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Special Fourth of July Issue

**THE U.S.-RUSSIAN ENTENTE
THAT SAVED THE UNION**

the Campaigner

C A M P A I G N F O R H U M A N I S M



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ON THE COVER: The Union Army on parade in New York City, with the red, white and blue flags of the United States and Imperial Russia. Cover design by Alan Yue.

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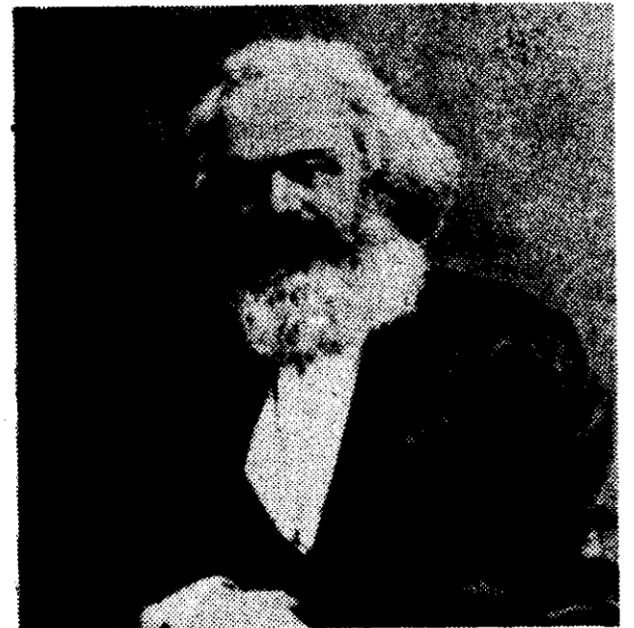
CONTROVERSY

The Case of Bertell Ollman: Linguistics Is Neither Marxist, Competent, Nor American

The only circumstance under which the "academic freedom" debate around the appointment of self-proclaimed Marxist Bertell Ollman to the head of the Political Science Department at the University of Maryland will be useful will be if that debate clarifies the issue of competence in the political sciences. Barring that, a victory by either the "left" or the "right" in the Ollman case will be an ironic and dangerous vindication of his own

reductionist contribution to politics — the game *Class Struggle*.

Bertell Ollman is neither a Marxist, in the sense of comprehending, much less professing the thought of the man Karl Marx, nor a competent political scientist. As befits his bachelors and masters education at the American Fabian University of Wisconsin, and his receipt of a doctorate from Britain's Oxford University, his approach is that of a linguist. Ollman's fascination with Marx's use of words, which led him to be the first to compile an index of Marx's vocabulary, not only bars Ollman from understanding Marx's con-



cepts, but also puts his work within the corpus of Chomskyian linguistics used to brainwash and create today's "left" terrorists.

Political science rightly proceeds from a understanding of two factions of political elites going back to the time of Plato and Aristotle. The Platonic faction — best exemplified within the philosophical and nation-building activities of the Arab Renaissance, the Hohenstaufen Holy Roman Empire, Gottfried Leibniz, and the American Revolution —
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LETTERS

Humanist Academy Takes Up Fight Against British Culture in Italy

To the Editor:

As a participant in the opening series of lectures of the Academy for Humanist Studies at Milan's Goethe Institute on May 12 and in Rome May 13, I am pleased to report that already the Academy has profoundly shaken the usual conceptions current in Italy about how to evaluate the history of humanism.

Italy is the country where such great Renaissance figures as Pico, da Vinci, and Bruno made their contributions to the progress of humanity, but, particularly since the destruction of Naples by England's Nelson, it has come increasingly under the influence of British empiricism and cultural relativism. As Germans who have been working to free our own country from the same pernicious influence, Anno Hellenbroich and I made guest presentations to the Academy on our work on the eighteenth century Benjamin Franklin-linked humanist networks in Europe, to bring into focus the true content of Italy's humanist heritage as contrasted with the British-inspired miasma afflicting most of Italy's culture and intellectual life today.

My own presentation, "Herder and Filangieri, Representatives of Franklin's Network," showed the fatal consequences of the epistemological shortcomings of the French and German republicans, who never took a public stand against the British influenced ideologues Rousseau, Voltaire, and others. Among the effects of British hegemony after 1815 on Italy, I was able to cite British master-agent Madame de Stael's promotion of the caricature of the "fiery, volcanic Italian" in the course of her continent-wide campaign against the "virus of humanism."

Anno Hellenbroich drew on material familiar to *Campaigner* readers from his article "Think Like Beethoven" to present, as the Communist Party paper *Unita* noted the next day, a new standpoint for the understanding of Beethoven's music.

"It is false to represent Beethoven as a lone genius," Hellenbroich explained. "This would obfuscate the question of Beethoven's method of thinking, which was oriented, as in the case of all the humanists, towards the Platonic-humanist world outlook.

"Beethoven's Ninth was actually dedicated to Benjamin Franklin, to the discoverer of the lightning rod and the
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Italian Communists Herald Opening of Humanist Academy

Reprinted below is the translation of an article which appeared on May 13 in L'Unita, the official daily of the Italian Communist Party, with the headline: "New Hypothesis on Beethoven's Music: Ninth Inspired by American Revolution." The article reports on the first series of courses held in Italy by the Humanist Academy, an organization founded recently by the European Labor Party, co-thinker organization of the U.S. Labor Party, and dedicated to the recovery of the history of the Neoplatonic humanist tradition based on direct study of original sources.

*Anno Hellenbroich, an Executive Committee member of the European Labor Party, is the author of "Think Like Beethoven," published in English
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The Promise of American Independence

The Fourth of July, Independence Day, is the foremost of American national celebrations, the most intense and revered yearly remembrance of America's national purpose. This is as it should be. For on Independence Day Americans mark their shift of allegiance from a sovereign king to the sovereign "laws of nature and of nature's God." While declaring independence from the tyrannical English King, the colonists committed themselves to run a nation according to clearly defined positive principles: the safeguarding of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness through trade, industrial and educational progress, and republican forms of government.

In their celebrations year by year there are few American patriots who don't realize the positive, moral commitment which the Declaration of Independence represented. "No Taxation Without Representation" was an appropriate slogan in 1776, but only a fool would argue that the United States defied Great Britain to establish a right so narrowly defined.

In fact, the founding fathers of America had originally conceived of anything but a "national liberation" struggle for the colonies. America for them, as it was centuries earlier for their ancestors the European humanists, was a strategic tool in their effort to wipe out the international oligarchic forces opposed to progress. The efforts and failure of John Milton, Samuel Hartlib and Oliver Cromwell to establish the conditions for a worldwide humanist victory in the English Revolution are detailed in this magazine. Benjamin Franklin and his network of humanists in England, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, Germany and Sweden had determined to establish the same principles of scientific progress and justice through monarchy and republic alike on an international scale. Within this scheme American independence was the fruit of their global failure.

America's founders, however, did not accept confinement. With every resource they could muster, they forged alliances to contain the marauding British Empire, alliances based on common commitments to the rights of man to progress, peace, and the pursuit of happiness. The accomplishments of these alliances have been crucial to world survival. Americans' international humanist organizing has played an indispensable role in the establishment of every industrial republic today — including West Germany, Mexico, Japan and the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics. So far, these nations have succeeded in enduring the murderous monetarist hegemony of the British, but no more. The enemy of the American Revolution, the British monarchy, continues to prey, threatening the very existence of human civilization with its manipulation of war conflicts and demands for lucre and loot.

The promise of the American Revolution waits to be fulfilled today.

THE GRAND DESIGN

The economic treaty signed by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn, West Germany May 6 provides America with an open door to establishing the principles of the American Revolution worldwide. What this twenty-five-year treaty and the communique accompanying it outline is a Grand Design for eliminating war and poverty by further integration of the Western and Eastern economies, and technology transfer to the developing sector.

To the extent that Americans cannot recognize the Grand Design now offered to them by Schmidt, Brezhnev, France's Giscard d'Estaing and Mexico's President Lopez Portillo, they have failed to understand what the American Revolution was all about.

The American Revolution was carried out by a conspiracy of Neoplatonists who traced their tradition back more than 2500 years. Their principles were those of Plato himself — city-building, education and science, the supremacy of human reason over the passions of beasts. Like Plato and his followers, they moved to outflank their oligarchical enemies by establishing centers of culture in the colonies, and to avoid disastrous world wars by building ecumenical movements to promote collaboration on the common goals of all states and their religions. The most striking examples of this method are Nicholas of Cusa, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Germany's Gottfried Leibniz, who devoted their lives to reconciling Protestantism, Catholicism and Islam on the basis of a common city-building and scientific perspective.

As the history books tell it, they failed. In actuality, they created a network of city-builders so broad and dis-

respectful of national borders that it provides the groundwork for just such an ecumenical movement today.

The strength of that network is its ability to address men's souls, their fundamental aspirations for self-perfection through the mastery of nature and themselves. It is this appeal, wielded by the great Franklin and his collaborators, which united monarchist France, czarist Russia and humanist groupings throughout every other European country to support America's independence from Great Britain. It is this appeal that brought czarist Russia and America together again twice in the nineteenth century to prevent total world domination by Britain, including the destruction of the United States as a nation.

Following the collaboration around the U.S. Civil War — detailed in full in the lead article of this issue — the humanist networks came under relentless attack, particularly through the creation of "left"- "right" conflicts over the distribution of wealth. The jingoistic ideological movements which Britain created were not able to obscure the fundamental common interest between Germany and the fledgling Soviet republic in the early 1920s; neither could Britain prevent the collaboration of the chief "ideological enemies," the U.S. and USSR, against British-controlled fascist Germany during World War II. Today we face an even more serious test. Will the "Americans" in the Soviet Union and the USA fulfill the promise of East-West cooperation for worldwide development contained in the Schmidt-Brezhnev agreement, or will the champions of "capitalism" and "socialism" destroy in thermonuclear war the opportunity for reaching their common vision of technological progress?

THE TAX REVOLT

It is imperative that every American patriot realize that the so-called tax revolt that was born with the overwhelming passage of California's Proposition 13 leads in the very opposite direction to the principles of the American Revolution. The point will be made sufficiently clear by contrasting the Boston Tea Party and associated refusals to pay taxes in 1773-76 with the equally famed Shays Rebellion of 1786.

The Boston Tea Party was a highly disciplined action run by Samuel Adams as part of an escalated series of demonstrations that America would not tolerate a looting policy. It was not aimed at taxation in general, but in this case was precision-targeted on the monopoly-subsidy that the King had granted to keep the East India Company from its deserved bankruptcy. Through this action they did not want to eliminate central government, but to change the policy of that government toward encouragement of manufactures, education and the general increase in the standard of living and labor productivity of the American population. While the actual destruction

of the tea infuriated the oligarchical British rulers and their local tax collectors, they were equally angry at the surgical precision of the "raid" in which absolutely nothing was harmed or disturbed except the tea itself!

The question was not that the diversity of interests of the colonial population was not being recognized in the taxation policy decided by the British parliament. What was not being represented in Parliament — equally for the majority of the British population as well — was the fundamental necessity for technological development, and a tax policy which would be guided by that necessity. Thus it was the representation of the public good in taxation, legal, economic and foreign policy which the Americans sought in setting up their new government in order to remedy the grievance of "taxation without representation."

The opposite sentiments and purpose informed the Massachusetts Shays Rebellion. If the rebels had been interested in reformulating taxation policy, they had the responsibility and ample opportunity to carry out a political campaign which would justify their demands in terms of the interests of the state and nation as a whole. Instead they took the most provocative strategy possible. It is not surprising, therefore, to find out that Daniel Shays himself and a good number of his men were being paid per diem by local loyalists!

Shays Rebellion was aimed to disrupt the possibility of any local or national government functioning at all, and if successful, would have been a prelude to the balkanization and reconquest of the United States by Great Britain. Recent coverage of the U.S. "tax revolt" in the London *Economist*, whose editors have never gotten over the loss of the colonies, couldn't show more clearly that London hopes to achieve the result that George Washington, Sam Adams (who helped put down Shays Rebellion), and other American leaders snatched from their hands nearly 200 years ago.

REAL FREEDOM

Real political freedom — as defined by Leibniz, Milton, Plato and other spiritual founders of the American republic — is freedom *from* the passions, poverty and appetites common to beasts, freedom *for* the exercise of reason, happiness and love without having to legitimize the pull of ignorant opinion. Such a concept of freedom was the inspiration which led to and was partially realized in the American Revolution that was first declared on July 4, 1776.

Now America's spiritual children in West Germany, France, the Soviet Union and Mexico have offered to help us fully realize that practice. The chance may not come again.

— Nancy Spannaus
Editor-in-Chief

THE U.S.-RUSSIAN ENTENTE THAT SAVED THE UNION



By Konstantin George

INTRODUCTION

The fact that the global axiom of British foreign policy has been the creation and maintenance of a United States-Soviet adversary relationship can be explained only with an examination of the shared humanist traditions of both modern superpowers. This study will document United States-Russia collaboration to win the American Civil War for the Union — the historical apex of a continuous political collaboration between the humanist elites of the two nations dating back to Benjamin Franklin.

A brief note here will serve to certify the impact on world history of that collaboration, even at its inception during the American Revolutionary War. It was a direct follower of Franklin, Epinus, a leader of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who drafted the famous League of Armed Neutrality Treaty — a Russian-led alliance that

was key in creating the international strategic context in which the American Revolution succeeded. (1)

The crowning period of humanist U.S.-Russian collaboration was during the Lincoln Administration, when a wartime alliance between the United States and Russia was negotiated by U.S. ambassador to Russia Cassius Clay. America and Russia shared the conception of transforming this wartime pact into a permanent alliance based on the combination of developing Russia into a technologically progressive nation of 100 million and an industrialized U.S. with a population approaching 100 million by the end of the nineteenth century.

This combination the emerging national giants saw as an unbeatable axis for implementing worldwide technological progress — the “Grand Design,” a world-ordering of sovereign nations committed to progress. Ambassador Clay, in fact, considered his own mission to

The October 1863 grand parade honoring the Russian fleet in New York harbor, shown passing Trinity Church on its way up Broadway. From Harper's Weekly, October 17, 1863.



be the forging of an alliance among the United States, Russia, and President Benito Juarez in Mexico, committed to the spread of republicanism around the globe. (2)

The Russian government of Czar Alexander II with which Lincoln and Clay negotiated the alliance was itself — as were Lincoln and Clay — conscious followers of the great American political economist Henry Carey. From the czar on down, Russia's goals for economic growth were literally expounded as: "What you Americans call the 'American System,' we Russians must adopt as the 'Russian System.'"

Subsumed under the features of the Grand Design were the urgently necessary measures of the wartime alliance. During the Civil War itself, Russia's military weight and threats of reprisals against Britain and France prevented any British-led intervention against the Union.

Lincoln met heavy opposition in seeing through this policy. Then, as now, Britain used its U.S. agents-of-influence and press outlets to force the U.S. off the course to the Grand Design. The copperhead press and agents-of-influence like Secretary of State Seward in the cabinet repeatedly raised the "human rights" issue around the so-called "Polish right of secession" to argue against the entente with Russia. Lincoln was pilloried by the copperhead traitors for "cavorting with absolutism, Czarist oppression and brutality," etc., in the same way that London's modern propaganda mills have inundated this nation with the bogeys of "totalitarianism" and "communism."

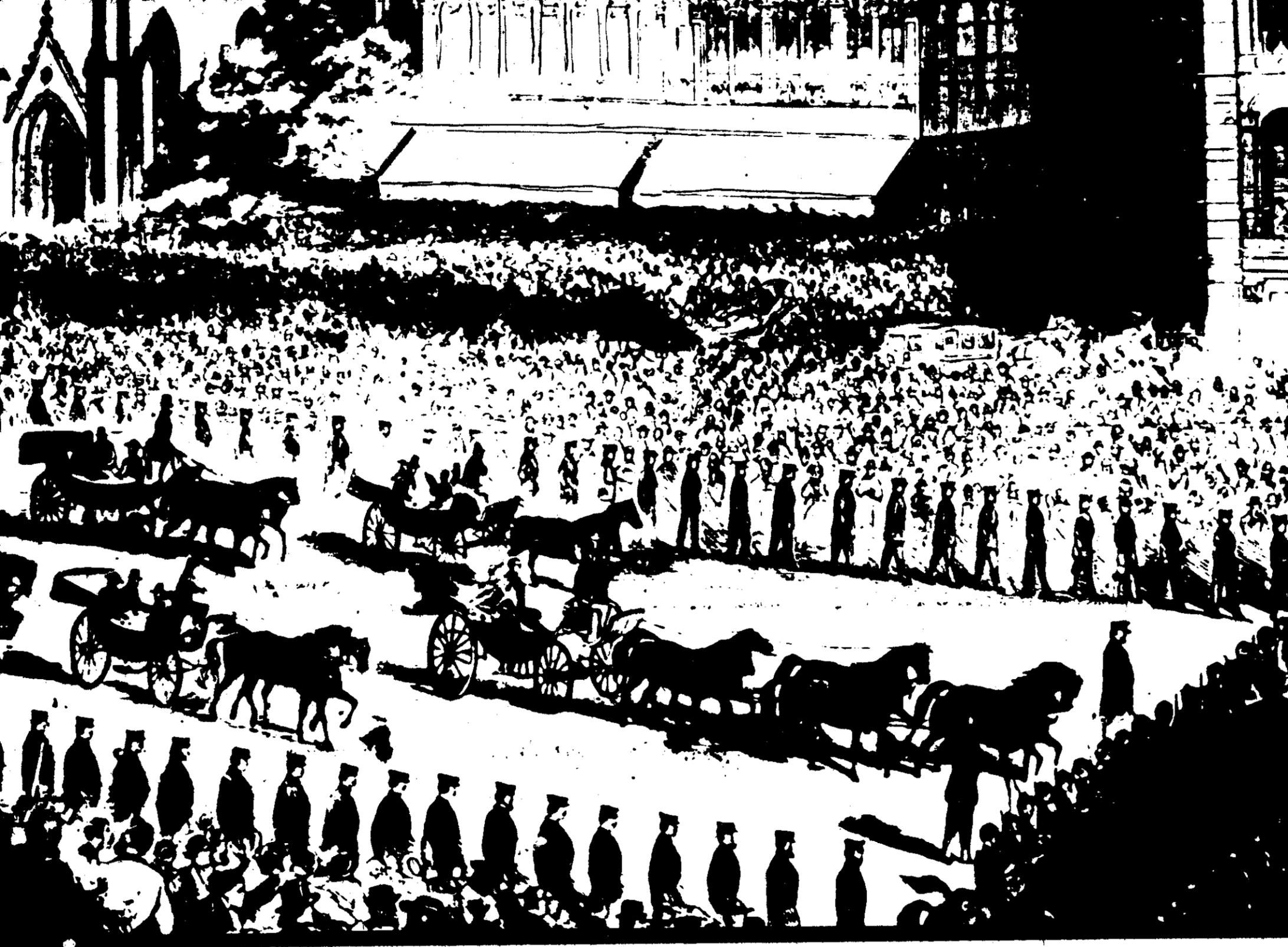
Lincoln, unlike his professed followers of today, never caved in to such nonsense. The implementation of the Grand Design, and its necessary precondition of winning the Civil War, were his Administration's paramount policy goals. So-called policies being advocated that acted to subvert or compromise the U.S.-Russian entente as the cornerstone of Lincoln's foreign policy were summarily dismissed. Lincoln and Clay knew very well where our nation's enemy resided — in London.

THE U.S.-RUSSIAN ENTENTE

The two greatest victories against Guelph monetarism in modern history were the American Revolution and the preservation of the American Union in the U.S. Civil

War. The Civil War was no less global in implication and character than the American Revolution. The American Civil War was a global political war that came — several times — within a hair's breadth of global shooting war. The global battle lines were drawn between two international alliances: the Union and the Russian Empire, arrayed against the Confederacy in alliance with England and France — the Russell-Palmerston alliance with their tool, "Petit" Louis Napoleon (III).

The Union's survival and ultimate victory was strategically anchored by an unshakeable alliance with the Russian Empire during the entire Civil War. The existence of that alliance was the sole reason that the Union was able to wage the war without facing combined English and French military intervention, which would in all likelihood have meant the successful balkanization of these United States. That nothing of the sort transpired, as we shall see, was due solely to the influential "American" faction in Russia, to whose outlook Alexander II tended. This faction stuck to its guns, despite all British threats, to ensure the survival



and development of the United States for the common interest of Russia and America.

At several of the most critical junctures of the Civil War the Lord Russell-Petit Napoleon axis was on the verge of declaring war on the Union. Each time they were forced to weigh the consequences of a fully mobilized Russia's declaration of war on England and France. Russia's huge land armies were ready to roll over the Ottoman Empire and India, thus ending British political domination of an area extending in a great arc from the Balkans through the Middle East to London's subcontinental "jewel" of India. Such a response by Russia, horrifying enough to the Lords of the British Empire, was clearly but the first in a series of disastrous consequences for Britain should London have decided to move against the forces of Lincoln in the United States.

A British-French declaration of war on the Union, entailing war with the Russian Empire as well, represented the crossing of a tripwire that would have produced a nonlinear effect on the political geometry of Europe which would have proved disastrous to Britain. A

global shooting war between world alliances led by Britain and the U.S. and Russia respectively would have forced the reality principle to assert itself in Germany, destroying once and for all the carefully orchestrated British "steering" of German policy and possibly turning Germany against Britain, much the same way as Germany went "the wrong way" during World War I. This can be summarized as follows.

Had Russia not lined up with the Union, a wavering London-dominated Bismarckian Germany, with no anti-British Continental powers nearby, would have been able to swing nationalist elements in the German leadership into joining Britain and France as a junior partner. The fact that Russia allied with the Union and mobilized to fight if necessary, did more than "keep Bismarck honest." It guaranteed that if a global shooting war erupted, German national interests, which could not tolerate the elimination of the United States and Russia and a Europe under the complete domination of England and Petit Napoleon, would lawfully assert their control over German policy and move against London.

THE NEW ALLIANCE

Russia and the United States Fraternizing.

Reception by Our City Authorities of the Russian Naval Officers.

An Enthusiastic Popular Demonstration.

The Russian Cross Mingling Its Colors with the Stars and Stripes.

VISIT TO THE FLEET

Presentation of the Resolutions of the Commercial Council and Speech of Admiral Lisovski.

DINNER TO THE RUSSIAN OFFICERS.

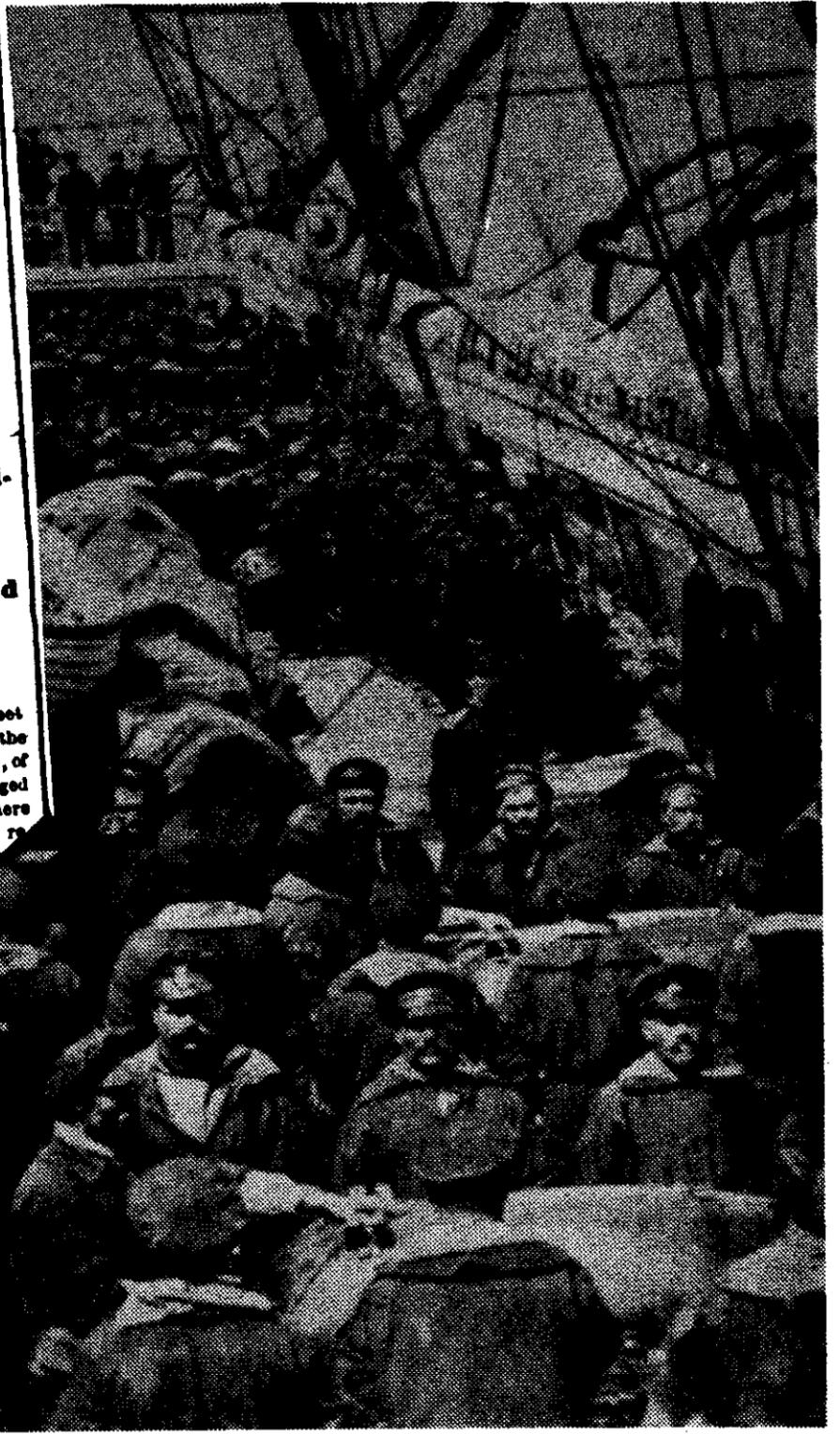
Grand Entertainment at the Metropolitan Hotel.

Speeches of Admiral Lisovski, of the Russian Navy; Admiral Farragut, of the American Navy; General Walbridge and Hon. Hendricks B. Wright, U. S., of Pennsylvania.

Letters from Mayor Opdyke, Admiral Paulding and General Canby.

Sympathy Between Russia and the United States, &c., &c., &c.

Admiral Lisovski and the officers of the Russian fleet now in our harbor were entertained last evening at the Metropolitan Hotel, the host being Mr. James B. Kade, of St. Louis, a gentleman who has been extensively engaged in building iron-clad gunboats for our government. There were some thirty of the Russian officers present, all resplendent in handsome uniforms, and many of them wearing the cross of St. Stanislaus.



Above: Headlines from the New York Herald, September 29 and October 2, 1863.
 Right: Russian sailors on board one of the ships stationed in New York harbor.

In short, the "concert of powers" rigged game that had characterized European affairs since the Congress of Vienna would be over.

The means of British political control over the continent would have gone up like an exploding cigar in the faces of Russell and Palmerston. These then were the consequences that the Empire elites had to face each time they were tempted to intervene militarily against Lincoln and impose a "final solution" to the American problem. Each time, cursing bitterly at "the Russians," they pulled back from the brink.

The cornerstone of Britain's operational policy, from no later than 1860 on, was to dismember both the United States and Russia. This "removal of obstacles" was the prelude to enacting a Rothschildian monetarist "new world order," devoid of sovereign nation states, an order centered on a British-controlled Grand Confederacy, labeled by British policymakers "The United States of Europe."

On the United States side, the British fostering of and support of the Confederacy, and their well-known plans, pending successful outcome of the secession, to further fragment and subdivide the Union, need no elaboration. A simultaneous policy of dismantling the Russian Empire along "nationality" lines was fully operational. Its full-scale application was merely awaiting the necessary precondition of a balkanized Union here. Then, all secessionist hell would break loose in Russia. The direct opening gambit of this drive was the launching of the British-inspired and conducted Polish uprising, six weeks after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, in June 1861.

Fort Sumter and a U.S. Civil War in April 1861, a Polish uprising against Russia in June 1861. These were the immediate events which set into motion the creation of the U.S.-Russian entente, conceived of by both countries as the international strategic vehicle to destroy the British Empire. The story of the conscious creation of

this alliance by American and Russian "Whigs" now deserves to be documented. Americans can gape in astonishment at what "the books" have hidden from them.

THE ENTENTE'S TRADITION

We have asserted that the Civil War alliance marked the apex of a longstanding collaboration between the humanist political-scientific-military elites of the United States and Russia. The Lincoln administration did not stumble upon the notion of a U.S.-Russian alliance as the strategic key to the Grand Design's implementation. Conversely, the Russian government headed by Prince Alexander Gorchakov under the reign of Alexander II, was not "seized" by some sudden burst of inspiration, or crafty opportunism, in the spring of 1861. What was achieved during the Civil War by the two "superpowers" was the consummation of a quarter-century-long bitter struggle by United States and Russian Neoplatonists against the London-orchestrated political machines in their respective nations. From 1844 to 1860, British agents of influence repeatedly sabotaged earlier potentialities for the alliance to develop. It was a quarter century punctured with missed opportunities and tough lessons learned, as a result of which the strategic perceptions and capacities for action of the foremost of the United States' Whigs and their Russian counterparts were shaped and increasingly perfected.

The bedrock foundation of United States-Russian collaboration, the product of the political influence exerted within Russia by the networks organized by Benjamin Franklin in the Russian Academy of Science (whose leading members such as Epinus, were themselves conscious followers of the tradition of technological progress established by the collaboration of Leibniz and Peter the Great) and through the American Philosophical Society, was established in the 1763-1815 period. The impact of the American Founding Fathers on the Russia of that period was phenomenal. Wedded to the already established Petrovian traditions of transforming Russia into an industrial giant was an added dimension in which the Epinus-Count Panin "American" elite defined Russia's progressive historical mission. National purpose, for Russia from 1776 on, defined Russia's foreign policy as the creation of the global political conditions in which the young American Republic could fulfill its industrial capitalist transformation without overt interference from London beyond tolerable bounds.

In the period from 1776 to 1815, Russia twice played a crucial role in safeguarding the existence of America. During the Revolutionary War, the acceptance of Epinus' draft of a Treaty of Armed Neutrality by Premier

Count Panin was not only key in ending Britain's plans for building an anti-American coalition in Europe, but also marked a signal triumph by the Russian Franklinites in wresting political hegemony away from the perverse Benthamite, Prince Potemkin. In the War of 1812, our "Second War of Independence," Russia, under Alexander I, submitted a near-ultimatum to England to hastily conclude an honorable peace with the United States and abandon all English claims of territorial aggrandizement. The American negotiators themselves were the first to confirm that only the application of Russian pressure produced the sudden *volte-face* in Britain's attitude that achieved the Treaty of Ghent. The physical reality that Russian troops, as a result of the concluding campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars, occupied a swath of European territory from Berlin to Paris, caused the pragmatic Guelphs to elect not to antagonize the "Russian Giant." One may also note that directly prior to the War of 1812, through the negotiating efforts of John Quincy Adams (at the time United States Minister to Russia), exponential growth rates in U.S.-Russian trade were achieved. By 1811, the United States had by far and away become Russia's largest trading partner. (3) All these events, and others too numerous to recount, were well-remembered in the United States and Russia of the 1840s to 1860s period. (4)

The resurgence of the American Whig movement in the 1840s was the prime catalyst in breaking the deepening demoralization that had sapped Russia's patriots in the post-Treaty of Vienna era. Witnessing America free itself of the abominations of the Jackson-Van Buren years, a Russian faction headed by Prince Stroganov and Miliutin (later to become War Minister in 1862) launched a fight to win over Nicholas I to a policy of beginning Russia's industrialization, abolishing serfdom, and allying with the United States. A significant though short-lived shift in Russian policy occurred. Nicholas initiated a development program by commissioning an American team headed by Major Whistler to supervise construction of Russia's first full-length railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow. (5)

At this stage, Russia was evolving rapidly towards proposing an alliance with the United States, and, internally, was on the verge of adopting wide-ranging reforms, starting with the abolition of serfdom, drafted by Stroganov and Miliutin. The key governing success or failure of this policy evolution lay in the American policy to Russia. The decisive conjuncture occurred under the fight Americans know as the "Oregon Question" and the slogan, "Fifty-four-forty or fight" — America's crisis with England over the Northwest Territories. In March 1845, Nicholas I conveyed to President Polk via Robert J. Walker that Russia was willing to cede Alaska to the



Czar Alexander II: "I shall accept the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States by France and Great Britain as a casus belli."

United States, provided the United States maintained its claim to the Pacific Coast up to the line of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north latitude — which marked the southern boundary of Russian America. (6) Russia was saying very simply: "If you Americans seize all of England's North American Pacific coastline, we will give you our territory as well, and back you in any resulting crisis with England." Out of stupidity, or worse, Polk rebuffed Nicholas, "amicably" sold out to England with the forty-ninth parallel "compromise," and turned south to wage war on Mexico, using this as a convenient *fait accompli* to present to the outraged Whigs ("We can't fight two wars at one time") to justify the sell-out.

The negative repercussions in Russia were massive. The British faction in the Russian nobility played up Polk's sell-out, which left Russia alone to face London's rage, to the hilt. The nearly actualized reforms (which the zero-growth baboon-like provincial nobility hated) were quashed, railroad building and industrial progress stagnated.

The event that completed the molding and toughening of the commitment to entente of the Russian and American humanists was the 1853-56 Crimean War. Russia's humiliation, and the acute realization that British policy was orienting toward actual dismemberment of the Russian Empire, together with the accrued lessons of the missed opportunities of the 1844-46 period, burned in the requisite lessons. The fundamental point that could no longer be ignored was that Russia would have no security as a nation, let alone prosperity, unless it urgently committed itself to abolishing serfdom and industrializing to fortify itself against the British Monarchy. The significance of the Crimean War was recognized with equal emphasis by American Whigs.

To most Americans today, the image of the Crimean War connotes a war waged by "civilized" England and France against "semi-barbarous" Russia, with the clearest image being the romantic drivel of Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade." In 1854, most of the American population was avowedly pro-Russian in its attitude toward that conflict. The Whig press, led by the *New York Herald*, was openly advocating a United States-Russian alliance, in response to Russia's repeated requests for assistance. (7)

This was no hysteria campaign. The United States Minister to St. Petersburg, T.H. Seymour, in a line of argument that is paradigmatic of the Whig thinking at the time, repeatedly warned the fool President Pierce and his anglophile Secretary of State William Marcy, what Britain was up to. The letter to Marcy dated April 13, 1854 is exemplary:

"...the danger is that the Western powers of Europe, who, after they have humbled the Czar, will domineer the rest of Europe, and thus have the leisure to turn their attention to American affairs." (8)

Under the rotten Pierce and Buchanan administrations, alliance was out of the question, but the process that was to define the projected contents of the Grand Design was developed in the years 1855 to 1861.

THE STRATEGIC SITUATION ON THE EVE OF CIVIL WAR

From 1855 to 1861, the Russian "American faction" led by the new Czar, Alexander II, Foreign Minister Gorchakov, and an in-depth, American-spawned, top-level cadre in the Russian Naval Ministry under the Grand Duke Constantine (which included the Civil War period's Ministers of War, Miliutin, and Finance, Reutern, to name but a few of the notables who were schooled in the Naval Ministry), waged unconditional war within Russia to uproot the evil Boyars, the feudal provincial nobility who formed the social backbone of

the British Lobby within Russia. Simultaneously, Gorchakov et al. repeatedly put forward to the United States as the key elements of global development policies, the components of the Grand Design. Gorchakov, the central figure in determining the American faction's policy moves, was not overly concerned, per se, during this period, that the United States government, under the wretch Buchanan, would ignore and reject these Russian offers. His goal was much more sophisticated, to gain the acceptance of the American Whig *counterpole* of the entente foreign policy perspective. This goal was achieved.

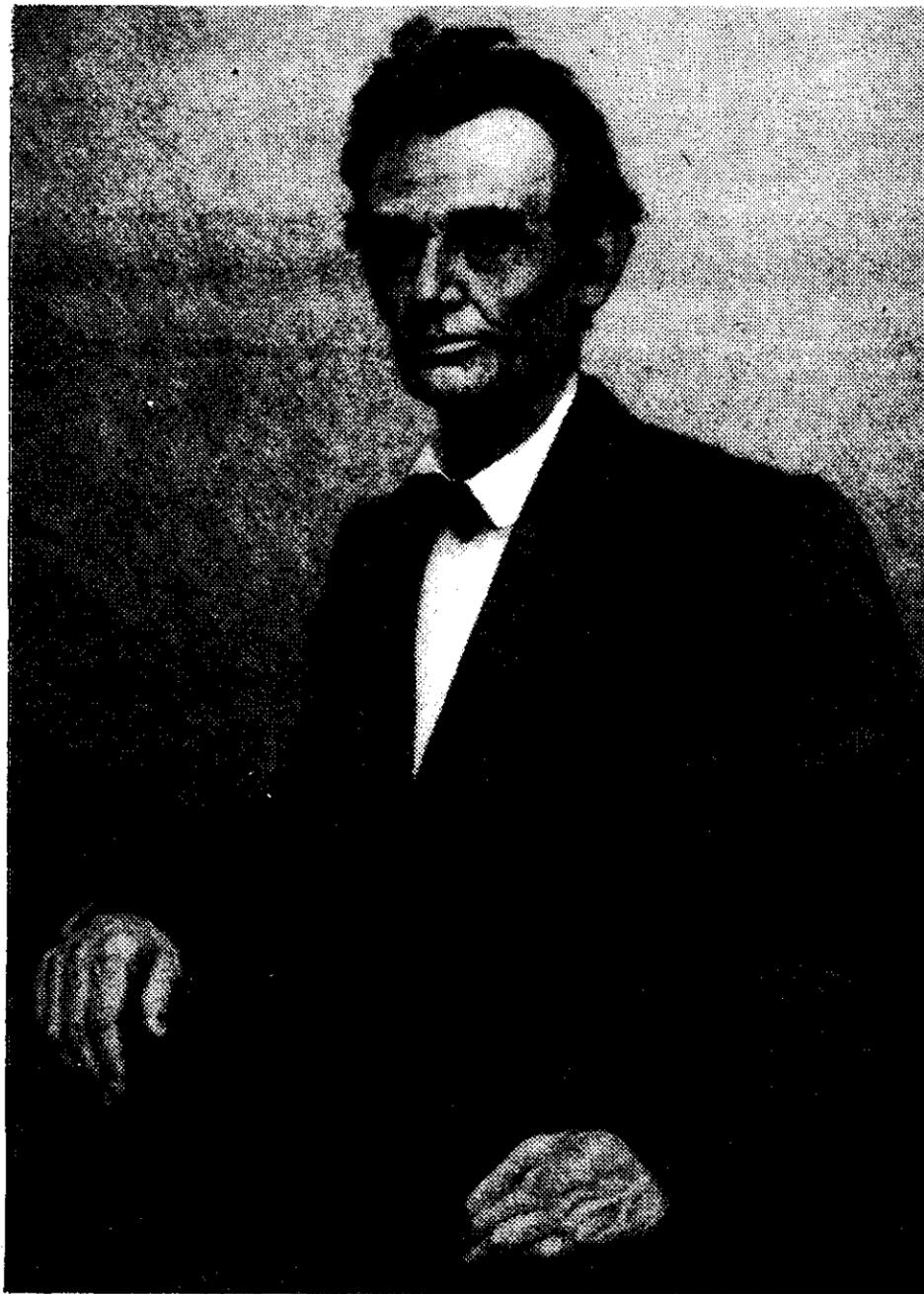
Thus, from 1855 on, Russia renewed as a standing offer the donation of Alaska to the United States, under the anti-British Empire conditions enunciated first in 1845. This standing offer was followed up with numerous substantial project offers to American capitalists, which from the present world historical vantage point, are strikingly similar to the May 1978 Brezhnev-Schmidt Summit proposals and deals. The correspondence of the U.S. Minister to St. Petersburg from 1857 to 1860, Pickens, provides irrefutable proof of the Russian policy and organizing approach.

Most notable in this regard were the Russian government's Siberian-Far East and Near East development packages. In 1858, Russia proposed an agreement with the United States for joint cooperation in developing trade with China. In conjunction with this offer, Russia unilaterally opened the entire Amur River basin region (the Maritime Provinces of Siberia) to free trade with the United States. (9) The series of development proposals had begun as early as June 18, 1855, when Russia offered to extend its facilities to the United States in negotiating a commercial treaty with Persia, a step that would have begun the process of ending British hegemony in the region. (10) During the 1858-1860 period, United States ambassador to Russia Pickens wrote on numerous occasions urging United States-Russian joint trade and economic expansion to effect a strategic shift against England.

On January 12, 1859, Pickens wrote: "Russia can hold a more certain control over Europe by her influence in the East, and she wishes the U.S. to tap the China trade from the East in order to keep England out." (11)

Pickens, May 26, 1859: "Russia could be the arbiter of Europe, and... the U.S. without danger from France and England would be left free to settle American [meaning Hemispheric] interests, and might by trade become one of the arbiters of the power of the world." (12)

On April 17, 1860, after talks with officials of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Pickens conveyed an urgent warning to Washington that a full United States-British rupture was close, concluding with this policy advice:



President Lincoln: "Please assure His Majesty that the whole nation appreciates this new manifestation of friendship."

"... it is thus imperative that we keep an able Minister here [for the incoming new United States Administration in 1861] ... to produce through Russia a strong organization of the Baltic States against the power of England." (13)

The contents of this letter is of extraordinary historical significance, as it testifies directly that the humanist networks of the United States and Russia were convinced — correctly — that danger of a British-inspired conflict against the United States was rapidly increasing. Pickens' advice for United States policy to undertake the creation of a Russian-led European alliance against England expressed precisely both the intent and content of Benjamin Franklin's creation through the Petrovian Neoplatonic elite in the Russia of Catherine the Great of the League of Armed Neutrality. Pickens' policy, reflecting the view of Alexander II and Gorchakov — as in the case of the Franklin-spawned League — was a policy geared to imminent or actual war conditions, conditions of acute danger to the survival of the

American Republic. As we shall document, the Russian government had arrived at precisely such an evaluation in the spring of 1860, and under Gorchakov's direct personal supervision dispatched a top-level covert intelligence mission to the United States, a team that, with no exaggeration, played a decisive role in stymying the Confederacy's 1861 "blitzkrieg" strategy.

With the advent of the Lincoln administration, the United States-British rupture came to a head. The building global strategic shift against the British Guelph obscurity dictated London's response. All the Russian economic development proposals of the preceding five years were ripe for implementation. United States Whigs, led by Lincoln, Clay, Admiral Farragut, and others, were preparing to launch a policy to develop Russia industrially and militarily.

In the Western Hemisphere, the end of British control over Latin America and Canada was considered imminent. Prodevelopment Latin American government officials understood very clearly the positive implications for their region of a successful outcome of the fight waged by the United States-Russian alliance against the British Empire. The deputy Foreign Minister of Colombia emotionally expressed this sentiment: "The United States Civil War is a step in the direction of the United States' mission, to regenerate the whole continent, and...the United States and Russia, the two great Northern powers, 'Colossi of two continents,' if they could identify their interests, would be the surest bulwark of the independence of the world." (14)

Canada was all but ready to be annexed by the United States in 1861 (with hardly a shot needed to be fired) had the Confederacy operation not been launched by Great Britain. Under London's cultural relativist policies governing their colonies, the Canadian West (i.e., at that time all territory west of Ontario), in contrast to the aggressive economic development policies pursued south of the forty-ninth parallel, was relegated to remain forever the habitat of the beaver, the caribou, a handful of British colonial administrators, and other of the lower species. In the middle and late 1850s, large numbers of adventurous Americans settled in this huge western region (the present provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia), founding towns and schools, and running their own regional governments. (15)

By 1860, the United States government was receiving a tidal wave of petitions from Western Canada urging annexation to the United States. Similar agitation was widespread in Lower Canada (Quebec). We will let the *Nor Wester*, the newspaper in the Red River settlement that serviced the Western region, eloquently spell out "why" such annexation was being demanded. The editorial, a ringing indictment of the British System, was

written by educated townspeople, very much in the vein of the language of Americans in the early 1770s: "England's policies leave us no choice but to break."

From the *Nor Wester*, in the year 1860:

"The peculiar system of government which prevails in this country bids fair to drive us into annexation to the United States. What is the use of being connected with Britain when the connection is merely nominal? It is a mere name, an empty sound, a meaningless design.... For years the home government has looked on us with indifference. It is surely no matter of surprise that public sentiment is in favor of annexation to the United States. The Red River country is the center of a most valuable British appendage. Is it the interest or duty of the imperial authorities to alienate the sympathies and chill the loyalty of the people here by such careless neglect? We are indebted to Americans for the only route that there is to and from this country.... Commercial activity has been infused into our system. Home industry is stimulated, and all this brought about by Americans. In fact, why so anxious to be connected with Britain when such connection is nominal and fruitless. Let us rather seek to form part and parcel of the great country from which we are receiving and will ever receive such practical benefits." (16)

Imminent prospects of Canada's annexation to the United States were prominently recognized in the United States Whig press, while the Minnesota State legislature sent to Congress the first State memorialization setting forth the commercial and political advantages that would be gained from the Americanization of the Canadian West. (17)

This then represents the actual strategic conjuncture and prospects in 1860, when Britain utilized the last portion of the traitor Buchanan's term in office to launch the Southern Secession.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FOREIGN POLICY

President Lincoln's top-priority foreign policy following Fort Sumter was forging a strategic alliance with Russia. Lincoln was aware that under the political hegemony of Foreign Minister Gorchakov, Russia was modernizing. The freeing of the serfs had occurred in the spring of 1861, and a vast program of railroad building was underway. Lincoln was also aware that both Gorchakov and the Czar were pro-American and unswervingly anti-British. The latter point did not represent "inside" knowledge only. Even Marx, for example, wrote unequivocally that Alexander II "has no liking for the English."

By no later than May, 1861, Lincoln was acting on his policy that a U.S.-Russian alliance to counter Britain



Foreign Minister Gorchakov: "We desire above all things the maintenance of the American Union as one indivisible nation."



Ambassador Cassius Clay: "I did more than any man to overthrow slavery. I carried Russia with us."

was highest priority. In choosing his personal envoy to St. Petersburg, Lincoln went outside all normal channels, and selected the nephew of American Whig statesman Henry Clay, Cassius Marcellus Clay, as his ambassador to Russia.

Clay's mission to Russia was twofold. As an integral part of his role in negotiating a strategic alliance, Clay consciously viewed his primary task as developing and consolidating the existing Russian elite into an unbeatable political machine, such that it would acquire the talent and muscle necessary to ruthlessly see through Russia's full-scale industrialization. Clay brought with him many copies of Henry Carey's book on political economy, hand delivering them to Alexander II, Gorchakov, Prince Dolgoruky, the Navy Minister, the Grand Duke Constantine, and a host of other high officials and industrialists too numerous to mention. Clay toured the major cities, delivering speeches to thunderous applause from captains of industry, regional and national government officials, and merchants, expounding on the need for Russia to rapidly industrialize. Clay's speeches on industrialization and Carey's policies were reprinted throughout the Russian press. Henry Carey literally became a household word in Russia.

From Clay's *Memoirs*, we quote here his own account of the effect of his industrialization drive in Russia:

A large class of manufacturers was aggregated about Moscow. . . . England was our worst enemy in the world and I sought out how I might most injure her. Russia with her immense lands and resources, and great population, was a fine field for British manufactures, and she had made the most of it. I procured the works of H.C. Carey of Philadelphia, and presented them to the Foreign Office, to the Emperor himself. So, it began to be understood that I was the friend of home industry — the "Russian System." I encouraged the introduction of American arms, sewing machines, and all that, as far as I could; the mining of petroleum, and its manufacture; and got the United States to form a treaty preventing the violation of trademarks in the commerce of the two nations. So, when I was invited to Moscow, it was intimated that a tariff speech would be quite acceptable. A dinner was given me by the corporate powers of Moscow.

. . . They got up a magnificent dinner; and with the American and Russian flags over my head, I made a regular tariff speech. It was translated into Russian as I spoke, and received immense applause. It was also put in Russian newspapers and into pamphlet form, circulated in the thousands all over the Empire. This touched England in the tenderest spot; and whilst Sir A. Buchanan and lady (the British ambassador, who was present) was too well bred to speak of it, one of the attaches was less discreet

and shouted how much I threatened British trade. The dinner was photographed at the time.

I found that the argument which I had made for years in the South, in favor of free labor and manufactures, as co-factors, was well understood in Russia; and since emancipation and education have taken a new projectile force, railroads and manufactures have the same propulsion as is now exhibited in the "Solid South" [the last segment refers to Clay's lifelong efforts to industrialize the South]. (18)

Clay's Moscow tariff speech concluded with the Russian industrialists present toasting the "Great American Economist, Henry Carey." The epistemological quality of the Moscow speech can be readily gathered from the following extract:

...The true policy is not to declare absolutely for free trade or protection, but to subject both systems to a wise statesmanship. As a general rule, every nation should manufacture its own raw products into the highest form of value, and then export them to foreign countries; this is the trade which being most useful to each, would best promote the common interests of all nations." (19)

With equal vigor, Clay went to work paving the way for the military alliance that would dismantle the British Empire, and in conjunction with this negotiated with Russia the opening of the Far Eastern development side of the Grand Design, the construction of a Washington-St. Petersburg cable via the Pacific through San Francisco and Vladivostok. The military alliance perspective and the strategic importance of the Trans-Pacific cable were clearly

formulated in a letter from Clay to Seward dated August 3, 1861:

We shall probably in union with Russia land an army at no distant day to settle accounts with England in China and the Indies [India]. We must never let her pass the Isthmus. The time has come for us to assume the lead in all the liberal governments of the West.

Clay went on to defend the treaty for the United States-Russian cable link:

If we have to battle England on the sea, and should Russia be our ally, we shall have means of much earlier intelligence than she...I think ourselves fortunate in having this great power as our sincere friend. We should keep up this friendly feeling, which will finally give us an immense market for our commerce, and give us a most powerful ally in common danger. We will and must take a common interest in the affairs of Europe. (20)

After the war, Clay summarized his mission as follows:

I did more than any man to overthrow slavery. I carried Russia with us and thus prevented what would have been a strong alliance of France, England, and Spain against us, and thus saved the nation. (21)

Contrary to the scribbled accounts of the wretched Fabian historians, this was no postwar afterthought. The entente concept of Clay and Lincoln was developed in



Sensation in the Happy Family caused by the Reception of the Russians at New York.

From Harper's Weekly, October 1863.

full, in writing, in a Clay dispatch to Lincoln from St. Petersburg, dated July 25, 1861.

I saw at a glance where the feeling of England was. They hoped for our ruin. They are jealous of our power. They care neither for the North nor the South. They hate both. The London *Times*. . . in concluding its comments on your message [Lincoln's July 5, 1861 message to Congress] says: "And when we prefer a frank recognition of Southern independence by the North to the policy avowed in the President's message, it is solely because we foresee as bystanders that this is the issue in which after infinite loss and humiliation the contest must result." And that is the tone of England everywhere. . . if England would not favor us whilst following the lead of the antislavery policy — she will never be our friend. She will now if disaster comes upon our arms, join our enemies. Be on your guard. (22)

England the adversary can "never be our friend," reported Clay. What was to be done? Continuing with Clay's communication to Lincoln, there is no ambiguity in answering that question:

All the Russian journals are for us. In Russia we have a friend. The time is coming when she will be a powerful one for us. The emancipation [of the serfs] move is the beginning of a new era and new strength. She has immense lands, fertile and undeveloped in the Amoor country, with iron and other minerals. Here is where she must make the centre of her power against England. Joined with our Navy on the Pacific coast we will one day drive her [England] from the Indies: The source of her power: and losing which she will fall. (23)

An earlier communication to Lincoln elaborated United States contingencies should England declare war:

In case of war with England, Canada should be seized, money sent into Ireland and India to stir up revolt, slaves as property should be summarily confiscated; while extending the olive branch in case the rebels lay down their arms and return to duty and the Union. (24)

The July 25 communication concluded with advice to Lincoln to "extend the blockade to every possible point of entry, so that if England does intervene — she will be the aggressor before all the world. Don't trust her in anything." (25)

In this earliest phase of the developing entente, the Russians were pro-American, though cautious. The caution was a lawful expression of a legitimate Russian concern. The Russians demanded to know if Lincoln would stand firm and fight the conflict through to preserve the Union. This was precisely the line of questioning of the Czar's first meeting with Clay in early July 1861, culminating with the question of what Union would do should England intervene. Clay advised Lincoln: "I told the Emperor we did not care what England did, that her interference would tend to unite us the more." (26)

After this U.S. reassurance, Russia stood firmly behind its U.S. alliance. The entente policy was

elaborated in a lengthy personal communication from Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov to President Lincoln, dated July 10, 1861:

From the beginning of the conflict which divides the United States of America, you have been desired to make known to the federal government the deep interest with which our August Master [Czar Alexander II] has been observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union.

The Emperor profoundly regrets that the hope of a peaceful solution is not realized and that American citizens, already in arms against each other, are ready to let loose upon their country the most formidable of the scourges of political society — civil war.

For the more than eighty years that it has existed the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founders, by institutions which have been able to reconcile union with liberty. This union has been fruitful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history.

It would be deplorable if, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which up to this time has made their power.

In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps even because of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional bond which is the basis and the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United, they perfect themselves; isolated, they are paralyzed. (27)

What we have quoted from this most extraordinary historical document delineating Russian foreign policy toward the United States destroys the British historiographical myth that the Russian-American alliance was a historical "aberration" in which both powers came together on an "I can use the other guy" basis, and in which "all the Russians cared about was the balance of power." The concluding portion of this document, written by Gorchakov and read and approved by Alexander II, puts the final nail in the coffin of monetarist historiography on this question: (28)

The struggle which unhappily has just arisen can neither be indefinitely prolonged, nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to some settlement, which may enable the divergent interests now actually in conflict to coexist.

The American nation would then give proof of high political wisdom in seeking in common such a settlement before a useless effusion of blood, a barren squandering of strength and of public riches, and acts of violence and reciprocal reprisals shall have come to deepen an abyss between the two parties, to end in their mutual exhaustion, and in the ruin, perhaps irreparable of their commercial and political power.



The officers of the Russian fleet in New York shown in dress uniform, engraved from a photograph which appeared in Harper's Weekly, November 7, 1863. From left: Captain Zelenoi, Captain Boutakov, Captain Federovski, Admiral Lessovsky, Captain Kopitov, Captain Kraemer, Captain Lundh.

Our August Master cannot resign himself to such deplorable anticipations. . . as a sovereign animated by the most friendly sentiments toward the American Union. *This union is not simply in our eyes an element essential to the universal political equilibrium. It constitutes, besides, a nation to which our August Master and all Russia have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the two extremities of the world, both in the ascending period of their development appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have given mutual proofs to each other [emphasis added].*

The preceding considerations. . . attest the lively solicitude of the Emperor, in presence of the dangers which menace the American Union, and the sincere wishes His Majesty entertains for the maintenance of that great work, so laboriously raised, which appeared so rich in future.

. . . In every event the American nation may count on the most cordial sympathy on the part of our August Master during the serious crisis which it is passing through at present. (29)

Lincoln was deeply moved on receipt of this Russian policy statement, telling the Russian ambassador: "Please inform the Emperor of our gratitude and assure His Majesty that the whole nation appreciates this new manifestation of friendship. Of all the communications we have received from the European governments, this is the most loyal." Lincoln then requested permission, which was granted, to give the widest possible publicity to the Russian message. (30)

This last point is crucial. The United States-Russian alliance was no secret pact. Quite the contrary. By mutual agreement between the two nations, the

arrangement was given as much publicity as possible, as were the reasons behind it and its absolute necessity to the Union. Only later was the historic entente sold by anglophile historians as a Russian move for balance on the European continent.

RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AIDS THE UNION

As we intimated earlier, Russia's covert assistance capability on behalf of the cause of the Union was in place the moment the Civil War began. Acting on the basic policy evaluation undertaken in the spring of 1860 that a United States-British rupture was imminent, Gorchakov dispatched a trusted officer in the Russian intelligence service, Colonel Charles DeArnaud, to the United States in June 1860. DeArnaud, with no exaggeration, was a hero of the first rank, and by no means a mere "spy." In an 1890 book describing his mission DeArnaud wrote:

I arrived in the United States for the second time in June, 1860. . . . Being a Russian, knowing the friendly sentiments of the Russian government towards the United States as an entirety and hearing daily the threats of secession and war in the event of Lincoln's election, I took particular pains to ascertain whether all this talk was merely the froth on the surface, or. . .

I was so engaged up to April 1861, when Fort Sumter roused the sleeping lion of loyalty in the North. . . . To me the whole question had assumed a very serious aspect. While travelling in the South I saw that extensive preparations were being made, not merely for local operations, but for general campaigns, and frequently

heard from Southern gentlemen that it was the intention of the Confederate leaders to march and capture Washington and declare terms of peace north of the Potomac. (31)

DeArnaud, after evaluating all his intelligence, decided that the move on Washington was a feint, and that the real Confederate strategy was to stage an aura-of-power "blitzkrieg" into the North proper in the Western theater of operations, taking advantage of the Confederacy's short-run military preponderance over the still-to-be-mobilized Union Army in the initial period of the war.

DeArnaud was sent, under Russian Foreign Ministry orders, west to Governor Lovell H. Rousseau of Kentucky (Clay's home state), whom he briefed. Rousseau in turn promptly dispatched the Russian colonel to his friend, General Fremont, then organizing the Union Army of the West, to serve as a personal assistant to the General (32)

The details of DeArnaud's exploits would require a book in themselves. From August 3, 1861, when Fremont appointed him as a special aide on his staff in effective charge of all Union Army intelligence for the Western theater of operations (33), DeArnaud was repeatedly and personally credited with drafting plans — based on his unerringly accurate intelligence — that consistently deployed the numerically disadvantaged Union forces to "the right place every time," preempting every Confederate attempt to launch their offensive into the North — the offensive that was to give the appearance of Confederate victory that England was depending on to justify its intended early recognition of the Confederate states and accompanying move to preempt the Union blockade of the secessionist states.

In summary, DeArnaud's achievements were first to warn Fremont of the Confederacy's first offensive plans, which determined the Union to undertake a much more rapid mobilization in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri than would otherwise have occurred. (34) Second, DeArnaud masterminded and executed successful deception and disinformation operations that repeatedly caused the Confederate commanders to move far more cautiously than objective considerations warranted. And, third, he played a decisive role in motivating the Union decision to build a large number of ironclad gunboats for the River fleet, whose rapid construction gave the Union complete naval superiority in the West, and, more importantly, a "no risk" capability to launch raids against virtually all Confederate strongpoints, depots, etc., along the key rivers of the region. This forced the Confederates to draw off a much higher proportion of their Western troops for garrison duty. (35)

Colonel DeArnaud preempted another Confederate offensive in September, 1861, when his intelligence blew the whistle on General Polk's attempt to take Paducah.

Grant beat Polk to the city by six hours. The Russian colonel described his coup, following an extended stay behind enemy lines, as follows:

A delay of six hours would have resulted in the triumphant execution of Polk's campaign, the enemy would have commanded the Ohio, Tennessee, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers, would have crossed into Southern Illinois, captured St. Louis, and transferred the war to the Union States, confirming the wavering sentiments of thousands in those States to the Southern side, and procured from European powers the recognition of the Confederacy, and the consequent triumph of the Secession movement. Such vast results therefore hinged upon the occupation and retention of Paducah, the commanding strategic point of the campaign. (36)

DeArnaud repeatedly went on missions behind enemy lines, each time returning with information that enabled Union commanders to preempt enemy offensives. He, together with Fremont, was responsible for the drafting of the Union Army's offensive plans that were subsequently implemented in the Grant campaign of 1862. (37)

In February 1862, DeArnaud was recalled to Russia, where he arrived at the end of the month. He was immediately summoned to give a series of detailed intelligence briefings to Gorchakov. United States ambassador Clay was present at some of these sessions. (38)

We shall let DeArnaud himself tell the remainder of his story:

On reaching the Russian capital, I was summoned to repair to the Foreign Office, at the request of the great Premier of the Russian Empire, Prince Gorchakov, as he had been told that I understood and correctly appreciated the relative positions of the contending forces in America, and consequently was likely to give him serviceable information about the struggle and its probable result. In this interview I enumerated the various successes obtained by General Fremont, and assured him that the effect upon the Confederates of the Union occupation of the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, and of the strategic positions held by the Union forces was so disastrous to their fortunes that they had been compelled to abandon offensive moves and to place themselves wholly on the defensive. I told him that I thought that the crushing of the Confederacy by the Union forces was only a matter of time...so long as the blockade was effectually maintained, and France and England did not interfere to raise it, as had been threatened, the South was at an enormous and constantly increasing disadvantage.

Prince Gorchakov then inquired whether the United States had vessels and other naval forces sufficient to maintain the efficiency of the blockade.

As DeArnaud did not have precise estimates on this question, Gorchakov replied:

I shall find out whether they have vessels enough to maintain the blockade, and if they haven't, we have! [Exclamation in original.] The Emperor, my August Master will not permit anyone to interfere with this

blockade, even if he has to risk another allied war!
[Exclamation original.] (39)

Russia's commitment to the alliance was solid. Faced with this commitment, England worked assiduously through her dupes and agents of influence in the United States to contain the global impact and potential of the entente.

THE TRAITORS MOVE TO UNDERMINE

Clay's success in consolidating the Union-Russian alliance produced more than a mild panic in London, and the British Fifth Column in the U.S. government, their agents of influence, actively lobbied Lincoln for Clay's recall and replacement. Ironically, a positive governmental shift accomplished by Lincoln, the removal of Simon Cameron as Secretary of War on the grounds of rank incompetence, was to become the object of a "double judo" by the Fifth Column.

At one stroke, and most unfortunately, Lincoln was effectively persuaded by Seward et al. to replace Cameron with the notorious traitor Edwin Stanton as Secretary of War, while Cameron was shunted off to become the new U.S. ambassador to Russia, replacing Clay. This all occurred in the spring of 1862. Clay was bitter over the move, and begged Lincoln to allow his nephew, who had accompanied him as his assistant, to succeed him. In simple shorthand that meant: "Don't entrust the fate of the vital entente to anyone outside the Carey network." Despite these protests, Clay was recalled, leaving St. Petersburg in June 1862, the same month in which Cameron arrived.

Clay fought these dirty maneuvers tooth and nail, pointing out to Lincoln that the purpose of appointing Cameron to St. Petersburg was to ensure no effective American presence and communication with the Russian government during the most critical phase of the Civil War. Clay wrote to Lincoln in June 1862: "I had made arrangements to stay here and made the necessary expenditures accordingly. I have several thousands of roubles of property here, which is usually turned over to successors — but Mr. Cameron cannot buy: *He says he will positively ask leave to retire from this post at the end of the next quarter, the 1st of September next. He proposes to come home on your leave of absence, and then remain*" [emphasis added].

This letter makes clear how transparent the traitors' maneuver was: get Clay out, put in Cameron as a rump, three-month ambassador-in-name-only, and then leave the U.S.-Russian entente severed during precisely the phase of Civil War in which the danger of overt British military intervention was greatest.

Two things were to deny the British-agent conspirators the fruit of these evil schemes. Clay, though losing the recall battle, was to return in short stead to St. Petersburg, as we shall see, and, more importantly, even during the critical non-Clay interregnum, Gorchakov and the American faction in Russia did not budge from their policies — despite a crescendo of activities by Britain's Russian agents-of-influence throughout 1862. The Russians, too, had their Stantons, their British faction surrounding the Czar, as Lincoln was surrounded. The Czar and Gorchakov, like Lincoln, never wavered.

Clay fought back. Denied for the time being the ambassadorship, Clay used the period of his return to the United States to organize nationwide public support for the entente with Russia, and for immediate emancipation of the slaves.

Upon arriving in Washington, D.C., Clay gave Lincoln a blunt strategic briefing on the European situation: "All over Europe governments are ready to intervene in America's affairs and recognize the independence of the Confederate States." Clay argued that "only a forthright proclamation of emancipation" and alliance with Russia "will block these European autocracies." In a speech at Odd Fellows' Hall in Washington, D.C., Clay began his public speaking tour for the consummation of the U.S.-Russian entente.

I think that I can say without implications of profanity or want of deference, that since the days of Christ himself such a happy and glorious privilege has not been reserved to any other man to do that amount of good; and no man has ever more gallantly or nobly done it than Alexander II, the Czar of Russia. I refer to the emancipation of 23,000,000 serfs. Here then fellow citizens, was the place to look for an ally. Trust him; for your trust will not be misplaced. Stand by him, *and he will, as he has often declared to me he will, stand by you.* Not only Alexander, but his whole family are with you, men, women and children [emphasis added]. (40)

Clay's sane and clearcut policy of utilizing "to the hilt" the strategic options available to the Union to forestall English-French armed intervention, was readily accepted by Lincoln in both areas, movement towards emancipation, and securing the Russian alliance. Lincoln immediately commissioned Clay to sound out public opinion in his native border state of Kentucky on emancipation, as a test case, before applying the policy nationally. The President also authorized Clay to draft plans to restore Florida to the Union by armed colonization, to effect an important political signal to register both at home and abroad that the secessionist tide was ebbing, and that the Union was on the road to restoration. (41)

Clay resumed his speaking tour not as an individual, but as a sanctioned representative of Lincoln's express policy thrust. His opening speech on emancipation was

delivered in the Kentucky state capital of Frankfort: "If fall we must, let us fall with the flag of universal liberty and justice nailed to the masthead. . . . The President's Florida plan of armed colonization is highly practical. . . . What can be done in Florida can be done in Texas and other Slave States." (42)

It was now dawning on Stanton, Seward and the Fifth Column that their coup in removing Clay from the ambassadorship was backfiring. Clay, in the United States, with constant personal access to Lincoln, was a far more dangerous adversary than Clay in St. Petersburg — very dangerous to the British faction as that location for Clay indeed was. Clay had effectively boxed in the "clever" Seward. Seward could have his choice of two distasteful options, keep Clay in the United States, or maneuver to get him "back to Russia." Swallowing bitterly, Seward chose the latter.

Seward advised Lincoln that Clay's speaking activities were "dangerous," that his "unrestrained agitation for emancipation will drive Kentucky into joining the secessionist States." (43) Lincoln accepted this "advice" to mend shaky domestic political fences, and, as Cameron's resignation as ambassador to Russia had just occurred, promptly reappointed Clay to his ambassadorship. Clay wrote an immediate acceptance letter to Lincoln:

I avail myself of your kind promise to send me back to my former mission to the Court of St. Petersburg and where I flatter myself that I can better serve my country than in the field under General Halleck who cannot repress his hatred of liberal men into the ordinary courtesies of life. (44)

Then followed a tactical suggestion for Lincoln to further cement U.S.-Russian ties:

The 1,000th anniversary of Russia's national existence is being celebrated there with great pomp and ceremony. In view of the Emperor's known expressions of sympathy for the cause of the Union, would it not be well to write him an autograph letter of congratulation? (45)

Seward did not give up in his persistent efforts to remove Clay from the picture altogether. Seward's fallback now was to try to prevent Clay's confirmation by

the Senate. Seward orchestrated a slander campaign to the effect that Clay was "persona non grata" to the Russian government. The widespread circulation of these lies succeeded in arousing significant opposition in the Senate against Clay's confirmation in his post. Clay, as in every other instance, took the matter head on, and in his writings and public statements made no secret of the fact that Seward was the architect of the campaign to "destroy the entente" by removing Clay.



THE PERPLEXED PIRATES

LOUIS NAPOLEON [*a Corsair*]. "Vell, Meestare Jonnibull! vat you see zat time you peep round ze cornare tro your beeg glass?"

JOHN BULL [*Another*]. "I see a werry suspicious looking cove a sittin' in the New York 'arbor, with arf-a-dozen big Rooshian blood-hounds about him."

LOUIS NAPOLEON. "Hein?"

JOHN BULL. "Humph!"

From Harper's Weekly, October 1863.

Clay's counterattack began with the following letter to Lincoln;

I am informed that the Committee of Foreign Relations will report against me on the ground that I am unacceptable to the Russian government. It is a false allegation. I can show more evidences of the good feeling of the Russian Court than any Minister there. . . . I have letters at home of the most flattering kind from Prince Gorchakov before and since my arrival here. Baron de Stoeckl (the Russian ambassador to the United States)

called on me today and says if you will send for him he would make a most favorable report of me.

Please send for him [de Stoeckl] and write to the Committee who takes the vote in the morning. Don't allow me to be slaughtered by a calumny. I have stood by you in good and evil report, and hope you will see justice done me. (46)

Lincoln and Clay triumphed, though after some delay in the confirmation proceedings.

Seward did not give up in his sabotage attempts even after Clay was confirmed. Under Cameron, a close crony of Seward's, Bayard Taylor, was appointed Secretary of the United States' Legation in St. Petersburg. Seward now demanded that Clay surrender the normal ambassadorial prerogative of naming his own Legation secretary, and retain Taylor. Taylor, before Lincoln had outflanked Seward and renominated Clay, had been Seward's handpicked choice to succeed Cameron. Our further description of Taylor will come from his own pen, a letter he wrote to a friend in Philadelphia during the Clay-Seward battle over the staffing of the St. Petersburg post:

On the other hand, a man [Clay] who made the legation a laughing stock, whose incredible vanity and astonishing blunders are still the talk of St. Petersburg, and whose dispatches disgrace the State Department that allows them to be printed, will probably be allowed to come back to his ballet girls (his reason for coming) by our soft-hearted Abraham Lincoln. (47)

The "vain, blundering" Clay and "our softhearted Abraham Lincoln" promptly torpedoed the Seward-Taylor machinations. Clay chose Henry Bergh as his secretary and then drafted a long letter to Lincoln:

Secretary of State Seward has ordered me to set off to St. Petersburg and leave the subject of Secretary of legation — there was already one at that place . . . I have asked Bayard Taylor if he were interested in remaining as Secretary of legation and he has peremptorily declined. Yet Mr. Seward accuses me of treating B. Taylor badly, by asking my legal rights of a Secretary. You see all this is merely a pretext to insult me by insulting my friends. Mr. Henry Bergh is a descendant of American ancestors of revolutionary fame: is a man who speaks most of the modern languages — is an author — and in every way my or Mr. Seward's equal. Yet he [Seward] is insulted because I ask his appointment. The custom in all Europe is for the Minister to appoint his secretary — for the most obvious reasons. It has always been the custom in this country. I feel that I have this right. (48)

Clay was adamant that there could be no compromise on the life and death question for the Union in securing the alliance with Russia, and the key to no compromising meant keeping Seward and his lieutenants out of the most critical diplomatic negotiations in United States history. Clay's next letter to Lincoln made Lincoln further aware of Seward's sabotage of the Clay mission — the already cited Taylor maneuver, and the outright denial of Department funds for Clay's and the mission's expenses in St. Petersburg.

It wouldn't be just to have a Seward spy in my house. I name Wm. H. Bergh as my Secretary and no other can render me any service. If a Sewardite is thrust upon me I shall regard it as an unfriendly act on your part. . . the rebels [Confederate cavalry guerrilla raids on Kentucky] have ruined my already poor means of living by their continuous raids. . . Now Seward is delaying his letter of credit, and I am unable to receive a civil response from the Department of State. Mr. Lincoln, I am poor but honest. You have given me an office. I have discharged it faithfully and to the interest of my country — treat me justly. . . I grieve to trouble you with this matter, or any matter. But I am not master of my own movements. I am in the hands of men who seek my ruin. I ask your protection. (49)

RUSSIA SAVES THE UNION

During Clay's absence from St. Petersburg from June 1862 until the spring of 1863, there was no wavering of Russia's support for the Union. United States Secretary of War Cameron arrived in St. Petersburg in June 1862 with instructions from Lincoln to secure an interview with the Czar to "learn the Russian monarch's attitude in the event England and France forced their unwelcome intervention." After the interview, Cameron was able to report to Lincoln:

The Czar's spokesmen have assured me that in case of trouble with the other European powers, the friendship of Russia for the United States would be shown *in a decisive manner which no other nation will be able to mistake* [emphasis added]. (50)

Cameron wrote the following on the Russian political situation to Secretary of State Seward in July, 1862.

The Russians are evincing the most candid friendship for the North. . . They are showing a constant desire to interpret everything to our advantage. There is no capital in Europe where the loyal American meets with such universal sympathy as at St. Petersburg, none where the suppression of our unnatural rebellion will be hailed with more genuine satisfaction. (51)

Already by the Civil War's summer 1862 campaigns, every knowledgeable leading political figure in Europe and the United States alike was drawing only one conclusion from the message which Cameron conveyed from the Czar to Lincoln: that foreign intervention in the American Civil War in support of the Confederacy would be taken as a *casus belli* by Russia.

Seward understood the implications of the Czar's message immediately, and on June 25, 1862 hastily drafted the following letter to John Bigelow, the United States Consul in Paris, instructing him to inform the governments of Europe of what they could expect should they intervene.

Between you and myself alone, I have a belief that the European state, whichever one it may be, that commits itself to intervention anywhere in North America, will sooner or later fetch up in the arms of a native of an oriental country not especially distinguished for amiability of manners of temper . . . It might be well if it were

known in Europe that we are no longer alarmed by demonstrations of interference. (52)

The autumn of 1862 was extremely critical for the Union. England and France were on the verge of military intervention on the side of the Confederacy. On the Union side, everyone from Lincoln on down was girding for what all believed was the "inevitable" Anglo-French invasion, an invasion which could include British allies Spain and Austria as well. Anglo-French pressure on Russia to abandon its pro-Union stance was stepped up to fever pitch. The Union's salvation depended on Russia.

This is no mere cliché. Lincoln, in this darkest hour of his Administration, sent an urgent personal letter to Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov for delivery to the Czar. (53) Lincoln believed correctly that France had already decided to intervene and was only awaiting a go-ahead from England. England was expected to join France in the intervention. Lincoln was under absolutely no illusions that if the Union was to be saved, it would be saved by Russia. And Russia came through.

We quote here in full Foreign Minister Gorchakov's reply to the President, drafted in the name of Czar Alexander II. It is one of the most critical documents in American and world history.

You know that the government of United States has few friends among the Powers. England rejoices over what is happening to you; she longs and prays for your overthrow. France is less actively hostile; her interests would be less affected by the result; but she is not unwilling to see it. She is not your friend. Your situation is getting worse and worse. The chances of preserving the Union are growing more desperate. Can nothing be done to stop this dreadful war? The hope of reunion is growing less and less, and I wish to impress upon your government that the separation, which I fear must come (54) will be considered by Russia as one of the greatest misfortunes. Russia alone, has stood by you from the first, and will continue to stand by you. We are very, *very* anxious that some means should be adopted — that *any* course should be pursued — which will prevent the division which now seems inevitable. One separation will be followed by another; you will break into fragments [emphasis original]. (55)

The world historical interchange continued, with Bayard Taylor, Secretary of the Legation to St. Petersburg, acting under Lincoln's instructions, giving the United States reply:

We feel that the Northern and Southern States cannot peacefully exist side by side as separate republics. There is nothing the American people desire so much as peace, but peace on the basis of separation is equivalent to continual war. We have only just called the whole strength of the nation into action. We believe the struggle now commencing will be final, and we cannot without disgrace and ruin, accept the only terms tried and failed. (56)

Gorchakov reiterated Russia's stance, giving Taylor the following message to convey to Lincoln.

You know the sentiments of Russia. We desire above all things the maintenance of the American Union as *one indivisible nation*. We cannot take any part, more than we have done. We have no hostility to the Southern people. Russia has declared her position and will maintain it. There will be proposals of intervention [by Britain]. We believe that intervention could do no good at present. *Proposals will be made to Russia to join some plan of interference*. She will refuse any intervention of the kind. Russia will occupy the same ground as at the beginning of the struggle. *You may rely upon it, she will not change*. But we entreat you to settle the difficulty. I cannot express to you how profound an anxiety we feel — how serious are our fears [emphasis original]. (57)

How many Americans today know that Russia intervened at this October 1862 darkest hour of the American Republic to save it, as the above-cited proceedings conclusively establish? But every living American citizen — indeed all informed citizens of the world — at that time knew in full the official Russian reply to Lincoln, as conveyed by Gorchakov in his interview to Taylor.

In fact, the entire proceedings were ordered published and distributed throughout the nation by a joint resolution of Congress. (58)

The timing of the Russian reply was perfect. It followed by days the delivery to the United States government of Petit Napoleon's proposal for an armistice (a prelude to intervention), conveyed by the French Minister in Washington. "An armistice for six months, during which time every act of war, direct or indirect, should provisionally cease on the sea as well as on land, and it might be if necessary, ulteriorly prolonged." (59) It was obvious to all concerned that this proposal for a so-called armistice was an ultimatum to Lincoln to stop prosecuting the war and revoke the Union's naval blockade of the Confederacy. In short, it was a proposal to render permanent the split in the Union.

The gravity of the situation can be readily documented from hundreds of sources. Lincoln's secretaries, Nicolay and Hay commented thus:

Many years elapsed before it became generally known how near the British government had come to accepting or even anticipating the overtures of France for mediation. On the 17th of October 1861, Lord John Russell had proposed a somewhat peremptory summons to the North and South to make up their quarrel, but Palmerston had not thought it advisable. In September, 1862 Lord Palmerston himself revived the proposition in a note to Lord Russell, who was in attendance on the Queen at Gotha. Lord Russell at once gave his adhesion to the scheme. "I agree with you," he said, "that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States government with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates. I agree further that, in case of failure, we ought to ourselves recognize the Southern States as an independent state." Lord Palmerston answered in the same vein. (60)

There is no better source than the words of Lord Russell himself to prove that the only consideration

Russia Endorses U.S. Annexation of Canada



forestalling British intervention against the forces of the Union was the question: "What will Russia do?" A few days after the cited Russell-Palmerston agreement on intervention was reached. Russell wrote to Palmerston expressing second thoughts:

My only doubt is whether we and France should stir if Russia holds back. Her separation from our move would ensure the rejection of our proposals. (61)

The British cabinet was now plunged into the crucial debate on whether to intervene, with all eyes and ears nervously awaiting the signal from St. Petersburg of what Russia's response to Britain's overtures would be. In the midst of the debate, Lord Russell received a telegram from British Ambassador Napier in St. Petersburg advising him that Russia had rejected Napoleon's proposal of joint intervention. Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov drafted the communique conveying the rejection to Napoleon III:

It is essential to avoid the appearance of any pressure of a nature to offend American public opinion, and to excite susceptibilities very easily aroused at the bare idea of intervention. Russia stands in peculiarly friendly relations with the United States and cannot see its way clear to join a European coalition to interfere in American affairs. (62).

Russell read this, and, bitterly enraged but keeping a stiff upper lip, jotted a note to Palmerston: "We ought not to move at present without Russia." (63) On

November 13, after heated and bitter debate, the British cabinet reached its decision on the reply to Napoleon's proposals: "It is the cabinet's belief that there exists no ground at the moment to hope that Lincoln's government would accept the offer of mediation..." (64)

One can almost hear Russell muttering, "Foiled this time, we'll get them next around."

To deliver the final blow to the purveyors of historical fraud and their investment banker masters, who have conspired to rob the American and Russian populace of the history of the great United States-Russian entente, we grant the final word to Czar Alexander II, who, among other things, held sole power to declare war for Russia:

In the Autumn of 1862, the governments of France and Great Britain proposed to Russia, in a formal but not in an official way, the joint recognition by European powers of the independence of the Confederate States of America. My immediate answer was: "I will not cooperate in such action; and I will not acquiesce. On the contrary, I shall accept the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States by France and Great Britain as a *casus belli* for Russia. And in order that the governments of France and Great Britain may understand that this is no idle threat; I will send a Pacific fleet to San Francisco and an Atlantic fleet to New York."

Sealed orders to both Admirals were given. My fleets arrived at the American ports, there was no recognition of the Confederate States by Great Britain and France. The

American rebellion was put down, and the great American Republic continues.

All this I did because of love for my own dear Russia, rather than for love of the American Republic. I acted thus because I understood that Russia would have a more serious task to perform if the American Republic, with advanced industrial development were broken up and Great Britain should be left in control of most branches of modern industrial development. (65)

This statement was made on August 17, 1879 in an interview granted by the Czar to the American banker Wharton Barker. Barker at the time was the official financial agent of the Russian government in the United States, having been appointed in 1878 by the Grand Duke Constantine. (66)

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE ENTENTE

British-inspired historiography has run itself ragged trying to explain away the Czar's statement as an "after-the-fact boast," "spurious," and so on. Despite these howls from the anglophiles of the academic world, the statement is accurate. Every facet of this analysis of Russian policy during the Civil War period coheres with the first-hand historical evidence of the period, from both American and Russian sources.

Not even the most wretched of the liberal rewriters of history dares dispute the points made here concerning the Anglo-French proposal to Russia for joint intervention to recognize and support the Confederacy — the documentation from the mouths of Lords Russell and Palmerston is far too overwhelming — and the Czar's total rejection of that proposal. Rather, the historical nitpicking disputes the Czar's use of the terms "*casus belli*" and "sealed orders" for the fleet. (67) We shall return to this point in short order, after first occupying ourselves briefly with the concluding portion of this historic interview.

Was the Czar's statement — "I acted thus because I understood that Russia would have a more serious task to perform if the American Republic, with advanced industrial development were broken up and Great Britain should be left in control . . ." — "boastful afterthought"?

What the liberal anglophile historians so fraudulently "overlook" — to use the polite word for cover-up — is that this concluding section of the interview is 100 percent consistent with the internal industrial development policy for Russia ardently fostered by Alexander II. This industrialization policy-thrust was consciously modeled on American Hamiltonian dirigism. Once this is understood, the liberal linguistic game-playing on such issues as "what did United States 'democracy' and Russian 'autocracy' have in common" is cut through like the proverbial Gordian knot.

The outlook of the Russian "American Faction" was expressly to emulate the United States as the model for industrial development. But they were operating under aggravating conditions of mass cultural deprivation and illiteracy that contrasted as night to day with the conditions prevailing in the American Republic. That hideous complication in the Russian situation was the basis on which British factioneers among the nobility and governmental strata were to continually abort and contain Russia's strides towards industrial development. Nevertheless, the emulation of the American System by the Russian "Whigs" was acted on in a most profound manner during the Civil War period.

Contrary to general mythology, the emancipation of the serfs was not a one-shot deal with no follow-up. The emancipation was undertaken consciously to remove the primary social obstacle to Russia's industrialization. The emancipation coincided with Russia's initiation of a massive railroad building program, itself conceived as the infrastructural precondition to industrialization.

In 1862, the model of American dirigism was the hegemonic concept guiding Russian policy. In that year a State Bank was created for the purpose of extending credit to develop commerce and industry. Even before the American Civil War, the Czar had extended the principle of the American model to the reequipping of his navy with ships of American design and importing technologically superior American-made cannon for the fleet.

As to the *casus belli* matter, the nitpicking here is extraordinary. The hue and cry from the liberals is a primeval scream; "He never said more than 'decisive manner.'" This, then is the pathetic Fabian fallback position, for in order to do more than nitpick, they are forced to deny the historical validity of the statements of not just one head of state, but of two.

We have the Czar's statement on record, now we may cite Lincoln. Lincoln confided to Senator Harlan in late 1862 that he had inquired as to the Czar's attitude should England and France militarily intervene against the Union. Lincoln told Harlan that the Czar had replied through the United States Minister Cameron that "in such a case the friendship of Russia for the United States will be shown in a decisive manner." (68)

THE RUSSIAN NAVY ARRIVES

The second half of 1863 and early 1864 mark the second critical phase of the Civil War period, where again the world came very close to a British-instigated eruption of global shooting war. As opposed to the late 1862 conjuncture, when the British were scheming intervention on the basis of the Confederacy's political high-water mark, the latter half of 1863 witnessed even

more earnest British deliberations on intervening, this time on a now-or-never basis.

By mid-July 1863, psychotic desperation gripped Lords Russell and Palmerston. The South's invasion of the North had failed at Gettysburg. The synchronously timed violent antiwar movement in the North, including the bloody New York City draft riots, had also failed. As of July 4, 1863, the Union controlled the entire length of the Mississippi, cutting the Confederacy in two, while the blockade had become almost completely effective. In Russia, the British-orchestrated Polish rebellion was being extinguished. The British grand strategy of balkanizing both the United States and the Russian Empire and creating the satrapial "United States of Europe" was crumbling into dust.

In these utterly desperate circumstances, Britain was crazy enough to go to war, and almost did. Throughout the summer of 1863, repeated thinly disguised ultimatums were hurled at Russia by Britain and France on "the Polish question," threatening war. Simultaneously, the British were deliberating on intervening against the Union. (69)

War almost came in the late summer and fall of 1863. The fact that it did not was not a result of British policy in and of itself, but because resolute joint U.S.-Russian war preparations and preemptive actions raised the penalty factor to a threshold sufficient to force Britain once again to withdraw from the brink.

It was in this context that the entire Russian Navy arrived in the United States on September 24, 1863.

The dispatching of the Russian fleet to United States waters reflected a Russian policy decision made before the receipt of the British-French ultimatum on the Polish question. The receipt of the ultimatum merely made operational what was Russian policy from the day the Civil War began.

Russia's policy from 1861 on was war avoidance as long as Britain did not intervene militarily against the Union. From 1861, Russia developed a war-fighting strategy in the event Britain could not be dissuaded from intervening. One critical strategic aspect of this contingency plan concerned the deployment of the Russian fleet.

To avoid a repetition of the disaster of the Crimean War, where the fleet was bottled up and attacked in the Baltic and Black Seas, Russia's navy was placed on constant alert status during the United States Civil War, ready to set sail and head for the United States to join up with the United States Navy and provide a maximum combined naval capability that would be directed against the highly vulnerable island state of Britain. The timing of the fleet's departure from Russian ports was decided on the basis of highly accurate Russian intelligence estimates that considered the outbreak of war to be

imminent. These estimates cohered with the fact that Britain's propensity to go to war in late 1863 — given the desperation we have cited — was far greater than even during the intervention proposal period of late 1862.

The fleet that came on September 24, 1863 to United States waters — on both coasts simultaneously — came under arrangement of a United States-Russian political-military alliance which would become fully activated in the event of war. Cassius Clay, during his tenure as United States Ambassador to Russia, spoke openly and continuously of a United States-Russian alliance. No ambassador, without being subject to immediate recall, could do such a thing if such an alliance did not actually exist. Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov also announced officially, in a communication to his ambassador, Stoeckl, that the alliance existed:

I have given much thought to the possibility of concluding a formal political alliance . . . but that would not change anything in the existing position of the two nations . . . the alliance already exists in our mutual interests and traditions. (70)

To this memo, dated October 22, 1863, Alexander II added the comment, "tres bien." (71)

The existence of the alliance and the famous "sealed orders" cannot be disputed. The testimony of both the United States and Russian Navy commanders exists to fully corroborate Czar Alexander II's assertion. Lincoln confidante Thurlow Weed related this on the basis of a conversation with the Union Commander, Admiral Farragut:

Admiral David Farragut lived at the Astor House, where he was visited frequently by the Russian admiral, between whom, when they were young officers serving in the Mediterranean, a warm friendship had existed. Sitting in Thurlow Weed's room one evening after dinner, Admiral Farragut said to his Russian friend: "why are you [the fleet] spending the winter here . . .?" "I am here, replied the Russian admiral, under sealed orders, to be broken only in a contingency that has not occurred." He added that the Russian men-of-war were lying off San Francisco with similar orders. During this conversation, the Russian admiral admitted that his orders were to break the seals if, during the rebellion, we [the United States] became involved in a war with foreign nations. (72)

The testimony of Governor Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania, Clay's successor as ambassador to Russia and, like Clay, a confidant of Gorchakov's, is even more explicit. Curtin publicly stated that during his tenure as ambassador Gorchakov showed him three letters. The first was that of Napoleon III inviting the Czar to join France and England in recognition of the Confederacy; the second was the Czar's letter to Napoleon III, declining the invitation and pledging that Russia would give active aid to the United States if the other powers attempted to intervene; the third contained the sealed

orders to the Russian commander, Admiral Lessovsky to place his fleet at the command of the President of the United States in the event of war. (73)

The United States admirals, the Russian admirals, the Czar, Clay, and as we shall see, the press here, all spoke in terms of alliance, "sealed orders," and so on. The British and French hysterically denounced the United States-Russian alliance. Small wonder that the revisionist historians had to wait a full fifty years after the conclusion of the Civil War, to write the "definitive" refutation of the alliance. Even smaller wonder that the primary means of the historical fraud against the entente is simply to black it out completely from the United States population. We again return to our rhetorical question: How many Americans know at all that such an alliance ever existed? In late 1863, the arrival and stay of the Russian Fleet in American waters was the lead story in the United States press and on everyone's lips, for months on end, relegating even the war coverage to second place on many a day.

PAVEL IVANOVICH JONES

The actual history of United States-Russian military-technological collaboration makes a mockery of the revisionists' fuss. The origins of the modern Russian Navy itself attest to this. John Paul Jones, or "Pavel Ivanovich Jones" as he was called during his service in the Russian Navy, did not "miraculously" arrive in Russia in 1788 and receive a commission as a rear admiral in Catherine the Great's navy. Nor was it mere chance that a document drafted by Jones in 1791, following his Russian tenure of duty, was adopted by Russia as the basis for reorganizing its fleet into a modern navy. (74)

From 1781 on, Princess Catherine Dashkov, the head of the Russian Academy of Sciences (of the same Dashkov family that Cassius Clay frequently cites as "my good friends" in his *Memoirs*) was in correspondence with Benjamin Franklin and his great-nephew and Paris secretary, Jonathan Williams — the future superintendent of West Point who is revered as the father of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. Dashkov functioned then and later as a liaison channeling Franklin's and Williams's political, scientific, and military writings into the Russian Naval Ministry and the Russian Academy of Sciences, where they were promptly translated and circulated. It was through similar network arrangements among leading figures that Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures" was translated and widely circulating in Russia by 1793. (75)

In the period of Whig resurgence, beginning in the 1840s, the strong military-naval centered ties connecting the United States and Russia were refashioned. It was

former Army Corps of Engineers officers who supervised the construction of Russia's first railroad. The individuals who were to become the Naval Commanders of both powers during the Civil War were already committed in their own minds to the policy of entente between the two powers based on their mutual commitment to progress no later than the Crimean War years. In the extensive fraternization and discussion that occurred among the Mediterranean squadron commanders (Farragut, the Grand Duke Constantine, Lessovsky, and others), a powerful United States-Russian military alliance against Great Britain came to be viewed by the participants as a historical necessity.

After the Civil War began, the implementation of a joint United States-Russian naval build-up began. Long before the Russian fleet was en route to the United States, a vast "intangible" stream of American military aid had already begun transforming Russia into a first-rate naval power, soon to be technologically superior to Great Britain. The abrupt transformation of "semi-barbarous" Russia into a first-class naval power was the subject of many fear-ridden commentaries in the *London Times*. In 1861, Russia still had no shipbuilding facilities for ironclads. By mid-1862, Cassius Clay's "Russian system" had not only established new shipyards capable of turning out ironclads (of the latest American designs, built to American specifications), but also the necessary metalworking, machine tool and armaments enterprises — all with completely indigenous materials and labor force.

The United States' military build-up of Russia was seen as precisely as the necessary military corollary to the development policies of the entente. So it was taught to the cadets of the United States Naval Academy, as revealed from the long-suppressed writings of Professor Boynton, a key elite figure in his dual capacity as Professor at Annapolis and Chaplain to the United States House of Representatives:

Since the Spring of 1862, Russia is actively engaged in enlarging her Navy. Like other nations, she has begun the construction of an ironclad fleet; like America's — comprised mainly at first of ships of the *Monitor* class — of which a number are already being built.

The first necessity of Russia is precisely like our own. She needs batteries which will effectively protect her harbors against the ironclads of England and France; and at one-quarter cost of such ships as the *Warrior*, or the *Minotaur*. She can construct a Monitor battery that can demolish either of these.

Russia has an unlimited supply of material for her Navy. Her shipyards are so situated that she can defend them against Europe; having also benefited of American experience and skills, [she] is able to construct a navy equal to any in the world.

But the policy of Russia, like our own, demands peace and self-development, not war and conquest; we both need means of defense that will keep our ambitious neighbors at

home, and the means on the ocean of defending our growing commerce. . . .

After the safety of our two nations has been cared for, the governments turn their attention to internal national development, and certainly no nation in the world can boast of a more enlightened, thorough, or scientific system of instruction than Russia herself has established . . . her great resources . . . agriculture, mines, her manufactures, her schools. And from her schools as centers, an influence is diffused through the whole nations by which the resources of the Empire are sought out and developed by a combination of science and mechanical skill. (76)

By the end of the Civil War, Russia had thirteen iron-clads, equipped with fifteen-inch guns, constructed from the blueprints of the *USS Passaic* — thirteen warships that nothing in the British Navy at the time was capable of sinking. (77)

“GOD BLESS THE RUSSIANS”

On September 24, 1863, the Russian Fleet dropped anchor in New York harbor. America exploded with joy. The atmosphere of V-E Day can serve as a comparison for the emotional mood of the nation. Upon learning of the Fleet's arrival, Navy Secretary Gideon Welles wrote to the Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov:

The Department is much gratified to learn that a squadron of Russian war vessels is at present off the harbor of New York, with the intention of visiting that city. The presence in our waters of a squadron belonging to His Imperial Majesty's Navy cannot but be a source of pleasure and happiness to our countrymen. I beg that you will make known to the Admiral in command that the facilities of the Brooklyn Navy Yard are at his disposal for any repairs that the vessels of his squadron need, and that any other required assistance will be gladly extended.

I avail myself of this occasion to extend through you to the officers of His Majesty's squadron a cordial invitation to visit that navy yard. I do not hesitate to say that it will give Rear Admiral Paulding very great pleasure to show them the vessels and other objects of interest at the naval station under his command. (78)

Welles wrote in his diary:

In sending them to this country there is something significant. What will be its effect on France and the French policy we shall learn in due time. It may be moderate; it may exasperate. God bless the Russians.

The press glowed with accounts of the Fleet. *Harper's Weekly* took special pride in pointing out the American design of the ships and the armaments on board:

The two largest of the squadron, the frigates *Alexander Nevski* and *Peresvet*, are evidently vessels of modern build, and much about them would lead an unpracticed eye to think they were built in this country. . . . The flagship's guns are of American make, being cast in Pittsburgh. (79)

The comparison to V-E day to illustrate the mood of the United States' population is no exaggeration. New York City was “gaily bedecked with American and

Russian flags,” the fleet's officers were given a special parade with a United States' military honor guard escorting them up Broadway past cheering crowds. Here is *Harper's* description of the parade, October 17, 1863:

After the procession had passed Union Square and wheeling fairly into the vast current of Broadway, the scene became splendidly animated. The moving pageant rolled in a glittering stream down the broad thoroughfare between banks of upturned human faces, the trappings of the equipages, the gold and silver epaulets of the Muscovite guests and the sabres, helmets and bayonets of the escort. . . . The cavalcade advanced to the joyous time of exulting martial music . . . and there was a proud and gratified feeling evident in the hearts of the vast concourse assembled to greet it, that would have been befitting to the most important triumphs at home. Far as the eye could reach down the great central avenue of our imperial city, the sidewalks were packed with human beings, and the balconies and windows — nay, in some instances the very roofs of the buildings above them — were beset with eager multitudes. . . . Above nearly every building gayly fluttered the Stars and Stripes . . . with scores of little Russian flags, waving . . . side by side with our own national colors. By the way, it may be remarked that the great Autocracy and the great Republic had the scene all to themselves, no other nation being represented even in bunting — a significant incident of the ovation. (80)

The parade was but the beginning of an extended celebration including balls, galas, and other festivities. Delegations from many states poured into New York to extend gratitude to the Russians for their support of the Union. *Harper's* commented pointedly:

The ceremony was intended to have and had, a political significance. . . . Every citizen felt bound to do what in him lay to testify to the Russians our sense of gratitude for the friendly manner in which Russia has stood by us in our present struggle, while the Western Powers have done not a little to work our ruin. (81)

Harper's commentary was not unique. The patriotic American press all stressed the importance of the Russian Fleet's arrival and stay in United States' waters. *Harper's* summarized the “special significance” of Russia's naval support with this acerbic analysis of its possible consequences for Britain:

During the late Crimean War, the Russian Fleet was closely shut up at Kronstadt and in the Black Sea, and was unable to render any effective service. The Russians have now quite an effective naval force on the open seas. The experience of the *Alabama* and *Florida* [Confederate sea raiders] shows how much damage may be effected by one or two armed vessels upon the commerce of the enemy.

Should a war break out, as still seems most probable, between Russia and France and England, the example set by the English government will afford a precedent for our dealings with the belligerents. The Russian vessels now at large, with such aid as we can give, in precise accordance with the course of the English government toward us [the British, under the aegis of “neutrality,” aided the Confederate raiders as far as practicable without an open declaration of belligerency against the Union], could render the commerce of England insecure. (82)



1863 Draft Riots in New York City: part of Britain's last-ditch effort to save the Confederacy.

The existence of a de facto joint United States-Russian naval command and the threat such a combination could pose to Britain's maritime lifeline created an alarm and hysteria in Britain virtually without historical comparison. The combination of the two powers was the decisive factor in preventing war. The Russian fleet's arrival in United States waters "came as a shock to London." British newspapers began an angry howl, denouncing "Lincoln's threats of war" against Britain and launching a press campaign "poking fun" at the "Americans, who have been hoodwinked by the Russians."

Harper's Weekly ran an editorial in reply to this English psychological warfare campaign which expressed the prevailing consensus in the United States:

John Bull thinks that we are absurdly bamboozled by the Russian compliments and laughs to see us deceived by the sympathy of Muscovy.... But we are not very much deceived. Americans understand that the sympathy of France in our Revolution for us was not for love of us, but from hatred of England. They know, as Washington long ago told them, that romantic friendship between nations is not to be expected. And if they had latterly expected it, England has utterly undeceived them.

Americans do not suppose that Russia is on the point of becoming a Republic, but they observe that the English aristocracy and the French Empire hate a republic quite as much as the Russian monarchy hates it; and they remark that while the French Empire imports coolies into its colonies, and winks at slavery, and while the British government cheers a political enterprise founded upon slavery, and by its chief organs defends the system, Russia

emancipates her serfs. There is not the least harm in observing these little facts. Russia, John Bull will remember, conducts herself as a friendly power. That is all. England and France have shown themselves to be unfriendly powers. And we do not forget it. (83)

The Russian Fleet was to remain in United States waters for seven months, departing in April 1864 only after both Russia and the United States had fully satisfied themselves that all danger of war from the Continent had passed. Throughout the stay there were continuous celebrations, festivities, and a daily public outpouring of American gratitude. The Russian ships stationed off New York sailed in December for Washington, D.C. and made their way up the Potomac River, dropping anchor at the nation's capital. This commenced another round of celebrations. With the unfortunate exception of Lincoln, who at the time was suffering a mild case of smallpox, the entire cabinet and Mrs. Lincoln hosted the Russian officers at gala receptions on board the flagship. The Russians toasted Lincoln, and Mrs. Lincoln led a toast to the Czar and the emancipation of the serfs.

A TWO-POWER, TWO-OCEAN NAVY

The Russian Pacific fleet's stay in San Francisco was also filled with celebrations, and provides further striking evidence of how detailed were the plans which had been worked out for the alliance.

During the Civil War the United States had only a

one-ocean navy, and it patrolled the East Coast while the Pacific Coast remained unprotected by United States' naval forces. Under these conditions, the Russian fleet at San Francisco filled the wartime function of United States' Pacific fleet. Recall here the testimony of American Admiral Farragut and Russian Atlantic Fleet commander, Admiral Lesovsky, corroborating the Czar's reference to the existence of sealed orders for the Russian fleet's intervention on the side of the Union should England or her allies attack Lincoln's government. We now cite the testimony of Pacific Fleet commander Popov to establish the case that not only the Russian fleet in the Atlantic, but the Czar's Pacific fleet, as well, was under such orders.

In the winter of 1863-64, rumors swept San Francisco that an attack by the Confederate raiders *Alabama* and *Sumter* was imminent. The California government appealed to Admiral Popov for protection. Popov's reply, *citing his orders for the contingency of a British or a Confederate naval attack on the West Coast*, demonstrates beyond a doubt that London's continuous denunciations of a "secret alliance" between Russia and the United States during the Civil War period were the result of an hysteria based on strategic reality:

Should a Southern cruiser attempt an assault . . . we shall put on steam and clear for action. . . . The ships of his Imperial Majesty are bound to assist the authorities of every place where friendship is offered them, in all measures which may be deemed necessary by the local authorities, to repel any attempt against the security of the place. (84)

The United States' West Coast was never attacked.

A final summary of the voluminous documentation of the existence of the United States-Russian military alliance attributing the salvation of the Union to the existence of the entente is now in order. We have cited the following primary sources: Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov, Czar Alexander II, U.S. Ambassador to Russia Cassius M. Clay, Admiral Farragut, and Russian Fleet Commanders Lesovsky and Popov. Until the Fabian erasure job conducted in the early twentieth century, all post-Civil War accounts presented the alliance as a fact. Here we cite the account of United States Navy Commander F.E. Chadwick, corroborating Farragut and the others.

Chadwick confirms Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin's report that Foreign Minister Gorchakov had shown Curtin a copy of the orders given to the Russian Admiral commanding the fleet sent to New York. The orders instructed the admiral, in the event of the recognition of the Confederacy by France or England, to place his fleet at the disposition of the American government. Popov's orders for the Pacific fleet, which we have quoted, said exactly the same thing. Chadwick summarized the contents of the alliance:

In other words, the recognition [of the Confederacy by

France or England] was to be the signal for the declaration by Russia of war against those powers. And there can be little doubt that the knowledge by the French and English cabinets of these orders was the great leash which held them in check. (85)

LINCOLN ON THE POLISH QUESTION

The entente was a two-way street. We have focused on the primary historical significance of the alliance: that the Union was saved as a result of Russia's unwavering support of the United States in the face of Britain's threats of invasion. The United States reciprocated in full, providing Russia a bulwark of political support — the sole one on the international scene — in the critical mid-to-late 1863 period when war seemed certain to be provoked by London's ultimatums on the British-created "Polish question."

The British position in this case was a historical paradigm of the application of the monetarists' "limited sovereignty" doctrine. The legal trapping of the doctrine was Britain's contention that under the terms of the Congress of Vienna, the "Powers" (i.e., Britain and its pawns on the Continent, in this case France's Petit Napoleon) had the "right" to impose a settlement — in this case, Polish secession — over the heads of the Russians in matters pertaining to the affairs of their own empire.

Lincoln saw the dangerous parallel in Britain's application of the Russell-Palmerston limited sovereignty doctrine against the Union. He was keenly aware of the crucial importance of Russia's explicit rejection of these British maneuvers, and the Czar's determination to go to war if necessary to ensure "one indivisible American nations." Lincoln cast aside all the Jacksonian-style "democracy, self-determination" advice thrust upon him, and rendered full Union support to Russian sovereignty and Russia's right to settle its own affairs, free of British interference. Lincoln and the Czar were in full principled agreement: at all costs, no allowance of a confederated America, and no allowance of a British satrapial "United States of Europe."

In May 1863, French Foreign Minister Drouyn de Lhuys invited Lincoln to join France, England, and Austria in an ultimatum against Russia in favor of the independence of "Poland." De Lhuys' proposal was doubly ironic. Obviously England was using the "Polish freedom" cry as the pretext to engineer war against Russia. But the sidelight of Austria piously joining Britain added the final touch of hypocrisy and fraud, considering the fact that the "freedom-loving" Hapsburgs ruled over one-third of former Poland. The invitation to the United States was in effect an ultimatum to Lincoln to break his administration's alliance with Russia, or else. The text of de Lhuys' proposal ran as follows:

The good relations which exist between the government of the United States and the court of Russia cannot but give greater weight to the counsels presented in a friendly form; and we rely entirely on the Cabinet in Washington to appreciate the measure in which it will be able most satisfactorily to open its views to the Russian government. (86)

Secretary of State Seward, long a foe of the United States-Russian entente, gobbled at the opportunity thus offered. Donning the Jacksonian toga, Seward "espoused the cause of Poland . . . that gallant nation whose wrongs, whose misfortunes and whose valor have so deeply excited universal sympathy in Europe." (87)

But Lincoln was not to be manipulated. His reply to de Lhuys was a curt statement of America's full confidence that "the Polish grievances shall be righted by the sagacity and magnanimity of Czar Alexander II."

The anglophile press, here and abroad, villified Lincoln as never before. The *Missouri Republic*, linked to the wretched fraud Carl Schurz, waved the bloody shirt of Poland: "the pale corpse of Poland's murdered liberty shall haunt President Lincoln in the days to come." *Punch* magazine in England, in the characteristic English propaganda style of that time, depicted Lincoln conniving with a Russian bear. Petit Napoleon's French rags ran cartoons of Lincoln and Alexander with bloodied hands "sealing their Pact in blood," hysterically editorializing:

Is it right that fifty million Muscovites should unite to retain ten or twelve million Poles under a detested yoke? . . . is it right that twenty million Northern Germans and Irishmen [i.e., the Union] unite to impose on eight million Southerners an association they spurn? (88)

Many were the hearty bellylaughs in the United States and Russia upon hearing the Anglo-French-Austrian chorus of "down with colonialism."

The Czar's appreciation of America's rejection of the Anglo-French ultimatum and firm support of Russia's sovereignty in its hour of need is documented in writing by Gorchakov, who, speaking for the Czar, praised

. . . the firmness with which the government of the United States maintains the principle of nonintervention, the meaning of which in these days is so often perverted; as well as the loyalty with which they refuse to impose upon other states a rule, the violation of which, in respect to themselves, they will not allow. The federal government gives thus an example of justice and political propriety which must increase the esteem which our August Master has avowed toward the American nation. . . .

His majesty, the Emperor, has been sensuously moved by the sentiments of confidence which the government of the United States places in his views and designs in regard to the general well-being of his Empire. Such manifestation must strengthen the bonds of mutual sympathy which unite the two countries and constitute a consummation which too much accords with the aspirations of the Emperor, His Majesty, not to look upon it with pleasure. (89)

Ambassador Clay, in St. Petersburg, applauded

Lincoln's consummation of the entente by reciprocating support for Russia: "It was due from us to be grateful for the past conduct of Russia toward us in our trouble, by a like moral support of herself, in defense of the integrity of her Empire." Clay coupled this with a scathing attack on the Lincoln advisors who counseled acceptance of Napoleon's invitation: "How could it help the United States to weaken our steadfast friend. . . . For should Russia suffer defeat it would open the way for our common enemies to fall upon us."

THE POSTWAR OUTLOOK

The central determinant of world politics through the period from 1863 to 1867 was the joint policy thrust of American Whigs and the Russian government to consolidate their wartime alliance into a permanent entente. The alliance was to have the immediate aim of containing British-sponsored evil around the globe, and the slightly longer-term goal of eliminating the British Empire to allow the unfettered emergence of a world community of republics. Throughout the 1860s, American and Russian "Whigs" continuously pushed to secure this permanent alliance, even, in the American case, under the enormous handicaps that emerged after Lincoln's assassination.

This campaign for permanent entente was no secret confined to "smoke-filled rooms." It was public, and immensely popular. It was the rallying cry in the foreign policy domain for all patriotic Americans during this period.

At the height of the celebration that engulfed the United States following the arrival of the Russian Fleet, on October 17, 1863, *Harper's Weekly* ran a milestone editorial which expressed the nation's ruling public sentiment. The editorial called for a permanent alliance with Russia, as the international strategic anchor to guarantee world peace and economic development for decades to come. This document speaks eloquently for itself:

It seems quite doubtful, under these circumstances, whether we can possibly much longer maintain the position of proud isolation which Washington coveted. . . .

The alliance of the Western Powers [Britain and France], maintained through the Crimean War and exemplified in the recognition of the Southern rebels by both powers conjointly — is in fact, if not in name, a hostile combination against the United States.

What is our proper reply to this hostile combination? . . . Would it not be wise to meet the hostile alliance by an alliance with Russia? France and England united can do and dare much against Russia alone or the United States alone; but against Russia and the United States combined what could they do?

The analogies between the American and Russian people have too often been described to need further explanation here. Russia, like the United States, is a nation of the future. Its capabilities are only just being de-

veloped. Its national destiny is barely shaped. Its very institutions are in their cradle, and have yet to be modeled to fit advancing civilization and the spread of intelligence. Russia is in the agonies of a terrible transition: the Russian serfs like the American Negroes, are receiving their liberty; and the Russian boiars, like the Southern slaveowners, are mutinous at the loss of their property. When this great problem shall have been solved, and the Russian people shall consist of 100,000,000 of intelligent, educated beings, it is possible that Russian institutions will have been welded by the force of civilization into a similarity with ours. At that period, the United States will probably also contain 100,000,000 educated, intelligent people. Two such peoples, firmly bound together by an alliance as well as by traditional sympathy and good feeling, what would be impossible? Certainly the least of the purposes which they could achieve would be to keep the peace of the world

At the present time Russia and the United States occupy remarkably similar positions. A portion of the subjects of the Russian Empire, residing in Poland, have attempted to secede and set up an independent national existence, just as our Southern slaveowners have tried to secede from the Union and set up a slave Confederacy; and the Czar, like the government of the Union, has undertaken to put down the insurrection by force of arms. In that undertaking, which every government is bound to make under penalty of national suicide, Russia, like the United States has been thwarted and annoyed by the interference of France and England. The Czar, like Mr. Lincoln, nevertheless, perseveres in his purpose; and being perfectly in earnest and determined, has sent a fleet into our waters in order that, if war should occur, British and French commerce should not escape as cheaply as they did during the Crimean contest.

An alliance between Russia and the United States at the present time would probably relieve both of us from all apprehensions of foreign interference. It is not likely it would involve either nation in war. On the contrary, it would probably be the best possible guarantee against war. It would be highly popular in both countries

The reception given last week in this city to Admiral Lisovski and his officers will create more apprehension at the Tuilleries and at St. James than even the Parrott gun

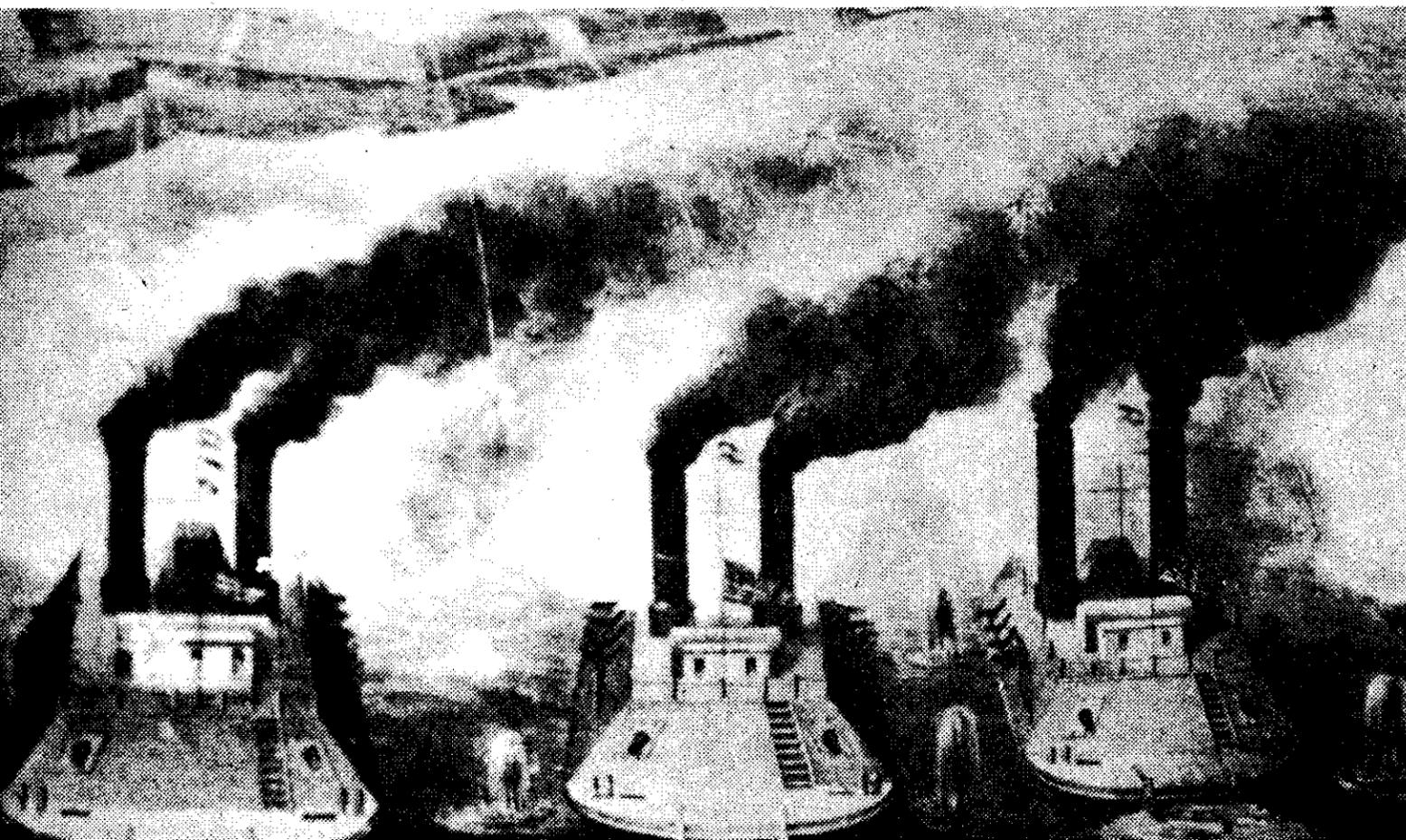
or the capture of the *Atlanta*. If it be followed up by diplomatic negotiations, with a view to an alliance with the Czar, it may prove an epoch of no mean importance in history. (91)

THE ENTENTE DECLINES . . .

The fact that such a post-Civil War epoch of peace and development, based on a formal "superpowers" entente, did not materialize, requires no long-winded explanations. Lincoln's assassination by a British conspiracy cost the United States Whigs the Executive. After Lincoln's death, the White House and the cabinet fell under the sway of British agents-of-influence, a political geometry that sealed the fate of the entente.

Treason at the top was the sole reason for the failure of the crucial Russian-American alliance. There were no legitimate-constituency-related domestic obstacles in the United States blocking the formation of a permanent entente. On the contrary, the idea of the permanent entente as the international strategic means to crush the British Empire was immensely popular. There were no problems of any consequence in the post-Civil War Republican Congress. In fact this Congress went on record as being emphatically "pro-Russian." On the Russian side, there were no obstacles of any consequence. The Czar was set on his pro-American course, and only a bullet could stop him.

The very probability that the entente would have been made permanent had not Britain intervened is made clear by the desperate character of Britain's deployments against the United States and Russia. The assassination of Lincoln did not spell the definite ending of the prospects for an entente. The British required "double insurance." A year and a day following Lincoln's death, on April 16, 1866 the Czar narrowly escaped assassination. Ambassador Clay met personally with the Czar shortly afterwards, to convey "warm congratula-



Union ironclad gunboats shelling Fort Henry on the Tennessee River in 1862. Both the decision to construct these ships and the plans for this offensive, under General U.S. Grant, were the work of Russian intelligence specialist Col. Charles DeArnaud.

tions" on his escape from death, "so soon following Lincoln's murder." The Czar replied: "I trust under Providence that our mutual calamities will strengthen our friendly relations and render them permanent." (92)

News of the assassination attempt galvanized American Whigs into action. The Republican congressional leadership met and decided something "more solemn and tangible" than expressions of congratulations was in order. They drafted a joint resolution of the Congress, which was overwhelmingly passed, which authorized the sending of a special envoy to Russia, "to convey in person to His Imperial Majesty America's good will and congratulations to the twenty millions of serfs upon the providential escape from danger of the Sovereign to whose head and heart they owe the blessings of their freedom." (93)

The dynamic evident here ought to be obvious. The assassination attempt on the Czar provided a convenient pretext for the congressional leadership — thoroughly enraged and exasperated over the Administration's policy of "marking time" on vital foreign policy thrusts — to take further development of the entente with Russia into their own hands.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Vasa Fox was selected to head the mission, sailing on board the new naval ironclad, *Miantonomoh*. The mission, after stops in England, France, and Denmark, was scheduled to arrive in Kronstadt. The announcement of Fox's trip and its departure destabilized the British and the French as no event had since before Lincoln's death. At the French stopover, Fox had a private meeting with Emperor Napoleon III.

Napoleon began the talks with the announcement that he was about to withdraw from his British-backed occupation of Mexico, a matter in which, as Fox well knew, he had no choice. In return for this magnanimous decision Napoleon merely requested of Fox that America conclude no alliance with Russia. This segment of the dialogue went as follows:

Napoleon: "Do not be too friendly with Russia."

Fox: "Russia and America have no rival interests. Russia has always been friendly to America and we reciprocate the feeling."

Napoleon: "But you can stand alone. You do not want friends."

Fox: "When it was doubtful whether we should ever stand again, at a time when the most powerful nations menaced us, Russia felt and expressed her sympathy for us, and America will never forget it." (94)

On Aug. 8, 1866, Fox, accompanied by Clay, formally presented the joint resolution of the Congress to Alexander II, with Russian Foreign Minister Gorchakov standing in attendance. Both the resolution and the Czar's reply (also sent as a letter to President Johnson) are here reproduced beginning with Fox's reading of the resolution;

Sire: The Resolution which I have the honor of presenting to Your Imperial Majesty is the voice of a people whose millions of lips speak from a single heart.

The many ties which have long bound together the great Empire of the East, and the great Republic of the West, have been multiplied and strengthened by the unwavering fidelity of the imperial government to our own, throughout its recent period of convulsion.

The words of sympathy and friendship then addressed to the government at Washington, by command of your Imperial Majesty, are fixed in the eternal remembrance of a grateful country. As one of the wide family of nations, we yield our willing homage to that act of humanity which is especially referred to in the Resolution of Congress. The peaceful edict of an enlightened sovereign has consummated a triumph over an inherited barbarism, which our Western republic has only reached through long years of bloodshed.

... our heartfelt congratulations upon the providential escape from danger ... and thankfulness for its merciful arrest and failure.

The story of the peril [the assassination attempt]... brings with it the remembrance of the mighty sorrow ... at the loss of our chief, our guide

We thank God that a grief like this was spared to our friends and allies — the Russian people. (95)

The Czar's reply, read by Gorchakov:

His Majesty ... rejoices at the friendly relations existing between Russia and the United States, and he is pleased to see that those relations are so well appreciated in America. He is convinced that the national fraternity will be perpetual, and he, for his part, will contribute all his efforts to sustain it, and to strengthen the bonds

... The mutual sympathy between Russia and the United States is a consolatory fact in the face of the recent complications which have just awakened in Europe sentiments of hate, ambition, rivalry, bloody struggles, appeals to force, so little in harmony with the progress of humanity.... The seeds of mutual good will and friendship sown between two great peoples will... inaugurate between them relations founded on a real spirit of Christian civilization. (96)

Even the Fabian historians concede: "these effusive declarations revived conjectures, both in Europe and America, as to the existence or imminence of a full-dress Russian-American alliance." (97)

As America had done in 1863, now Russia celebrated as the American delegation went on a national tour:

There were visits to the Kremlin, to palaces, cathedrals and historic sites. There were entertainments, fireworks, parades and demonstrations in the streets everywhere the Americans went. And everywhere they were received with enthusiastic shouts and cheers. The streets and public buildings were decorated with shields bearing the portraits of Washington, Lincoln, Johnson and Alexander II, and the Stars and Stripes waved alongside of the Russian national emblem. (98)

And everywhere, at every function, every speech, Russian speakers delivered stirring eulogies to Lincoln, and praise to America's striving to accomplish its "historical calling," on the principles of its founding fathers.

At this juncture the full scope of what could have been had Lincoln survived was filled out in a *New York Herald* commentary dated April 29, 1867:

Russia and the United States, the young giants respectively of the Old and New Worlds, in whom are concentrated greater vitality and strength than in any other of the modern powers, are at this moment, although in most respects the antipodes of each other, engaged in the same work — that of expansion and progression. They stand now upon two continents, the one the impersonation of absolutism, the other of republicanism. No two nations bear at once a more forceful resemblance and exhibit a more striking contrast, and at this moment no two are watched with more solicitude and more likely to accomplish more stupendous results. The specific ultimate object at which Russia aims is the acquisition of the European possessions of the Sultan. With the proud city of Constantinople, the command of the Bosphorus and the commerce of the Black Sea under her control, she would effectually be mistress of Europe. The United States do not define their aspirations but look quietly forward to the time the whole boundless continent will form one unbroken republic. The remarkable *entente cordiale* which for a quarter of a century has been increasing between us renders this similarity of object the most natural. Russia and the United States must ever be friendly, the colossi having neither territorial nor maritime jealousies to excite the one against the other. The interests of both demand that they should go hand in hand in their march to empire. (99)

...AND COMES TO AN END

The U.S. delegation's tour marked the postwar high-water mark of the Entente. After late 1866, the cabinet of the Johnson Administration, under Secretary of State Seward's direction, successfully implemented a containment strategy against the Whig goals. Under this setup, Seward's purchase of Alaska did not represent a breakthrough in United States-Russian relations. Rather, Seward did the minimum possible to satiate the Whigs. By doing nothing further to hit against Britain in either the Pacific or in Canada, as Clay and the Russians were demanding, Seward and Co. allowed the British to use both the Alaska sale and United States inertia to consolidate their position in Canada, one step in the restabilizing of British imperial hegemony on a global scale. The consolidation included the murder of Alexander II at the hands of a British-deployed assassin in March 1881.

Humanity, then, came very close to securing the world for global industrial development, with a United States-Russian entente as its strategic core. The prospects for entente and the objective capability of a United States-Russian alliance to finish off the City of London exist today. We dare not fail a second time.



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3. Adams, John Quincy, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. 2.
4. Horton, Edward Everett, *Memoirs, Writings and Speeches of Edward Everett Horton*. See in particular Horton's speech at the 1864 Boston banquet in honor of the Russian fleet. Also, the speech of Russian Admiral Lessovsky, as summarized in the *Memoirs*.
5. *Ibid.*, including remarks by Admiral Lessovsky.
6. Callahan, James Morton, "Russo-American Relations During the American Civil War," Morgantown: *West Virginia University Studies in American History*, 1908, Series I, Diplomatic History Series Nos. 2 and 3.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Clay, *The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay*.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Lincoln Papers*: No. 10880-4, Clay to Lincoln, private, July 25, 1861.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States in the Archives of the Department of State, June 21, 1861.
27. Adams, Ephraim Douglass, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1925).
28. The revisionist, anglophile, fraudulent rewriting of the history of the United States-Russian alliance begins in earnest after 1905. The most frequently cited "authoritative" historians who constructed the "alliance was a myth" school, are Frank A. Golder and E.A. Adamov. The works that became the basis for interpretation of the period were Golder, Frank Alfred, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War," *American Historical Review* Vol. XX (1915), No. 4, pp. 801-812; by the same

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29. Thomas, Benjamin Platt, "Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867," *Johns Hopkins Studies*, series 48 (1930).
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. DeArnaud, Charles A., *The Union and Its Ally Russia* (Washington: Gibson Bros., 1890).
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. Clay, *The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay*.
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.* An important parenthetical note must be introduced here concerning the role of the Russian ambassador Baron de Stoeckl. To the extent the Baron played a positive role, as in this instance, it was solely because, as a diplomat, he served under strict orders of Prince Gorchakov, orders which de Stoeckl could not "duck." De Stoeckl's actual role was to continuously draft situation reports on the United States, every one of which was a classic of faked intelligence in the British technique. These reports, conscious lies which completely distorted the United States' political situation along the lines of the *London Times* and Petit Napoleon's scribble sheets, were calculated to sway Russian policy away from Lincoln, and towards an accommodation with Lords Russell and Palmerston. That the veritable deluge of faked intelligence which swamped Gorchakov and the Czar during the Civil War totally failed, in net result, to achieve its intended effect, constitutes ample grounds for tribute to the moral integrity of the American faction in Russia. Lied to, swindled, deceived, and manipulated, they never wavered in their commitment to ensure the continued existence and prosperity of our country.
 47. Taylor, Bayard, *Life and Letters*, edited by Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace E. Scudder (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1884).
 48. Lincoln Papers, No. 22780-3, Clay to Lincoln, private, from New York, April 2, 1863.
 49. Clay, *The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay*.
 50. Callahan, James, "Russo-American Relations During the American Civil War," Morgantown: *West Virginia University Studies in American History*, 1908, Series I, Diplomatic History No. 1.
 51. Cameron to Seward, Dispatches, Russia, in U.S. Department of State Manuscripts, 1860-1869, Washington.
 52. John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, Vol. 1, pp. 499-500.
 53. Balch, Thomas W. *The Alabama Arbitration* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1900).
 54. The Czar's pessimism here concerning the Union's prospects for success reflects the quality of intelligence emanating from de Stoeckl.
 55. Thomas, "Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867."
 56. *Ibid.*
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England's Attempted American Revolution

*... the smoke is over, but
the fire is not altogether extinct.
It may be it will flame in due time,
though not in Europe.*

*Samuel Hartlib, letter to
Dr. John Worthington, 1661.*

by Lydia Dittler



THE TWO DESIGNS

The two most fundamental points about the English Revolution (1640-60) have been missed by the voluminous historiography on the subject. First, the core group of humanists in the revolution were organizing around precisely the program which subsequently guided the American Revolution. John Milton, Samuel Hartlib, and handfuls of others were attempting to establish history's first capitalist republic in England, based on the expansion of material wealth and a sweeping program of universal education. Second, the deadly enemy of the humanist forces was Amsterdam, at that time the world capital of monetarism.

The history of the English Revolution is the story of the subversion of the humanists' republican design by

Amsterdam, culminating in the transformation of London into a second Amsterdam, a center of loan sharking, commodity speculation, and international terrorism which remains the chief threat to the world's sovereign nations down to the present. This process of subversion reached its full fruition in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and the placing of William III of Orange on the throne of England, thus uniting Amsterdam monetarism and English landlordism in a cruel parody of Cromwell's design for unifying the two republics of the United Provinces and England.

The underlying dynamic of the English Revolution thus was not the struggle of King versus Parliament, court versus country, radical Levellers versus men of property, or any of the other secondary features of the period. It was the fight between the two networks, humanist and monetarist, for control of England. (1)

The city of Amsterdam had been built up toward the end of the sixteenth century by Genoese bankers as the rival and then successor financial center to the Fuggers' Antwerp. Like Antwerp before it, and as London was to become under its tutelage, Amsterdam was the quintessential entrepot, whose principal contact with real production and trade was for purposes of looting it. The grab-and-carry merchant oligarchy which dominated seventeenth century Amsterdam derived its burgeoning income from the customs, shipping, warehousing, insurance, and the other financial activities it contrived to profit from its stature as the new hub of world trade. The chief source of Amsterdam's plunder, however, was the advanced economy of England, which it looted continuously in the decades up to 1640, through the geometrically expanding debt service payments which accrued to its account from its loans to the English Crown and gentry, and through draining England's bullion, both accomplished through the mediation of Amsterdam's London front men, the goldsmiths and East India merchants. England's gold and silver, in fact, provided the Dutch currency with the heavy bullion content which made it the seventeenth century's premier international lending — i.e. looting — currency!

The English land-based gentry and aristocracy were the key link in the transmission chain which bore loot from England to Amsterdam. The gentry looted the countryside through the feudal relics of tithes and ground rent; in turn they themselves were looted by the



Oliver Cromwell leading a charge at the Battle of Marston Moor. His military strategy defeated King Charles; his failure to adopt the political-economic program later adopted by the U.S. Founding Fathers lost the English Revolution.

debt-strapped Crown through ever increasing taxes, and by the Lombard Street goldsmiths, their creditors. The goldsmiths delivered up interest to Amsterdam.

This transmission chain had to be broken, through the creation of an English national credit system dedicated to fostering the expansion of English national wealth. This is exactly what the humanist faction in the English Revolution proposed. Their program emphasized the sweeping away of all residual feudal social and economic impediments to expanded production; technology-based agricultural improvement; and a development-oriented national credit system, completely unlike the plundering Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of England founded in its image in 1694 in the aftermath of the defeat of the revolution. Such a program would have released England from the stranglehold, financial and political, that Amsterdam had over England through its control of international credit.

Thus, the English Revolution did not fail for want of the right program. The same programmatic conceptions existed which were available to the Americans who succeeded in making a capitalist revolution in the next century; in fact, the Americans inherited their conceptions from the humanists in the English Revolution. The stumbling block in England was the failure to break the strength of the great Presbyterian landlords, men like Anthony Ashley Cooper, later Lord Shaftesbury and founder of England's odious Whig party, who were committed to feudal ground rent and who felt perfectly at home with the Amsterdam looting model.

In failing to mobilize the nation at large around a capitalist program, Cromwell, whose understanding of political economy was inferior to that of Hartlib and his collaborators, undermined his own potential social base, and after 1653 had no recourse except to fall back on the Presbyterian landlords, whose primary desire was to see republicanism forever obliterated in England. The political organizing perspective of the humanists had its limitations too, their strategy being to influence existing political forces and parties. The main target of their agitational pamphlets was the gentry, the same group which in vote after vote in Parliament deferred to the interests of the great landlords in voting to maintain tithes and uphold the principle of ground rent. More serious, the humanists were soft on Amsterdam's "liberal" form of monetarism.

Both the strengths and weaknesses of the humanist faction stand out in the pamphlets on credit authored by William Potter, one of the inventor-engineers in Samuel Hartlib's circle. In 1651 Potter called for the creation of a national Bank of the Lands to reverse the economic depression brought on by the scarcity of bullion and credit in England. Potter's idea was to make improved land the basis for the generation of credit and the cir-

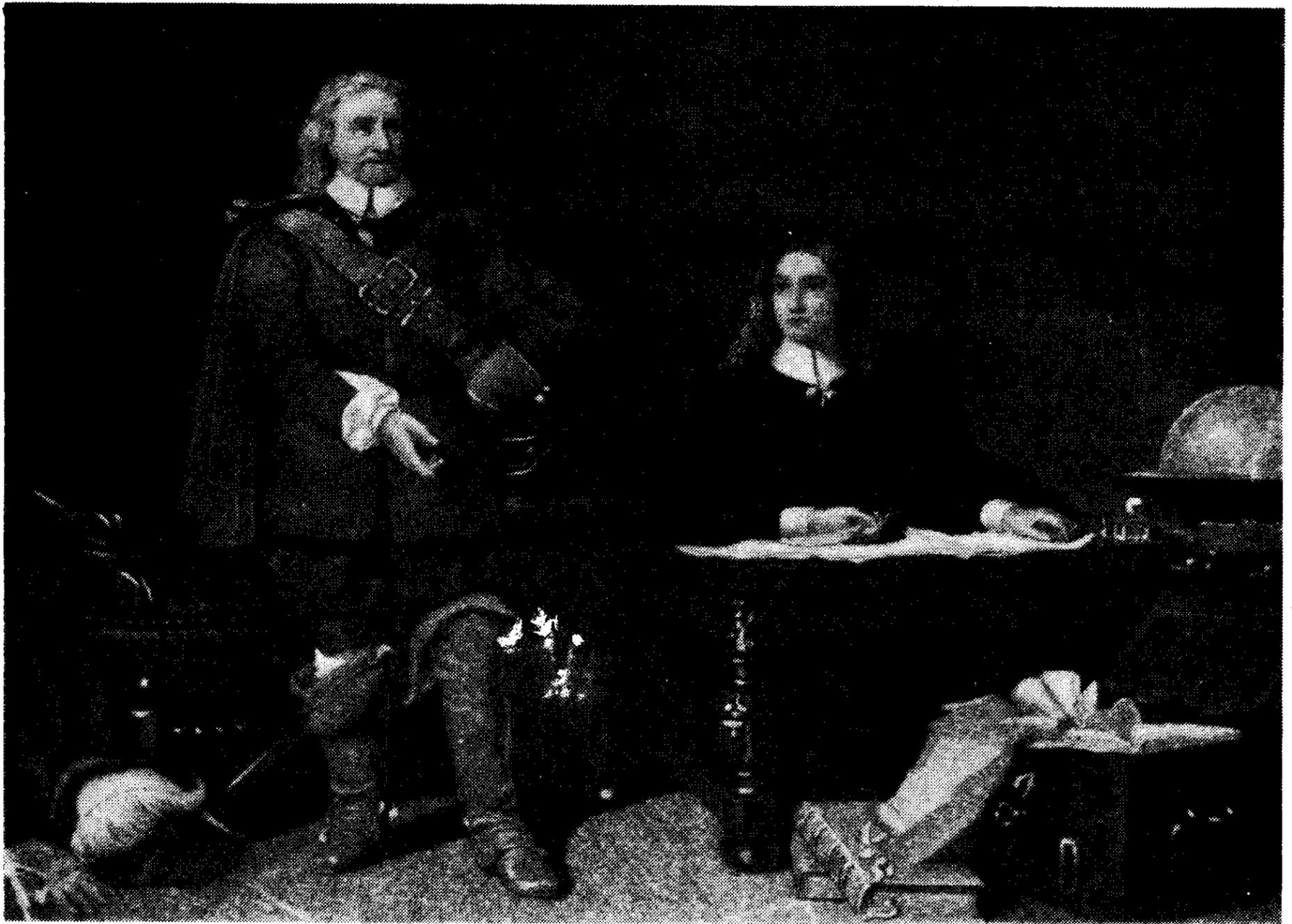
ulation of paper currency, a proposal which was undoubtedly a direct influence on Benjamin Franklin's 1729 proposal to the same effect when the American colonies faced the identical situation as Potter's England: credit dependency on Anglo-Dutch monetarism. Potter's Land Bank was to be the means "whereby lands may be improved in a new way to become the ground for the increase of Trading, and of Public and Private Revenues and Accommodations." (2) Potter's promise that the two percent interest charge on the bank's loans would generate almost double the public revenues brought in by the current taxes on land and replace them must have also recommended the bank, given the growing resistance in Parliament to the land tax.

Potter had the solution to the devastating drain of England's bullion by Amsterdam, only he mistakenly identified the King of Spain as the beneficiary, a fatal misperception which was generally shared by the humanist forces. Throughout the century it was Protestant Amsterdam, not Catholic Spain or the bankrupt House of Fugger, that was looting England, through the bullion drain and through its ultimate control over the Crown's and later Cromwell's debt.

The failure to target the real enemy meant that Amsterdam's financial stranglehold over England was never broken, and that Cromwell found himself in the same precarious position as the Stuarts, of having to mortgage away his future revenues to secure new loans to meet the current debt service payments on his existing outstanding debt.

Amsterdam's control of credit afforded it untold political leverage in England as well. Ironically, even the calling of Parliament in 1640 — and thus the launching of the English Revolution — was precipitated by an Amsterdam-instigated destabilization of King Charles I, who was no longer a reliable debtor. In 1639, with Dutch-connected Scottish Presbyterian troops at the door, the Dutch "merchant strangers" called in their loans and shut up their London shops, thus precipitating a sudden credit crunch and compelling Charles to call Parliament, after eleven years of personal rule, to raise funds for an army to put down the rebellious Scots.

In destabilizing Charles, however, Amsterdam unintentionally unleashed a powerful social movement beyond its control — a mistake repeated by British Intelligence in this century when it helped to topple the Czar and launch the Russian Revolution in expectation that Kerensky or some such could successfully retain power. The Amsterdam financial oligarchy took one look at Milton's republican pamphlets, Cromwell's war-winning military strategy, and the democratic composition of the New Model Army, and threw everything it had into destroying the republic. The House of Orange's



Milton (seated) with Oliver Cromwell. Milton worked strenuously in an effort to persuade Cromwell to adopt policies that would have brought to completion England's transformation into an industrial capitalist republic.

direct financial and military support of Charles I and Charles II was no secret. However, not understood by Cromwell and his allies within England were the more subtle means by which Amsterdam operated. It was the Orange party which was at bottom responsible for the imposition of the provocative English Navigation Acts and the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch war, both aimed at preventing an alliance between the English republic and the United Provinces, now under Jan de Witt's republican government. Later Amsterdam's strategy was to embroil England in a succession of wars, to ensure that no program of national economic development would be launched, that Cromwell would go bankrupt, and the republic would fall. Amsterdam's ultimate goal was to reproduce itself in London, creating a second monetarist entrepot there and securing a large stake in the anticipated profits.

On this last point the English humanist forces had a

fatal blind spot. They did not recognize the enemy — monetarism — in its liberal incarnation such as it existed in Amsterdam. Thus Hartlib, who was himself wholly committed to the cause of human perfection, numbered among his patrons and allies individuals who were merely riding the tide of the revolution, waiting for better days. Chief among these were William Petty, who became a founding member of the antihumanist Royal Society in 1660, and Henry Robinson, a protege of Anthony Ashley Cooper. While Potter, Hartlib, and their humanist collaborators were actually founding capitalist political economy and what was to become the American system, Petty, Robinson, and their ilk were enshrining as the cardinal principles of Whiggery the union of Amsterdam's "modern" brand of monetarism and the deep-seated feudal prejudices of England's landed classes. (3)

In advocating monetarist policies over against Hartlib's capitalist program, Petty and Robinson were ef-

fectively acting as agents of Amsterdam. Petty's theory of rent, the surplus left after all the costs of producing corn have been paid, precludes the reinvestment of surplus in capital improvements of land, which is the very basis of capitalist agriculture, and necessary for raising agricultural productivity and initiating thoroughgoing industrialization.

Robinson, consciously or not, ran cover for Amsterdam's looting of England's bullion. In his widely circulated *England's Safety in Trades Increase* (1641), Robinson argued that the undervaluation of the English pound on the Amsterdam Exchange, although it was encouraging the export of bullion to Amsterdam, had the effect of cheapening English exports and was thus "the most beneficial state . . . to be wished for." Through this arrangement Amsterdam was able to buy up English cloth exports at rock-bottom prices, as well as loot its bullion. Robinson also lobbied for the creation of a bank modeled on the monetarist Genoese fairs and the Bank of Amsterdam, and in urging Parliament to rebate customs on goods brought in for re-export and to make the excise on imported commodities and native manufactures the principle source of public revenue, he was one of the chief promoters of Amsterdam's strategy of reproducing a second Amsterdam in London.

In its unceasing efforts to disorient the humanist and procapitalist forces in England, Amsterdam developed the black art of counterinsurgency to new levels of sophistication. Sir Francis Bacon, both while alive and even more so after his death, was the preeminent Amsterdam counterinsurgent. Bacon's cousin Robert Cecil was the apprentice and later the executor of Horatio Palavicino, the Genoese financier who had insinuated himself into the court of Queen Elizabeth. Like his cousin Cecil, Bacon framed his policies with an eye to manipulating the anti-Spanish profile of the procapitalist Puritan opposition in Parliament, the aim of Cecil and Bacon being to deflect attention from Amsterdam's looting of England.

Bacon's attempts to clothe his hideous monetarist policies behind an "anti-Spanish" cover, however, did not prevent his being impeached by Parliament in 1621 for his role in the sale of monopoly-patents. Bacon's "scientific" works authored largely after his fall from office proved to be an even more successful tool of Amsterdam's counterinsurgency. After Bacon's death Amsterdam's networks republished and circulated his quack works in England and on the continent and built up the myth of Bacon as the founder of the modern scientific method — the same Francis Bacon who was a confirmed Ptolemaist and a believer in such magical formulae as that the heart of an ape worn close to the heart increases one's audacity! (4)

In building up Bacon, Amsterdam hoped to black out the real scientific achievements of the actual humanist current in England, the Dudley family-sponsored Gilbert

circle. (5) In his *Novum Organum* (1619), his quack compendium of scientific learning, Bacon did William Gilbert the favor of attacking him. Bacon completely ignored Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood — though not in print at the time Harvey's theory was known, particularly to Bacon as Harvey was Bacon's personal physician — as well as the work of Kepler and Galileo.

Amsterdam succeeded in making Bacon the hero of John Pym and other opposition leaders of the Long Parliament, even though these leaders had been present in the Parliament which impeached the arch-courtier Bacon. The Bacon myth was so pervasive when Hartlib made his first visit to England in 1626 that Hartlib considered Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* a central humanist text. Even Milton was taken in by the myth.

The Long Parliament's canonization of the aristocratic Bacon was a foreboding sign of the monetarist inclinations of the gentleman-republicans. For Bacon was really England's first Whig, the antiprogress courtier who deliberately cultivated the reputation of a "modern."

The idea that the English Revolution failed because the experiment in republican government was "ahead of its time" is sheer nonsense. The revolution foundered on the question of ground rent, specifically on Parliament's refusal to abolish tithes. The humanists' attempts to win the gentry over to a capitalist perspective and break them from their regressive feudal inclinations failed. The inglorious history of the English Parliament during the revolutionary decades foreshadowed the rise of "liberal" Whig England, the preservation of aristocratic privilege at home and plundering around the world which has characterized English history in the period from 1688 to the present.

While the Amsterdam-London axis waged continual military and financial warfare against the republic, the English gentry and "progressive" aristocracy destroyed the republic from within by refusing to break with the feudal principles of land, blood, and rent. Even after Colonel Pride removed the most obstreperous Presbyterians from the Long Parliament in 1648, the Rump and each successive Parliament thereafter persisted in blocking the reforms that were necessary to clear the way for Hartlibian economic development — which would have been the basis for the republic's survival. Even in the "Barebones" Parliament, hand-picked by Cromwell after he dissolved the Rump in disgust, the majority bowed to the interests of the great landlords and dissolved their own Parliament, rather than accede to the reforms initiated by the aggressive minority of Fifth Monarch Men — abolition of tithes, disestablishment of the church, and reform of the law. Many "independents," after all, owed their parliamentary seats to the great lords whose "clients" they were.

Cromwell played an ill-fated centrist role in these

developments, dissolving each successive Parliament as it blocked the necessary reforms, but in the end compromising with his landlord constituency.

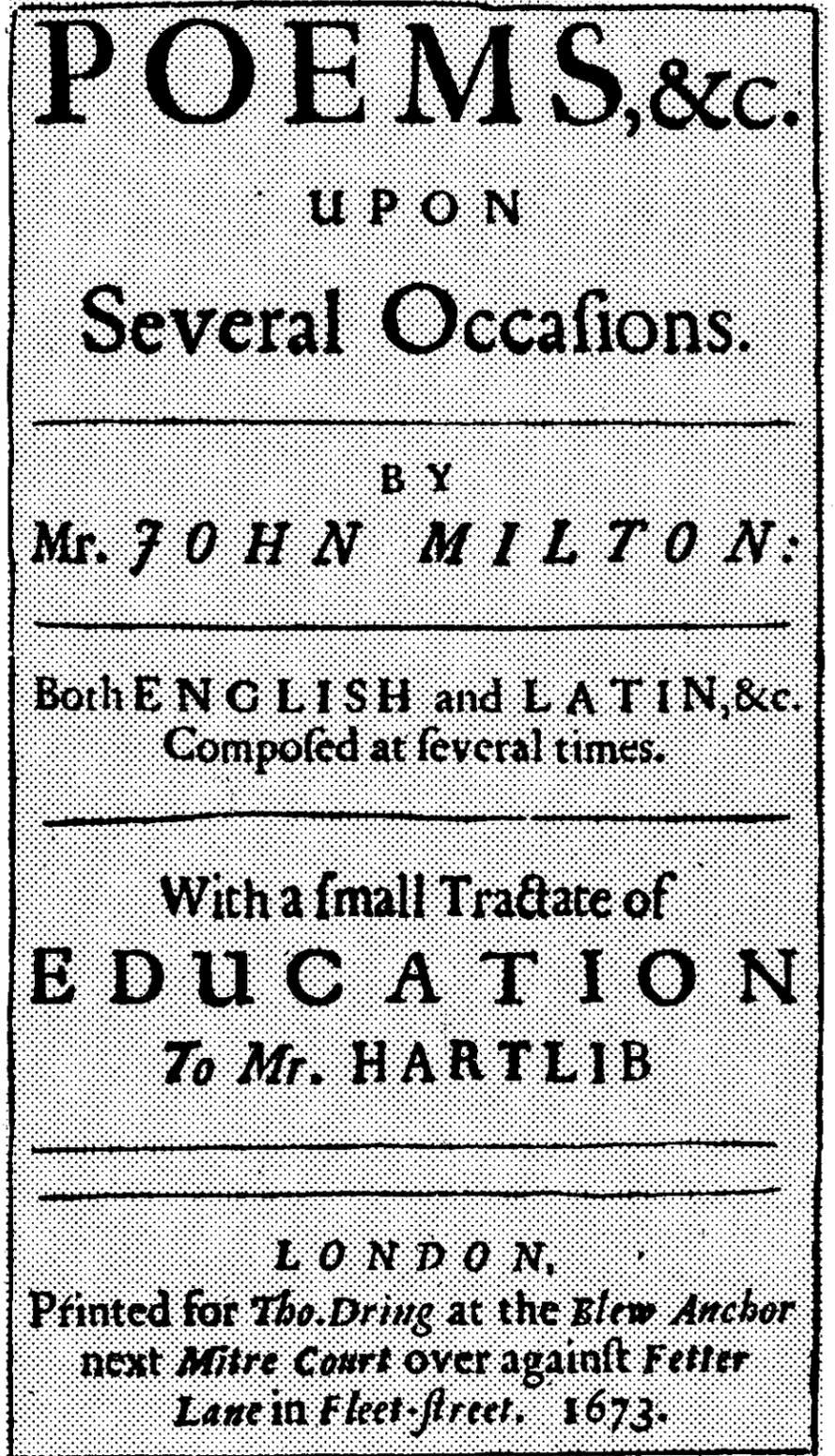
Milton, who held the post of Secretary for Foreign Tongues under the republic, was acutely aware of Cromwell's fatal mistake in compromising with the Presbyterian landlords on the issue of a tithe-supported state church. He understood better than Cromwell that church disestablishment was one of the crucial issues of the revolution, because the existence of a state church subsidized by tithes (one-tenth of the fruit of the ground) was not only an obstacle to liberty of conscience and true religion, it was bleeding the country dry and underwriting an expanding class of ungodly parasites (the forebears of Parson Malthus). Milton, the poet, had a keen understanding of the ground rent problem.

The failure of the humanists to break the gentry from their commitment to ground rent doomed the revolution — in England. The consequence was the emergence of the British system, that unfruitful union between Amsterdam monetarism and English landlordism which was consummated in the "Glorious Revolution." The core humanist conceptions of the English Revolution, however, became the intellectual ammunition for the prerevolutionary generations in America and for the Founding Fathers.

This direct continuity is epitomized in the history of Potter's Land Bank. Never implemented in England, the proposal was carried to America by a visiting member of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Woodbridge, son-in-law of Thomas Dudley, an early Governor of Massachusetts. Hartlib, until his death in 1662, was in constant communication with John Winthrop, Jr., about implementing the bank proposal in the more fertile ground of America. (6) Potter's conceptions clearly had a profound influence on Benjamin Franklin's writings on credit and paper currency. Thus, the key concept with which Franklin, Hamilton, and the other American revolutionaries overthrew Adam Smith and made the American Revolution — the capitalist notion that wealth was located in the technological *improvement* of land, not tithes, ground rent, or other feudal residues — was directly inherited from the "American faction" in the English Revolution.

SAMUEL HARTLIB, AGENT FOR UNIVERSAL LEARNING

Samuel Hartlib, the individual who did the most to advance this capitalist notion of wealth during the years of revolutionary ferment in England was not a native Englishman, but a Prussian refugee from the Thirty Years' War. Settling in England in 1628, Hartlib was to reinject into England the influence of European humanism. Hartlib carried with him the northern



Title page from a 1673 collection of Milton's works, featuring his tractate on Education, originally published and dedicated to Samuel Hartlib in 1644.

European tradition of excellence in mining and metallurgical technology, and his most important contribution to the English Revolution was to be his understanding that the source of agricultural wealth and all wealth was what he called human "ingenuity." A prolific writer on husbandry and educational reform, he exerted influence beyond his own writings as a patron and publicist of the most advanced inventors and economic thinkers in England, both other European refugees and native Englishmen who were the product of England's Tudor renaissance. Hartlib was above all a humanist political organizer.

It is through no mere oversight that historians have so

underplayed Hartlib's role in the English Revolution. The Royal Society, whose founding members included several of Hartlib's former patrons, sought to prevent his ideas from influencing later generations. Among Hartlib's late patrons Robert Boyle, the chemist who was adept enough to recognize which were the powerful humanist conceptions that had to be subverted, accepted a peerage at the Restoration and was quickly drawn into the court of Charles II. Boyle, Petty, and other Royal Society members immediately dropped Hartlib and his colleague John Dury in 1660, leaving Hartlib to die in complete poverty and obscurity two years later. Hartlib's papers were "lost" in 1667 and did not reappear until 1945, in the hands of one Lord Delamere. At that time G.H. Turnbull, a Hartlib scholar, examined the papers and published excerpts in his *Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius. Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (1947), but the papers themselves have still to be published and many — including a probable correspondence with Milton — may be irrevocably lost. (The existing papers are deposited at Sheffield University Library.) It is highly ironic then when twentieth century historians of the period like Turnbull, Charles Webster, and Christopher Hill write that Hartlib's reforming efforts bore fruit in the formation of the Royal Society. (7)

Significantly, the one historian who has best appreciated the far-reaching influence of the "Three Foreigners" (Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius) on the English Revolution is British Intelligence's Hugh Trevor-Roper, a specialist on British treble agent Kim Philby and political intelligence networks generally. Written to maintain the centuries-long blackout on Hartlib's significance, Trevor-Roper's account is a deliberate falsification of Hartlib's ideas, claiming that Hartlib, like the "country gentry," opposed Tudor dirigism and favored the decentralization of trade and industry and education — the very opposite of the case. (8)

Milton's description is the best introduction to Hartlib. In his *Of Education*, prompted by Hartlib in 1644, Milton described Hartlib as "a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this island." Samuel Hartlib was born in Prussia in 1600, where his father had fled from Poland to escape the invading Jesuits. In a short autobiographical sketch written in 1660, probably in the hopes of securing patronage, Hartlib told his prospective patrons: "My father was a merchant, but no ordinary one, being the King of Poland his merchant; who hath founded a church at Pomania in Poland. And when the Jesuits prevailed in that kingdom, he was fain to remove himself into Prussia, where he came to Elbing, where not any house of credit was yet built." Hartlib's father built two houses of credit in Elbing, and his grandfather, Deputy of the English

Company at Danzig, moved the company to Elbing, "and so that town by trading came to that splendour and wealth wherein it hath continued these many years." (9) The family's connection with Tudor England was cemented by the father's marriage to an English wife. A cousin was married to an English Puritan in Massachusetts.

Before his arrival in England Hartlib was associated with various semi-underground learned societies of Eastern Europe, which sought to preserve the humanist heritage during the Thirty Years' War. He was a member of Antilia (after the Antilles), a little-known society whose members were diffused throughout the German-speaking areas of Europe. Antilia was the "tessera [watchword] of that society, used only by the members thereof," Hartlib recounted in a letter in 1659. "It was interrupted and destroyed by the following Bohemian and German wars." (10) Scholars believe the society was formed around 1625, lasting for about 20 years, and that the works of Johann Valentin Andreae, who drew on Campanella's *Civitas solis*, published between 1618 and 1620, were probably the philosophical basis of the society. Andreae's works were also read by the Fraternity of Rosicrucians, providing the link between the two societies.

The Antilians were hoping to establish a colony secure from the Thirty Years' War where they could put into practice the principles of the rational state. Most of the members had in mind some area bordering the Baltic under Swedish domination. Hartlib favored Virginia.

Hartlib never reached Virginia. Like the Puritans in England with whom he shortly joined forces, he had alternate contingency plans for establishing "Antilia" in either America or England. He settled in England with the determination of founding the humanist state there and making it the launching ground for the capitalist transformation of all of England and the colonies.

The key to this design was education. The short-lived academy Hartlib established in Chichester in 1629 for the education of the sons of the English gentry was only the first of his indefatigable efforts to create a humanist leadership in England and initiate a sweeping reform of England's Scholastic educational system. At several key points, Hartlib urged Parliament to turn the sequestered church lands and livings into a national system of schools and libraries and to create state-supported colleges of artisans to foster technological innovation for the advancement of the nation. His circle's first such appeal to Parliament was *Macaria*, a dialogue in the tradition of Thomas More's *Utopia*, advocating state-sponsored scientific research and development. *Macaria* was published by Hartlib's associate Gabriel Plattes in 1641 to coincide with the opening of the second session of the Long Parliament.

Hartlib's various projects for reforming education culminated in mid-1646 in the proposal for the establishment of an Office of Address. The time was the end of the first civil war and the ascendancy of the Independents in Parliament — a time that appeared to be a propitious moment for humanist enterprises. Modeled on the Parisian *Bureau d'adresse* founded in 1631 by Theophraste Renaudot, the Paracelsian physician, Hartlib's Office of Address was to have two functions: the Office of Address for Communications was to coordinate international scientific correspondence, functioning as the command center of a humanist political intelligence network throughout war-torn Europe, while the Accomodations branch was to centralize information relating to trade, manufacture, and employment. The Office Address for Accomodations was also to act as a labor exchange and to promote innovation, thus incorporating the plan for rational economic planning first advanced in *Macaria*.

In 1647 a parliamentary committee dominated by Independents, which included Oliver St. John, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir John Danvers, and Hartlib's old patron the Presbyterian Sir William Waller, recommended that Hartlib be given a state pension and made Agent for Universal Learning. Hartlib began to prepare to use this position to launch the reform of the nation's education. However, in the dislocations caused by the second civil war and the unceasing wars that followed, and thanks to the inept financial policies adopted by the Long Parliament, the hope for greater parliamentary support of education steadily faded, and soon Hartlib's own pension fell into arrears along with everything else.

In his unsuccessful petition to the House of Commons at the beginning of the Restoration for the resumption of his state pension, Hartlib enumerated the services he had provided to the English nation. Among them, the international correspondence he maintained for over thirty years "for the good of this nation (as of the Leading men of all Parties)" stands out as of primary importance. Hartlib writes that he procured "1. Rare Collections of Manuscripts in all the parts of Learning, which your Magesties Petitioner hath freely imparted, transcribed, Printed and sent to such, as were most capable of making use of them. 2. The best experiments of Industrie practised in Husbandrie and Manufactures; and in other Inventions and Accomodations tending to the good of this Nation, which by printing he hath published for the benefit of this age, and Posterity..." (11) Hartlib's activities thus prefigured Franklin's international organizing on behalf of republicanism and science.

Hartlib's appeal for state patronage went unanswered. Boyle and Petty, now assimilated into the libertine court of Charles II, had abandoned him. Hartlib's thoughts

again turned to Antilia — "It may be it will flame in due time, though not in Europe," he wrote to one of his correspondents. (12) But this was not a retreat into mysticism as most accounts maintain. Hartlib was again thinking about America.

Hartlib's closest associate, John Dury, was also of Elbing. Dury's father, an exiled Scottish minister, was a pastor at Leyden in the United Provinces with connections to Gresham College in the 1620s when Henry Briggs was turning Gresham into a major center of scientific studies. John Dury studied at the University of Leyden and taught in a Huguenot household in France before becoming a Protestant minister at Elbing, where he came into contact with Hartlib. When war engulfed the city, Dury struck out on a mission to unite all the Protestant churches of Europe into one church. With this intention, he visited Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant king of Sweden who was the champion of the anti-Catholic forces; he won the support of Sir Thomas Roe, the Elizabethan diplomat who was an advocate of intervention on the side of Gustavus Adolphus; and he even petitioned England's Spanish-leaning William Laud to commit England to the Protestant cause.

Dury's continental journeys between 1631 and 1641 extended Hartlib's international correspondence throughout the German principalities and the Netherlands. In the winter of 1634-35 Dury established the first recorded English contact with Descartes. Eventually Hartlib's network of correspondents extended from Transylvania to New England, where one of them, John Winthrop, Jr., the first governor of Connecticut, called him the "great intelligencer of Europe." Winthrop also invited Johann Amos Comenius, the Bohemian educator whose works Hartlib translated and circulated in England, to become president of Harvard. In 1654 after the cessation of Anglo-Dutch hostilities, Dury set out again, this time as Lord Protector Cromwell's special envoy to the United Provinces, Germany, and Switzerland in the service of the Protector's foreign policy aim of forging a union of Protestant states.

The cause of Protestant unity championed by Dury was not free from ambiguities, however. The tip-off is the great interest shown by Louis de Geer, the Amsterdam financier and munitions manufacturer, in Dury's anti-Catholic activities. In the 1630s de Geer put in a bid to have Dury and Comenius settle under his patronage in Sweden, where de Geer had been required to take up residence to protect his vast holdings in that country. Dury, and later Comenius, were attracted to England instead, where Hartlib had lined up a rival set of patrons, the Puritan businessmen who made up the Providence Island Company and who were to be the leaders of the opposition in the Long Parliament. After a short visit to England at the opening of the Long



Francis Bacon, monetarist, convicted swindler, and acknowledged believer in black magic, was puffed up as a paradigm of English "liberalism" and rational inquiry as part of Amsterdam's efforts to keep England under its thumb. The Bacon myth hoodwinked Pym, Hartlib, and even Milton.

Parliament, however, Comenius fled the turbulence of politics and accepted de Geer's patronage, eventually settling down in the Amsterdam abode of de Geer's son Lawrence — much to the disgust of former allies like Hartlib.

Dury's crusade for Protestant unity in the 1650s provided a cover for the Dutch Calvinist financier's hardly religious financial activities. The key to understanding the Thirty Years' War and the subsequent wars which preoccupied seventeenth century Europe — wars which standard accounts portray as the struggles between Protestant forces (and Catholic France!) on one side and the Roman Catholic Spanish and Austrian branches of the Hapsburg dynasty on the other — is that there was nothing religious about them whatsoever. The Calvinist de Geer and his Amsterdam associates invested heavily in Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of Protestantism against the anti-Christ in the Thirty

Years' War, but the overriding interest of de Geer and his associates was in the booty served up by the devastating war, whose prolongation was in their interest. In the subsequent period Cromwell's efforts to forge a Protestant union of England, the Netherlands (excluding, of course, the heirs of the House of Orange), and the Baltic states of Sweden and Denmark were interrupted by the series of wars between the Northern crowns for supremacy in the Baltic, wars in which de Geer and his Amsterdam associates armed and financed all sides.

The putrifying Hapsburg empire indeed had to be broken up, but as long as Cromwell's foreign policy was anachronistically formulated as an anti-Catholic Protestant crusade, it left the door open for Amsterdam's looting escapades and it allowed the English republic to be drawn into adventurist military expeditions against Spain's American colonies and then Spain itself beginning in 1654. This last war guaranteed Cromwell's bankruptcy and the fall of the Protectorate.

THE PROVIDENCE ISLAND COMPANY

On his arrival in England in 1628 Hartlib's organizing activities on behalf of European humanism intersected at once with the activities of a tightly knit group of men who had been nurtured on the anti-Hapsburg strategy as it had been formulated under the Tudors. This strategy consisted of forcing rotting imperial Hapsburg Austria and Spain to accept the status of nation states, forging a series of beneficial commercial alliances among the nation states of Europe, and opening up the New World for capitalist development. The men were business partners in the Providence Island Company and were to be the opposition leaders in the Lords and Commons when Parliament finally met in 1640. They included the Earl of Pembroke and his followers John Selden and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd; the Earl of Bedford and his followers John Pym and Oliver St. John; the Earl of Warwick, Lord Brooke, and Lord Mandeville and Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Thomas Barrington, and Sir John Clotworthy. All became patrons of Hartlib. (13)

In the early days of the Long Parliament John Gauden, chaplain of the Earl of Warwick, delivered a sermon commending Hartlib's contacts Dury and Comenius to the House and calling on it "to consider whether it were not worthy the naive and honour of this State and Church to invite these men to you, to see and weigh their noble and excellent designs, to give them all public aid and encouragement to go on and perfect so happy works, which tend to the advancing of truth and peace." (14) Gauden was himself probably unfamiliar with these designs. According to Trevor-Roper, he had been "briefed" by Pym, Warwick, and their associates.

(Gauden would later author *Eikon Basilike*, [i.e., "kingly image"], the sentimental defense of the "martyred" Charles I, which Milton promptly answered in *Eikonoclastes*, his first commissioned work as Latin Secretary.)

The alliance between Hartlib and the Providence Island Company group was many-sided. Pym made use of Hartlib's extensive network of foreign contacts for political intelligence, Hartlib urged Pym to engage John Christophe de Berg, the Moravian expert in mine drainage techniques and mechanical inventions, in 1638 on Pym's own estate. The ideological flavoring of the alliance is suggested by the following: John Stoughton, another of the many clerical clients of the Earl of Warwick, bequeathed a pamphlet to Hartlib in 1639 which he had written for a Hungarian Protestant about to return to Transylvania. It was dedicated to George Rakoci, Prince of Transylvania and the last remaining champion of the Protestants in southeast Europe. The tide was about to turn, Stoughton predicted, the princes of the world would rise up against popish Babylon, and the House of Austria would fall.

After Pym died on the battlefield in 1643, his step-brother Francis Rous and another Independent, Oliver St. John, took over as the principal patrons of Hartlib and his designs.

As a group, Warwick and the Providence Island Company which was under his political leadership had an entirely distinct outlook from that of the East India Company, whose dominance they were to challenge in the decades leading up to the calling of Parliament in 1640. By the early 1630s the East India-Levant merchants were bringing in one-third to one-half of London's imports and were by far the dominant merchant group, having superceded the Merchant Adventurers and other companies which were oriented to the Northern European cloth trade, now in depression. The guiding policy of the East India-Levant merchants was buy cheap, sell dear, and they explicitly shunned any long-term capital investment. This policy was carried out so faithfully that by 1625 the great merchants of London had completely dropped out of the American colonial trade, because an initial fixed investment was required to gear up the colonial plantations for production, and the trade was developed outside of traditional corporate control — by venture capitalists like the Earl of Warwick. (15)

The East India Company merchants' profits did not derive only from the import trade as such. Between 1620 and 1640 six of the men who headed the syndicates in control of the farm of the Great Customs were East India Company directors. Thus the merchants' income was greatly enhanced through their controlling the most profitable monopoly of lending the King his own an-



Robert Cecil, a founder of today's Black Guelph British intelligence networks, fostered conflict between England and Spain to block impulses toward an Anglo-Spanish entente and to disorient Puritan leaders.

icipated revenues for a fee and at the current usurious rate of interest.

This was only the beginning of the East India merchants' venal dealings. East India merchants like Thomas Mun, a director of the company, were the leading advocates of the unimpeded export of gold and silver bullion, ostensibly because their import trade depended on it. Their rivals, however, suspected that the licenses to export bullion were a cover for illegal smuggling — and with good reason. The English East India Company had been founded in 1600 as a result of the 1598 treaty between England and the United Provinces, which provided for the fusing of the capital and maritime expertise of the English company and its Dutch counterpart, the Universal East India Company founded in 1602, and the East India merchants promptly became the English front men for Amsterdam's chief means of depredation against the English economy.

Utilizing their Amsterdam contacts, the merchants exported shiploads of English bullion to the Amsterdam Mint, where, due to the rigging of the exchange rate for English currency, they could get a higher price for their bullion than at the English Mint. The result was a shortage of bullion in England, a depreciating currency, and chronic price inflation. This plundering of England's wealth was what Henry Robinson called "the most beneficial state to be wished for"!

The looting of the English economy via the bullion drain, first by the Fuggers' Antwerp and then by Genoese-Amsterdam interests, was an old story. (16) In 1601, for instance, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, a Royal Commission found that a recoinage of the English currency undertaken by the Queen to defeat the coin clippers and foreign predators had failed to achieve its object. The Commission reported that foreign mints were offering a higher price for silver than the English Mint and thus encouraging wholesale export of the precious metal. A new recoinage was undertaken. This was the time-honored measure that Elizabeth and her Tudor ancestors had taken in their efforts to outwit their predatory Flemish and Genoese creditors. All the coinage in the realm would be hauled into the Mint and recoined at the lower, debased bullion content, enabling the Crown to repay its debts in officially debased coinage! However, as in the earlier cases, the recoinage ordered in 1601 had only the most temporary effects.

The bullion drain was aggravated by the existence of bimetalism, which meant that the Mint had the impossible task of keeping the value of the English currency aligned with the market price of not one but two monetary metals. It was invariably the case that there was a wide variance between the official prices of the two metals relative to each other and their relative market prices. The "faulty" ratio set by the Mint between the prices of gold and silver afforded speculators, like the East India merchants, a veritable field day. Currency arbitragers would import the cheaper metal (silver), have it coined at the Mint, and use it to purchase the dearer metal (gold). They would export the dearer, use it to buy up more of the cheaper, import that, and so on... until England had no gold!

Who were the ultimate beneficiaries of this currency warfare? One Philip Burlamachi, a financier of Italian extraction, was for twenty years a financial agent for James I and Charles I, in partnership with his brother-in-law Philip Calendrini stationed in Amsterdam. Burlamachi was among the "merchant strangers" rounded up and thrown in the Tower by the Crown in 1619 on charges of having illegally exported coin to Amsterdam. Keeping him company were a host of other merchant strangers and East India merchants.

It was the imposition of a cancerous debt on the

English Crown and other European royalty and governments by the Fuggers and the Genoese — the Crown was only in debt because it was forced to contract pyramiding short-term loans at usurious interest rates — and the collateral debasement of the coinage resulting from the bullion drain which fueled the great inflation of the century up to 1640 — not the influx of gold and silver from the New World which credulous economic historians cite as the cause. The combined effects of inflation and the growing exactions of the Crown in turn forced the peers and gentry who lacked income-bearing offices to put themselves in hock to the great money-lender goldsmiths of London — men like John Dacombe, Chancellor of the Exchequer and man of affairs of James I's chief minister, Robert Cecil — Lord Salisbury. The plight of the gentry and nobles who were excluded from money-making financial offices is suggested by the bad fortunes of Sir Oliver Cromwell, the elder brother of the future Lord Protector. To hold on to his Essex estates Sir Oliver went into ever-increasing debt to the London moneylenders Sir John Spenser, Sir Richard Smyth, and Thomas Sutton, and finally the only way he could clear those debts was through the sale of his estates to wealthy office-holders. (17)

THE BEGINNINGS OF WHIGGERY

While discontent was brewing in England over the Crown's increasing financial depredations, Amsterdam was preparing a second, "liberal" option within the court circle. Exemplary of this second class of Amsterdam's agents was Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, the apprentice of the Genoese Horatio Palavicino. (18) On domestic policy, Salisbury went through the motions of redressing some of the old grievances like wardship and purveyance and the new impositions which James laid on merchandise to keep up with his debts to his creditors. (Of course, it was Salisbury who brought up James' customs revenues from 86,000 pounds to 120,000 pounds and again to 125,000 pounds per annum through arbitrary impositions.) The culmination of Salisbury's career was the Great Contract he proposed as Lord Treasurer to Parliament in 1610 in an attempt to buy off the opposition in Parliament. Under the Great Contract James was to abolish the Court of Wards, one of the most hated feudal remnants, and in return was to receive a fixed annual income from Parliament of 200,000 pounds per annum. The contract fell through in the end because Parliament refused to underwrite James to the amount he wanted, and because James remained intransigent on heated issues such as the legality of his impositions, taxes arbitrarily imposed without the consent of Parliament.

Salisbury's foreign policy was profiled against the anti-Hapsburg strategy of the Tudor humanists, which was

kept alive during the reign of James I by surviving members of the Dudley faction such as Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador to the Republic of Venice. Salisbury's aim in promoting the "Protestant cause" was to further the insidious Genoese-Amsterdam strategy of keeping Europe embroiled in "religious" wars, which filled the coffers of Amsterdam financiers and munitions manufacturers like de Geer and prevented the emergence of independent capitalist nation states across Europe. Salisbury, the "onely supporter of the *Protestants* faction" (emphasis original) (19), was beside himself in 1606, when Wotton pledged English forces to the side of Venice in its struggle against the — at that moment — Hapsburg-allied papacy, at the same time that France's King Henry IV was planning to attack Spanish-occupied northern Italy and deliver a decisive blow to the Hapsburg power. (20)

Salisbury succeeded in exploiting the anti-Hapsburg, anti-Catholic ideology for his own purposes. By all accounts of the famous Gunpowder Plot, Salisbury either masterminded or knew of and nurtured this improbable plot by English Catholics to blow up the English Parliament and King. The "discovery" of the plot by Salisbury's agents in 1605 provided Salisbury with the pretext for a crackdown in the Dudley family's home base in Warwickshire, where the motley plotters had attempted to seed a rebellion — with no success — which was to go off after the explosion in Westminster, and against the vestigial Catholic humanist networks throughout England. The Gunpowder Plot was also the occasion for the imposition of new recusancy fines (paid by Catholics who refused to take the new Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance). In a single stroke Salisbury increased the Crown's 320,000 pound annual revenue by an additional 100,000 pounds. And Robert Cecil, already Earl of Salisbury, was admitted to the elite Order of the Garter, whose membership was limited to a select twenty-four individuals in all of Europe.

Salisbury concluded his career with a final act which was to rouse the English nation's feeling of solidarity with Protestants throughout Europe and make the anti-Catholic crusade the red herring of the next several decades: in 1613 shortly before his death Salisbury arranged the marriage of James' daughter Princess Elizabeth to the leader of the Protestant Union, Frederick V, Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate. (20)

Francis Bacon followed in his cousin Salisbury's footsteps keeping up the "anti-Spanish" stratagem and attempting to woo the opposition in Parliament. Bacon had so successfully profiled the opposition that in 1614 the House of Commons made Bacon an exception to the rule that forbids attorneys general, the post which Bacon then held, from sitting in the House. Meanwhile Bacon was building up a reputation for himself as a "modern"

and a reformer through pseudo-utopian works like the *New Atlantis*, written in the period between the dissolution of Parliament in 1614 and his appointment as Lord Keeper in 1617. "To carry out this program [of reconciling court and Parliament] would have been to avert the evils of the next half century," claimed S.R. Gardiner, the nineteenth century biographer and apologist of Bacon. "He was the man capable of preventing a catastrophe by anticipating the demands of the age." (21)

Sir Francis, however, was so patently in league with the hated East India merchants who controlled the Great Farm of the customs — as Lord Chancellor he was responsible for legitimizing the sale of monopoly-patents to the favorites — that he was impeached by the Parliament of 1621 by men like the Earl of Warwick. Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chancellor's life-long opponent, reappeared in that Parliament, and was one of the influential men who brought down the Lord Chancellor. Bacon and Coke had been bitter rivals for everything from a succession of top legal offices to the woman who became Coke's wife, but the main substantive issue they battled over was the issue of royal prerogative. In 1611 Coke had denied the authority of the Court of High Commission (the ecclesiastical prerogative court) to punish by fines or imprisonment (one of the Crown's methods of raising royal revenues), Coke's position being that even the King was bound to act within the law. In 1616 Coke's repeated challenges to arbitrary acts of the Crown led to his dismissal from his post of Chief Justice, the highest lay legal office. Bacon, on the other hand, consistently upheld the King's prerogative, and Coke's dismissal from office was followed by Bacon's steady rise to the office of Lord Chancellor in 1618.

As Parliament opened in 1621, the Commons brought up its chief grievance — the monopoly-patents — and it was about to nail Buckingham, the royal favorite, for his dealings in them. Buckingham moved quickly to divert attention from himself by pointing the finger at Bacon, who as head of the Council of Referees bore primary responsibility for upholding their legality. The impeachment proceedings against Bacon began; however, they ended in charges against Bacon for taking bribes in cases he was trying as Lord Chancellor, a less substantive issue. Bacon was deprived of office, but his stay in the Tower was short. James soon remitted the huge fine levied against him, and by early 1622, the exiled Bacon was allowed to return to London — all of which suggests that the impeachment proceedings may have been a clever ploy to pacify a parliamentary opposition up in arms over the monopoly-patents and that Bacon may have been a willing sacrificial victim. Following his return to London he settled down and devoted himself to "scientific" investigations.



Rembrandt's 1661 "Syndics of the Cloth Guild" — characterizing the evil of the Dutch mercantilists — was a weapon in the battle within Holland between the Orange monetarists and the humanist followers of de Witt.

Among the members of Parliament returned for the first time in 1621 were John Pym and John Hampden, leaders of the opposition in the House when Parliament was called in 1640. Warwick would have been present in 1621 on the Lords side, and it would have been in keeping with his principled opposition to the practices of the East India Company group to challenge the legality of the monopoly-patents, which were in the hands of this opposing, monetarist group. These facts suggest two things: first, that in subsequently building up the myth of Bacon as the exemplary "modern," Amsterdam pulled off a highly successful deception campaign; and second, that the Pym and the Warwicks were willing to compromise on the issue of maintaining the parasitic financial practices of customs farming and the like.

Acting along "Baconian" policy lines, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who succeeded Bacon as Lord Chancellor after his impeachment, opened Parliament in 1624 with a resounding speech which urged the postponement of all business except the voting of supplies for the Palatinate — the issue closest to the heart of the

parliamentary opposition. The House, however, realized that Williams was using the issue of the Palatinate to dupe it into coughing up more money for James to pay off his creditors. Meanwhile, James had packed off Prince Charles and the royal favorite, Buckingham, to Madrid, to win the hand, and, more important, the dowry of the Spanish Infanta for the same purpose. Both attempts were utter failures. Buckingham threw Williams aside in 1625, turning to William Laud and his overtly repressive methods. The next time Williams, Bacon's executor, emerges in a prominent position is as the leader of the clerical opposition to Laud in the House of Lords in 1640 and as Samuel Hartlib's chief clerical patron.

THE PREREVOLUTIONARY DECADE

The primary determinant of politics during the reign of Charles I, who acceded to the throne in 1625, was the Crown's debt. In 1628 the Petition of Right was drawn up in the Commons laying down the constitutional

principle that no subject should be forced to make a loan to the Crown or pay an arbitrary tax without an act of Parliament. Charles I shortly afterwards dissolved Parliament and began his eleven years of rule without Parliament. With no Parliament to vote him subsidies, Charles and his ministers initiated a series of unprecedented financial expedients — the enlargement of royal forests, taking back land and rents now in the hands of the gentry, imposition of fines on men who would not pay the exorbitant fee of being knighted, the attempt by Archbishop Laud to “recover for the Church” tithe income being collected by lay impropiators. The Star Chamber, the royal prerogative court, and the High Commission, its ecclesiastical counterpart, were the chief instruments used to extort money and deal savage treatment to individuals like the future Leveller leader John Lilburne, who challenged their authority and lost his ears. The atrocities committed by Archbishop Laud and his hoodlums against the Puritans during the reign of Thorough had as much to do with religion as the persecutions of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, on behalf of the Fuggers and later Genoese bankers during the Europe’s “religious wars.”

One of the intriguing, little-told chapters in the history of the reign of Charles I was the attempt by the Crown and its ministers, in conjunction with Spain, to check the power of the Genoese bankers. Between 1611 and 1630 the English Mint was practically inactive as far as silver was concerned, because of the more favorable price offered by foreign mints. Spain was hopelessly in debt to her Genoese creditors and could barely pay the administrative costs of maintaining the Spanish Netherlands. Spanish silver from Mexico was carried in Genoese ships through the Mediterranean, and Genoese merchants and bankers in turn put the Spaniards in funds at Antwerp.

In 1630 Spain and England signed a new peace accord. Sir Francis Cottington, the ambassador who negotiated this peace on behalf of England, arranged an agreement at the same time bearing on the Mint. Under the terms of the agreement, all the money required by Spain for financing her operations in Flanders, instead of traveling the circuitous Mediterranean route in Genoese ships, was brought to England in English ships. One-third of the silver was taken to the English Mint and coined, being paid for with bills upon Antwerp, and the rest was shipped to Flanders. This agreement was expected to benefit both sides, providing the English Mint with badly wanted silver and putting the Spaniard in funds in Flanders without the mediation of their Genoese creditors. (21)

In fact, whether by the intention of inside agents or not, the Treaty turned out to be a windfall for the speculators. With millions of pounds worth of heavy

silver coins issuing from the Mint between 1630 and 1640, the goldsmiths of Lombard Street set up special organizations for collecting and sifting through other peoples’ money, paying several percent per day for the opportunity. The newly minted coins were sorted out, melted down in the goldsmiths’ pots, and loaded on ships for Amsterdam. In 1634 a London goldsmith named Thomas Violet, a native of Antwerp who had extensive Dutch associates, was dragged before the Star Chamber and charged with illegally exporting gold and silver bullion. Before being thrown in the Tower he informed on dozens of others like himself, telling of the special organizations that had been set up in the wake of the Treaty. (Violet later was chosen to occupy an important financial post under the Protectorate, because of his expertise in financial matters! He urged Cromwell to establish “free ports” in England and encourage Dutch merchants and goldsmiths to settle in them, “the next best thing to their being incorporated into one nation with us.”)

“Gold and silver are very scarce, and the kingdom is impoverished,” Sir Thomas Roe told the Commons in 1640. “Money has been drawn away into other kingdoms, especially France and Holland, where it is worth more.” (22) Roe was addressing the chronic situation and also the immediate crunch imposed on the Crown by Amsterdam in 1639-40, coincident with the Presbyterian rebellions in Scotland known as the Bishops’ Wars. There is no lack of primary documentation of the fact that Amsterdam was responsible for the “scarcity of money.” Edward Rossingham, a letter writer of the period, reported that it was discussed in the Common Council of London in March 1639 “that there was little trade and little money stirring, the Dutch having called in two hundred thousand pounds which merchants had of them at use, besides that other monied men called in their debts.” (23) In June in response to Charles’ request for new loans Alderman Henry Pratt, a staunch supporter of the Crown, “gave no hope, considering the scarcity of monies and the great damp of trade, the merchant strangers having called in their monies and shut up their banks.” (24) In the spring of 1640 the City was again approached for a loan, but the problem was again the lack of security — the revenues of the Crown were already pledged through the end of 1644 — and the scarcity of money, the Dutch having again called in their funds.

The question of why Amsterdam pulled the plug on Charles when it did is an intriguing subject for further investigation. One motivation was undoubtedly the fact that the Crown had virtually run out of revenues and estates to mortgage, and the possibility of a royal debt repudiation loomed, in the fine tradition of Edward III. In fact, in June of 1640, after no funds were forthcoming

from the City and after the Short Parliament had refused to vote Charles supplies before Charles listened to their grievances. King Charles put a royal "stop" on the issues of the Mint, leaving his angry creditors holding their "tallies" and various other sorts of paper claims on the Mint. Eventually a bargain was struck with the creditors, and they were allowed two-thirds of the coin due to them at once, while the rest was rolled over for another six months, on the security of the customs, at 8 percent. Nevertheless, the event caused great distress, as Samuel Pepys, the fastidious diarist, was to recall after the Restoration. In reporting the event, one twentieth century historian of English banking commented, "There is no doubt, however, that the affair caused great consternation against the merchants. It was long spoken of as proving how unsafe a great national bank such as the Bank of Amsterdam would be under a monarchy." (25)

The famous 1640 "stop" thus confirmed Amsterdam's worst fears that Charles, with something of an independent machine, was not entirely reliable in times of crisis. Moreover, he had shown certain impulses to break with Amsterdam's control — viz. the 1630 silver treaty — and besides, the heavy-handed methods employed by his chief ministers Laud and Stafford in extracting debt service from the English nation were stirring up mass opposition to his regime and had precipitated a major taxpayers' revolt. A "constitutional monarchy," on the other hand, with the appearance of government by broad consensus, might enable the government to broaden the tax base and put the looting on a sounder basis.

The taxpayers' revolt was organized by the future opposition leaders in the Long Parliament against continued payment of shipmoney, one of the financial expedients implemented by Charles' ministers after 1629. The tax involved the extension of the monarch's feudal right to demand ships or their money equivalent from coastal towns in times of national emergency. Coming on top of all the other taxes imposed by Charles without the consent of Parliament, shipmoney became the focal point of the opposition's challenge to royal prerogative.

However, one interesting point about shipmoney which should be considered, as historians sympathetic to Charles have pointed out, is that the money raised through this tax on all propertied individuals was actually applied to the building and equipping of ships. In fact, the ships built by Charles formed the nucleus of the Commonwealth's navy. In addition, the peace struck with Spain in 1630 allowed for a significant increase in England's trade and a corresponding increase in the national wealth, and by 1638 the Crown's revenue met its current expenses, though it was not large enough to pay off the considerable standing debt. (26) The threat of

war from Dutch-allied Presbyterian Scotland, however, immediately upset the financial equilibrium. (27)

The resistance to the shipmoney tax — on the grounds that it was an illegal exaction, imposed without parliamentary consent — was led by members of the Providence Island Company. In 1637 the Earl of Warwick, Lord Saye and Sele, and their business partner, John Hampden, forced a decision in the courts on the legality of shipmoney by refusing to pay the tax. Hampden's refusal became the test case; Warwick and Saye and Sele's refusals were ignored. The judges, who had been appointed by Charles, upheld the legality of the tax, but by only the slimmest majority. By 1638 a general taxpayers' revolt was on. That year 61 percent of the assessed shipmoney tax was not paid.

This incapacitating revolt coincided with the onset of the Presbyterian rebellion in Scotland in 1639 and the sudden scarcity of money engineered by the Dutch the same year. The Treaty of Berwick signed in June 1639 brought to an end the First Bishops' War, but the well-trained Scottish troops under Alexander Leslie, which had lately returned from serving under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War, remained poised on the Scottish-English border. To raise supplies to deal with his rebellious Scottish subjects, Charles was finally compelled to listen to Parliament.

As soon as the Long Parliament was seated in November 1640 the Providence Island Company group — Pym, Hampden, Sir Henry Vane the younger, and Oliver St. John in the Commons, and Lords Warwick, Brooke, and Saye and Sele in the upper House — moved ahead with articles of impeachment against Laud and Stafford, Charles' ministers, not yet challenging the monarchy itself. Acts were passed abolishing the Crown's claim to impose customs duties without a grant from Parliament, the courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, and the proroguing of Parliament without its consent.

Outside the halls of Parliament, a new political force was fast becoming a decisive factor in English politics. On December 11, 1640 a petition was signed by 15,000 Londoners, among them the skilled artisans who would make up the London militia, calling for the abolition of episcopacy, the instrument of arbitrary government, and tithes, the revenue which supported it.

JOHN MILTON, POET AND REPUBLICAN

Early the following year another principal in the subsequent events was also entering the political stage. John Milton, who had spent the last decade preparing himself for service to his country and who had lately returned to England from the continent on receiving the news that his native land was heading toward civil war,

joined the heated controversy over tithes and the episcopacy. In the space of the next year he would pen five widely read antiepisopal tracts, (28) whose basic argument was that, like the papacy, the episcopacy, which decked itself out with the pretense of religion, was a despotic institution which had usurped civil power. The full significance of Milton's attack on tithes and the state church — the theme on which he begins and ends his career as a political pamphleteer — is usually not appreciated. He was attacking the tithe-supported state church, first the episcopacy and later the "moderate" Presbyterian version, as a feudal social and economic institution, based on sheer looting, and thus addressing the core issue of the revolution.

Nor are the broad implications of Milton's theological views usually recognized. To Milton's eighteenth century clerical readers the central idea in his theology — his insistence on man's free will to know and carry out Divine Providence — was just one of the unsettling paradoxes that the poet liked to indulge in. Properly understood, Milton's twin notions of Providence, the existence of a lawfully ordered universe, and Free Will, man's capacity to know and carry forward the universe's purpose, are the epistemological basis, clothed in religious terms, for Hartlib's capitalist program of voluntarist human intervention to perfect nature.

In what did Milton's service to his nation consist? In the two decades which followed Milton was to provide the English Revolution with the intellectual leadership that no one else in England was equipped to give. Milton's unique contribution hinged principally on two things. First, he had the clearest grasp of anyone in England of the republican-humanist tradition as it had existed in Renaissance Europe and Tudor England. Milton had deliberately accessed that tradition in his reading of Dante, Machiavelli, Bodin, Bruno, Roger Bacon, and Avicenna, as well as Latin and Greek authors. (29) Cromwell, by contrast, knew this tradition at best secondhand, through the writings of Walter Raleigh, whose *History of the World* was the one book he recommended to his son to read.

The task Milton set for himself of deliberately assimilating the highest achievements of past cultures was bound up with a more fundamental quality. This was the sense of divine election which he shared with his tragic hero Samson, the quality which, if in less self-conscious form, was the motive force which impelled Cromwell and the New Model Army to sweep away all the rotten institutions of past history and found a secular republic in England. This powerful religious emotion is the fundamental substance which informs all of Milton's poetry and which he directly celebrated in his "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," written shortly after his twenty-first birthday as a "birthday gift to Christ."

(30) The subject of the poem, the birth of Christ, the Neoplatonic Word, whose very birth routs the pagan gods and effects a sweeping reordering of the universe, struck a deep chord with the young Milton who was already convinced of his own world-historical identity.

The twenty-one year old Milton who was so assured of his powers for effecting subsequent world history was the direct heir of the inner circle of Tudor humanists and the inheritor of their secret knowledge. The poet's father, John Milton the elder, was an accomplished musician, renowned for having composed an *In Nomine* in forty or eighty parts, depending on the account, for the occasion of the visit of a Hessian prince to Queen Elizabeth's court. The elder Milton belonged to a circle of musicians and poets which included Thomas Morley and Dr. John Bull, whose musical achievements were to play a formative role in the music of J.S. Bach. Their experiments with poetry and music in the closing years of the sixteenth century made English poets more aware of the possibilities of using contrapuntal interplay between the underlying meter of verse and the speech rhythms of



Charles I: Amsterdam banking interests were responsible both for his ruinous fiscal policies and for the managed credit crisis that precipitated his downfall. (Shown in a detail from the triple portrait by Van Dyck.)

the English language for expressing a greater range of conceptions and emotions. These experiments were to have their fruit in the poetry of Shakespeare and John Milton, the musician's son.

After educating John at home — a course which emphasized the study of music, languages, and the writing of poetry — the elder Milton sent his son to St. Paul's, the famous school which had been founded by Dr. John Colet, mercer, in 1512 (in the reign of Henry VIII) to provide free education to workingmen's children. Colet was assisted by his friend Erasmus in drawing up the school's curriculum and composing two works on the Latin language. When John Milton entered the school in 1617 it was under the direction of Alexander Gill, Sr. and his son, Alexander Gill, Jr. "Old Mr. Gill" was a noted Latinist, known for a treatise he wrote in 1597 defending the dialectical notion of the Trinity against an Anabaptist who denied the divinity of Christ. Under the tutelage of the Gills, Milton mastered the Greek and Roman classics, the writings of the Church Fathers, and contemporary works by Sylvester, the English translator of the French Calvinist poet DuBartas, Spenser, and others.

The Tudor humanists' thoroughly antiacademic relation to classical studies is suggested by the fate of the first lectureship in history established at Cambridge in 1627 by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, the client of John Milton, elder, a scrivener by profession, and the youthful friend of Philip Sidney: the lectureship was promptly terminated on the grounds that its holder, Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, was using his lectures on the *Annals* of Tacitus to spread subversive republican ideas. (31)

Milton's term at Cambridge was noteworthy primarily for the hatred it engendered in him of scholasticism — "the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry." (32) Meanwhile, he was independently forming the striking intellectual biases which characterized his later activity: his conviction of the superiority of Plato vis-a-vis Aristotle (as evidenced in his highly ironical treatment of Aristotle's incomprehension of Plato's Universals in "De Idea Platonica"), and his preference for Erasmus over Luther because of Erasmus's insistence on the existence of free will. While at Cambridge Milton defended George Hakewill's "Apology of the Declaration of the Power of God in the Government of the World, Consisting in an examination and censure of the Common Errour Touching Nature's Perpetual and Universal Decay." Hakewill, a member of the Briggs Gresham College circle, championed the idea of progress against the medieval idea of the inevitable decline in human achievement (a principle that that "modern" Francis Bacon maintained).

The period from Milton's departure from Cambridge

in June 1632 and his departure on his Italian trip in May 1638 was one of intensive self-education. We know from his *Commonplace Book* that in addition to the study of Greek, Latin, mathematics, and music, he embarked for the first time on a clearly conceived course of historical study — which he described as part of a self-conscious program to prepare himself for service to his country and to write an immortal epic poem.

In April of 1638, shortly before leaving for the continent, Milton paid a visit to his neighbor Sir Henry Wotton, the former ambassador to Venice, who had been an intimate of the network of European humanists which radiated out from the University of Leyden, the project of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Dutch Republican leader William the Silent. This network included such illustrious figures as the Dutch Republican Hugo Grotius, Franciscus Junius the elder and his son Franciscus Junius the younger, the members of the Italian Protestant Diodati family, Hubert Languet — Philip Sidney's educator — and Gallileo. In 1620 Wotton tried to convince Kepler to settle in England, under the patronage of James I, and he was successful in bringing to England Isaac Casaubon, the Greek scholar who had been librarian to France's Henry IV. Wotton provided the thirty-year-old Milton — the designated successor of the Tudor humanists — with letters of introduction which put him in touch with the exiled Grotius, who was in Paris serving as the ambassador of Queen Christina of Sweden, Gallileo, Dr. Giovanni Diodati, the Catholic humanists Cardinal Barbarini and Lucas Holstenius, and other survivors of the European humanist faction. (33)

Returning to England from his trip to the continent in 1639 Milton knew that he had to implant the humanist tradition in England — Italy, the home of the Renaissance, had been laid waste by Hapsburg looting; nothing had been written in that country for years except "flattery and fustian." (34) In early 1642 in *The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty*, the fourth of his antiepiscopal tracts and the first to which he signed his name, Milton revealed that his Italian trip had confirmed him in his poetic and political calling: "I applied myself . . . to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue . . . to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island, in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion — with this over and above being a Christian — might do for mine . . ." (35)

In *The Reason of Church Government* . . . Milton was not yet antimonarchical. His argument, grounded in the belief in the Erasmian notion of the humanist prince,

was that the “ravenous and savage wolves” have undermined and betrayed the monarch — essentially the standpoint of the Long Parliament in trying Laud and Stafford for treason against the Crown. Nor had he yet parted ways with the Presbyterians.

However, the Presbyterians in Parliament would soon be hardening into reaction, while Milton’s own political ideas were advancing. In July 1643 while the Westminster Assembly was meeting — this body would in subsequent months resolve on the creation of a Presbyterian state church — Milton began writing *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, the first of his tracts on the subject. It was published in August and, like his previous tracts, was unlicensed and unregistered. The first printing of 12,000 or more copies was sold out in five to six months. The pamphlet was receiving an unprecedented reception from the London public, and the Presbyterians were up in arms. They denounced Milton for “novelty of license” and “libertinism” and for advocating “divorce at pleasure.” The Presbyterian members of the Assembly succeeded in censoring the third edition; thus Milton’s tract received the same treatment accorded Roger Williams’ *The Bloudy Tenent*. “A wicked book is abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt,” the Presbyterians charged. Milton launched the counterattack in another tract, *The Judgement of Martin Bucher Concerning Divorce* (published August 1644), warning of the “danger of new fetters and captivity after all our hopes and labors lost.” The old ecclesiastical thraldom was returning “under new shapes and disguises.” Present-day readers may find it difficult to understand why it was Milton’s divorce tracts that so outraged the Presbyterians. The subversiveness of these tracts lay in the fact that they were an explicit affirmation of the idea of human spiritual and mental development. The union of the soul, “due company of mind,” was the true end of marriage, Milton argued, and an unfit marriage was hell. “Instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcasses chained unalterably together.” (36) On these grounds Milton was advocating the reform of the divorce laws.

CIVIL WAR

The division of Parliament into Presbyterian and Independent parties also became evident during the civil war which broke out in October 1642. The Presbyterians only wanted to inflict sufficient losses on the King to force him to negotiate with Parliament, while the Independents pursued a “win-the-war” strategy. Among the most vigorous opponents of temporizing Presbyterian generals like Essex and Manchester was Oliver Cromwell, lieutenant-general of the famous Eastern

Association. On November 25, 1644 Cromwell attacked his own general, Manchester, before Parliament for being always “indisposed and backward to engagements.” The Self-Denying Ordinance depriving all peers and members of Parliament of their commissions was soon introduced by the Independents in Parliament — a tactic to remove the Presbyterians from leading military offices. Cromwell, though a member of Parliament, was shortly re-appointed to his commission. Early the next year the New Model Ordinance was passed effecting a reorganization of the army in conformity with Cromwell’s own war-winning military principles. In 1643 Cromwell had told his cousin John Hampden in his characteristically direct manner, “I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, then what you call a ‘gentleman’ and is nothing else.” (37)

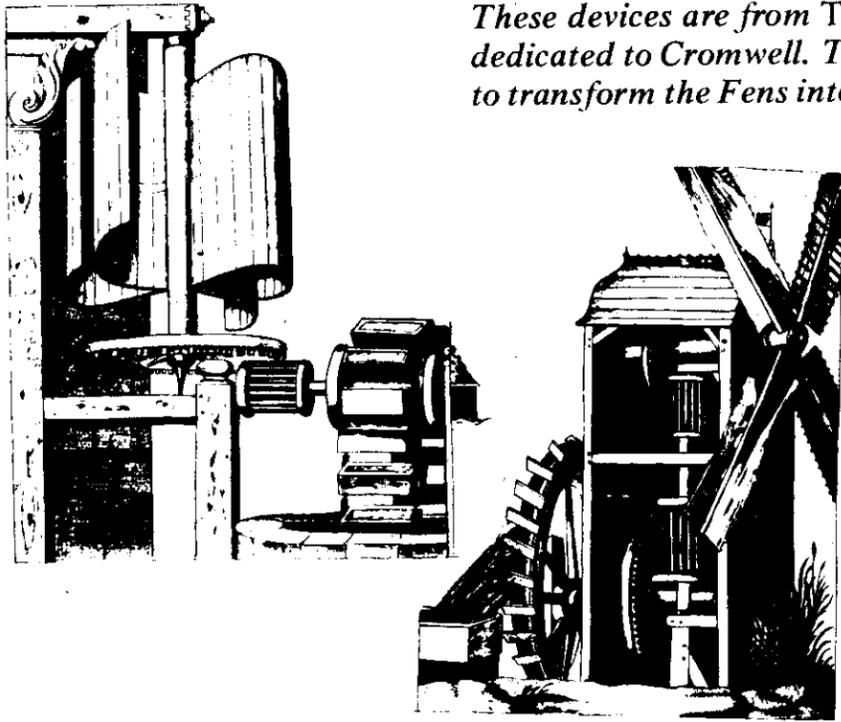
At the end of the first civil war the Presbyterian majority in Parliament attempted to check the growing influence of the democratically constituted army by sending part of it off to fight in Ireland and disbanding the rest. Having accomplished this, the Presbyterians would be able to enter into negotiations with the King. Cromwell and other generals joined the army’s Leveller-dominated rank and file in opposing the dissolution. The Solemn Engagement of the Army presented to Parliament on June 5, 1647 proclaimed that the army would not “willingly disband or divide, or suffer itself to be disbanded or divided” and called for the dissolution of Parliament and new elections.

In the meantime the army began debating two proposed constitutions at Putney in October, the Generals’ Heads of Proposal and the Levellers’ Agreement of the People. Cromwell terminated the debate after it reached an impasse, and subsequently put down a mutiny in predominantly Leveller regiments. In the meantime, Charles had escaped to the Isle of Wight and signed an agreement with the royalist Scottish commissioners in London. When the second civil war broke out the King, Presbyterians, and Scots were aligned against Cromwell’s army and the Parliamentary Independents.

The army’s second victory was easily won. At the close Cromwell and the Generals revived their alliance with the London Levellers, and the city was occupied. In 1648 the Presbyterians were forcibly excluded from Parliament by Colonel Pride and his stalwart soldiers; shortly afterwards the conniving King was tried, and on January 30, 1649 he was executed as a traitor to the Commonwealth of England.

From the moment it was established in 1649, the English republic was virtually a garrison state, under constant attack from Stuartist and Orangist-backed forces based in Scotland and Ireland. Cromwell and the

Windmills designed for draining the Fens north of London, a project promoted by Cromwell. These devices are from *The English Improver Improved*, written by William Blith in 1652 and dedicated to Cromwell. The book described in detail methods of drainage, as well as a program to transform the Fens into productive farmland after drainage.



A page from the 1675 edition of John Worlidge's *Systema Agriculturae*, being the Mystery of Husbandry Discovered and layd open, originally published in 1669. Written after the Restoration, this book is indicative of the spirit of inquiries into agricultural improvement promoted earlier by Hartlib and his circle.

Council of State were also under bitter attack from their former ally, Leveller leader John Lilburne. Lilburne angrily attacked the newly founded government for failing to immediately enact a broad program of democratic reforms, but he failed to recognize that the reforms he sought were only possible in the context of a capitalist program which fostered the increase of literacy among the population, a rising standard of living, etc. Cromwell, making the same mistake as Lilburne of not understanding the importance of program, answered the Levellers with repression. The Orange party exploited this situation, manipulating Lilburne against the republic. David Masson, the nineteenth century biographer of Milton, notes the regularity with which royalist and Leveller plots against the republic coincided after 1649 (both the Stuartists and Lilburne were conveniently in exile in Amsterdam). (38)

Milton, who had no illusions about the present unreadiness of the majority of the population to "democratically" participate in government, had immediately jumped to the defense of the republic. With the publication of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in February 1649, Milton became the first Englishman of mark outside of Parliament to ally himself with the sixty or so men who had signed the King's death warrant and to take upon himself the consequences of that act. A tyrant is "he who regarding neither law or the common good, reigns only for himself and his faction," Milton wrote in *Tenure*; the regicide was justified on the grounds of natural law. Milton also dealt unsparingly with the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians, who now had the gall to attack the newly constituted government as rule by a minority.

Six days after Milton was appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues he was instructed to write a rebuttal to Lilburne's *New Chains Discovered*. The assignment was a difficult one for Milton, because of his own continuing association with the Levellers, and it seems never to have been fulfilled. Masson suggests that Milton deferred as long as he could, and then the rebuttal was no longer necessary — Lilburne was in the Tower. (39)

The solution to the growing disaffection of the Levellers and the republic's vulnerability to the external

attacks was the same: the program for national education and economic development advanced by Milton and Hartlib in their agitational pamphlets. Within England the chief impediment was the landlord Parliament, the "gentlemen" Cromwell grew to have such contempt for.

THE FRUIT OF THE GROUND

The crucial battle in Parliament during the English Revolution was over the continued existence of the state church and tithes. This battle had very little to do with religion, as the disputants on both sides knew very well. Tithes, one-tenth the fruit of the ground, were a thinly disguised form of ground rent.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII had appropriated one-third of all the tithe income in England. After the dirigist policies of Thomas Cromwell, Henry's minister and Oliver Cromwell's ancestor, were stamped out, the proportion of tithe income in the hands of lay impropiators steadily increased, as scores of the younger sons of the English nobility rushed to become clerics to be put on the dole. The extent of laity control of tithes was not even realized during the revolution. Sir Henry Spelman's study of the subject, the *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, though partially completed in 1632, was not published until 1698, after all the principals were dead. His findings were startling, and he was too fearful of the powerful tithe-collecting nobles and gentry to publish them. As a "case study" Spelman had made an investigation of the ownership of the monasteries of Norfolk from the "spoiling of church lands committed by Henry VIII." Among the beneficiaries were Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's chief minister, and Sir Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.

Spelman was one of the propagandists for the Church's campaign to recover Church property in tithes which had passed into the hands of the gentry and the "new" nobility since the dissolution of the monasteries, a blatant financial expedient to replenish the Crown's coffers. In his defense of tithes, *Tithes Too Hot to Be Touched*, Spelman argued shamelessly from precedent that every man is obligated to pay tithes because Abraham and Jacob and a long list of other biblical and historical personages did. Tithes are due by the Law of Nature (Mother Nature); they are "paid out of whatever the ground yieldeth." The original rent collector is God. "God is originally feifed of tithes to his own use, *in dominico suo, et de feodo*, in his own demesne . . . and being so feifed by his Charter dated, year after the flood, he granted them over to the Levites . . . so that the Levites are merely Tenants in tail. . . ."

In so stubbornly voting to maintain tithes and the state church during the English Revolution, Parliament was

expressing its commitment to the principle of ground rent and the feudal ideology which went along with it.

The republican critics of tithes, on the other hand, attacked tithes as the opening blow against ground rent. In his *Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings Out of the Church*, Milton analyzed tithes as a disguised form of taxation on the nation to support a nonproductive class of men calling themselves clerics. Milton's remedy was, in effect, end the free lunch and put the clergy on a pay-as-you-go basis. Anyone who has ever read an eighteenth century English novel knows the consequences which Milton foresaw. Every other male above the class of tenant farmer or urban laborer is a "clergyman" with a "living."

Milton's republican correspondent Moses Wall, who had been a chaplain to the Earl of Warwick during the Civil War, pointedly wrote in a letter in 1659 that the continuation of tithes and copyhold (a feudal form of land tenure) was the chief obstacle to economic progress:

. . . whilst people are not free, but straightened in accommodations for life, their spirits will be dejected and servile; and conducing to that end [of rousing them], there should be an improving of our native commodities, as our manufacturers, our fisheries, our fens, our forests, and commons, and our trade at sea, &c.; which would give the body of the nation a comfortable subsistence. And the breaking of that cursed yoke of tithes would much help thereto. Also another thing I cannot but mention; which is that the Norman Conquest and Tyranny is continued upon the nation without any thought of removing it: I mean the tenure of land by copyhold, and holding for life under a lord, or rather, tyrant, of a manner, whereby people care not to improve their land by cost upon it, not knowing how soon themselves or their may be outes it, nor what the house is in which they live for the same reason; and they are far more enslaved to the lord of the manor than the rest of the nation is to a king or supreme magistrate. (40)

The standard view, taking a cue from Marxist historiography and Marx's own writings, is that during the period between 1640 and 1660 there was an acceleration of the tendency toward capitalist agriculture, which is characterized by most historians and political economists as the consolidation of large landed estates, expropriation of the peasantry, production for the market, etc. (41) As testimony such as Wall's suggests, however, agricultural improvement took place only on a limited scale within the straightened circumstances imposed by remnants of feudalism. When in 1646 the Presbyterian-dominated Parliament abolished feudal tenures, under which many of the great families were still considered tenants of the Crown and under obligation to pay a small rent into the royal exchequer, Parliament let it be understood that all rents due to manorial lords still had to be paid — and they have been down to the present. As for tithes, they continued to be collected in England down to the Tithe Commutation Acts (1836-

60), at which point they were not abolished but turned into a corn rent, an additional rent charge on all lands liable to tithes at the point they were commuted!

Seventeenth-century English agriculture was at best a hybrid form, which involved certain features of capitalist agriculture, namely, limited investment in new seed strains and other improvements, grafted onto fundamentally feudal forms of land tenure, the unhappy partnership of the landlord and the rent-paying farmer. The fruit of this "capitalist revolution" in seventeenth-century agriculture was the consolidation of the great landed estates of the eighteenth-century Whig oligarchy, whose disinclination to make large fixed investments stifled not only agricultural development but the development of England's coal resources and delayed the industrial revolution.

The history of the fight within Parliament over abolishing tithes provides a singular window on the course of the revolution.

In the spring of 1642, in response to the petition signed by 15,000 Londoners, the Independent faction in Parliament introduced a bill which would have rooted out all bishops and ecclesiastical offices above the level of parish priest and abolished the institution of tithes. This was the famous Root and Branch bill, which was introduced by Sir Robert Deering at the request of Cromwell, Haselrig, and Vane. It was passed in May; however, it was delayed for action and then dropped by mutual consent upon the opening of the civil war.

During the period of Presbyterian obstruction in Parliament, Milton was writing his *History of Britain* (which was not published until 1670) and prefaced the third book with a tirade against Parliament for appropriating Church wealth — the livings — and not giving any account of it. Milton and Hartlib were urging Parliament to apply the livings to education, turning the monasteries into a system of schools and libraries and colleges for artisans. Here was a way to finance a national system of education and to create the basis for broadening suffrage and establishing a durable republic in England. Their proposals were largely neglected.

Progress on tithes and related issues was no better in the Rump than in the full Long Parliament. The votes were often very close, but the Independents continued to defer to Presbyterian interests. From the end of 1651 to the beginning of 1653 the subjects of tithes, state church, and other controversial reform issues were endlessly discussed in the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose members included Cromwell, Francis Rous, and Sir James Harrington (brother of the author of *Oceana*). While the committee was pondering the various proposals before it, the subject of tithes came up in the House April 1652. It resolved that the committee should "take into speedy consideration how a competent

and convenient maintenance for a godly and able ministry may be settled, in lieu of tithes. . . . And that tithes shall be paid as formerly until such maintenance be settled." (42)

While the Commons and the Independent-dominated committee were thus temporizing, a stream of pamphlets calling for the abolition of the ungodly tithe system was circulating in the streets of London. Roger Williams, defender of liberty of conscience and arch opponent of the state church, was in London at the time, staying at the house of his close friend Sir Henry Vane. Williams was in confidential communication with not only Vane, but with Cromwell, his old friend Milton, Hugh Peters, the Puritan minister, and the Fifth Monarchy Man, Major-General Thomas Harrison, and one can be certain that he was doing as much as he could to influence the parliamentary debate over tithes. In case that tactic was not sufficient, in April Williams published *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, to mobilize the general population in favor of church disestablishment.

Milton, meanwhile, was attempting in his own diabolical way to influence Cromwell. In May 1652 he published the sonnet "To The Lord General Cromwell, On the proposals of certain ministers at the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel." The sonnet, a sincere eulogy to the glorious military leader, concluded with Milton's marching orders to Cromwell: "Help us to save free Conscience from the paw/Of hireling wolves whose Gospel is their maw." In July Milton addressed a companion sonnet to Sir Henry Vane, praising him for knowing the difference between spiritual and civil power, church and state; however, this turned out to be wishful thinking on Milton's part.

The army, the constituency most receptive to republican ideas anywhere in the nation, was also putting pressure on Parliament to enact the wanted reforms. In August 1652 this friendly prodding culminated in a petition which urged the temporizing parliamentarians to act with greater alacrity on a whole host of issues: Propagation of the Gospel (in favor of the dissolution of the state church), abolition of tithes, the ejection of profane and scandalous ministers — of whom there were many — law reform, excise abuses, arrears in payments to the army, and employment of the poor. The final article of the petition was a reminder to Parliament that its own appointed end was fast approaching, and that it was necessary to settle on the composition of the "new representative."

The issue of new elections showed up the fateful weakness of the Commonwealth: the failure on programatic issues. Both sides in the debate over the new elections, the army officers led by Major-General Harrison and the majority of the Rump, recognized that there was still no basis for putting into effect the plans

for extending the suffrage that had been debated in 1649 at Putney. To merely hold elections based on wider suffrage to return a new representative of a full 400 members would have been to open the door to out and out Royalists, reactionary Presbyterians, and God knows what else. The mass of the people were still politically uneducated and would vote as their landlords told them to. The majority of the Rump, led by Vane, Henry Marten, and Arthur Haselrig, supported a bill that provided that all the present members of the Rump should be returned without re-election and reserved for them the right to superintend the elections for the vacant seats and to judge the fitness of the newly elected. It was a bill for the self-perpetuation of the Rump. The bill appears to have been Vane's work, and Vane himself was veering towards the Presbyterians in his opposition to the army's demands for the dissolution of Parliament and the enactment of reforms which challenged property. (43)

Cromwell was now fearful of the growing Presbyterian resurgence. After wavering for a period, as was his habit, Cromwell put his full force behind a plan formulated by Major-General Harrison for dissolving the Rump and entrusting the charge of Commonwealth, including the arrangements for future Parliaments, to a select council of some forty men. While discussions were in process between Cromwell and about twenty leaders of the Rump who were not opposed to the plan, including Oliver St. John, James Whitlocke, and Thomas Widdrington, the Rump, on the morning of April 20, 1653, began rushing through the bill for self-perpetuation. Cromwell and Harrison descended on the House, and according to contemporary accounts, Cromwell turned to Harrison and said, " 'This is the time: I must do it.' Wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the public good, to have espoused the corrupt interest of the Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression — accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. . . . 'Some of you are whoremasters. Others are drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel.' " According to the accounts, Cromwell then turned to his old friend, the gentleman-republican Vane, and admonished him for his obstruction — "O Sir Henry Vane! Sir Henry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!" — and dissolved the Long Parliament. (44)

The subsequent Parliament, known as the "Barebones" after one of its tradesmen members, was handpicked by Cromwell and his Council of State. Even so it broke down over the same reform issues as the Rump. The determined minority of Fifth Monarch Men advanced resolutions for the abolition of the notorious Court of Chancery, patronage, tithes, and the state

church. Among its members was Dr. Peter Chamberlen who had advanced a proposal for the creation of a national bank designed to finance expanded trade, and a complimentary system of high tolls on imports of finished goods and exports of raw materials. (45)

The resolution on tithes came up July 15. The House refused by a vote of 68 to 43 to put the resolution to a vote, however, and shoved it into committee. In the vote Major-General Harrison had been the teller for the minority in favor, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the future Lord Shaftesbury already playing an insidious Whiggish role, the teller for the majority. Later Cooper and his party informed the whole House that they were willing to abolish tithes, so long as lay impropiators (such as themselves) were compensated for their property.

On December 2 the committee produced a report upholding the system. The report was vigorously debated in the House from December 6 through 10 and, as a result of the untiring efforts of the Fifth Monarch men, was defeated by two votes. The next day, however, House Speaker Frances Rous led a group numbering from one-half to two-thirds of the members, depending on the account, who left the House and presented their resignation to Cromwell in Whitehall. "If the house sate a weeke longer, law and the ministry had been voted down," recounted one of the resigning members. Cromwell in the end sided with Cooper's party and accepted their self-dissolution.

In Cromwell's defense one may say that he seems to have sincerely believed the Presbyterian propaganda that, in the absence of a state church, the sects would multiply, papacy would rear its head, and the country would be threatened with anarchy. However, that threat existed precisely because Cromwell had never acted decisively to break the back of landlordism.

Milton's *Second Defense of the English People*, published in May 1654 in response to the Orangists' *The Cry of the King's Blood*, eulogized Cromwell's powers of self-government: ". . . he was a soldier disciplined to perfection in the knowledge of himself; whatever of an enemy there was within, whether vain hopes, or desires, he had already destroyed in his dealings with himself, or brought into subjection; already a self-commander, a self-conqueror, one who had learnt to triumph chiefly over himself, he met the external enemy accordingly. . . ." Milton defended Cromwell's dissolution of the "Republican" Rump, "everyone more intent on his private interests than on the public good," and his assumption of power after the self-dissolution of the Barebones. But Milton once more urged on Cromwell the necessity of abolishing tithes and disestablishing the Church at once. Cromwell did not follow this advice, and one of the consequences was the imprisonment of

Colonel Robert Overton, the Fifth Monarchy Man and close political associate of Milton's, whom Milton had commended to the Lord Protector in the *Second Defense*.

FOUNDING ANTILIA IN ENGLAND

The bulk of the pamphlets written by Hartlib and his humanist collaborators appeared in the years following Pride's Purge, when the time seemed ripe for their Antilian reforms. Hartlib's political strategy was to break a faction of the gentry from the feudal tithe-collecting outlook and win them over to humanist republicanism. The raising of agricultural productivity through technology, the education of and absorption of the unskilled mass of the population into the productive employment, the creation of a national credit institution to foster the increase of *national* wealth and generate public revenues — these were the key conceptions

around which Hartlib was trying to educate the English gentry. They were the conceptions on which depended the Commonwealth's very survival.

Hartlib's pamphlets, among the most important founding documents of capitalist political economy, are now collecting dust in the British Museum and the rare book rooms of various university libraries. No histories have been written assessing their place in the revolution. However, by putting together the dates of the pamphlets and their polemics, one can reconstruct what must have been the humanists' conscious organizing strategy.

In 1651, when the Rump was obviously temporizing, Hartlib appealed to the improving farmers in Parliament, including Cromwell himself, by publishing his *Essay for the Advancement of Husbandry-Learning, or Propositions for Erecting a College of Husbandry*, and his collaborator Cressy Dymock's *An Invention of Engines of Motion Lately Brought to Perfection whereby may be dispatched any work now done in England or elsewhere (especially works that require strength and*



Dutch Orangist propaganda cartoon from 1653 depicts Oliver Cromwell rejecting Dutch peace offer to end the first Anglo-Dutch War, while a dragon carrying the executioner of Charles I prepares to crown Cromwell King of England. In reality, Cromwell was seeking to end the war, which was set up by the Orange monetarists to prevent an alliance between the Commonwealth and the Dutch humanist forces of de Witt.

swiftness) either by Wind, Water, Cattel or Man and that with better accomodation, and more profit than by anything hitherto known and used.

In 1653 Hartlib published Dymock's *A Discoverie for Division or Setting Out of Land*, another tract directed to the capitalist-leaning gentry in Parliament. The tract was subtitled *For the direction and more advantage and profit of the adventurers and planters in the fens and other waste and undisposed placed in England and Ireland and an essay to shew how all lands may be improved in a new way to become the ground of the increase of trading and revenue to this commonwealth*. In it Dymock complains that most of the lands in England are not yielding one-fourth part of the profit, either to private holders or the public, of which they are capable, because of underinvestment in enclosure, fertilizers, and other improvements. "If a Lord, he seldom alters that Form he found his Lands in — whether he received it by inheritance or purchase and if but a tenant, he would count it lost labor." In the same volume appeared a complementary tract, *An Essay upon Master W. Potters Designe: Concerning a Bank of the Lands to be erected throughout this commonwealth*.

In 1659, after the army had restored the Rump and humanists like Milton and Hartlib thought briefly that Parliament was about to address itself to the long-postponed reforms, Hartlib republished a work addressed to him in 1645 by one Richard Weston, an improving farmer, under the title *The Compleat Husbandman: or, a discourse of the whole art of Husbandry both Forraign and Domestick*. This compendium of improving methods in use in the Low Countries points out that the husbandman who applies those methods will find that the fruit "redounds not only to his own particular profit, but also to the Publique benefit." In the course of the work, the author deplores that no mechanic has put his mind to improving the plough — that would make the real difference in agricultural productivity!

In Cressy Dymock's letters to Hartlib, Dymock purports to have invented an extraordinary engine more productive than all previously exploited sources of power — water and wind mills, beasts of burden, and manual labor. He has measured its productivity in terms of amount of corn milled per hour and discovered that it is at least a quarter more productive than the other sources.

The model engine which Dymock claims to have erected at Lambeth turned out to be apocryphal; however, in his imagination Dymock had conceptualized the steam engine and the technology of the Industrial Revolution.

Cromwell and the Independents were by no means deaf to the projects of the Hartlib circle. The problem

was Cromwell's failure to understand the concept of *political economy* — namely, that economic development was the key determinant in politics, and that the creation of credit was a matter of politics. The history of the Forest of Dean project underlines the consequences. This forest contained both coal and iron deposits in close proximity, and even under the Stuarts had been the site of extensive experimentation on new techniques for smelting iron with coal. (46) In the later part of the sixteenth century the introduction of water power-driven blast furnaces had changed the course of the iron industry. The blast furnaces were much more productive than previous smelting techniques. However, the increase in fuel — wood — consumption was exponential. The fact that none of the patentees had yet had any success in using coal in the blast furnaces gave rise to an "energy debate" over whether to abandon the furnaces in the interest of conserving timber or whether to continue operating them at full capacity and press on with the experimentation with coal. Another factor was the powerful influence of the customs farmer lobby, in whose interest lay the sabotage of English coal development and the increase of the customs-generating importation of timber.

The Forest of Dean ironworks were revived during the Commonwealth as a pioneer national industry. A similar project had been abandoned during the reign of James I out of short-term financial considerations — at the prompting of treasonous ministers like Salisbury and Bacon. The ironworks had been substantially shut down during the civil war in order to conserve timber. In 1653 the Council of State reestablished the ironworks, because of the demand for great shot, with the intention of extending government support for experimentation with "pit-cole and sea-cole." Cromwell's own interest in the project is suggested by the spiteful comment of Dud Dudley, one of the old patentees, who described the Forest of Dean project as a private venture of Cromwell, the Leveller leader John Wildman, and other army officers.

This auspicious project collapsed not for want of interest, but for want of money. Major John Wade, the officer charged with directing the project, was never allowed adequate funding. The perspective of the Protectorate, already heavily in debt and involved in costly wars, was the equivalent of today's proposal to postpone the development of controlled thermonuclear fusion power until the twenty-first century. The development of a critical new technology and an advanced national iron industry was thus the casualty of the decisive conceptual failure of Cromwell and other political leaders who did not understand that credit is subjective.

CREEPING MONETARISM

One of the most depressing features of the history of 1640 to 1660, the period of England's first and last republic, is the fact that the Commonwealth employed methods of credit policy and government finance that were in essence no different from those of the Stuart monarchs. In contrast to Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and the other individuals who succeeded in making a capitalist revolution in America, Cromwell and Parliament did not understand that it is the first business of governments to *create credit*. Hence, they became involved in countless schemes for borrowing money from merchants and goldsmith-bankers, who were in turn dependent on Amsterdam which, because of its dominant world political position, was the ultimate source of international credit.

Beginning in March 1642, when money was needed to put down a rebellion in Ireland, the Long Parliament borrowed money by pledging the rents of sequestered royalist lands. (47) In 1649, after the final defeat of the King, outright sales of confiscated Crown and Church lands to syndicates of City merchants, army officers, and members of Parliaments themselves began. Not only was this recourse swiftly exhausted, it had the insidious effect of reinforcing backward landlord tendencies among a growing number of social layers, and of thus undermining the revolution. Another dubious accomplishment of the Long Parliament was the scheme of "doubling," whereby individuals who doubled the sum they had previously lent to Parliament had the total secured on the rents of the confiscated lands of bishops, royalists, and other opponents of the republic.

Parliament also devised new methods of taxation. In November 1642 the weekly assessment began. This tax on property was the chief source of regular revenue, until the landed interests represented in Parliament balked at paying it. Then in 1643 Pym introduced the excise. It began as a tax on "superfluous commodities," but its critics warned that it would soon be extended to other commodities. Within a year it had been imposed on meat and salt, alums, copperas, hops, and starch, to the detriment of national economic development. In fact, as originally conceived by Pym the tax was specifically designed to be imposed on native manufacturers and imports and entirely remitted on goods brought in for re-export. Pym's excise was a measure designed to foster the growth of London as a world entrepot.

The 1650s were a decade of almost continual financial crisis and dangerous debt accumulation because, like the Stuart monarchy before it, the republic could only borrow at short-term rates and on definite security — and it was fast running out of security. At the outbreak of the civil war the royal customs farmers, the East India

merchant crew, had been fined and their debts abrogated for raising taxes without parliamentary approval. The Long Parliament revived the old system of tax commissioners, who were expected to render a fuller account of the revenues and who received a fixed percentage on each sum they collected. However, the amount of tax farming allowed steadily increased toward the end of the interregnum, hand in hand with the Protectorate's increasing need for advances from the moneyed City interests. Thus, Cromwell mortgaged the government's future revenues in a futile attempt to keep up with the widening deficit and spiralling debt.

The Protectorate's creditors, financiers like Martin Noell who was instrumental in reviving customs farming and who was an ardent advocate of war with the Dutch, were thus in a position to exert a menacing influence on Cromwell's foreign and domestic policies. It was the war with the Dutch which began in May 1652, in fact, which led to the explosion of public debt and the deficit. The other side of the scissors was Parliament's reluctance to continue renewing the monthly assessment. After the Barebones, Cromwell's Parliaments were increasingly Presbyterian in character. In the first Protectorate Parliament Anthony Ashley Cooper, whom Cromwell had naively invited onto his Council of State, moved to totally abolish the assessment, to limit Cromwell's revenue and force a severe reduction in the size of the standing army. Cromwell dissolved Parliament over this issue. However, in February 1655 he announced that the assessment would be levied at only one-third the previous rate, in an effort to appease those same Presbyterian interests in the City and country. The government was subsequently caught in a hopeless deficit and increasingly dependent on dubious allies like Noell for advances.

Where did this process end? In Richard Cromwell's having to borrow money in 1658 to cover the expenses of his father's funeral.

There was one other critical feature of finance in the second decade of the revolution which usually goes unmentioned: the renewal on a scale never before experienced of the drain of bullion to Amsterdam. Beginning in 1649 the republic was faced with just such an outflow of bullion as had proved fatal to the Stuarts between 1620 and 1640.

The Commonwealth had actually attempted to guard against the widespread clipping of coins and illegal export of bullion by engaging Peter Blondeau, a Frenchman who had perfected a machine for producing clip-proof, milled coins. Blondeau arrived in London in 1649, and his program for coinage reform favorably impressed the Parliamentary committee. However, the Council of State delayed action on the committee's report for seven years, undoubtedly because of the lobbying efforts and

threats of the Lombard Street goldsmiths. Blondeau in the meantime had published a pamphlet accusing the goldsmiths of making coins of different weights and pocketing the heavy ones. The goldsmiths in turn tried to have Blondeau arrested for counterfeiting when he struck off samples of his clip-proof coins. Finally in 1656 it appeared that the coinage reform was about to be implemented at long last. Thomas Symm, a renowned engraver, prepared a die for the new coins with the engraving of the Lord Protector's head, and Blondeau was called on to stamp them. However, Cromwell decided — for unexplained reasons — never to issue them.

Among the leading goldsmiths and opponents of coinage reform were Sir Thomas Viner, a former lord mayor of London, and Alderman Backwell. Both were leading financiers of the Protectorate and later of Charles II. In 1656 when English ships put into Portsmouth laden with about 150,000 pounds worth of silver captured from the Spanish — the latest method of raising public revenues — Cromwell needed money so badly that there was not even enough time to mint the silver. Viner and Blackwell were on hand to advance Cromwell money. They agreed to purchase the bullion at a discount on the condition that they be allowed to transport all of the newly minted bullion to the Mint. This arrangement gave them a gross profit of about three-fourths percent on coining the bullion, but placed in their hands 150,000 pounds worth of new coin, which doubtless soon went into their melting pots and swelled their profit.

The ultimate beneficiary of this swindle was, as in the previous decades, Amsterdam, as the testimony of a contemporary Amsterdam letter writer in 1652 attests:

Many of our bankers here have a great trade with your goldsmiths and merchants in London, for English gold and heavy English silver. Your Mint will never go until this be discovered, for these men are the sluices that drain all your money and destroy your Mint. On a longer stop of the Mint great damage must follow, especially to England, which has no considerable mines to supply you with treasure, as have Spain and other countries, nor can you do as we do in Holland, make money a merchandise, having so much; I believe there is at this day forty times more gold in the Low Countries than in England.

You have a compass of land and stock, but there they are so subtle in their banks, which you are not, that they can buy money and let it out again as they list. When you have as much money as they then do as they do.

Unfortunately this advice was followed.

POTTER ON CREDIT

William Potter's proposals for establishing an independent English system of credit were formulated to

address the dire situation caused by the counterfeiting of English coins and the rigging of the exchange rate — “a cheat too ordinarily made use of, by the Kings of Spain.” Potter mistook Amsterdam's evil machinations for Spain's, no minor error, but he was dead right on the programmatic issue. Potter, whose fate it was to receive one-line mentions in histories of English banking, after the names of Robinson, Petty, and other members of the early “banking lobby,” understood what Cromwell did not, the subjectivity of credit.

Potter's proposal for the creation of a national Land Bank in the early 1650s, precisely at the height of the bullion drain, was undoubtedly a direct influence on the Massachusetts-born Benjamin Franklin, via the mediation of Woodbridge and John Winthrop, Jr. Franklin and Potter were addressing almost identical situations: the scarcity of money and the monopolization of credit, by Amsterdam in the case of Potter, and by Anglo-Dutch monetarism in the case of Franklin. Franklin's 1729 *A Modest Inquiry Into the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency* bears a strong resemblance to Potter's proposals for expanding credit and currency in circulation to stimulate agricultural improvement and all types of commerce.

The theme running through Potter's several extant pamphlets is England's urgent need for a “hard commodity-backed” credit system — credit backed by expanded trade and agricultural improvement. As Potter points out, there was virtually no medium for commerce in England at the time except the nation's scarce supplies of gold and silver, and only a few tradesmen of known and sufficient credit to make a market in bills of exchange. Potter explains the connection between the depression of trade and the scarcity of money and credit and recommends that Parliament take the appropriate actions to generalize the use of bills of exchange and introduce paper currency as the medium for commerce.

In *Humble Proposals to the Honorable Councill of Trade* (1651), on which sat the influential Sir Henry Vane, Potter proposed the following measures be undertaken to allow the generalized use of paper bills: an Act of Parliament removing obstructions in law to the transferring of bills; a law establishing that the bills be payable before any book debts, bills, or bonds whatsoever; a law establishing that whoever accepts the bills and transfers them shall be as liable as he who first gives them — just as the underwriter of bills of exchange bears as much obligation as the drawer; and the appointment of places in each city where the bills would be made payable. The final measure, the appointing of discount houses for the bills, “would suddenly bring in all the money into those houses,” because of the low degree of risk associated with the trade-backed, legally secured paper, and, though Potter does not make this point

explicitly, would have drawn money away from the various forms of Amsterdam-linked speculative investment, in the same way that the establishment of credit institutions devoted exclusively to issue of credit for hard-commodity trade and investment would today.

In the *Key of Wealth* (1650) Potter had explained that the expansion of credit and money would unlock untold riches. "Let it be supposed, that there is people amongst whom there is now, ten times as much money as formerly . . . that matters were ordered so, as none of them care to hoard up this money, that their land being fruitful and fitly situate for the trade of fishing, and traffick with other nations, there is commodity to be had for money, though trade were 100 times greater than it is now, and then I say the consequences will be that both trading and riches will increase amongst them, much more than proportionable to such an increase of money, and that without encreasing the price of commodity. . . ." A proposal for the noninflationary expansion of trade and credit!

Potter answered his "conservative" critics who charged that the expansion of credit and money would lead to higher prices by explaining that this would only be the case if the whole world were incapable of producing and selling many more times the commodities than before. "Yet seeing matters may be ordered so, as the whole world may be able to afford, ten times more plenty of commodity to any one land or nation then it now doth," the expansion of money would not be inflationary. The increase in money actually tends to cheapen commodities, Potter argued, because the slowness of trade, in the absence of ample low-interest credit, was forcing tradesmen to take more than an ordinary profit and to pass on usurious interest rates. It is more than likely that Potter's conservative critics were the London and Amsterdam financial interests who did not want England to develop an independent credit system.

But Potter's Land Bank clearly leaped beyond the arena solely of trade and the exchange of existing wealth; it represented an even more advanced conception in that the bank's credit was to create *new* wealth in the form of technologically improved agricultural land, which would in turn be the ground for "the incredible increase of inland commerce, and (consequently) of exportation and foreign trade." The Land Bank would issue credit (by fiat) for the improvement of lands, on the security of the future wealth embodied in those to-be-improved lands. As such the bank represented a workable plan for alleviating the general scarcity of credit and money. In addition, Potter pointed out that the two percent interest charged on the loans to private persons would be payable to the public, replacing taxes and yielding almost double what was then being raised through taxes.

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

The increasingly monetarist character of the policies that were in fact adopted by Parliament and Cromwell laid the basis for the fall of the republic and the emergence of full-fledged Whiggery in the subsequent decades of the seventeenth century. The English Navigation Act of 1652 — "English goods in English bottoms" — and the subsequent Anglo-Dutch war set England firmly on a course of monetarist commercial expansion. This took the form first of rivalry with the Dutch for commercial supremacy, and later war against "papist Spain" and the supplanting of Spain's American colonies with English slave-based sugar plantations.

On the surface it may have appeared that these developments were the work of nationalistic English commercial interests who were eager to beat the Dutch at their own game. However, numerous pieces of evidence suggest that it was Amsterdam that was behind the turn of events. In the 1670s the Dutch republican Jan de Witt blamed the failure of the 1651 negotiations between the English Commonwealth and de Witt's republican government on the Orange party, which resisted the one clause in the projected treaty that was non-negotiable from the English standpoint: that prohibiting Holland from harboring and lending support to the Stuarts. The English Parliament enacted the 1652 Navigation Act following blatant provocations by the Dutch: the ratification by the Orange party-controlled States General in 1651 of a treaty with Denmark which gave the Dutch exclusive rights in the Baltic, and the violent attacks on the English ambassadors who came to negotiate the proposed alliance in 1651 by mobs paid by the Orange and Stuart parties. (49)

During the Dutch war the annual debt of the navy began to grow alarmingly. To close the growing deficit Parliament drew up a new list of traitors, whose property was to be confiscated and sold to finance the navy by the now well-established method of doubling. Even so, by the end of the war, the lands available to Parliament were totally exhausted. Cromwell's attempt to make the war with Spain pay for itself — through the seizure of Spanish bullion-carrying galleons — was hardly successful. The heavy taxation imposed on the nation to support Cromwell's foreign policy aggravated the depression conditions that had overtaken the economy. From such conditions it was only a short way to the recall of the Rump Parliament and, in 1660, the restoration of the Stuart King by the army officers led by commander Monk.

In view of the "liberal" Whiggish character assumed by the counterrevolution, overt repression and bloodshed were kept to a minimum. Hartlib was allowed to die in

utter poverty in 1662. The executioner passed over Milton, despite the fact that he had promptly defended the regicide in print and was counted among the regicides. "Blind among enemies," Milton was left to endure such atrocities as the rewriting of *Paradise Lost* as an opera in rhymed couplets by Charles II's sycophantic poet laureate, John Dryden.

The complete reversal of the Milton and Hartlib's humanist designs was immediate. Lord Shaftesbury's proposal for the reform of the system of parliamentary representation, which appeared as *Some Observations concerning the Regulation of Elections for Parliament* in 1689 after Shaftesbury's belated death in exile in Holland, proposed the redistribution of representation according to population and a franchise based on the old forty-shilling qualification — except that the qualification was to be reassessed in keeping with the current inflated value of land. It was a proposal for reducing the electorate to one-quarter of its existing size!

Shaftesbury's personal secretary, the pseudo-philosopher John Locke, engineered the famous recoinage of 1696, which for the first time in centuries recoined the debased English currency according to the old standard. The usual method of stabilizing the currency at its existing debased value was "calling that a crown now which was yesterday but a part," argued Locke, who maintained that the value of metal, and all other things, was intrinsic. It "would rob all creditors of one-twentieth of their debts, and all landlords of their quit rents for ever." Landowners, merchants, tax collectors, and bankers — the Whig constituency — were given advance warning of the recoinage and were able to unload their bad money upon the Exchequer. Wage earners and the disenfranchised farmers received no forewarning, were left holding clipped coins, and had to bear the five percent loss.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Thus armed with a currency that had been "stabil-

ized" through the outright robbery of English wage earners, London was ready to take its place in monetarist world finance alongside Amsterdam.

MILTON'S REVENGE

The prerevolutionary generations in America were steeped in the Neoplatonism of Milton's poetry and prose writings, of the Bible and Shakespeare, and of the agitational programmatic tracts of the English Revolution. When Anglo-Dutch monetarism attempted to impose Adam Smith's program for enforced rural idiocy on American colonists, they counterattacked with the Neoplatonic ideas of "human ingenuity" and material progress formulated so cogently by Milton, Hartlib, and their allies during the English Revolution. In the 1730s John Peter Zenger, James Alexander, and Andrew Hamilton drew on Milton's stunning attack on press censorship in his *Areopagitica* in their defense of the free press against New York State's Royal Governor Cosby. Benjamin Franklin cited "the famous Milton" as a major influence on his education ideas in his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania" (1749). And in an explicit acknowledgement of the profound influence of Milton's Neoplatonism on it, Franklin's Junto organization adopted as its motto the "Hymn to the Creator" in *Paradise Lost*, Book V, in which Adam and Eve celebrate the light and life-giving sun as the "eye and soul" of the world.

Most important, the Neoplatonic ideas of Hartlib and Milton were implemented and brought to fruition in America, creating an educated, science-oriented population which could carry through a capitalist revolution, and confirming Hartlib's hopeful prediction that the fire kindled by the Antilian Society would again "flame in due time."

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1. This fight is a case in point of the struggle between humanist and monetarist elites which has defined the last three millenia of recorded history. Cf. Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "The Secrets Known Only to the Inner Elites," *Campaigner*, Vol. XI, No. 3-4, May-June 1978.
 2. *An Essay upon Master W Potters Designe: Concerning a Bank of Lands to be erected throughout this commonwealth*. Second part of a pamphlet entitled, *A Discoverie for Division or Setting out of Land, &c.*, London, printed for Richard Wodenothe in Leaden-hall street, 1653.
 3. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx credited Petty with being "the father of English political economy," and "a bold thinker." However, Marx did not fail to note that Petty was "quite unscrupulous and just as apt to plunder in Ireland under the aegis of Crom-

- well as to fawn upon Charles II to obtain the title of baronet to embellish his trash. . . ."
4. In *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1965) Christopher Hill claimed that Bacon's works were only published widely starting in 1640, to bolster his thesis that the leaders of the English Revolution were "Baconians." H.F. Kearney, a fellow contributor to the Fabian historical journal *Past and Present*, threw cold water on Hill's thesis in an article on the actual publication dates of Bacon's works, in *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (London, 1974). For example, of the editions of *Novum Organum* one was published in London in 1620; three others in Holland in 1645, 1650, and 1660. *De Augmentis Scientiarum*: one edition in England in 1623, the six other continental editions

- published in 1624, 1635, 1645, 1652, 1654, and 1662. *The Advancement of Learning*, all editions before 1640, including two by Oxford University, the Royalist stronghold in the Civil War.
5. Cf. Carol and Chris White, "The Royal Society," *New Solidarity*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 62, 63 (Oct. 4 and 7, 1977) for the story of the humanist Dudley family faction and the efforts of William Cecil and his nephew Bacon to stamp out its influence.
 6. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Book LXXII, pp. 36-67. Cf. Barbara Dreyfuss, "The Puritans Founded the American Republic (New York: unpublished, 1978).
 7. The chief secondary sources on the Hartlib circle are *A Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib* by Henry Dircks (London, 1865) in which the author, a technology buff, reprinted Cressy Dymock's *An Invention of Engines of Motion &c; Samuel Hartlib, A Sketch of his Life and his Relations to J.A. Comenius* (Oxford, 1920) and *Hartlib, Drury and Comenius, Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London, 1947) by G.H. Turnbull; and *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (London, 1970) and *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform 1626-1660* (London, 1975) by Charles Webster. Despite the fact that Webster maintains the nominalist fraud that Hartlib was a thoroughgoing Baconian, he acknowledges that after 1660 and the founding of the Royal Society, there was a perceptible waning of innovative scientific activity in England.
 8. "Three Foreigners and the Philosophy of the English Revolution" was first published in *Encounter* in 1961.
 9. Letter to Dr. John Worthington, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, on August 3, 1660. *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. J. Worthington* (Manchester, 1847).
 10. Letter from Hartlib to Joachim Poleman, 1659. Quoted in Turnbull, *Hartlib, Drury, and Comenius*, p. 73.
 11. *Ibid*, p. 88.
 12. Letter from Hartlib to John Worthington, June 26, 1661. *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. J. Worthington*.
 13. Cf. Vin Berg, "The Warwick Conspiracy: How Sir Robert Rich Made the Puritan Revolution" (New York: unpublished, 1978), for a discussion of the role of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, in launching Massachusetts and the English Revolution.
 14. Quoted in Trevor-Roper, "Three Foreigners." The title of Gauden's sermon was *The Love of Truth and Peace*.
 15. Cf. Robert Brenner, "The Civil War Politics of London's Merchant Community," *Past and Present*, No. 58, February 1973, on the contending London merchant groups and their policies.
 16. The bullion drain and the emergence of monetarism in England are treated in all the standard histories of banking and finance in Britain. See Sir Albert Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling, A History of English Money* (Oxford, 1931), R.D. Richards, *The Early History of Banking in England* (reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1965; first published in 1929), William A. Shaw, *The History of Currency* (New York, 1899) and *Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History 1626-1730* (reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1967; first published in 1896). From reading these studies one would never know that anything but the monetarist tendency ever existed in England.
 17. Cf. Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry 1540-1640," *Economic History Review*, Supplement, I.
 18. On July 19, 1577, two days before the English navy made contact with the Armada, Sir Horatio Palavicino was discussing a loan of 40,000 pounds or more at 10 percent with Lord Burleigh. Palavicino was on equally good terms with Burleigh's son Robert Cecil, sharing his own intelligence service with Cecil (cf. P.M. Handover, *The Second Cecil*, London, 1959). Robert Cecil was known to be a pensioner of Spain and was also rumored to have large financial interests in Holland because of the bent of his foreign policy. The apparent contradiction in allegiances is explained by the fact that the Genoese had penetrated both countries. See William Engdahl, "Sully, Henry IV and the 'Grand Design' for Europe" (New York: unpublished, 1978) for the story of how Palavicino ingratiated himself with Queen Elizabeth, and how the Genoese undermined Henry IV's Grand Design.
 19. *Truth Brought to Life and Discovered by Time* (London, 1651), p. 11.
 20. In 1603 the Venetian Senate passed laws against further acquisitions of land in Venice by ecclesiastics, who pretended exemption from all public service and taxes, thus increasing the burden on the Venetian population. Around the same time the Venetian authorities imprisoned two Jesuit priests for unmentionable crimes. Pope Paul V excommunicated Duke Leonardo and the entire Venetian Senate, who responded by making it a crime, subject to loss of estate and nobility, to speak in favor of the Jesuits. This is the point at which Wotton, the English ambassador, offered to commit English forces to the side of Venice if necessary.
 21. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1913), Vol. I.
 22. Quoted in Shaw, *The History of Currency*, p. 148.
 23. Quoted in Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (1972), p. 96.
 24. *Calendar of State Papers*, ii, p. 46, quoted in Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 93-4.
 25. Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling*, pp. 85-6.
 26. S. Reed Brett, *The Stuart Century 1603-1714* (London, 1961).
 27. It was widely suspected in London in 1640 that the Scottish Covenanters were getting arms from Amsterdam. See Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor, 1963), p. 38 and passim. When the rebellion in Scotland began in 1639 the Scottish commander Alexander Leslie and his troops had just returned from serving under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War in Germany.
 28. The tracts spanned from *Of Reformation in England* published in May 1641 to *An Apology Against a Pamphlet Called "A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus"* published in May 1642. In the latter, Milton continued his defense of the five Presbyterian ministers who had launched the attack on the episcopacy — their initials were combined to form the signature of the cryptic personage "Smectymnuus." One of the ministers was Milton's former tutor Thomas Young.
 29. The contents of the library of Dr. Nathan Paget, Milton's friend and physician, indicates the enormous range of humanist texts that Milton would have had access to during his adult life. Of the more than 2000 titles in the library, there were works by Paracelsus (19), Avicenna (9), Roger Bacon (4), Giordano Bruno (2), Campanella (3),

Ramus (7), Bodin (2), Descartes (2), Grotius (10), and Donne's *Ignatius His Conclave*. Christopher Hill's *Milton and the English Revolution* (New York, 1978) has an appendix on Paget's library.

The autobiographical statements which appear in Milton's prose pamphlets — in answer to the scurrilous attacks of Salmasius and other traducers — are an important source of information on Milton's life and character. All the early biographies were written after the Restoration, which makes them unreliable. *The Life of Milton* (1694) written by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew and student, is the fullest and free from authorial fabrications.

The standard modern biographies are David Masson's encyclopedic six volume *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time* (first published 1881), and William Riley Parker's two volume *Milton: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1968). See also the numerous articles and books by James Holly Hanford, especially "The Youth of Milton" in *John Milton: Poet and Humanist* (Cleveland, 1966).

31. In April 1649 Dorislaus was sent to the Hague as the Commonwealth's special envoy to seek the neutrality of the Dutch States General. He was assassinated on May 2 by Scottish followers of Montrose. The States General professed ignorance.
32. *The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty*. Contemporary documents reveal that Milton was the owner of one of the five or six secret manuscript copies of Jean Bodin's heretical work *Heptaplomeres* — which was not published until 1841 — which Milton sent to an unknown friend in Germany around 1662. This underlines the point that Milton was a member of a secret humanist elite.
30. When Milton published his first volume of poetry in 1645 he placed the "Nativity Ode" first, thus pointing to its importance.

33. Milton's polemics against tithes and the state church in England were a continuation of the European humanist faction's centuries-long battle against the papacy's usurpation of secular political power and wealth. This battle traces back to the fifteenth century Conciliar Movement's challenge to the forged "Donation of Constantine," which awarded the papacy secular power and tithe-bearing real estate in the West.

34. *Areopagitica* (1644), IV.
35. *Reason of Church Government*, III.
36. The echoes of Donne here are unmistakable. Donne was Dean of St. Paul's at the same time that Milton was attending the adjoining school.
37. Cf. Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* (New York, 1966; first published 1961), p. 126 ff.
38. Masson, *The Life of Milton* (New York, 1946) Vol. IV, passim.
39. Masson, Vol. IV, p. 95 ff.
40. quoted in Masson, Vol. V.
41. For this view see, for example, Christopher Hill, *Reformation to the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1967).
42. *Common Journal*, vii, p. 128, quoted in Gardiner, Vol. II, p. 102.
43. Gardiner, Vol. II, ch. xxv.
44. The main authorities are Ludlow and Lord Lisle's Diary. See Gardiner, Vol. II, p. 262 ff.
45. Cf. B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarch Men* (London, 1972).
46. Webster's *The Great Instauration* is full of interesting material on the Forest of Dean and other industrial and scientific projects of the period.
47. Cf. Maurice Ashley, *Commercial and Financial Policy Under the Protectorate* (London, 1934) and Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*.
48. *State Papers, Domestic Series* xxiv, p. 91. Quoted in Feavearyear, p. 94.
49. See Gardiner, Vol. I, p. 318 ff.
50. Feavearyear, p. 121 on Locke's monetary theories.

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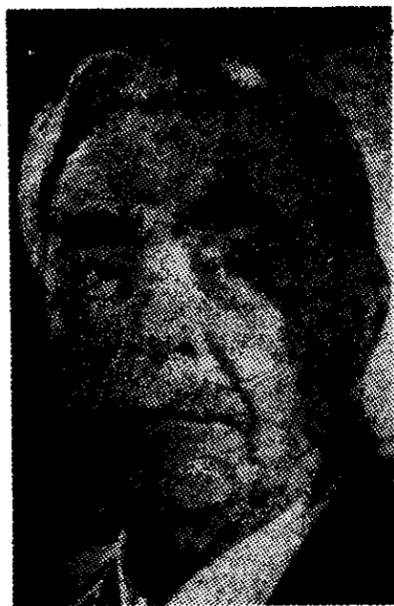
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 in *Novyi Mir*
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 and *Krasnaya Zvezda*
 April 29 and 30, 1978
 (Russian-language)



An "American" in the Kremlin

The American public would have been more fortunate had Simon and Schuster obtained the rights to Soviet President Brezhnev's two recent Russian-language memoirs, "Little Land" and especially "Rebirth," rather than to *Leonid I. Brezhnev: Pages from His Life*.

Both *Pages* and "Rebirth," Brezhnev's story of his 1946-50 stint in charge of the southern Ukraine industrial area during its postwar reconstruction, recount experiences that made Brezhnev the kind of leader he is. But in *Pages*, the American reader may well be too puzzled — if not appalled — by the glosses and just plain bad writing produced "under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR" to gain much insight at all.

Pages was evidently the work of a team of hack writers assigned to a limited territory with strict guidelines. Soviet historiographers are not in a position, nor will they be without a radical shift of the world strategic situation out of today's East-West confrontation mode, to undertake a competent study of the events of Brezhnev's 71 years. In *Pages*, the pivotal political events and battles — the Khrushchev-Malenkov faction fight in the 1950s, to take an example not even from the Stalin period — are taboo. Indeed, with *Pages*, we seem to confront a setup. In soliciting and publishing particularly the second half of the book, where pages of Pravdaese on recent Soviet policies and Party congresses are embellished with the interpolated "Then Brezhnev went up to the rostrum..." Simon & Schuster assisted the Soviet Academy in discrediting itself. (The Simon & Schuster editor in charge of the book, Michael Korda, is considered highly unprincipled even by the indulgent standards of Third Avenue.) As for the Academy, it would have done better to send Brezhnev's own reminiscences than abet the *Pages* project.

During his trip this spring to the Federal Republic of Germany, Brezhnev delivered a truly powerful speech on West German national television. With a simple summary of vast projects to develop the Siberian frontier, Brezhnev motivated his efforts to reach new accords with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt both for economic cooperation and disarmament.

How it is that Brezhnev could make a great impact on his audience with a straightforward, factual speech can be learned from the "Rebirth" memoir carried in the monthly literary magazine *Novyi Mir (New World)* and the military daily *Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star)* this April and May. It provides a clue to what makes Brezhnev tick — as well as the numerous Politburo colleagues (e.g., A.P. Kirilenko), Central Committee and plain party members who constitute his political machine; a clue to why they are responsible for some of the most promising proposals for world economic recovery advanced anywhere — the East-West "Tokamak" fusion reactor collaboration project, Western participation in Siberian development, and others.

From 1946 to 1950, Brezhnev headed the district party organizations first in Zaporozhye, where Kirilenko was his Second Secretary, and then in Dnepropetrovsk. These Ukrainian industrial towns on the Dneiper River, a major center of industry, had been totally destroyed during the war. When Brezhnev arrived,

The grass had grown up through the iron and rubble, lonely dogs were howling in the distance, and all around were ruins. Black crows nests hung from the branches of the scorched trees. I had seen the same kind of scene after the civil war, but then it was the dead silence of the factories that frightened. This time the factories themselves were reduced to ashes.

**LEONID I. BREZHNEV:
Pages From His Life**



It was his responsibility to oversee the reconstruction of the giant Zaporozhstal steel plant, aspects of the Dneproges hydroelectric station, and the rest of the area's industry.

The best qualities of Brezhnev stem from this experience of taking responsibility, of total commitment to and identification with the survival and growth of the Soviet state, its industry and science. It is not generally known that Brezhnev was the responsible political organizer of the first manned space flight at the end of the 1950s. He is a world leader thanks to this commitment, not because of political skill in scrambling within the Soviet bureaucracy, nor training in "Marxism-Leninism," nor the childhood "working-class environment" stressed in *Pages*.

Brezhnev recalls how his organization set up three-shift construction to restore steel production, combatted armed bands which menaced the population, rejected the advice of UNRRA specialists who pronounced Zaporozhstal unsalvageable, and withstood the failure of U.S. contractors to deliver promised machinery when the Truman administration imposed a "strategic embargo." The shock of the cold war's onset is transmitted in his report of a telephone call from Stalin in 1947:

At night, J.V. Stalin actually called me, and our conversation was a serious one. Everything we had achieved and considered a success suddenly turned into something close to failure. Circumstances had changed — not in our district, but in the country and the world. The target date for rebuilding the sheet steel plant... was moved up, and the rates of construction

were forced upwards. As I have said, this was connected with the Cold War... And although I had only come to work there at the end of the previous year and could have said that [delays] were not my fault, it was necessary to take full responsibility on my own shoulders.

The basis in postwar reconstruction, and the political guidance of that huge task, of today's Siberian development plan is drawn out by Brezhnev in "Rebirth." "The resurrection of Zaporozhstal and Dneproges," he writes, "is recognized as a classic example of concentration of forces and resources on the key parts of national construction... This experience is used today by the oilmen of Tyumen, the builders of the Baikal-Amur railroad. I would like to take this opportunity to stress the extremely close connection between our country's yesterdays, and the paths we cleared, with the new tasks being posed today."

If they could read the "Rebirth" memoir of rebuilding two cities, U.S. industrialists would immediately recognize the commitment to science and industry Brezhnev shares with the best among American leaders — and they would recognize why the Third World nations in search of economic and technological development have tended to turn to the Soviet government in the absence of U.S. initiatives. What the memoir also affirms unmistakably is Brezhnev's heritage from the nineteenth-century Russian industry-builders — Czar Alexander's ministers and Count Sergei Witte — examined elsewhere in this issue of *The Campaigner*, and hence his ultimate debt to the American Revolution.

— Rachel Berthoff

**HOLY WARRIORS:
The Abolitionists
and American Slavery**

By James Brewer
Stewart
Hill & Wang
New York
1977, 216 pp.,
cloth: \$11.95
paper: \$4.95

Did It Take the Radical Abolitionists to End Slavery?

For the past fifteen years, American historians have increasingly couched discussions of abolitionism and the origins of the Civil War in terms of categories of "oppression," "anti-capitalism," and "freedom," severed from the United States' republican traditions of national economic development and human self-

development. This nominally "Marxist"-tinged perspective was launched in part through Eugene Genovese's increasingly frank apologies for the slave system. The counterpart to Genovese's work is studies of the radical abolitionists like this one, which defends the explicitly anti-Constitutional efforts of William Lloyd

**HOLY WARRIORS:
The Abolitionists
and American Slavery**



Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and New York financiers Arthur and Lewis Tappan, et al. The author, a Macalester College historian, first clearly shows the radical abolitionists' agitation for the actual splitting of North and South, then claims that they had no alternative. And, in the end, he appeals to the reader to condone their violent tactics as the only possible course against "oppression."

Written for the American Century series edited by Columbia University historian Eric Foner, a long-term associate of the Fabians in and around the U.S. Communist Party, the book is useful as a garden-variety example of how the "revisionists" have helped create a climate in which twentieth century terrorists and proterrorists are condoned as misguided but principled idealists. And it is a touchstone of the degree to which the antebellum gang-countergang operations, of which the abolitionists were one pole, have been obscured — operations conducted as part of Britain's imperial design to re-fracture the United States, obliterate its world leadership potential, and establish a feudal outpost in the New World.

Omitting the political struggle to develop fledgling U.S. industry, Stewart completely and incoherently separates the 1830s debates on emancipation from the equally heated discussions of domestic tariffs and national credit policies. The reader is left no way to evaluate whether the radical abolitionists indeed had no alternative but to agitate for the overthrow of the Constitution and the North's secession from the South. In fact, among congressional Whigs strong sentiments existed in favor of emancipation; and these were the same elements who sought to free the South from the economic backwardness perpetuated by chattel slavery. Declining to examine if these leaders could have reached an alliance with proindustrial forces seeking to elevate the quality of labor power in the entire U.S., Stewart opts for the line that the Civil War was an "irrepressible conflict." What he does establish is the radicals' eager

readiness to dissolve the nation before Fort Sumter and then their attempts "to convince other Northerners that ending slavery, not preserving the Union, should be the overriding goal of the war." Under the banner of "minority human rights," these precursors of today's Ford Foundation-sponsored anarchists fed the irrepressibility of sectional division, opposing reasoned strategies for making true citizens out of planters and ex-bondsmen.

Tracing the rise of evangelism in upstate New York in the 1820s as the tide on which radical theories of emancipation would become dominant, Stewart never really identifies the "evangelists," especially Major Charles Stuart, the active link between the British and domestic U.S. antislavery organizations. Neither Stuart's employment by the British East India Company nor his funding of terrorist John Brown finds mention in the book's outline of how he promoted religious hysteria through days-long, tear-soaked revival sessions — inducing fanatics to claim they acted as "God's instrument."

With the cry "Emancipation Now," the radical abolitionists invited a wave of bloody mob violence in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston and New York City. The common interests of Northern and Southern Whigs were obfuscated by this emotional, apolitical atmosphere. The victims were the efforts of leading American Whigs like John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay to make it understood that Britain's policy was to divide the Union, and the solutions posed by economists like Henry Carey and Friedrich List for gradual emancipation in tandem with industrialization of the South. The radical abolitionists voted against antislavery *economic* policies, while the economic policies of the British abolitionists were actually extending slavery.

The South had been frozen into an antidevelopmental agricultural system based on slavery and land acquisition, an extension of the British system. The credit policies of proslavery President Andrew Jackson had placed U.S. planters, and

**HOLY WARRIORS:
The Abolitionists
and American Slavery**

thus their policies for the South's future, at the dictates of City of London bankers. With oligarchic mythology developed for it — as Mark Twain caustically pointed out — by Edinburgh's Sir Walter Scott, the South sank into hysterical and reactionary defenses of the slave system unknown in

the days of the Founding Fathers. In this atmosphere of political hysteria and impotence, a series of crises set the North-South confrontation on course. By the time of Lincoln's election, this was inevitable; but it was not necessary.

— *Anne-Marie Sawicky*



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CONTROVERSY (CONT'D)

The Case of Bertell Ollman

continued from page 2

represents a policy of asserting man's rational powers over nature through science, city-building, and education. The Aristotelian faction — represented historically by the looting activities of the Hapsburg Empire, the Anglo-Dutch Glorious Revolution in England, and British Empire ever since — bases itself on policies of enforced technological backwardness, depopulation, robbing mineral resources, and myth-making as a means of social control. These factions have been in constant battle for 2500 years — determining the direction and impact of "mass movements," and the actual ability of the world population to create the technological breakthroughs and social organization that will allow it to progress and survive.

While not a member of the Inner Elite which consciously masters and wields the epistemology of Platonism, Karl Marx unquestionably falls within the Platonic faction. He was an uncompromising elitist, dedicated to asserting man's mind over bestial forms of social organization, to subordinating individual or class greed to the necessity of expanded social reproduction, and to creating political organization commensurate with that necessity which he called the "class-for-itself." From this standpoint Marx not only supported the attempted capitalist revolution in Germany in 1848, but provided indispensable support to President Abraham Lincoln during the American Civil War.

Ollman's only book, *Alienation, Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, brazenly rejects the necessary criteria for understanding the real Marx. "I do not set Marxism alongside other theories that have been expounded before and since, first, because until we know what

Marxism is it makes little sense to provide it a niche in the history of ideas; and, second, because I admit to have a prejudice against accounts of Marxism which rely on analogies with other theories," says Ollman in his general introduction (p. xvi, second edition). "The most formidable hurdle facing all readers of Marx is his 'peculiar' use of words," he begins his first chapter (p. 3). The rest of the book continues this alienated treatment of Marx's words (Ollman calls them concepts, while ignoring the central concept), and never once even mentions the bedrock of expanded reproduction or the class-for-itself.

Ollman's treatment of Marx is deliberately and lyingly tailored to continue the "right-left" struggle which the Aristotelians sent out onto the stage of history during the French Revolution in order to

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Konstantin George is a member of the National Committee of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Over the past five years he has played a leading role in the development of the NCLC's Intelligence both in Europe and in the United States and is currently deployed with the organization's American Intelligence section. A specialist in U.S.-Soviet relations and the history of the Communist movement, his article in this issue is part of a broader study which he is preparing on modern Russian history.

Lydia Dittler is a member of the Financial Intelligence staff of New Solidarity International Press Service. A regular contributor to New Solidarity newspaper and the Executive Review, she is also co-author of the recent U.S. Labor Party program for revitalization of the United States' steel industry. She is currently working on a study of the humanists John Donne and Hugo Grotius.

subvert the Franco-American-Russian alliance against England. Marx's definition of class was based on a grouping's relationship to reproduction of the economy; Ollman claims that "competition" is the "activity that produces classes" (p. 206). Marx insisted on the expansion of capitalism, its division of labor and market economy, against the idiocy of rural life and Proudhonist "socialism"; Ollman presents the division of labor unidimensionally as the source of alienation under capitalism (p. 159). Marx supports the Lincoln Administration in its battle against the British Empire and its bastard child the Confederacy because it represents a national republican alliance of labor and industry against technological and political tyranny; Ollman mimics the late Mao Tse-tung in saying that the contradiction in capital between the proletariat and capitalists means that "these two components cannot progress together toward the goals inherent in their respective relations" (p. 57).

In fact, Ollman has redefined Marx's concept of "relations" so that it is totally divorced from the necessities of governing economic and human development in the real world, and is instead dedicated to maintaining the contradictions of the "class struggle." In his less formal writings and lectures, Ollman pushes the bestial view of the class struggle put forward by Wilhelm Reich — the prophet of liberation through "sexual freedom."

Over the past twenty years there have come to be many "Marxists" like Bertell Ollman in America's universities. As in Europe, they have provided the intellectual environment and cover for the free sex, free drugs, and terrorist movements. They have thrown the Platonic humanism of Marx out the window,

claiming, like Ollman, that Marx has no ethics at all (pp. 41-51), that anything is justified by the necessity of struggle of class against class. Such "Marxists" are more than an intellectual fraud. They are witting or unwitting agents of British Intelligence's plans to destroy the United States as an industrialist republic through terrorism, and "class war."

The "right-wing" opposition to Ollman should be understood as the profiled countergang that gives credibility to the "Marxist" left. The only difference between Zbigniew Brzezinski, who wrote a recommendation supporting Ollman's appointment at the University of Maryland, and columnists Roland Evans and Robert Novak, who are leading a nationwide campaign against him, is that in this case Brzezinski is more honest. Evans and Novak are dishonestly playing the role of sucking in conservatives horrified by Ollman's near-appointment, the more easily to feed a phony right-left confrontation.

Political science today sorely needs an American perspective — a recapturing of those principles of humanist Platonic development which united labor, merchant, industry and farmer in the American Revolution and which remains the much-neglected basis for America's strength today. If people believing in these principles allow themselves to be conned by a valueless appeal to "academic freedom" into honoring the credentials of those in fundamental opposition to those principles, they will be contributing to the destruction of this nation and the world. On this basis, both linguistcian Bertell Ollman and his "right-wing" entourage should be given the short shrift they deserve.

— Nancy Spannaus

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CONTROVERSY (CONT'D)

Italian Communists Herald Opening

continued from page 2
in the February 1978 issue of the Campaigner. Muriel Mirak, also a member of the ELP Executive Committee, is preparing an article on the development of language through poetry for forthcoming publication.

ROME — An unforeseeable opening has been made in the midst of the chaos in Rome—in the very center of the city—dedicated to reflection on man, on his history, on his civilization, and even on the tenacity of all these “things” which sprout, in difficult times like the present, like grass under stones.

The credit for this opening goes to the Humanist Academy (located at Foro Traiano 1-A), which has undertaken a series of courses on subjects which are not at all academic. “European Civilization as the Conquest of Neoplatonic Humanism” was the subject which launched the taking up of humanist interests; the other day there was a surprising investigation into the music of Beethoven, on the last movement of his Ninth, which continues to exercise an extraordinary hold, interest, and fascination.

There is a very recent study—a book—by Massimo Mila (Readings on the Ninth Symphony), precious for its analysis, and over the past days there was an article precisely on the Ninth which appeared in our newspaper. Now, through this conference—in a lecture by the German scholar Anno Hellenbroich on the topic of “Think Like Beethoven”—the fourth movement of the Ninth has been projected into a humanist framework, into a mental organization of Platonic origin aimed at gathering the various

movements of the finale of the Ninth—which some believe to be fragmentary—as a continuous transcending of goals which are reached and “systematized” in a unified process of refinement, scientifically organized.

Science and music, furthermore, are at the basis of Beethoven's art, and derived, according to the speaker, from the cultural climate breathed by the young Beethoven during his youth in Bonn. An in fact that city's University (Beethoven was born there in 1770) and the ferment within the cultural circles responsive to the readings of Schiller, Goethe, and Kant, authorize some attention being paid to the hypothesis of Hellenbroich, who is carrying out researches on that period of German history and culture.

Further, the scholar adds the influence on the Ninth of a republican atmosphere stemming from the American Revolution and, above all, from the example of Benjamin Franklin who was known in Europe and appreciated especially in London.

If the research gives provable results we will have to become aware of the American turn of Beethoven who, thanks to Hellenbroich, is meanwhile taken up by a considerable number of people as the instrument for knowledge and intellectual deepening. The examples adopted by the speaker (slides of the score, performances, etc.) for the moment induced the acquisition of a different view of Beethoven. We will not fail to follow the developments of this initiative.

The humanist resurgence will next Thursday involve literature, with an intervention by Muriel Mirak on the subject of “Poetry as Epistemology” (that is, poetry as an instrument of scientific knowledge) “from the Troubadours to Dante.”

LETTERS (CONT'D)

Humanist Academy Takes Up Fight

continued from page 2

conceptual leader of the American revolution. Georg Forster's mention of 'Goetterfunken Vernunft' [God's sparks of reason] and Schiller's use of the same words in the Ode to Joy refer precisely to Benjamin Franklin."

The purpose of such an introduction to the theme "Beethoven" was not merely a new point of view, but an application of the method of the Platonic dialogue, a consciously initiated confrontation between Beethoven's reason as a humanist world outlook and established, erroneous habits of thinking and hearing.

In the discussion, which led to an open debate between humanist and anti-humanist world views, the Academy participants became conscious of how deeply prejudice and irrationality dominated their own thinking.

For instance, a professor from Rome insisted that Beethoven's music is simply "triumphal, the music of a hero," and proceeded to raise the question of whether or not Beethoven had written his music to unify Germany or whether it had perhaps been written against the bourgeoisie.

This sparked a debate around a prejudiced view commonly held in certain Communist Party circles: Beethoven was a Jacobin. One member of the Academy formulated the answer this way: Beethoven understood himself rather as a republican in the sense of Franklin and not as a class warrior; his music is much more a demonstration of humanist thought.

At the Milan Goethe Institute a nicely refined accent was introduced into the debate by the presence of two British professors from Milan University; both were living specimens of reductionist-empiricist thinking and the problem of cultural relativism as well.

"To represent Beethoven as the greatest is absolutist," they said. Every epoch has found its own means of expression. Rock music, they said, is the expression of modern civilization and in its own way expresses a new spiritual activity.

The Academy has produced yet another echo in musical circles. A debate has been sparked with the professors of the Milan "Music Scene," at the university and conservatory, on the pur-

ported value of modern music and on the necessity of competent musical training and humanistic musical culture. In discussions Hellenbroich held with several professors, the value of the traditional music of Bach and Beethoven was conceded, but this music was not recognized as the criterion for a competent creative compositional method. In their view creativity cannot be grasped as a scientific thought process, but is unconscious, and can only come as inspiration, making its appearance by chance.

This is much more than an "exchange of ideas." It is the necessary polemic of the humanistic world outlook against the antihumanistic way of thinking, which is

based on determinism and sense-certainty, and which has contributed to the destruction of our culture. The goal of the Academy in Italy — just like the Wiesbaden Academy for Humanistic Studies — is to carry this debate to the widest strata and to draw leading musicians and scientists into collaboration in the Academy.

— Elisabeth Henke
Wiesbaden, Germany

Editor's note: A translation of the Unita coverage of Mr. Hellenbroich's lecture is printed in this issue. His article, "Think Like Beethoven," appeared in the February 1978 issue.

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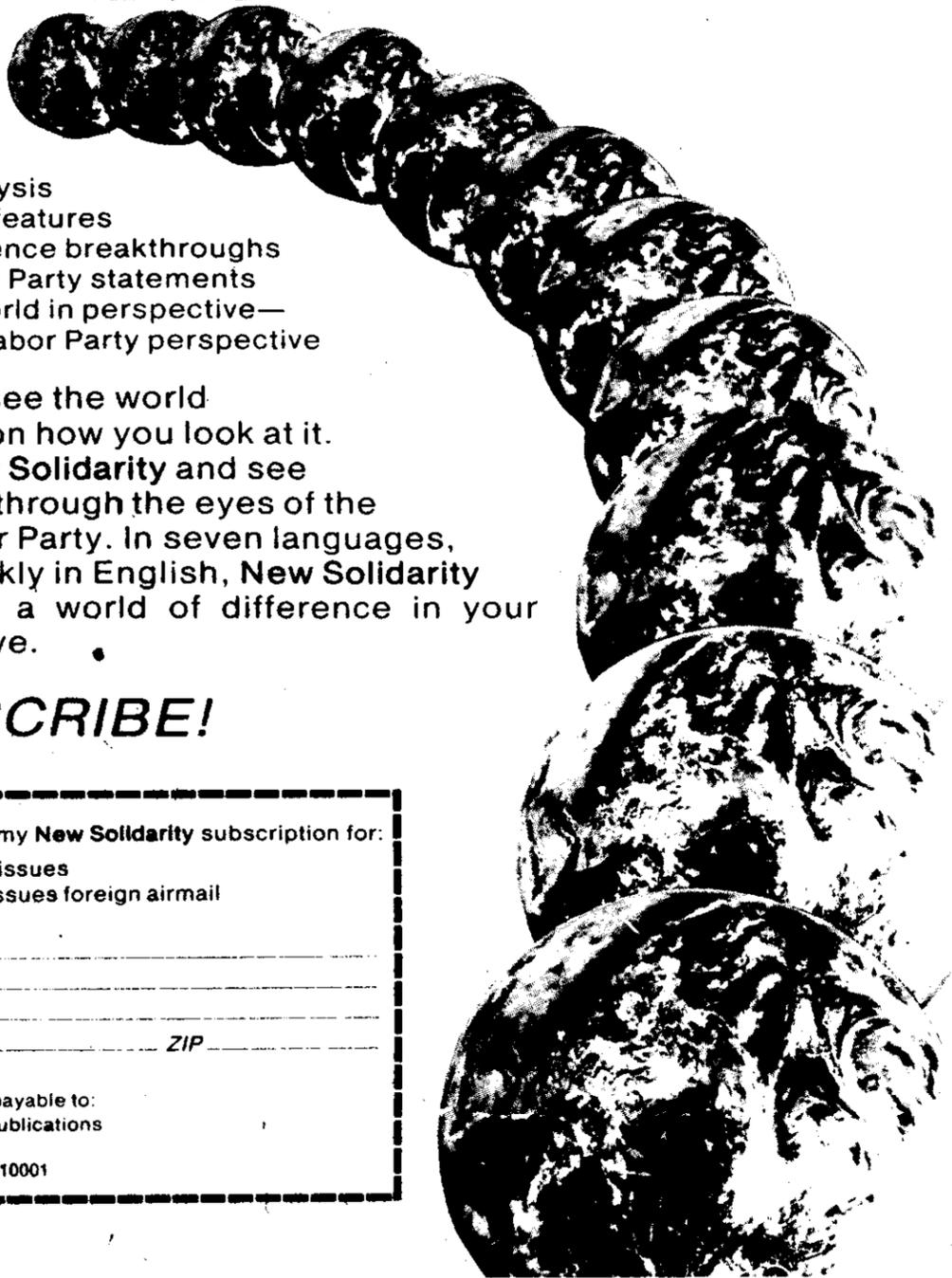
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Poe's Conception of Poetry

by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

Edgar Allan Poe was extremely learned in the secrets of poetry — in a way almost inaccessible to modern victims of Oxford and Cambridge diseducation — insofar as his conception of poetry was that of the Platonic Dialogue: to effect a transformation in the reader's mind from the quality associated with sense perceptions and infantile feeling states to the truly human condition, the condition of reason. Poe, like Dante, Shelley, and other great humanist intellects, understood poetry as a method through which an awareness of the preconscious creative process — that quality of *a priori* creative thought which precedes specific predicates or images and which is most frequently experienced as the knowledge "on the tip of one's tongue" — could be awakened in others, so that conscious mastery of preconscious creativity, human reason, could be engendered throughout broader layers of the population. The poem, or great musical composition or work of art, acts to give a name to the as yet unnamed but fully formed universal (gestalt) developed in unmediated form within the preconscious, in order to replicate the experience of this insight in the mind of the reader. It is clear that Shelley's and Poe's conception of the subject of poetic composition — the creative process conscious of itself — has not been tolerated in working poets of the twentieth century (as LaRouche's experience with working poets attests).

Warburg Institute slanders identifying Platonic and Neoplatonic currents as mysticism aside, there is no hidden body of Platonic knowledge in the literal sense. What the Platonics seized on was the use of poetry not to obscure literal, a

posteriori judgment through symbology, but to help the audience get past deductive-logical modes of thought and awaken self-awareness of creativity. Hence the joint treatment of Eros and Prometheus myths in the humanist tradition, to identify the process of leading the soul to cathexize the love of beauty and the emotion of love for a woman to the grandeur of love for creative insight in general. "To love a problem in original scientific discovery is to deliberately effect the creative solution to the problem."

The true poem is removed from the literal treatment of the apparent poetic content. Its beauty lies in experiencing the communicated preconscious concept from "the corner of one's eye"; its sadness, in expressing the mood of necessity.

Poe's sense of scientific method demonstrates his understanding that the method of science is necessarily that of poetry — human creative reason. It is rigorously demonstrated that the lawfulness and coherence of the physical universe must correspond to the process of creative insight and its application in expanding man's social mastery of the powers of nature through the scientific-technological development of human society. The current dichotomy between science and poetry results from a fictitious, stoical attitude that locates human freedom in Dionysian rebellion against an unchanging, static universe (Heisenberg), rather than as an attribute of man's preconscious powers of discovery. Hence, until working scientists become poets, fundamental scientific advance will wallow in the bed of impotent, Kantian-like formalistic imagery.

A Humanist Perspective on Medieval Islam

by Judy Weyer

The enormous, hitherto inexplicable vitality which animated the Islamic Renaissance of the seventh to tenth centuries and created such centers of urban civilization as Baghdad and Cairo is not to be found in religious fervor *per se*, but in a continuous epistemological-political conspiracy of humanists associated in particular with the early Shi'ite and successor Ismaili factions of Islam. It was the "city-building" outlook of this conspiracy which transformed Bedouin tribesmen into a population capable of constructing Baghdad as the greatest commercial-scientific center of its time, synthesizing Greek, Hindu, and Chinese technological knowledge within its libraries, schools, and agricultural projects. In the outlook of Al Farabi, Baghdad — the "city of peace" located at the nexus of all major East-West trade routes — represented the universal city, from which new cities of reason would be made to emerge.

It was from this voluntarist world view of the Shi'ite intelligentsia that the idea of the Imam, the philosopher-king who governed the Caliphate, was developed, despite the fact that this intelligentsia never gained direct political control in either the Abbasid revolution of 750 AD associated with the flourishing of Baghdad, or in the Fatimid revolution of 960. The Fatimid revolution, which established Cairo as the new center of the Caliphate, was the result of 100 years of North African colonization organized by Ismaili networks — the Brethren of the Purity that presaged Groote's Brotherhood of the Common Life — to offset the collapse of Baghdad into a speculative-

looting economy in the ninth century.

Standard histories of Islam portray as "religious" disagreements the political-epistemological dynamic which pitted the city-building Shi'ites against the Sunni and later Sufi (Al Ghazali) factions. As the propaganda Epistles issued by the Brethren of the Purity (including works authored by Al Farabi and Ibn Sina) make clear, these doctrinal disputes invariably centered around whether the Koran should be interpreted as representing a fixed and immutable universe — the feudal model — or a world which demanded man's active participation in the ongoing process of creation — the humanist approach of the Brethren.

Of particular importance in overcoming ideological blocks to Mideast peace and development today is the role of the Jews in the Islamic Renaissance. Although it is well-known to historians that the Phineas and Amram Jewish merchant banking networks controlled the orgy of financial speculation and tax farming that brought down Baghdad, the active political alliance to establish the Cairo Caliphate between Ismailis and Fatimid Jews — the rationalist Karaite movement which produced Anan ben David and later Ibn Gabirol (Avencibrol) — has been consistently obscured. It was the Karaite tradition in the person of Ibn Gabirol in particular which was instrumental in transmitting the thought of Ibn Sina to Europe, and which formed the basis of the humanist Sephardic current of Judaism which produced Benedict Spinoza.