchy, which dominated and captured all German music for itself. In those days, this region of Europe was practically all German. Understandably, an opposition arose against it—in Russia, and also in Czechia, i.e., Smetana and Dvořák. I would count Chopin in it too. Janáček

Vera Markus

I have not studied conducting, but I have studied music. To intensively study the full score, playing the piano is not a bad thing, because you can play the St. Matthew Passion almost entirely on the piano alone—which doesn't work on a flute. It's also very important to know what one can not do while studying on the piano—for example, during a walk in the woods. There, a person can develop many thoughts, and also analyze and integrate.

also belonged to this important opposition movement in Europe, which wasn't directed against German culture, but the protagonists wished to fulfill themselves, to show that they had their own cultural way, too. I find that very valuable.

**Fidelio:** These artists had their own cultural direction, which, nevertheless, corresponds to a constant, universal principle.

Schiff: Right! And Bartók went a similar way, according to which I find that Bartók consciously and unconsciously, was more traditional than Janáček.

Bartók's education was Classical. Janáček was otherwise self-taught; a savage, a wild lunatic. In spite of this, these miniatures are unconsciously very Schumannesque. In my opinion, Schumann detected something very self-contained in piano music: the poetry, also the form. He didn't write strong sonataforms or song-forms, but rather—like Papillons or Carneval, to name some pieces — miniatures; chameleon pieces, with a lot of character, but which

whisk by in twenty seconds. They actually whisk past. That's Schumann's invention. Janáček must have either known that conception, or have been influenced unconsciously by it.

With Bartók, everything is much clearer: what stems from Bach, and what from Beethoven; these two masters, in particular, shaped him. The polyphony, also the voice-leading, and the musical structures, come very directly from Bach, especially Bartók's piano sonata; just as the piano concertos and his string quartets were influenced by Beethoven. Incidentally, he said that explicitly, too.

Before I go to an orchestra rehearsal, I must prepare, and mark my material very prescisely: bowing, articulation, phrasing, dynamics, accents. I try to make it as precise as possible.

In regard to the bowing, I always show my work to my wife, who is a great violinist. If something is entirely wrong, she warns me. She plays it for me, and then we discuss it.



Violinist Yuuko Shiokawa, wife of András Schiff.

In short, all this was the conception of yesterday's concert.

**Fidelio:** In every instance, it was very convincing. The reaction of the public showed it, indeed.

Schiff: Yes, the audience was very grateful, and open. And in return, I like to show the listeners that I have confidence in them. You can't take people to be stupid. I find that today, our cultural activity functions completely wrongly, and that is very bad. How is television pro-

gramming done today? The particular program organizers assume that they know what the public *needs* to hear. Yet, we, also, belong to the public—and have never been asked. These program organizers decide autocratically, that they will not have any cultural programs; at least, not at normally broadcast hours-if it's a cultural program, then it's on only after midnight. Otherwise, we're

given only the complete filth put on television; eighty channels, and hardly anything but muck. Why? Because those responsible know exactly what they are doing.

This conscious degrading of the culture is distinctly observable. One feels it even in so-called "little things." For instance, here in Hamburg, too. Yesterday, as I entered the concert-hall, I saw a poster with my program—but completely confusing, the pieces in the wrong sequence. And I had given so much thought to that program, and gave it to the organizers, one, even two years beforehand. And, in spite of this, these mistakes!

Fidelio: The trick is clear: The organizers think nobody will come if Bartók and Janáček are printed on the poster, even when it's András Schiff himself who is playing.

Schiff: But, isn't that unbelievable? Janáček died in 1928, that Bartók piece dates from 1926—and one speaks of "modern" music in 2001? That is actually miserable! Besides, the assumption is wrong, for listeners are fascinated with this music.

Fidelio: What you have just touched upon, especially about the kind of programming on television, is very significant. You are right—and already in our

last interview a few years ago, we had spoken about being forced to accept this politics of culture "from the top." It's as if a cultural war were being led against the reason of the population. Entirely controlled, with a great deal of money and sway, the population is indoctrinated and manipulated. Precisely in order that the educational capability you and we value so in the Classics—refinement. aesthetical sentiment, spiritual and intellectual sentiment—should be suppressed as much as possible! Classical music is truly the best medium through which to directly foster mental-spiritual development, especially in children. This is destroyed through rock music or drugs, for instance. Totally consciously producing a cultural sphere which impedes and even strangles productive human life. If you were young today, and without a strong will, or being nurtured through family home life or appropriate relationships—you'd have practically no chance to develop yourself, or to grow up from adolescence fully normal.

Schiff: So it is. The influences in school today, and rock music—rock music is a terrible drug—as well as the continuous "spraying out" of music, are negative. Today, you cannot go anywhere, not a restaurant, nor a railroad car, where you will not be "sprayed" with insipid music.

We are in complete agreement, but we constitute a tiny minority. But, of course, I don't like large crowds.

**Fidelio:** Mr. Schiff, hearty thanks for this thought-provoking discussion.

—translated from the German by Cloret Ferguson

- 1. "turba [L., crowd]. In oratorios, Passions, etc., a choral movement representing Jews or heathens." *Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).
- 2. Johann Kuhnaus was organist at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig from 1684; music director of Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche, and cantor of Thomas Schule from 1701, the position in which J.S. Bach succeeded him. *The New Bach Reader*, ed. by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel; rev. by Christoph Wolfe (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

# A Yearning for the Classical

'Looking is never enough. Intelligence is mandatory.'
—Thomas Eakins

In 1880, the Philadelphia artist Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) painted a Crucifixion, the only religious subject he ever painted. It is a shocking work: The face of Christ is in deep shadow. A bright light falls on His right side. Blood trickles from the wounds in his hands and feet. He is naked, but for a loincloth. There is only a bare white sky

'Thomas Eakins: American Realist'
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York
June 18–Sept. 15, 2002

behind him, and a rocky landscape suggested below. None of the grieving figures, often found in Renaissance versions of the scene, are there to offer human comfort. The painting's harshness is startling. But something else seems to be awry, something missing. What is it?

Eakins, departing from more familiar renderings of the Crucifixion, has chosen to portray the precise moment when Christ is suspended between life and death, as he "gives up the ghost." How do we know this? There is no wound in his right side, the side illuminated by the bright light coming from somewhere beyond the painting. The Roman soldier pierced Christ's side with his sword after he had expired. So, this is the moment just before the soldier struck—that is, the moment Christ's soul left his body.

#### A Painter of Paradox

Eakins is not an easy painter to love. Many of his works are difficult to access, while others draw you in immediately. Many have a melancholy aspect. Yet, each of Eakins' major works, like the "Crucifixion," is completely original and truthful; each has a



"The Crucifixion," 1880.

quality of ambiguity, of paradox, that defines Eakins as a great artist. The people he paints are serious, thoughtful, intelligent; they create music, science, ideas. From the "Baby at Play," to the "'Cello Player," to the "Portrait of Professor Henry A. Rowland," the inventor of the spectroscopy machine, each individual is rendered as a cognitive human being. In fact, Eakins himself chose most of the subjects for his portraits, rather than the more usual custom of accepting commissions. Those he chose were people who interested him because of their work as musicians, scientists, physicians, and so forth. For example, he wrote about the portrait of Professor Rowland, a physicist at Johns Hopkins University, that he was pleased he had "got an understanding" of his invention, by drawing an extremely refined perspective study of it. "The directness and simplicity of that engine has affected me, and I shall be a better mechanic and a better artist"

Eakins is nothing if not contrary. Everything he did was a deliberate affront to the prevailing artistic and cultural currents of the day. He studied in Paris, but rejected the wave of Romanticism that overtook the arts in the second half of the Nineteenth century, with the Modernists. He was ridiculed for upholding the principles of Classical Greece and of the Italian Renaissance: He demanded that students paint from life, introducing the nude figure into his classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of Art; he went back to the rigorous study of linear perspective, first developed in the

Renaissance, to render more realistic his famous rowing pictures. He spent months working out the compositions for his water colors, doing oil sketches as studies for them—a complete reversal of the usual method.

His portrait of his brother-in-law Louis N. Kenton, a young working-class fellow, becomes "The Thinker" [SEE front cover, this issue], a typically Eakins-like surprise—that among all his highly accomplished friends and acquaintances, he would chose to paint a worker as a thinker. His "Gross Clinic"—a scientific study, presenting a surgical procedure (which, among other things, celebrates the infant science of

anaesthesiology), in the tradition of Rembrandt's "Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp"—was scorned by the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition Committee, which rejected it as "unsightly," and relegated it to the U.S. Army Hospital. Ironically, this painting is now viewed by many as his greatest masterpiece. (Later, at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, ten of Eakins' paintings, including the controversial "Gross Clinic" and "Agnew Clinic," were featured in the Art Gallery, together with those of other leading American painters, such as Winslow Homer and George Innes.)

# Philadelphia's Franklin Networks

Thomas Eakins was fortunate to be born in Philadelphia in the 1840's, where the legacy of Benjamin Franklin, who had died only fifty years before, was a still-powerful influence, especially through the work of Franklin's famous great-grandson, the scientist Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-67), a West Point graduate who headed the U.S. Coastal Survey from 1843 to 1861, and served as the principal scientific adviser to President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War. Through Bache's leadership at the Franklin Institute for Scientific and Technological Research in Philadelphia, the city became a beacon for the scientific networks of the nation, including those of Thomas Edison in New Jersey.

One of the leading centers for disseminating the ideas of the Renaissance genius Franklin, and of the American Revolution, was Philadelphia's Central High School, where Bache, who served as its principal for a number of years, introduced a curriculum based on the Classical education reforms of the outstanding German educator Wilhelm von Humboldt. Bache had spent some time in Germany, where he met the great scientist Carl Gauss, and studied the Classical curriculum of the German secondary schools, which was based on Humboldt's education reforms.

Modelled on the Boston Latin School, and on a similar institution in Edinburgh, Scotland, Central Highonly the second public high school in America after Boston Latin, established 200 years earlier!—set out to educate young men, regardless of the social standing or financial means of their families, provided they passed the entrance examination. The curriculum was founded on both the Classics and on modern science. Bache and his cothinkers believed that such an education would prepare the student to become a productive citizen, qualified to succeed in any future occupation, and the student body, not surprisingly, came largely from the middle and working classes.

#### Classical Curriculum

Eakins attended Central High, and in his four years there, he studied Greek and Latin, French, and English; Classicommitment to educate citizens from all social classes, the school published a list of the occupations of the parents of the students. The roster included masons, cordwainers, grocers, widows, teachers, carpenters, clerks, and occasionally, professionals. The year Thomas Eakins entered the school, it included carpenters, printers, blacksmiths, music teachers, stonecutters, and four physicians.

This was the intellectual milieu in which Eakins was schooled. Some of his earliest perspective drawings, done in mechanical drawing classes at Central High, are included in a small companion exhibit at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, where Eakins studied, and later taught classes. The arts program at Central High School required



"Baby at Play," 1876.

cal and modern history; literature, mathematics, writing (script) and drawing; moral philosophy; and the natural sciences—botany and natural history (biology), physics, and chemistry.

The stated objective of such an education was to come to know the great works of Western civilization, such that the tradition would become their own, to use or question; to make their own observations, and form their own conclusions. In other words, to learn to think for themselves, based on sound principles.

Every few years, to illustrate its

proficiency in mechanical drawing for graduation, exemplifying the idea that art and science are one, a key concept of the Renaissance and Classical periods. (Think of Leonardo's scientific drawings, for example.)

After high school, Eakins worked with his father, a successful writing teacher, and enrolled in drawing classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Soon after, he also enrolled in anatomy instruction at Jefferson Medical College, the beginning of a lifelong pursuit of perfection in rendering the human form.

This background was decisive in shaping Eakins' outlook as an artist.

# Eakins in Europe

In 1866, five years after high-school graduation, Eakins went to Paris to study painting. He was extremely fortunate that his father fully supported him in his decision to become an artist, and provided him with the necessary financial support. In fact, the income he derived from his father's investments gave Eakins, throughout his life, the kind of independence allowed him to decide what and how he would paint, rather than being dependent on commissions from patrons.

Eakins studied in Paris with the popular painter Jean-Léon Gérôme; he also travelled briefly throughout Europe, including

to Italy, where he visited Genoa, Naples, Rome, and Florence; and also to Germany and Belgium. He would have seen some of the greatest works of the Italian and Northern Renaissances; he later travelled to Madrid and Seville, where he was profoundly influence by the work of the great Spanish painter Diego Velasquez.

### Love of Music

There is no substitute for seeing an exhibit of this kind, since looking at reproductions is like viewing the shadows on the wall of the cave in Plato's *Republic*. Yet, here, we must content ourselves with selecting a small number of works which illuminate some aspect of the artist's work, such that the reader will be inspired to get out and see the works for him- or herself. Surveying the majority of Eakins' work reveals that



"The Gross Clinic," 1875.

there was one subject he returned to again and again: music.

According to Elizabeth Johns (Thomas Eakins: The Heroism of Modern Life, Princeton University Press, 1983), "Eakins' attention to the parlor and concert singer had virtually a national bias. In America, the voice, earnestly cultivated, was seen as the most democratic, the most modern of 'instruments.'" After 1850, more Americans studied the voice than any other musical instrument.

There were various reasons for this, including economic ones. While everyone has a voice, a piano required a sizable investment. Even smaller instruments could be expensive; a violin, for example, might cost as much as a keyboard. Moreover, you could bring your voice anywhere, without special equipment or expense.

The greatest praise a pianist could receive, according to Johns, "was to say that he made his instrument sing." In fact, Felix Mendelssohn, whose works were often performed in America at that time, called many of his piano compositions "Songs Without Words," while concert violinists and 'cellists were praised for the "singing" tone of their playing. Other instrumentalists, as well, worked to achieve this singing tone of the human voice.

Eakins' knowledge of music was grounded in his family life. Like those of many mid-Nineteenth-century American families, the Eakins parlor boasted a piano, which provided the social center of the home. Families sacrificed not only to buy an instrument, but to provide

lessons, especially for their daughters, like Thomas's three sisters, Frances, Margaret, and Caroline. Although the leading professional pianists of the time were men, women provided music in the home, and were often portrayed at the keyboard, a compliment to the cultural attainments of the family.

Because Eakins was profoundly interested in exploring the relationship of cognition to physical motion and activity—the problem addressed in the great works of Classical Greek sculpture—portraits of music-makers were a natural subject for him. One of his earliest paintings is of his sister Frances at the piano (1870) at about age 16. She bends slightly forward toward the music; her concentration is intense, even nervous, as she struggles to get the fingering right. The intensity is played off against her youthful appearance, which

is enhanced by the girlish white dress she wears.

Two years earlier, when Eakins was still in Paris, Frances had written to him about her frustration over the development of her piano technique. Eakins advised her not to worry so much about technical exercises, except as they helped her to play specific musical passages. He even drew her a graph to show that, while perfection in every detail was humanly impossible, she should aim for a higher level of mastery of the music.

Two years later, Eakins would paint Frances again, and the improvement she had made, perhaps as a result of her brother's encouragement, is evident in the second portrait, where Frances appears relaxed, and the master of the instrument.

Similarly, "Elizabeth at the Piano" (1875) [SEE inside back cover, this issue] is one of Eakins' most poetic early paintings, another in his series of family portraits, this time of Elizabeth Crowell, his sister-in-law. The painting captures the precise moment at which the pianist is poised between two actions: She leans forward ever so slightly, her fingers hovering above the keyboard, as

she is about to begin the next phrase in the piece. Although her face is in deep shadow, a light from behind, which illuminates her right cheek, is reflected off the page of music back toward her face, revealing a state of total concentration. A tension is created by the counterpoint between her motion at the keyboard, and the stability of the powerful triangular shape created between the small red flower in her hair, the bright light on the sheet music, and the bright white of the keyboard below her raised fingers. The entire composition is organized to emphasize the power of the creative

artist: Elizabeth does not look at the score, but rather into her own mind, where she has memorized the music. Finally, Eakins has painted the dark shadow which Elizabeth's head casts on the musical score, as a metaphor for the musician's mastery over the process of music-making.

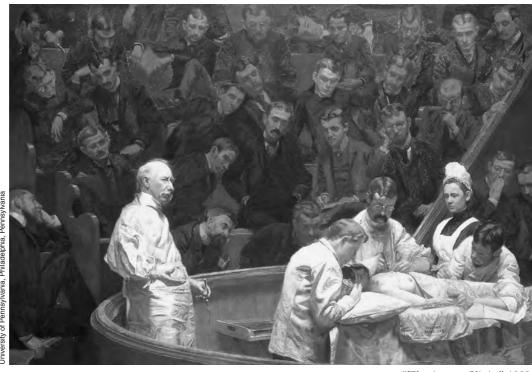
## The 'Sublime'

In "Singing a Pathetic Song" (1881) [SEE inside back cover, this issue], Eakins succeeds in elevating a popular musical genre to the level of the Sublime, through the refined expression of the soloist, and through the dialogue he creates among the three musicians. The singer, Margaret Harrison (one of Eakins' art students), stands slightly offcenter in the large composition, and turns in a three-quarter pose, facing an unseen audience, whose space we, the viewers, share. A soft light illuminates the right side of her face, and falls on a lavender-blue dress, a subtle color, which exists somewhere between the warm and cool ranges, adding a quality of ambiguity. The pianist—also Eakins' student, later wife, Susan Macdowellturns her head slightly toward the

soloist, whom she accompanies, and follows musically. (According to one author, Eakins' observation of the pianist's turn of the head, establishing her connection to the singer, is reminiscent of a drawing by Adolf von Menzel of Clara Schumann accompanying the violinist Joseph Joachim.) The third figure is the 'cellist C.F. Stolte, who concentrates intently on the score in front of him.

While the figure of the singer is rendered in high relief—the highlights and shadows of the fabric of her dress, and its details, reinforce her central role—the two musicians are almost submerged in the background; they exist only to support the singer. Eakins has employed the method of *chiaroscuro*, the play between light and shadow, to express the poetic idea of the painting.

Ten years later, Eakins executed one of his most engaging music-portraits, *The Concert Singer* (1890-92), of the Philadelphia contralto Weda Cook. The accurate rendering of the Classical *bel canto* singing technique is a testament to Eakins' deep knowledge of the art, and of his attention to those details which make a picture come alive, which make



"The Agnew Clinic," 1889.

it "true." It is reliably reported that for each sitting, Eakins would have Miss Cook sing a section of Mendelssohn's oratorio, *Elijah*, which begins "O rest in the Lord." (Perhaps to reinforce the idea of the music, or maybe as a little joke, the artist carved the opening bars of this song into the frame.) Miss Cook's mouth is perfectly formed to sing in the *bel canto* style, and her chin is slightly raised, so that her voice will project out into the room; one can almost see her throat quiver with the *vibrato* of her vocal chords.

The "Cello Player" (1896) is a portrait of Rudolf Hennig [SEE inside back cover, this issue]. By the late Nineteenth century, the 'cello had come into its own as a solo instrument, and Hennig was born into a family active in the influential German school of virtuoso 'cello playing. After training in the late 1850's and early 1860's, Hennig emi-

grated to Philadelphia. For more than thirty years, he was a leader in the musical life of the city: as a teacher, ensemble performer, orchestra member, as well as soloist. In Eakins' portrait, man and instrument have become one, and both are subsumed by the music. The act of concentration by the musician is reinforced by the strong light which falls on the right side of his face, where the vein in his forehead stands out to emphasize the intensity of absorption in the music. Hennig sits on the edge of his chair and draws his bow across the D string, which visibly vibrates, so that you can almost hear the rich sound of the 'cello.

Eakins would return many times to the subject of music; clearly for him, it was the highest expression of the intellectual life he esteemed so highly, and perhaps represented that link to Classical art which began to slip away in the opening years of

the Twentieth century. In fact, the tragedy of America's failure to live up to its promise following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the economic and moral revolution he wrought, is the tragedy of Thomas Eakins, and those like him who strove to bring a Classical renaissance to this nation. The element of melancholy which seems to infuse many of his subjects, may reflect Eakins' awareness that the way had been lost.

By the beginning of the Twentieth century, the republican forces whose American intellectual tradition Eakins upheld, were overtaken by the ascendency of the Tory faction, culminating in the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley, and the subsequent Tory Presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. These events—all of which took place within Eakins' lifetime—ushered in the disas-



"The Concert Singer," 1890-92.

ter known as the Twentieth century. In the arts as well, the Renaissance (republican) idea—given expression in Eakins' portrait of "The Thinker," for example—was buried under waves of Modernist schticks: Impressionism, Pointillism, Cubism, etc. In opposition to Eakins' observation that "intelligence is mandatory" in art—an observation made in opposition to the Impressionists' emphasis on mere surface appearance—the Modernists promoted an aesthetic based on "looking" as everything, in which thinking is replaced by feeling.

As if in answer to the question, why America failed to produce a cultural renaissance to complement our worldhistorical political revolution, Lyndon La-Rouche recently wrote the following:

"As art references an history-related process in mankind, so the lessons of art which is truthful, respecting its own his-

torical setting, are the basis for the best quality of state-craft. As a corollary, art which is not historically truthful, will inform a bad practice in statecraft, and suffering for the nation and its people. Thus, the issue of truthfulness in art is posed; art which self-consciously accepts that moral requirement, is rightly termed Classical."

There is no better epitaph for Thomas Eakins.

—Bonnie James

1. Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "Brzezinski and September 11th," *Executive Intelligence Review,* Jan. 11, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 1).

"Thomas Eakins: American Realist" appeared at the Philadelphia Museum of Art Oct. 4, 2001-Jan. 6, 2002. It is currently showing at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, Feb. 5-May 12, 2002; and will return to the U.S., at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, June 18-Sept. 15, 2002.

# 'Seize the High Ground of Independent Power'

Lyndon LaRouche replies to a question concerning 'justice vs. revenge'

On May 10, 2002, Lyndon LaRouche responded to the following question concerning "justice vs. revenge," which had been e-mailed to his 2004 Presidential campaign website, larouchein 2004.com.

Question: This is a question that others may be asking themselves: Why should we, the have-nots, spend five minutes working to save a system that has done nothing but exploit us for our entire lives? If we bring a Roosevelt-style reform to the U.S.A. and the world, then all bets are off, and then we save the *status quo*, and go back to our slave-ocracy? Sometimes you must take the victories where you can get them, for example with reparations, as opposed to the big pie-in-the-sky of justice for all, once the white man at the top saves his own bacon.

Isn't the battle that is winnable, preferable to the unwinnable—even if the principle isn't 100 percent correct?

Reply: Your message is brief, but extremely pregnant. Many issues, and sub-issues, are each and all peeking out from among the cracks in your formulations. The issue you pose is an important one, although multi-facetted. Therefore I takes pains to make clear both the issues posed, and the nature of their solutions.

From the start, there are three distinct, but intertwined, categorical mistakes in your argument. First, you express the pessimism of "since we are continually betrayed, we will always be betrayed." This is not a good way to march to battle. Second, you are simply reacting against certain actualities in a linear way, as if there were only one system operating behind them. Third, you are drawing back from seeing the pathway to victory, which closes the cycle with the reenforced pessimism of saying, "You see; we were always betrayed;



"Lincoln's elimination of the British puppet known as the Confederacy from the territory of the United States, made a revolution which accomplished nothing not implicitly prescribed by the highest authority within our Constitution, its Preamble."

Above: President Lincoln delivers the Gettysburg Address.

therefore, we will be betrayed."

The good news, is that you wrote to me; which means you have not given up hope that perhaps a solution might be found, somewhere. If that was your intention, you were right.

On the first mistake: Pessimism is the inevitable effect of the second assumption, that there is only one power at work in the overall actuality; your pessimistic reaction is to the sense of being trapped in the second assumption; what traps you in the pessimism of the second assumption, is writing off the possibility of other systems operating in the situation. Then, the resulting pessimism so induced, traps you into reacting to the second assumption. Except, you have not absolutely excluded the possibility of a way out of that trap, which is the good news.

Take the case of the commitment to seeking "reparations," which is asking to be "bought off," instead of securing a system of freedom and justice. If "reparations" were made as a concession, which is immensely to be doubted, the result

would be a strengthening of the invisible, but powerful shackles of one's own embrace of slavery. On the subject of "reparations": The enemy often uses similar bait to hook fish. "Take a sweet taste of my bait," as the prostitutes used to say, and, as it was said in the days before antibiotics, "One hour with Venus and a lifetime with Mercury." One free dinner, and they own you for life.

#### Slavery in the Americas

There is a crucial lesson to be learned from exposing the fraudulent nature of today's commonplace academic argument on the subject of the view of slavery among the authors of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution, and, later, the often fraudulent gossip to the effect that Abraham Lincoln was not morally an opponent of slavery.\*

<sup>\*</sup> On this, see the review of *Lincoln's Virtues*, *An Ethical Biography*, p. 103, this issue.—Ed.

The actuality of these cases provides an important lesson in the realities of winning the cause of freedom. This example exposes more clearly the problem of method expressed in your message.

Look at the history of slavery in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century U.S. North America as a paradigm for the general problem we face still inside the U.S.A. today. The traffic of captured African slaves into the Americas was the successive and combined practice of the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English/British monarchies. At the close of the Eighteenth century, the British East India Company decided that the slave-traffic was less profitable than the opium trade, so they effectively sub-contracted the slave-trade to Portuguese and Spanish traders, with French participation from the Caribbean side. From about the 1820's, there was a vast expansion of slavery in the U.S.A., with an accompanying reopening of the scope of the slave-trade under the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson, Martin van Buren, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. During this period, the British pretended to be antislave-trade, while the British monarchy simply sub-contracted the British-protected transport of captured African

slaves, as a business concession awarded to the Spanish monarchy, which eagerly accepted the arrangement.

Come the middle of the Eighteenth century. Slavery existed in the American colonies, and had a strong base of political support in two of these colonies, South Carolina and Georgia. In Virginia, there was a strong impulse on all leading American patriots, to use victory in the struggle for independence, as the occasion for a generalized manumission of slaves. This division is reflected in Constitutional provisions fought out during 1787-1789.

What was the Constitutional problem, prior to approximately 1820? How does this compare with the kindred problem faced by President Abraham Lincoln during 1861-1863? How did the 1877 compromise lead to the introduction of "Jim Crow" by means of later two Presidencies, of Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland, and to the revival of the Ku Klux Klan by sitting U.S. President Woodrow Wilson? This is a crucial lesson in the principles of real-life history, a lesson which is rarely understood even among academic specialists today. It is a lesson which all of the opponents, and most among the leading successors of the Rev. Martin Luther King, either never learned, or

did not comprehend its meaning for practice.

Slavery was not merely a legal form of property under the British monarchy. The spread of the pro-"slavery-as-property" ideology of English philosophical liberal John Locke, during the 1688-1689 transition of the English throne to the East India Company tyranny of William of Orange, produced a wave of moral decadence in the North American colonies. Under the galloping decadence of the new, British monarchy, beginning 1714, Britain of the famous liberal "Age of Walpole" was swept by waves of moral degeneracy, from the top down. Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels, are allegorical portraits of the decadence of Britain then. Hogarth's drawings depict that Liberalism, variously in action, or stupefied into a state of inaction. Cotton Mather depicts the spill-over of this into English-speaking North America.

For comparison, see slavery and related practices in the Ibero-American colonies of Spain and Brazil. In Mexico, for example, Spanish authorities created vast estates, virtual empires, reducing much of the large indigenous Mexican population to serfdom.

Thus, at every point in the history of the Americas, the precondition for freeing the serfs and slaves of the Americas, was a revolutionary break with the socalled "mother country," expelling reactionary dogmas, such as Locke's "Life, Liberty, and Property," from the status of laws embedded in recognized property-right (i.e., "shareholder value"). This meant that the possibility of freeing serfs and slaves, required, in every case, a "revolutionary" overthrow of the existing legal system of government. This must be done, either by the government's institution of a constitutional reform of the standards for definition of law, or an overturn of the government which refused to make such constitutional reforms.

To accomplish the result, a reform, such as generalized manumission, were not a true solution. There must be the force of law. This meant, that the slaves in English-speaking North America would never be free, unless either the



"The untimely death of Franklin Roosevelt, enabled Roosevelt foes organized around the Churchill gang to begin reversing the New Deal from almost the moment the news of Roosevelt's death reached Washington."

Above: President Roosevelt presents "The Four Freedoms."

British monarchy nullified retroactively the existence of a property-right in slaves, or the Spanish monarchy, for example, nullified those claims to property-right which defined the economic and related conditions of a serfdom-like system.

What kind of a system of law were required to accomplish this? What kind of government did that imply?

## Sovereignty As a System of Law

Despite the accomplishments of the Classical Greece of Pythagoras, Thales, Solon, and Plato, there is no credible evidence of the existence of anything like a modern nation-state existing prior to the Fifteenth-century Renaissance. All known earlier forms of society had been premised on the assumption of either preving upon those to be hunted down as beast-like human cattle, or exploited as herded human cattle. Despite the commitment to the principle of the general welfare (called "agapē" in Greek) by Plato and his current in ancient Classical society, and despite the insistence on agapē as the higher principle of law in 1 Corinthians 13 and other Apostolic texts, no nation based on a commitment to promote the general welfare of all of the people and their posterity existed prior to Fifteenth-century developments to this effect. There is no possibility of a secure form of justice for any people, in any society, unless that principle is the highest authority, reigning over all other law.

Therefore, to accomplish any good for all of the people, there must first be an empowered, sovereign nation-state republic which is efficiently committed to act according to that principle of the general welfare, both in matters within the nation, and in relations with other nations. With the circles of Benjamin Franklin, the creation of the sovereign United States created an instrument with the characteristics and potential authority needed to, as it is said, "do the job required." Similarly, Lincoln's elimination of the British puppet known as the Confederacy from the territory of the United States, made a revolution which accomplished nothing not implicitly prescribed by the highest authority within our Constitution, its Preamble.



'The retirement of Eisenhower and assassination of two Kennedys and Martin Luther King, brought the Civil Rights movement's progress to a halt, and cleared the way for the Nixon and Carter administrations.' Above: President John F. Kennedy, with his brother Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Contrast that Preamble with the proracist, Lockean Preamble of the Confederate Constitution, to see the point more clearly. Also, Lincoln's use of the defeat of the Confederacy as the basis for kicking the French military forces supporting the fascist dictator of Mexico, Maximilian, out of the Hemisphere, eliminated two Anglo-French-Spanish-supported fascist gangs, the quasi-Napoleonic Confederacy and Maximilian's essentially Carlist regime, from the territory of North America.

Unfortunately, Lincoln's assassination by a network of British agents and their accomplices, directed from London and Habsburg Rome, enabled the New York gang of Lincoln's financier adversaries to undermine and begin to reverse his successful revolution. So, the untimely death of Franklin Roosevelt, enabled Roosevelt foes organized around the "Churchill gang," to begin reversing "the New Deal" from almost the moment the news of Roosevelt's death reached Washington. Similarly, the retirement of Eisenhower and assassination of two Kennedys and Martin Luther King, brought the Civil Rights movement's progress to a halt, and cleared the way for the Nixon and Carter administrations.

Against that historical backdrop,

the lesson to be learned, is that organizing the struggle primarily around a populist-style of collection of so-called "issues," is a course of action which, left to itself, ensures the easy defeat of the entire cause. What will prove to be decisive, is the commitment and capacity of leaders to implant a comprehension of the central issues of political power which subsume the other issues. To do good, in spite of a system which opposes such actions, one must seize the high ground of independent power to overcome the opposition. What change in the composition of power must be effected, to accomplish the kind of just result required, even in face of an existing stubborn opposition to that result?

Unfortunately, if the nature of that task is not clear, not controlling in the mind of the would-be leader, and of the movement, the result will be a well-meaning disaster.

I think I understand these matters as well as, or better than any other political leader alive today. My most important remaining chore, therefore, is to impart a feeling for that kind of knowledge to those who may be able to contribute to forming a broad-based effort in support of that intention.

—Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

# The Public Wishes To Be Lied To

The beauty of this polemical political study is, as the poet said, its great truth. In the ill-fated 2000 U.S. Presidential election, candidate LaRouche alone stood out honorably, by insisting that the glorious "New Economy" was not booming, but doomed to bust, and that, immediately. His associates published a Special Report that April, The New Economy Is Doomed. That truthtelling by candidate LaRouche, frozen out of the debates and called outlandish even by those who for every good reason should have supported him, was proven for all to see even while the Supreme Court was still in the act of appointing George W. Bush President. This new campaign report proves truthfully again, many will say outlandishly—that the United States economy is now in depression, and that the worst enemy of any real recovery, is the desire of the American public to be lied to about it for a while longer.

In this sense, Economics: The End of a Delusion, which consists of a number of economic studies and Appendices on policy, tackles the same problem Franklin Delano Roosevelt-one of its major subjects—took on in his 1932 Presidential campaign. We quote LaRouche: "Herbert Hoover was ruined, not by the Depression . . . . The Depression and stock market crash of '29 hit shortly after he became President. It was Coolidge and Andrew Mellon, who actually, objectively, took the blame for the Depression itself. What ruined Hoover, was the fact that he pretended there was going to be a recovery, when

By error, publication information for the two LaRouche in 2004 special reports reviewed in our last issue listed prices for these items. Materials issued by the campaign committee are not for sale, although contributions to the campaign are welcome.

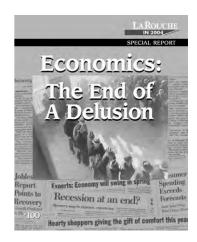
none was possible. It was the fact that he lied to the people, in effect, by promising a recovery." It was those lies, including massively doctored government economic statistics even in that day, which Roosevelt had to destroy, in order to achieve a two-fold objective: to win the Presidency, and to prepare the American people for the Depressionrecovery program he would implement. His appeal to the "forgotten man" was typical of the means he used to puncture the surface illusion—even three full years after 1929's "Black Monday"—that the public expected "recovery just around the corner."

## Depression, and Breakdown

To break through such "habituated folly" of national thinking and practice—accompanied by shameless statistical and econometric frauds and shams now again becoming notorious, which made the 1990's a "boom" and Spring 2002 a "recovery"—is the purpose of this report. It follows up the spectacular LaRouche-commissioned special study of two months earlier, Zbigniew Brzezinski and September 11th-still being widely discussed and circulated in print and electronic form all over the worldwhich named the names and actions of those most responsible for that habituated folly over the past 50 years.

Lyndon LaRouche, in the report's title feature, introduces a crucial comparison of the qualitative differences between the Great Depression of the 1930's, and the current economic prostration. He shows with great force that we face not only an economic depression, but worse, a general breakdown crisis of the underlying physical economy.

From October 1929 onward, the preceding decade's wild debt speculation crashed the financial system down on top of an advanced and sturdy underlying economy—one which had grown beyond measure from the Civil War to 1900, and then gone through an indepth industrial mobilization for World



# Economics: The End of a Delusion Washington, D.C., LaRouche in 2004, April 2002 136 pages, paperback

War I. But today's depression collapse is striking physical economies all over the world, most particularly that of the United States, which are already rotted out by 35 years of "post-industrial" takedown. Not only has industry rusted away and agriculture shrunk, but "a set of utopian illusions . . . have become the axiomatic, even hysterical standard for setting economic and related policy."

"As Shakespeare wrote," LaRouche says, "the fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves. The fault lies in the wrongheaded, chiefly post-1964 choice of the policies which have become . . . the prevalent, accepted habits of belief and practice."

# The 'Triple Curve'

Backing up the candidate's presentation is a new and unusual study of measures of the United States economy since 1996, the year following LaRouche's first publication of his Triple Curve "Collapse Function" for the economy. That Triple Curve, developed by LaRouche as a heuristic, shows monetary- and financial-aggregate measures of a national economy—for simplicity's sake, broad money supply, and all public and private debt—rising in accelerated fashion,

while measures of the real economy supporting that debt and money issuance, decline slowly and then more sharply; the trajectory of an economic breakdown collapse. LaRouche emphasized that a collapse was at hand in such an economic geometry, when the monetary-supply curve started to grow so rapidly that it outstripped the growth of debt-to sustain which, the money supply was being increased! Weimar Germany's hyperinflationary breakdown of 1923 was a previous such occurrence. In 1999's early stages of the Presidential campaign, LaRouche emphasized that this point was being reached in the United States.

The econometric study, by EIR eco-

nomic analysts Marcia Merry Baker and John Hoefle, applied actual U.S. economic data from 1996-2001 to this heuristic, and found that LaRouche had been precisely right. This lies behind the Presidential candidate's steely insistence, during the 1999-2000 campaign, that what was acclaimed by all others as the "New Economy boom" of the 1990's—that "permanent prosperity"—would collapse during the year 2000.

## Definitive Study of New Deal

Despite the qualitative difference of this economic breakdown, LaRouche assures that Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "General Welfare" principles of a *regulated national economy*, will work again.

Thus, **EIR** economist Richard Freeman contributes to the report, an extraordinary 55-page review of "Why Roosevelt's Explosive 1933-45 Recovery Worked." Freeman's study takes F.D.R. out of the false frame of "Keynesian economics," and locates him firmly, through family, education, principles, and actions, in Alexander Hamilton's American System of political economy—the principles Lyndon LaRouche represents today.

If Americans can overcome their desperate desire to be lied to about the economic collapse by political leaders and media in time, this report is ready to tell them what to do.

-Paul Gallagher

# Defending Lincoln—And Discovering Him

Those who slander Abraham Lincoln these days—apologists for the old slaveholders and the new "shareholders"—have been patiently, thoroughly debunked and dismantled by William Lee Miller's new book.

Miller explores Lincoln's life and work prior to his Presidency, to demonstrate his consistent fight against racialism. With good dry humor and an unobtrusive informal style, Miller shows Lincoln's very calculating steps to get the power he needed to advance society for all Americans.

Lincoln's Virtues is a companion to Miller's excellent Arguing About Slavery: John Quincy Adams and the Great Battle in the United States Congress. Here we see Lincoln exploding into action against the threat that slavery would spread and destroy the nation, rather than die as an institution confined to the Old South. Miller shows Lincoln's constant focus on slavery's moral wrong; and his manyyears-long hunting, perhaps even political "stalking," of Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, whose Kansas-Nebraska Act opened the gates to the universal spread of slavery.

Douglas used race-baiting as his main debating weapon, while Lincoln educated audiences to see their own racist attitudes as a recent historical degradation of popular opinion. Lincoln reminded them that only five years earlier, no one would have thought to say what Douglas and his ilk now preached—that only whites were meant by the "all men are created equal" of America's Declaration of Independence.

Miller uses no rare texts, only sources available to all researchers. Thus, by contrast with his work, those who now call Lincoln a racist, or tear words out of context to claim he didn't oppose slavery, are proven to be utterly disrespectful of truth.

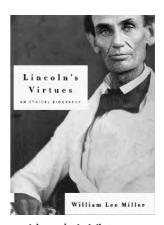
## Lincoln's True Identity

But, although he deeply admires Lincoln, in an important sense Miller does not understand Lincoln's identity.

This flaw appears jarringly: Miller rebukes Lincoln for initiatives whose purpose and importance he simply does not recognize.

From 1858 into 1860, Lincoln gave different versions of an address on "Discoveries and Inventions." Miller scorns that speech, calling it a failure, and boring.

It was Lincoln's own favorite speech, on the score of repetition. He showed the essential difference between man and all other living creatures: that while beavers and ants work hard and effectively, their labor is always the same as that of their grandparents. But man, through creative problem-solving, dis-



Lincoln's Virtues, An Ethical Biography by William Lee Miller New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2002 515 pages, hardcover, \$30.00

covers and invents the means to change and improve his own labor. Cognition, and resulting progress, mark mankind as a unique species.

Miller's contempt for this speech is a serious blunder. It contains the core of Lincoln's ideas on the race issue. In it, Lincoln shows scientifically man's elevated and dignified species-nature, and thus the nature of all men, equally.

More deeply, this is Lincoln's personal identification with a very specific turn of mind—the humanist republican, a Western tradition originating with Plato's Athens.

The Fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance, reviving Plato, gave the world the revolutionary idea of the modern nation-state republic. This Renaissance invention was finally realized in a durable form in the American Revolution; and Abraham Lincoln, reviving the American Founders' ideals, saw himself a colleague of these humanist fighters across the ages.

Hints of this appear in the Miller biography, but the author never pulls them together to get at the core of Lincoln's moral philosophy.

## Moral Philosophy

For example, Mary Lincoln is quoted, that while her husband was not a "technical Christian," "he was a religious man always," and he had a "kind of poetry in his nature." Miller says Lincoln "liked and memorized and recited poems of Robert Burns that puncture the pretensions of religious folk." He uses these tidbits defending Lincoln from Fundamentalists' charges of irreligion; but Lincoln's Christianity is a universe above those gnostic hypocrites.

Or, Miller quotes from the Discoveries speech, on the invention of printing: most "men . . . were utterly unconscious, that their conditions, or their minds were capable of improvement. They not only looked upon the educated few as superior beings; but they supposed themselves to be naturally incapable of rising to equality. To immancipate [sic] the mind from this false and under estimate of itself, is the great task which printing came into the world to perform."

Miller says Lincoln himself must have "been, when a boy, a supreme example of his point that by much reading of printed books, by joining in a conversation across the years and across the ocean with minds of distinction, he could acquire confidence in his own powers. ... [T]hat would be a key to all his accomplishments."

But unstated is Lincoln's commitment to use the *power of the nation*, and its self-government, to create education—and high living standards, which are necessary to stimulate the minds and

give power to the people of the country. Lincoln's Renaissance passion for improvement is his national mission.

## **Economic Development**

Miller vaguely defines the "ideological reasons" for Lincoln's politics: "his agreeing with the Whig program of economic development; his sharing in the aspiring, improving, intellectualizing, even moralizing element in Whig culture; and his vibrating in tune with Whig nationalism and devotion to the Union."

But how do these elements make a coherent philosophy? And who are its opponents, the enemies of economic development, improvement, intellect, morality, nationalism, and the Union?

All American politics were defined by the strategic-level fight between humanist nationalists such as Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Lincoln, versus soulless, British Empirealigned, anti-nationalist operatives such as Aaron Burr, Martin van Buren, and August Belmont. There is no reference in the Miller biography to the nationalist conceptions of Henry Clay, Lincoln's mentor, and no mention of Mathew Carey or his son Henry C. Carey, whose economic writings defined Lincoln's program throughout his career.

So, Miller has no conception of what Lincoln meant in the speech of Dec. 26, 1839, attacking Democratic President van Buren and his faction as a "volcano of corruption," who had destroyed the Bank of the United States in order to turn over the nation's credit and banking powers to private swindlers. He said the nation's liberties were at stake, and he would be willing to die rather than to surrender to this corruption.

Miller dismisses Lincoln's fire, in the matter of the Bank, as "melodramatic," "morbid," "disproportionate" and "goofy." But Lincoln knew what was at stake, and it is what is still at stake today. Rule by private bankers and slaveowners would perpetuate the crushing colonial backwardness of the plantation system, and sink the nation.

Van Buren was voted out in a landslide in 1840, and Lincoln's Whig Party prepared to implement a new National Bank. But the new Whig President died suddenly and mysteriously, after only one month in office. Vice President John Tyler. a nominal Whig from Virginia, succeeded to the Presidency, betrayed the Whig program, and vetoed the national bank. Tyler's political sponsors would more and more openly attempt to destroy the United States in the years to come.

#### Imperial Betrayal

Later, as a Congressman, Lincoln demanded evidence from President James K. Polk that Mexico had really invaded the U.S. to start the Mexican War; he embarrassed the lying President.

Biographer Miller condemns Lincoln's 1848 Spot Resolutions, aimed at Polk, as a nasty, personal, and unnecessary attack against the dignity of the President. But there is rather direct evidence that Lincoln knew what Miller has not really attempted to understand. Miller quotes from Lincoln's Autobiographical sketch (written 1860), on the issue of the Mexican War: "[T]he act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans, was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting, or menacing the U.S. or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President."

Miller stops there, omitting the sentence ending the quoted paragraph (where Lincoln is speaking of himself in the third person): "He thought the principal motive for the act, was to divert public attention from the surrender of 'Fiftyfour, Forty, or Fight' to Great Britain, on the Oregon boundary question."

This refers to the swindle by Polk—whose election, Lincoln's Whig Party charged, was financed by British free-traders: Polk gave the British Empire control of the Pacific Northwest above what is now Washington State, in exchange for British backing for the slaveowner-led U.S.A. to invade our neighbor republic to the south.

Lincoln's passion, and his blunt speaking on imperial betrayal of America's mission, shows us the heart of his politics, and the heritage which we must today reclaim.

—Anton Chaitkin

# The Higher Standard of Truthfulness

John Esposito's *Unholy War*, written in response to the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, is a good and useful book, and also a bad one. The reader is therefore well advised to eat the banana and dispose of the peel properly; one purpose of this review is to help distinguish between the two.

Esposito, a prolific and influential scholar of the modern Muslim world, is University Professor of Religion and International Affairs at Washington, D.C.'s Georgetown University, and the founding director of the Institute of Muslim-Christian Understanding in Georgetown's Walsh School of Foreign Service.

Unholy War addresses such questions about Islam and the Muslim world as, "Why do they hate us? Why is Islam more militant than other religions? What does the Quran have to say about jihad or holy war? Does the Quran condone this kind of violence and terrorism? Is there a clash of civilizations between the West and the Muslim world?"

Esposito's exposition of Islam is the good and useful banana. Islam, like Christianity, is a house with many rooms. Esposito's presentation of this rich complexity is admirably specific and well documented for such a short book. Take, for example, the doctrine of *jihad*, that is, struggle (in the path of God).

## Jihad, for Example

There is the greater *jihad*, which is "the more difficult and more important struggle against one's ego, selfishness, greed, and evil," and the lesser, the outward struggle of resistance against ungodliness in the world. Muslims have interpreted the lesser *jihad* variously in different historical contexts, and different verses of the Koran have different contexts. There are the "sword verses," and then there is *sura* 2:256: "There is no compulsion in religion."

Some modern Shi'ite scholars say that the lesser *jihad* is "the defense of one's life, faith, property, and the

integrity of the Muslim *ummah* [worldwide Muslim community –DC]." And some say that it also includes resistance against oppression anywhere, the "defense of the oppressed of the earth."

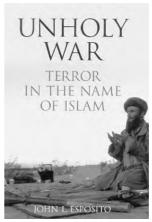
Because Islam is an entire worldview ordained by God, *shari'a* (Islamic law) "stipulates that it is a Muslim's duty to wage war not only against those who attack Muslim territory, but also against polytheists, apostates, and People of the Book (Jews, Christians, and other faiths) who refuse Muslim rule." That is, they are not required to convert, but to live peacefully in their faith communities *under Muslim rule*.

## Lesser Jihad Modified

But, this stipulation of shari'a has been modified or reinterpreted by some, in important ways. One school of law, excepted from such war those lands which have concluded a truce with a Muslim government. The world's largest Muslim country, Indonesia, adopted principles of national life in the 1950's, called "Pancasila," according to which, belief in one God or supreme principle—and not Islam—is fundamental. And Abdurrahman Wahid, recently President of Indonesia and leader of the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia today, Nahdatul Ulama, has strenuously opposed the introduction of Islam into politics, or the implementation of shari'a.

Wahid, like some other modern Muslim leaders, including Sudan's Hasan al-Turabi, believes that *islam* (submission—to God) must reach its manifestation in governance organically, through a process of development from within the individual and within the culture. (I have departed just a little from demonstrating what is packed into *Unholy War*, by drawing material on Pancasila and al-Turabi from Esposito and John Voll's *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, 2001.)

Because *Unholy War* is so packed, the reader may get the feeling that "if it is Tuesday, this must be the Baghdad



Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam by John L. Esposito New York, Oxford University Press, 2002 208 pages, hardcover, \$25.00

Caliphate." Not to worry. It would help as follow-up, though, to read *The Makers of Contemporary Islam*, and Esposito's general introduction to Islam, *Islam*, *The Straight Path*.

## Policy of Perpetual War

In *Unholy War*, Muslims practicing terrorism are condemned: "There can be no excuse for terrorism in the name of Islam." But not only them. In the United States, "the actions of the Attorney General and proposed Congressional anti-terrorism legislation, as well as the detention of individuals for indefinite periods without trial or access to evidence, raise deep concerns about the erosion of civil liberties. . . . The issue goes to the core of what the United States is and stands for . . . and what we might become."

The higher issue that is not addressed, however, is the existence of a policy to induce a 100-year "Clash of Civilizations," which the oligarchical families have put on the agenda to keep themselves in power, given the onrushing collapse of their financial system. This is the higher issue behind the terrorists and the actions of Attorney General Ashcroft. But this question is Esposito's banana peel (although, of course, he

is opposed to such a clash).

What is amiss, is Esposito's treatment of the Inevitable Clash thesis, as simply the mistaken viewpoint of a colleague, Samuel P. Huntington. But, Huntington cannot be understood from his published words alone, nor can he be taken in isolation. Bernard Lewis of Princeton (who first promoted the Inevitable Clash to the American public), Huntington, and Zbigniew Brzezinski work together to promote the Clash, despite the sprinkling of words they use to cover themselves.

Brzezinski, who praised Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, oversaw the operation that trained and armed a global Afghansi network of itinerant fighters and terrorists who were encouraged to act in the name of Islam *and* to hate the West. They were used to provoke the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and then to push the Soviets out. It doesn't matter much what Brzezinski says about how it "just happened." By their fruits ye shall know them.

It is wrong—untrue—to cover for Brzezinski and his friends, by treating them singly as the authors of mistaken

texts. It is wrong to cover for them by referring simply to a "growing propensity among senior government officials, political commentators, and the media to see a new 'evil empire' replacing the communist threat."

When we are faced with a handful of policymakers who insist on policies that will surely set civilization itself on fire, a high standard of truthfulness is required to push them aside. Does academic collegiality stand in the way? Is Dr. Radovan Karadzic my esteemed colleague?

—David Cherry

# Mozart's Age of Republican Enterprise

In the decade after the American Revolution, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was probably the most crucial individual in attempting to create a similar transformation in Europe. In the autumn of 1791, Europe, and in particular, France and Austria, had their last, best chance to wrench historical developments away from what we today know as the ragedriven, oligarchy-controlled French Revolution, a mockery of the American Revolution.1 Mozart's powerful and beautiful presentation in his opera, The Magic Flute, of the "republican" proof—that every man or woman whose heart could feel love, also had the capacity to develop the mind, and to self-govern—was capturing and uplifting the general population of Vienna. His collaborators in this project, Emanuel Schikaneder's theater troupe, have been the subject of ongoing investigation by researcher David Buch.

The team of David Buch, the Boston Baroque ensemble, and Director Martin Pearlman, has once again done all friends and lovers of Mozart a service. Earlier, in 1999, this team recorded the world premiere of *The Philosopher's Stone*, composed in 1790 by the musical leaders of Schikaneder's troupe, which, as David Buch was able to prove, included Mozart. In reviewing the work at that time,<sup>2</sup> this author posed two major questions: "Why would Mozart work with a team of five composers?

And, what changes occurred in the 'sequel' [*The Magic Flute*], when Mozart assumed full control?"

Now, the Boston Baroque team brings us the world premiere recording of *The Beneficent Dervish*, created and performed (March 1791) by the same Schikaneder group, but with the exclusion of Mozart. Coming so nicely, halfway between *The Philosopher's Stone* (September 1790), where Mozart composed in collaboration with the other four, and *The Magic Flute* (September 1791), where Mozart composed alone, *The Beneficent Dervish* prompts a new, third question: "How well does this team of Mozart's collaborators do without him?"

Simply put, they do amazingly well. It is a delightful experience to hear this work. However, while my earlier comparison of The Philosopher's Stone to The Magic Flute put into relief the superior, scientific quality of Mozart's so-called "magic," the comparison of The Beneficent Dervish to The Philosopher's Stone allows the listener to hear Schikaneder's group play, as it were, while the teacher is out of the room. Without Mozart, they do veer more into the world of magic for the story-line, leaving the important transformations of the text, and of the music, for another time. But they are literate, occasionally a little inspired, and they do have fun. This is



The Beneficent Dervish
by Mozart's Circle
and
The Impresario
by W.A. Mozart
Boston Baroque, Martin
Pearlman, Director
Telarc CD, 2002, \$17.98

both a happy group, and a group that fully needed Mozart's intervention. So, today's listeners, lovers of Mozart's *Magic Flute*, can now hear two different "trial runs" of the Mozart/Schikaneder team, setting into relief Mozart's profound transformation of somewhat similar material.

## Schikaneder's Troupe

In reviewing *The Philosopher's Stone*, I provided an extensive history of the collaboration of Mozart and Schikaneder in

their republican mission, during and just after the American Revolution, of uplifting the cultural level—and the capacity for sustained joy and optimism-of the general population in Austria and Germany. This included the key role of the translations of Shakespeare into German by Christoph Martin Wieland. Increasingly, from the mid-1770's on, Schikaneder's theater troupes performed plays of Shakespeare, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. And between 1789 and 1791 in Vienna, Schikaneder had four of Wieland's fairy tales worked into operas for his Theater an der Wien-the three already mentioned, plus Oberon. Later, in 1791, Mozart himself evidently agreed to set Shakespeare's Tempest to music, although he did not live long enough to begin work on it.

David Buch has discovered that *The Beneficent Dervish* was performed before *The Magic Flute*, and can be usefully heard with that in mind. Previously, it had been thought (e.g., according to Schikaneder expert Kurt Honolka) that *Dervish* was first performed in September 1793. However, as Pearlman's helpful accompanying notes summarize, David Buch has located evidence for a pre-*Magic Flute* dating. His three most pertinent pieces of evidence are:

- A March 1791 diary entry, by the prolix Karl Zinzendorf, regarding his visit to Schikaneder's theater to see the opera;
- A 1791 book in the Austrian National Library, including some of the vocal texts; and
- Newspaper ads, offering for sale arrangements from *The Beneficent Dervish*, beginning in April 1791.

So, Buch, having properly re-situated this opera, has justified hearing this lighter work as a special window into the world of the *Magic Flute* troupe, not more than six months removed.

#### The Dervish

The Beneficent Dervish also preserves many of the same character roles as The Philosopher's Stone and The Magic Flute. The Prince Nadir/Sofrano/Tamino role (listed in the chronological order of the operas in which they appear), originally played by



Scene from "The Magic Flute" (left to right): Tamino, Pamina, Papageno.

Benedikt Schack, always has a comical sidekick, Lubano/Mandolino/Papageno, played by Emanuel Schikaneder, with his sweetheart/wife, Lubanara/Mandolina/Papagena. The prince, of course, seeks to win his princess, Nadine/Zenomide/Pamina (the part that Mozart most thoroughly transformed). Another of the composers, Franz Xaver Gerl, sang the bass role, Eutifronte/Dervish/Zarastro (another role that underwent serious development).

Perhaps the most striking connection of The Beneficent Dervish to The Magic Flute, is the aria of the dervish at the opening of Act III, "So bald der Mann." It is, for this reviewer, the most substantial part of this lightweight opera, and it foreshadows Zarastro in The Magic Flute, when he sings to Pamina his warm and calming aria, "In diesen heilgen Hallen." The dervish, in this opera about the cold calculations of women's hearts and the consequent dangers to gullible men, gives loving, fatherly advice to the Prince: "Therefore before you love her, test her! Both the woman and the workings of her heart." This feature, the investigation of the inner workings of the heart, is seized upon by Mozart in The Magic Flute, where it takes on a

much fuller life.

The character of The Beneficent Dervish opera is established early on, in the hilarious duet of the peasant couple, Mandolino and Mandolina. She has caught him with a straying eye, and proceeds to beat him ("Pritsch! Pratsch!"). And when he tries to escape ("Watch out! I'll jump in the water and drown myself'), she jumps into the water after him—to use the rudder to keep hitting him. As he promises to reform, she has him repeat after her, "Dearest, only, best of wives!"—although he still needs more of the "Pritsch! Pratsch!" Finally, with his repeating "I'd like to live with you alone!," forgiveness is effected. Within a mere two-minute period, the brawl, with believable percussive effects, has turned into a tender conclusion: "Seldom are man and wife as close as we two, we live like children and are one soul and body!" The games men and women play are succinctly and ludicrously portrayed.

The scene was designed for Schikaneder's comic specialty. (I might add, that, after hearing Kevin Deas' singing in Schikaneder's original roles of Lubano and Mandolino, I am persuaded that his is actually Schikaneder's voice! He seems both quite com-

fortable, and convincing, in Schikaneder's role.)

The paradoxical plight of malefemale relations doesn't get resolved at a higher level in this opera, however. We hear a women's chorus ("Enslaving men is what we enjoy!"), followed by a lovely aria by Princess Zenomide, the object of Prince Sofrano's love. She begins "Sofrano, had you felt my pain since our last bitter parting ...," then she questions his commitment, claiming that "If you feel nothing more for me, so be it, I shall gladly die for you." There is seemingly nothing insincere in the words or the musical setting. Any man in the audience would want to believe the maiden. However, when they next meet, she is singing to Sofrano an entrancing balladstory, only to distract him and steal his wealth from him!

One would think the Prince might learn a lesson from this. But not this prince, and not in this comedy. Earlier, in the opening of the opera, the Prince was certainly good-hearted enough to take in, and care for, the dervish, who had appeared at the Prince's door as an ill beggar. Sofrano explains that it was simply his duty as a human being. But Sofrano, after his duty is done, is shown to be mainly excited by money and love, singing: "Truly I can't contain myself. Money and love smile upon me." In this opera, it will take the beneficence of a guardian angel, some liberal doses of magic, and, of course, some peasant cleverness, to deal with the evil hearts of women.

## Mozart, March 1791

Mozart might have made his thoughts known to Schikaneder at the time. At the same time that this happy farce was playing on stage (March 1791), Mozart popularized Schikaneder's troupe by composing a set of eight variations upon "Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding!" ("A wife is a wonderful thing!") This was a selection from an earlier production of the troupe, created by Benedikt Schack and Franz Xaver Gerl. But, instead of simply spinning out eight variations to ornament the sung theme, Mozart fashions something special. He creates variations, separately, upon both the intro-

ductory, instrumental music from the opera, and upon the vocal material. Then, in a coda section, he combines material from both parts together, contrapuntally. This is the sort of mind that addresses the higher forces at work, behind the "magical" moments of our lives.

It was also at this time (March 7, 1791) that Schikaneder asked Mozart to compose The Magic Flute. Further, the very next day, Mozart entered into his music catalogue a new work, "Per questa bella mano," a concert aria (K. 612) for the bass, Gerl, who sang the role of the dervish. The aria is notable for the string bass, written for Friedrich Pischlberger, who played in Schikaneder's theater orchestra.3 Given the involvement of Mozart with the theater troupe, not only in the previous fall with The Philosopher's Stone, but during the March presentation of The Beneficent Dervish, I can't but think that the composers benefitted from Mozart's beneficence throughout.

During these same winter months of early 1791, Mozart, the third Court Composer, was being under-utilized by the Austrian Court. Emperor Leopold II had not yet settled on Mozart for the major commission of *La Clemenza de Tito*. He was being paid to write dance music, minuets. On a receipt for payment for some of these minuets, Mozart wrote: "Too much for what I did, not enough for what I could do." Which brings us to the other offering on this CD.

## The Impresario

Mozart had done revolutionary work for Joseph II's Austria, back in 1781/2, when he had first come to Vienna. His Abduction from the Seraglio was the singularly successful operatic work for Emperor Joseph II's German-language national theater project. Joseph II had discussed and planned with the dramatist Gotthold Lessing, to launch such a project, as vital to uplifting his population, uplifting the language they spoke, and the thoughts capable of being expressed in the language. Outside of this project, the German-language entertainment in Vienna was fairly

banal (though surely not quite as insipid as what we've achieved in our own time).

In the wake of the victory at Yorktown, when America turned the world upside-down on the British oligarchy, brawls and controversies in Europe swirled around Mozart's revolutionary transformation of the *Abduction* libretto. Mozart dramatically altered the story-line by replacing the importance of blood-line descent, with the grace of agapic charity—and this, the most "Christian" action in the opera, was carried out by the feared Turkish pasha!<sup>4</sup>

Threats, palace intrigues, and arrests put an end, by 1783, to the German-language national theater project of Joseph II. So, for Joseph to arrange an elaborate, costly party on Feb. 7, 1786, with a German operetta by Mozart to be performed directly against an Italian operetta, one might assume that there was, very likely, something on the Emperor's mind. Evidently, Joseph himself had proposed to Johann Gottlieb Stephanie, Mozart's librettist from the Abduction, that he compose the story-line for *The* Impresario, taking as his subject, the problem of the egos of sopranos in a German-language opera company. Meanwhile, Joseph also proposed to Salieri that he compose something in Italian, dealing with the difficulties between the demands of a librettist, and of a composer.<sup>5</sup> Joseph arranged for the two troupes to present their offerings to his dinner party, using two different stages, set at different ends of the hall. The elaborate party was in honor of Joseph's sister, the Archduchess Marie Christine, and her consort, Duke Albert, who was Joseph's Governor-General for the Austrian Netherlands.

Stephanie engaged his two lead singers from *The Abduction*, Valentin Adamberger and Caterina Cavalieri. Further, Mozart's sister-in-law, Aloysia Weber, was engaged as the soprano to duel with Cavalieri. Stephanie set the farce in Salzburg, probably reflecting Mozart's satiric attitude about the backwardness enjoyed by the ruler of his



Finale of the ecumenical "Abduction from the Seraglio."

hometown, Archbishop Colloredo.

Stephanie has a comic actor named Buff tell an impresario, one Herr Frank, to hire cheap actors and singers, so he can spend his money on bribing the critics: "Leave your good taste at home . . . . The world wants to be deceived." Much fun is had with the dueling sopranos, as they have trouble fitting their egos in with the larger purpose of the theatrical presentation. Stephanie has the voice of reason try to calm the sopranos, arguing that "Harmony's the greatest virtue I can recommend to us." He brings back his non-singing comic actor, Buff, to deliver his joke at the expense of all the singers, upon which joke Stephanie seems to have hung his whole story.

#### Pearlman's Performance

Now, in a polemical work such as this, ridiculing the egos of singers, it is certainly not good form to have the singers simply display their voices in performance! Perhaps, only in such a semiliterate age as ours, could such a mistake occur, but occur they often do. Fortunately, this is not the case in this performance, as Pearlman's troupe seems happy to get into the spirit of the work.

Further, the recording is said to be the first one on period instruments, and, for what it is worth, it is quite clean. But the authenticity, fortunately, seems to come not from the period instruments, nor from the unvibrated fingering, but from the top, from a conceptual level, which then carries through in the voices and instruments. The singers' voices convey the text and the interplay of the roles, leaving one almost hearing the visual images of actors on stage. The whole affair is quite good fun. Finally, Mozart seems to have composed the music to be its own character in the operetta, which more than once brings the egos back to reason, and Pearlman's orchestra properly recreates this role.

Nonetheless, the work is a curious matter, which somehow seems quite a distance from the issues Mozart was fighting out with Joseph II at that precise time. Mozart's music for *The Impresario* is marvelously better than the story deserves, and seems to reflect, more than anything else, the transcendent work he was then engaged in, the opera *The Marriage of Figaro*.

When the Stephanie/Mozart *Impresario* and the Salieri work were performed a few days later for the public, two different Vienna papers praised the former. One singled out Mozart's music as "containing some special beauties...," while another thought the German work "infinitely superior" to the Italian one, adding, "that is surely not the result of national pride." Meanwhile, at the

private dinner party, Count Zinzendorf, nothing if not snooty, thought *The Impresario* was very mediocre. However, what Emperor Joseph II intended by the affair, and what he thought of the result, is not known. What is known, is that he was in the middle of the most intense brawl of his life.

## The Figaro Project

As of February 1786, Joseph II had been the sole ruler of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for just over five years. In brief, his reforms had attempted to break the Empire from its feudalism, and to develop its manpower. He freed the serfs; granted religious toleration to Protestants and to Jews; encouraged science, mining, metallurgy, and agriculture; allowed a freedom for public debate and for publishing; and established public hospitals, public works, and a broader public education. The entrenched Austro-Hungarian nobility resisted the development of their newly freed population, no less than did the embittered Confederate landowners after Lincoln's victories. They ridiculed Joseph's attempts to enrich the public mind by such means as his German National Theater. After Mozart's close collaboration with Joseph in 1781/2 with The Abduction, the massive political counter-attack kept Joseph away from his best collaborators during 1783 and 1784.

So, in 1785, when Joseph agreed to have Mozart compose Figaro, it was a major breakthrough, and Mozart focussed his creativity, and his recent musical-scientific discoveries,6 upon making operatic and political history. The conditions under which the Emperor proceeded, were that the Figaro play by Beaumarchais only be allowed on stage in Italian as opera. (The head of the Secret Police, Count Anton Pergen, had banned the play in German, in February 1785, when Schikaneder had proposed performing it. Pergen's defenders claim that he did this at the bequest of the Emperor; the behind-the-scenes brawl within the Court, however, can only be surmised.) Minimally, the Emperor very much wanted Figaro, as an Italian opera, to be

aimed at his reactionary nobility.

Just as the Count Almaviva in Figaro has agreed on paper to renounce the feudal droit du seigneur (the nobility's bestial "right of the first night" to every newlywed on the property), but still spends most of the opera trying to re-assert that right de facto, so also the ridiculousness of the Austrian nobility was to be put on stage, having agreed to the Emperor's reforms on paper, but doing everything to re-impose feudal slavery, de facto. Their hearts were not reconciled to loving and developing their fellow man. The story of Mozart's transformation of opera in fashioning a comedy of such intense joy and agapē, remains for another time.

### The Curious Impresario

Mozart composed The Impresario between Jan. 18 and Feb. 3, 1786, in the midst of his work on Figaro-which had begun seriously in the fall of 1785, and which was debuted on May 1, 1786. Mozart had an agenda for the Emperor that was larger than the compositional themes the Emperor had suggested to Stephanie and Salieri for the February contest. Mozart's The Impresario may well be a curious work, as it is the product of a curious situation. While Joseph II at least had on his mind the republicanvs.-oligarchic themes that were wrapped up in the controversy over German-vs.-Italian music, it remains unclear what he intended for this elaborate dinner. It would appear that Stephanie did not plan anything so revolutionary as the intervention that Mozart was planning for the spring; and that Mozart was content to shower his Figaro-like music upon the lesser vehicle, and wait another ten weeks or so for his major intervention in the Court.

However, the events of that winter and spring indicate that the feudal oligarchy was getting the upper hand on Joseph. By the beginning of 1786, the financial situation in Austria was turning ugly, as the Court was in over its head to usury. (Joseph's brother-in-law, King Louis XVI of France, was in a similar situation. Neither country succeeded in following the lead of their friends in America, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton, who would deal with the 1785/6 crises, by organizing the Federal powers of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.)

The "Bruderschaften"—the equivalent of the "Savings & Loans" for the burgeoning middle class—were largely wiped out in Austria. Ignaz Born, the "Benjamin Franklin" of Vienna, who later was the model for Mozart's Zarastro, was pushed out of control of the city's Masonic lodges, leaving them to lesser minds. Also, there are indications that Mozart knew that spring, that the Venetian agent Casanova was involved in an attempt to compromise Joseph II in a sexual entrapment. And, finally, Count Pergen, the man who had ordered the ban on Figaro as a drama, was given increased police powers, undermining the republican law efforts of Mozart's friend Sonnenfels.

Between the time the Emperor heard the two works, *The Impresario* and *Figaro*, one gory event situates the unravelling of the situation. Joseph either gave in to, or agreed with, the reimposition of the death penalty, which he himself had ended back in 1776. On March 10, 1786, one month after the *Impresario* party, 30,000 spectators turned out in Vienna for the execution of a nobleman, one Franz Zaglauer von Zahlheim, who had robbed and murdered an older woman whom he had courted.

The order, under the Emperor's signature, was that "in accordance with the regulations of the 'Nemesis Therresiana,' the death penalty described therein shall be administered without mercy to the delinquent ... [G]lowing hot pincers shall be applied to the left and right sides of his chest ... [H]is body shall be broken on the wheel from the feet

upward [maximizing the pain] and then displayed on a gibbet." Vienna was transfixed by the spectacle, and it would appear that nothing was so hotly debated that spring, as the execution. Joseph II seemed to be increasingly unable to control the "Pergen" faction, as they would succeed in getting their colonial war, and massively increased police powers.

Joseph had benefitted greatly from his joint operation with Mozart on The Abduction back in 1782, winning several years to push ahead on his reforms. He seems not to have reaped the marvelous benefits of Mozart's ever-so-much-morepowerful Figaro in 1786. Looking back upon that curious February party, with Mozart's Impresario, one hears a fascinating mix: beautiful, dramatic music upon a modestly funny libretto, drawn from a theme chosen by an Emperor, which seems most poignantly, too little, too late. Mozart's previously cited 1791 comment—that he was being paid by the Court for his ballets, "too much for what I did, not enough for what I could do" has its 1786 corollary: He did more than anyone had ever done, but was paid too little attention, too late.

—David M. Shavin

- 1. Pierre Beaudry, "Why France Did Not Have an American Revolution," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Jan. 18, 2002 (Vol. 29, No. 2).
- 2. David Shavin, "A Mozartian Warm-Up for *The Magic Flute*," review of *The Philosopher's Stone, or The Enchanted Isle, Fidelio*, Spring 2000 (Vol. IX, No. 1).
- 3. H.C. Robbins Landon, 1791: Mozart's Last Year (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), p. 36.
- 4. See David Shavin, "Mozart and the American Revolutionary Upsurge," *Fidelio*, Winter 1992 (Vol. I, No. 4).
- 5. Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1999), p. 652.
- 6. See Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "Mozart's 1782-1786 Revolution in Music," *Fidelio*, Winter 1992 (Vol. I, No. 4).
- 7. Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna*, 1781-1791 (New York: Grove Widenfeld, 1990), p. 273.

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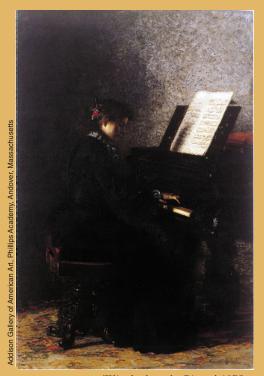
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# The Classical

homas Eakins was fortunate to be born in Philadelphia in the 1840's, where the legacy of Benjamin Franklin was a stillpowerful influence, especially through the work of Franklin's famous great-grandson, the scientist Alexander Dallas Bache, who served as the principal scientific adviser to President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War.

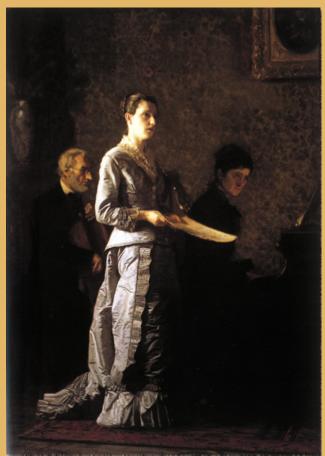
One of the leading centers for disseminating the ideas of Franklin and the American Revolution was Philadelphia's Central High



'Elizabeth at the Piano,' 1875.

School, attended by Eakins, where Bache, who served as its principal for a number of years, introduced a curriculum based on the Classical education reforms of the outstanding German educator Wilhelm von Humboldt.

Because Eakins was profoundly interested in exploring the relationship of human cognition to physical motion and activity—the problem addressed in the great works of Classical Greek sculpture—portraits of music-makers were a



'Singing a Pathetic Song,' 1881.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C

natural subject for him.

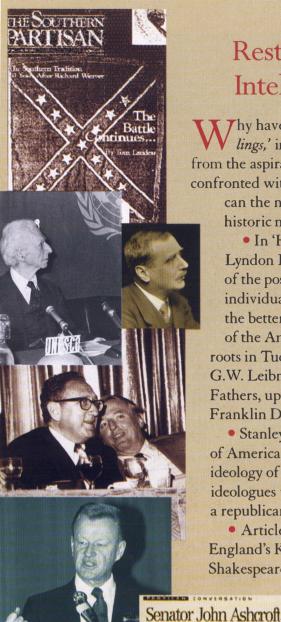
"Elizabeth at the Piano" is one of Eakins' most poetic early paintings. The work captures the precise moment at which the pianist is poised between two actions: She leans forward ever so slightly, her fingers hovering above the keyboard,

as she is about to begin the next phrase in the piece. The composition further emphasizes the power of the creative artist, as Elizabeth does not look at the score, but rather into her own mind, where she has memorized the music.

In "Singing a Pathetic Song," Eakins succeeds in elevating a popular genre to the level of the sublime, through the refined expression of the soloist, and through the dialogue he creates among the three musicians. The singer turns in a three-quarter pose, facing an unseen audience, whose space we share. The pianist turns her head slightly toward the soloist, whom she follows musically; while the 'cellist concentrates intently on the score before him.

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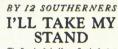
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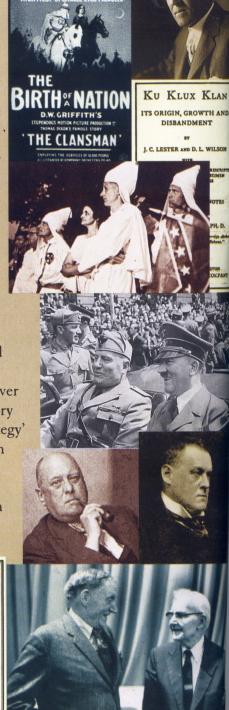


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