

the Campaigner

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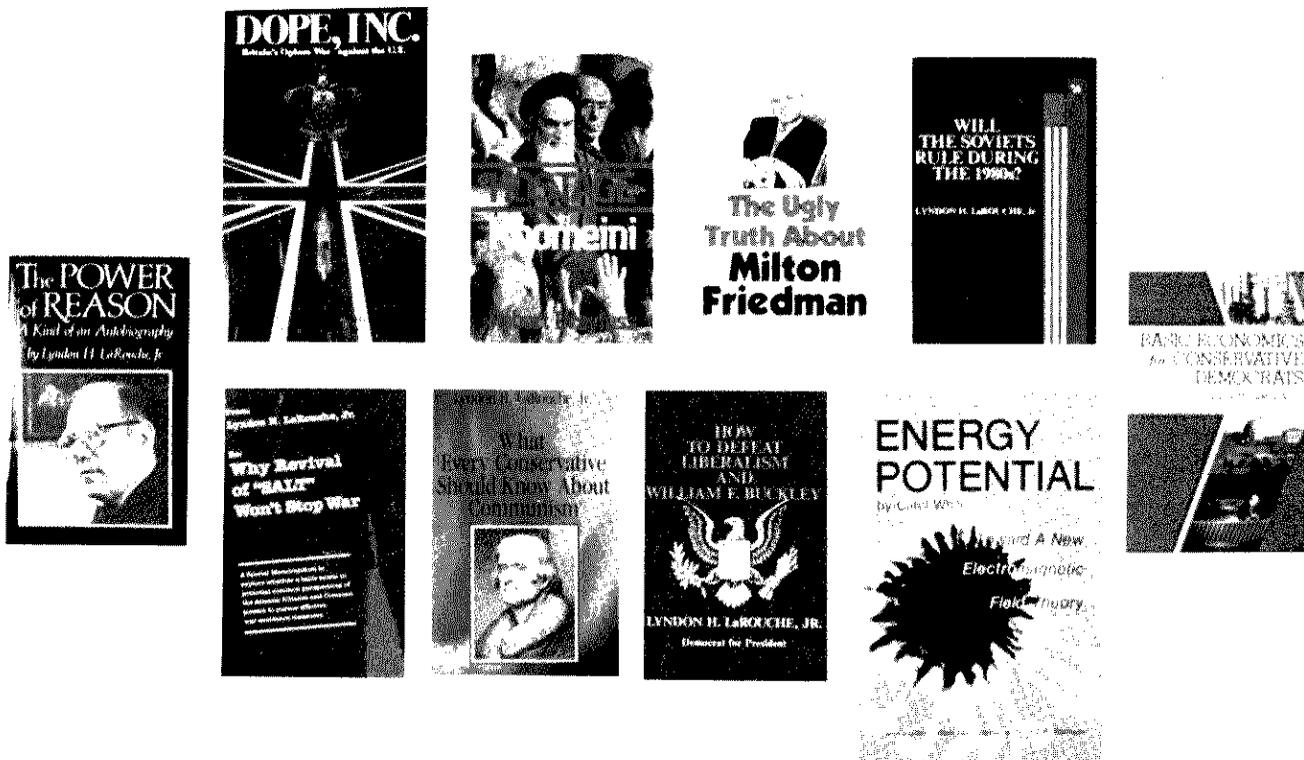
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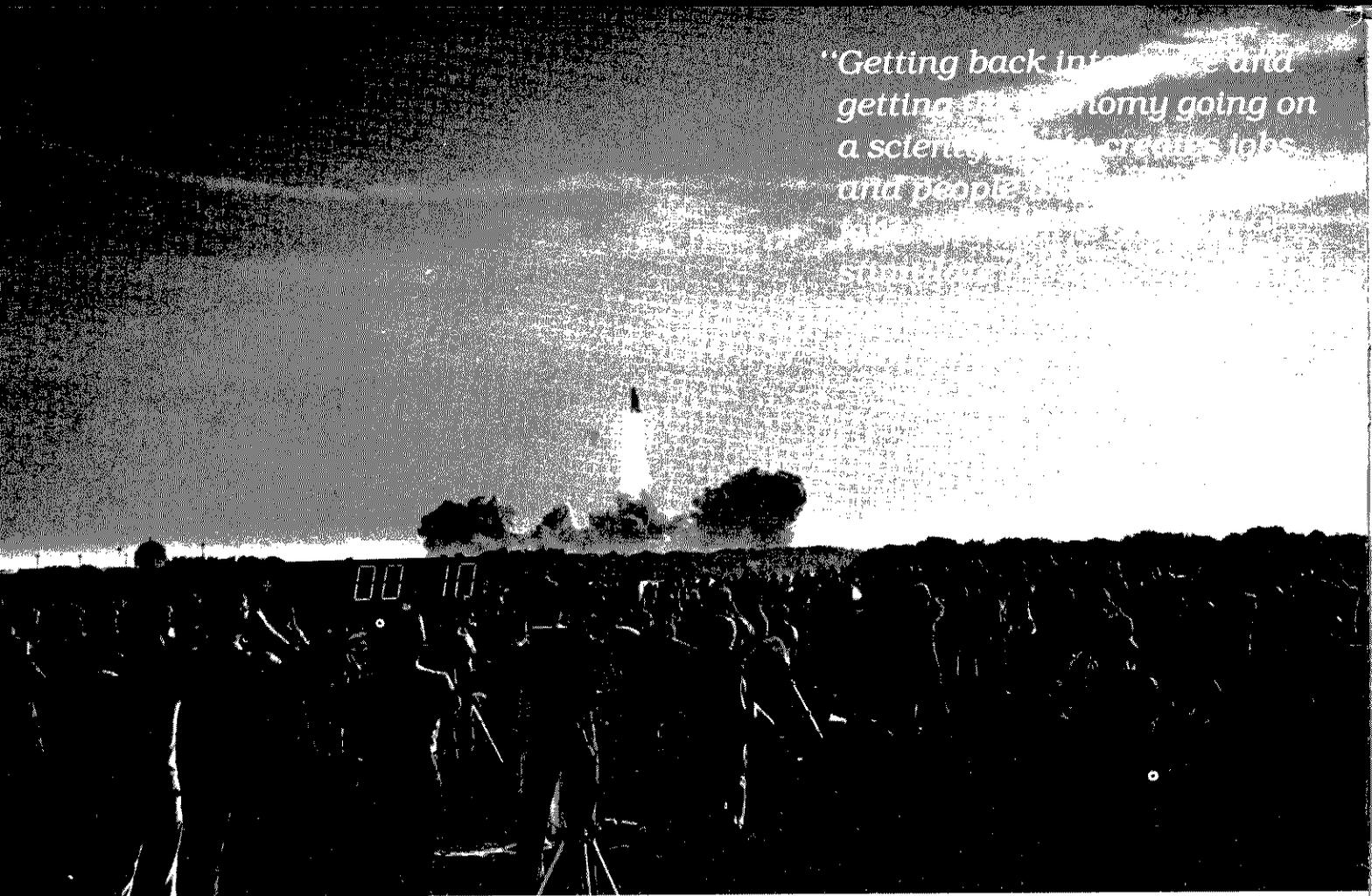
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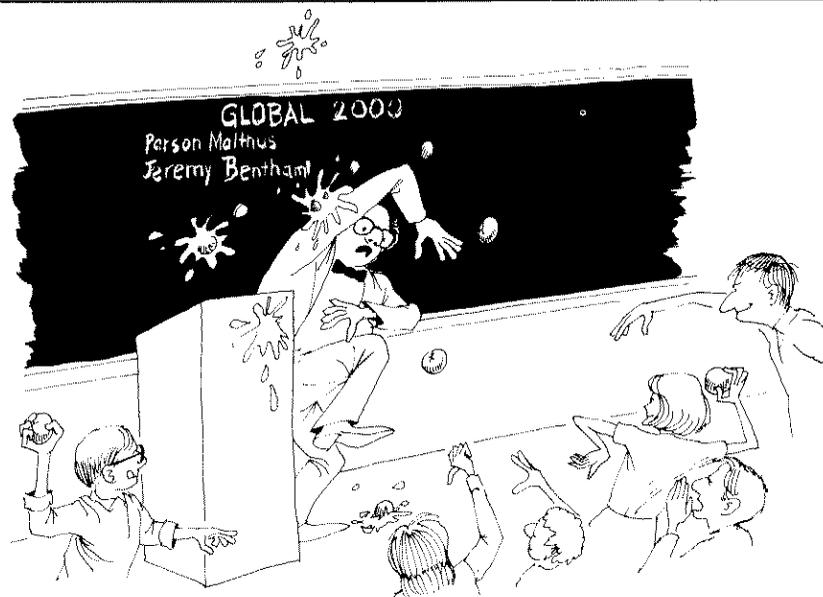
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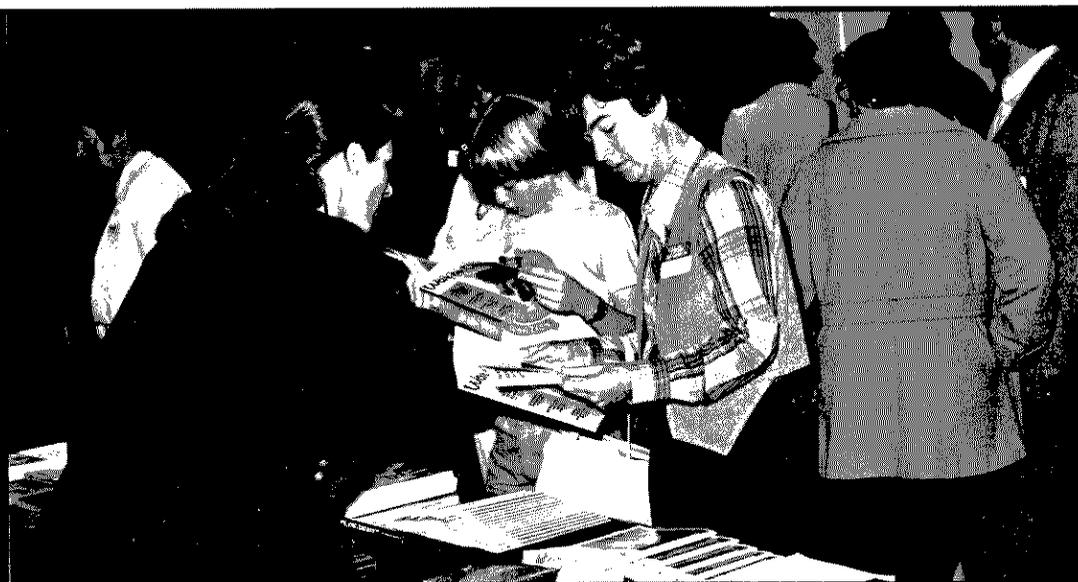
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lone assassins

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We Need A National Poet

WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS facing the country today, perhaps it seems gratuitous to add the lack of a national poet. This is a time when General Maxwell Taylor unabashedly proposes to write off one billion people as superfluous, and Office of Management and the Budget Director David Stockman—in cahoots with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul A. Volcker—prepares to implement that program by deliberately destroying the U.S. economy.

Are we perhaps being frivolous? We say not.

No one who understands and loves poetry will tolerate genocide. Poetry, because it is a true expression of the beautiful soul, shows the potential beauty of every man's soul. Dante's towering *Commedia* literally created the Italian nation and was a beacon to that nation throughout the hideous vicissitudes of the Dark Ages, leading Italy into its Renaissance. It is today still loved by Italians, who know that it expresses the best of their nation.

DANTE ALIGHIERI is a universal man, of course, and not merely Italy's poet. But although the non-Italian-language speaker may love the poetic grandeur of the *Commedia* and its presentation of the highest reaches to which the human soul aspires, lacking the language he cannot truly know the poem. Poetry is inherently un-

translatable by nature because its beauty lies in the harmonious marriage of elevated conceptions and glorious prosody of expression in spoken language.

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are a true poetic "translation" of Dante's great work, however. Their subject, like Dante's, is the task of elevating a body of men and women from a veritable sheeplike stupor to the level where they are morally fit to be citizens of a republic. What Dante did was unique; yet Milton was his glorious descendent. Milton's poetry stood next to the Bible in every home when America was founded.

Yet who today reads Milton's poetry outside of the rare classroom? Who reads Edgar Allan Poe, who followed worthily in Milton's footsteps to be our greatest American poet and one of the greatest poets in any language of the last two centuries?

Celebrating Spaceweek

WE FULLY SUPPORT the proposal by the Spaceweek group in Houston, Texas, to set aside the week of July 12-20 to celebrate the accomplishments of the space program. It would be fully appropriate for President Reagan to designate Spaceweek a national holiday.

Plans are underway for a variety of events, ranging from science fiction extravaganzas to conferences involving experts in the field of space and aviation. It is neces-

sary to give proper direction to these events, to capture that elevated sense of moral purpose shared by millions of Americans during the flight of the Space Shuttle.

This is especially important for our young people. Without new frontiers to master, they have no spiritual future, no challenge to excite their best efforts. In planning Spaceweek, let us emphasize those activities that will be most beneficial for them, by emphasizing the tasks before us as a nation.

We propose that Spaceweek be devoted to a series of exhibits and lectures on the history of the space program, with special emphasis on the magnificent effort launched by President Kennedy to land a man on the Moon.

The primary immediate goal

for the space program is the establishment of a permanently manned orbiting space station. How this can be accomplished should be elaborated, along with detailed accounts of the scientific and engineering breakthroughs possible with such space laboratory facilities.

ATTENTION SHOULD BE focused on the fundamental scientific questions opened up by the Voyager flights to Jupiter and Saturn. The same "nonlinear" effects observed in the atmospheres of these planets pose challenges to scientists now working with high-energy plasmas in the nation's fusion laboratories.

An appropriate long-term goal for Spaceweek would be to establish science and technology mu-

A NATION MORALLY FIT to survive must revere its poets. We need Milton more today than did our forefathers who loved him. We need Edgar Allan Poe.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, educated Americans typically knew European languages, as well as classical Greek and Latin. They could read Dante's poetry and Schiller's directly, because they understood Italian and German. More important, they had not yet lost the connection to their own humanist roots, despite the subversive efforts of ideologues like British intelligence agent Sir Walter Scott, the man Edgar Allan Poe died fighting.

Just as poetry cannot be translated, so it must be read aloud—read socially in groups. Poetry is spoken song. Today's Americans must learn again to sing.

—Carol White

seums across the country. Such museums would serve as centers for a reawakened national pride and a revitalized science education. They would display the struggle to master fusion technology—the technology we must soon develop to propel man into outer space, as well as overcome what could become a dangerous raw materials problem early next century.

The museums would not overlook the early preeminence of American science, with the work of Benjamin Franklin, the father of electricity. But neither would they restrict themselves to our nation's accomplishments.

What could be more appropriate to a museum featuring space science than the achievements of

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Pre-Raphaelites On Screen

To the editor:

Recently, I took the time to go to a special advance showing of the movie *Excalibur* directed by John Boorman and built around Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. While I think that somewhere deep in the Arthurian legend there might be a potential for extracting a nation-building myth, I think that *The Campaigner* should issue a "yellow alert" for a neo-Pre-Raphaelite deployment this summer.

Among America's youth who are at the point of choosing educational and career objectives, ages ten to twenty-five, there is a vague protechnology (immorally technocratic) mind-set brought about by the *Star Wars* deployment. There has been developed a fascination with space technology and wonder weapons in line with a NATO view of space exploration. Still, the good byproduct of *Star Wars* was at least some kind of interest in technology and NASA. Better than no interest at all. But it is now my opinion that the weak points we identified in the *Star Wars* cult are about to come home to roost. . . .

All of the "human relationships" that the population has been brainwashed into envying in outer space are available to them in the Dark Ages—would it not be easier to go back to the good old days rather than bothering with all the complications of ugly technological progress? In one bold sweep, the focus of the *Star Wars* cults will be turned from a vague notion of technological progress and development back to the Dark Ages. It is much easier to make swords and clubs than to develop

nuclear fusion. I quote from Mr. Boorman, the director of *Excalibur*: "We are running out of steam. We don't know where we are going next. We are starting to look back and I think that is very healthy."

Boorman's movie itself is visually stunning, beautiful—like watching a slide presentation of Pre-Raphaelite paintings. I was able to identify untold numbers of sets obviously taken from specific paintings: Burne-Jones, Hunt, Morris, Rossetti, etc. It was made clear that the Dark Ages was a time of beauty that the modern industrialized nation could never approach—John Ruskin would have been proud.

If the method of playing up the Dark Ages as a glorious alternative to the modern industrial nation-state is sick, the philosophical basis for the movie is just plain evil.

Excalibur is not the only movie of this genre scheduled to hit the U.S. this summer. I urge a "yellow alert" for a neo-Pre-Raphaelite deployment.

—Stuart Hutchins
Atlanta, Georgia

The editor replies:

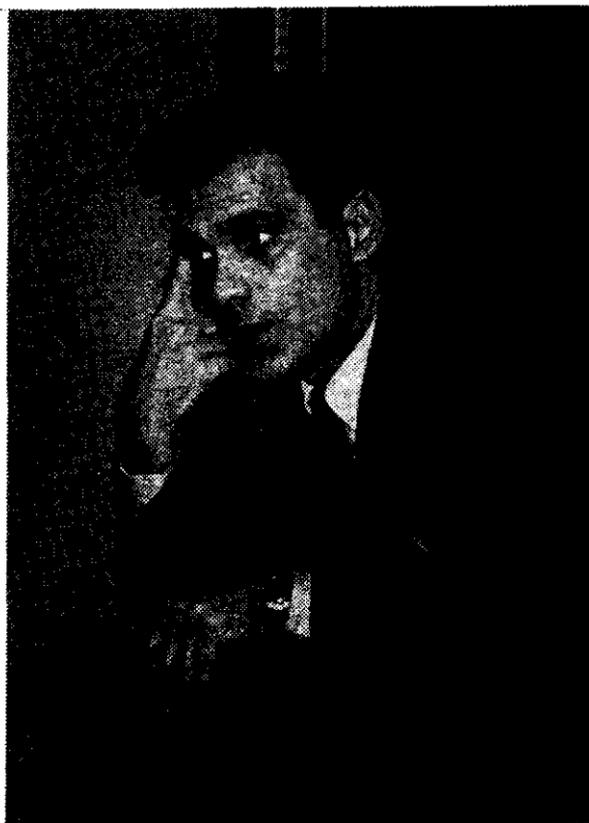
Please see our movie column in this issue, which reports that John Boorman's *Excalibur* is just one component of a recently initiated campaign to saturate popular culture in the United States with themes and images that hail back to the golden era of feudalism. In our next issue, *The Campaigner* will continue a "yellow alert" against this Dark Ages propaganda barrage with an exposé of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—the nineteenth century medievalist counterculture cult created by the British imperialist John Ruskin—whose paintings, as you pointed out, provided so many of the "sets" for Boorman's movie.

Plato Debate Makes Waves At Princeton

With a five-part lecture series at Princeton University, the International Caucus of Labor Committees this spring initiated a nationwide educational effort to reawaken the tradition of Platonic epistemology and science on American campuses.

Princeton was carefully chosen terrain for the opening shots of this campaign. Over the past several years its campus has become a center of academic assaults on the American republican tradition, with Khomeini-sympathizer Richard Falk on its faculty of international law, and liberal scribbler I.F. Stone recently invited as a visiting lecturer in its classics department. Stone's academic appearance coincides with his recent authorship of vitriolic articles in *Harper's* and *The New York Times* magazines attacking the Greek philosopher Plato for advocating a "tyranny of reason" Stone claims is responsible for modern fascism.

These slander articles by Stone were in fact directed against the intellectual influence of the ICLC and its founder Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., who are currently spearheading an international campaign to revitalize the Platonic tradition in the political and physical sciences. Stone's presence at the university, intended to lend credence to his claim of classical scholarship, falls perfectly into place with the simultaneous effort



Criton Zoakos lectures on Plato at Princeton University.

of the university trustees to bar Labor Committee organizers from the university campus, a cause which Princeton Charter Trustee Nicholas de Belleville Katzenbach is currently appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Academic Freedom

As Criton Zoakos pointed out in the first lecture of the series, Katzenbach, Stone, and Co. represent the contemporary version of the "sophists," the charlatans who masqueraded as teachers in Plato's time. In fourth century B.C. Athens, the sophists mobilized to eradicate the influence of Plato's Academy and to effect the legal murder of Plato's teacher Socrates by the city's mobs.

So today, said Zoakos, these sophists are mobilized against the Labor Committees with an identical motive: to eliminate the belief in creativity from the younger generation—and, as Plato puts it in his dialogue *The Sophist*, "to rob the purses of the parents of the young" in the process.

As Zoakos explained, academic freedom from the standpoint of

the Princeton trustees means only the right to intellectual banality and liberalism, combined with total opposition to any individual or group which claims to be able to prove the necessary existence of absolute truth. This false picture of freedom, especially at an institution claiming to produce an elite to run the nation, represents a dire threat to the republic, insofar as it can result only in mediocrities and moral indifferentism.

Zoakos used two of Plato's lectures, *The Sophist* and *The Symposium*, to illustrate how Plato dealt with this kind of intellectual assassination.

In the first, Plato shows that the only way to destroy the sophists is by proving that absolute truth must necessarily exist, and that this truth must be equivalent to the concept of existence itself. Existence, in turn, can be equated with a generative or creative universal principle, without which the development of the human race and the universe cannot be explained.

In the second dialogue Plato, speaking through Socrates, counterposes banal concepts of love to a real notion of human love, which Socrates identifies as an intense desire to know the generative principle of the universe. In combination, the two dialogues locate what it is in the human mind that enable creative thinking to take place.

Zoakos issued a challenge to the audience: "If you master the concepts we are teaching you, you will learn more in a matter of hours than you will during four years at Princeton. Your willingness to develop the intellectual rigor necessary to master Plato may provide the necessary margin for this nation and civilization as we know it to survive."

continued on page 50

Polaroid of Raphael's Masterpiece On U.S. Tour



Raphael's Transfiguration.

Few paintings have had such a complex and fascinating history as Raphael's great final work, *Transfiguration*. The painting is surrounded by stories and legends and was even kidnapped, in 1797, when Napoleon carried it off to the Louvre. It was not until 1815 that Antonia Canova secured the painting's return to the Pope. After a perilous journey by ox-cart, hastened by Canova's fear that the allies might change their minds, the painting re-entered Rome on January 4, 1816. The following year it was installed in the Vatican Picture Gallery and has remained there ever since.

Although the original, over four meters high and painted on a cherrywood panel now fragile with age, may never again leave Rome, the image of Raphael's *Transfiguration* is now on a lengthy tour of America in the form of a remarkable series of Polaroid photographs. The American journey of the exhibit entitled "A Masterpiece Close-up: *The Transfiguration* by Raphael" began at the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass., where the exhibition was on view from February 6 to March 15, 1981. Organized under the auspices of the Vatican Museums and Galleries, the exhibition consists of thirty Polaroid photographs of Raphael's work, made directly from the painting without the image-degrading steps of negatives or enlargements.

One photograph, a composite of four separate sections, reproduces the entire work at 95 percent of its original size; sixteen photographs reproduce sections of the work at full size, ten are three-times Direct Magnifications of details, and three are five-times Direct Magnifications.

The details and magnifications were made according to the

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Leonardo: Artist and Scientist

Since the late 1960s discovery of a large cache of Leonardo da Vinci's scientific manuscripts in Madrid, and their subsequent popularization in the generously illustrated *Unknown Leonardo*, Leonardo's importance as a leading scientist and engineer of the Renaissance has been broadly recognized. This was not the case as little as twenty years ago, however, when the standard approach to Leonardo's scientific sketches was that they were little more than idle day-dreams of the otherwise great artist. This view was championed in particular by the British art scholar Sir Kenneth Clark.

It is now clear that Leonardo's work in physics was rigorous, and that his investigations were significantly aided by the analysis of natural processes in his drawings. The recent exhibit of drawings on display at New York City's Metropolitan Museum on loan from

the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, was organized so as to obscure this connection, however. But despite this intention, the exhibit contains extraordinary evidence of Leonardo's combined scientific and artistic activity.

Water Studies

One of the best ways to appreciate Leonardo as a scientist is by viewing the artist's most famous water studies. A good number of these were included in the exhibition.

A visit to the Metropolitan with my family provided some useful insights into how and why Leonardo has continued to be slandered as merely an artist. When my eleven-year-old son saw one drawing of a waterfall (fig. 1), he agreed with the person standing next to us and exclaimed: "But this isn't what a waterfall looks like!"

The particular drawing, done in about 1506 as part of Leonardo's design of a water development project for the city of Milan, was used ten years later near the end of the artist's life to complete a set of drawings called the "Deluge Series"—also on display at this exhibition (fig. 2). The water in this series is even more "unrealistic."

In his comments on the "Deluge Series," Sir Kenneth Clark says that Leonardo's scientific side

must have "been ashamed of anything so obviously untrue to natural appearances."

A Physicist's View

As a physicist seeing the water studies for the first time, I had precisely the opposite reaction. The power and reality of these drawings struck me forcefully. The drawings show that Leonardo had discovered and could render the basic features of fluid flow four hundred and fifty years before they were discovered by modern hydrodynamicists.

Unfortunately for the visitors who packed the Met's hallways anxious to see the great master's drawings, the museum declined to translate the text Leonardo produced with his drawings. This deprived the curious of an opportunity to learn from what Leonardo said about the scientific principles represented in his drawings.

Leonardo's Hydrodynamics

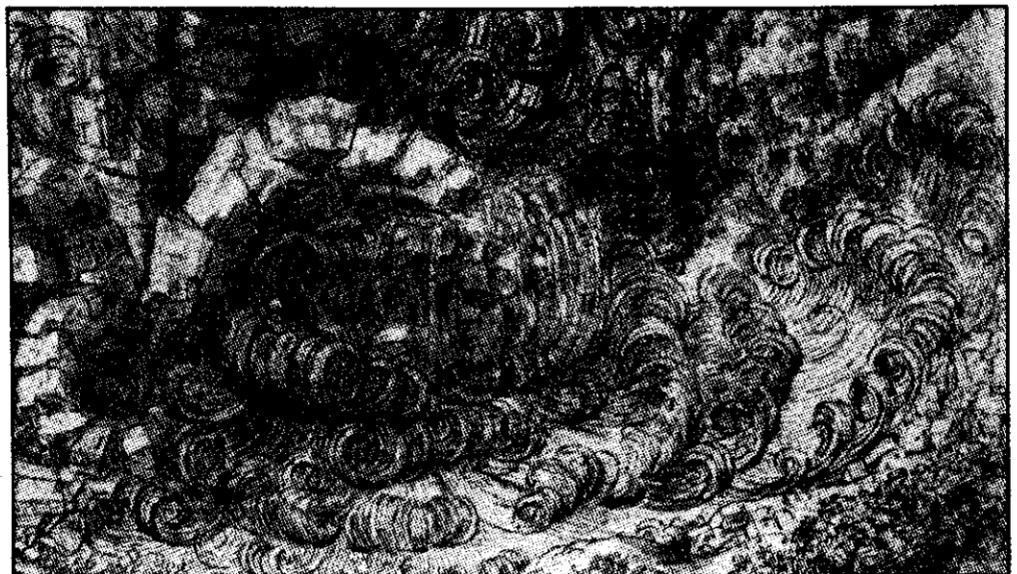
Leonardo did detailed investigations of the flow of fluids around obstacles in his preparations for the construction of a vast canal, tunnel, and dam system for the region around Florence and Milan. The most revealing of these is shown in figure 3.

In this page of his notebook,
continued on page 53

FIG. 1. *Leonardo's waterfall.*



FIG. 2. *From Leonardo's Deluge Series.*





John W. Hinckley in custody after shooting President Reagan. Fourteen more suspects with similar profiles were arrested over the next month.

Shortly after John W. Hinckley, Jr. was arrested and charged with the March 30 attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan, high-level sources in the U.S. intelligence community reported that the Secret Service had arrested fourteen "hot suspects" threatening the life of the President. Seven of the fourteen answered to the same basic description as Hinckley, Jr.: sandy-blond hair, clean-cut, baby-faced, about five-foot-eight. A little over half of the arrested sus-

There Are No Lone Assassins

by Linda de Hoyos

pects had recently been under psychiatric care, and over half had written love letters to Jodie Foster, heroine of the 1978 movie *Taxi Driver*, in which a cabbie decides to gun down a U.S. senator to prove his unrequited love.

The precision profiling of the fourteen suspects—all picked up within a month of Hinckley's attempt on the President—makes a mockery of the theory of the "lone assassin." As law enforcement officials are aware, the crime of murder does not follow such scenarios as *Taxi Driver* depicts. The vast majority of murders committed in the United States are domestic homicides or are the result of quarrels between people who know each other. The psychotic killer—in which grouping the presumed lone assassin of the President of the United States would belong—may be capable of random killing. But he is incapa-

ble of the sustained concentration span required to carefully plan and execute a serious attempt on the life of a President—as John Hinckley did on March 30.

There is in fact no such thing as a lone assassin, and when seriously questioned, most Americans do not believe it. Polls in 1980, for example, showed that 75 percent of the American population believes that the Nov. 22, 1963, murder of President John F. Kennedy was the result of a conspiracy. Yet, how many Americans nodded dumbly as the media newscasters blamed the attempt on President Ronald Reagan on the increasingly violent proclivities of the American people? We are being led to expect more violent attempts on the nation's leaders, more random murders carried out by the "Sons of Sam," more cop-killings by the Black Liberation Army. Meanwhile, the conspiracy Americans know must be there remains shrouded from view.

Nevertheless it is possible to discover the nature of the conspiracy—and thus the conspirators—if we proceed in a manner different from the Sherlock Holmes detective or conspiracy buff. We must begin with the primary fact that the murder of a President is not simply a crime against the life of an individual; it is a crime against a nation.

There have been countless murders of political leaders throughout history. The city-building Alexander the Great was poisoned; France's peace-making King Henry IV was knifed. As long as the people of a nation could not govern themselves, it has always been possible to gain power over a nation by eliminating its leader.

But for republican leadership, like America's founding fathers, dedicated to building a people capable of deliberating policy in their own interests, political assassination is intrinsically self-

defeating. After a fifty-year struggle, the Founding Fathers of America achieved the creation of the first republic since Renaissance Florence, with a population that was the most literate and cultured in the world. America, founded on the freedom for scientific and cultural development, stood as the hope for republicans everywhere. The enemy was Great Britain—not the *nation* of Great Britain; that has never existed—but the monarchy which then, as today, functioned as the operational command center for a European-wide nobility and financial power dedicated to maintaining its own parasitical rule. To this oligarchical faction, political assassination has always appeared as a convenient weapon to be wielded.

The thread running through the assassination of American Presidents is that the bullet of the lone assassin always has one result: to bring an abrupt halt to policies that posed a vital strategic threat or potential threat to the power of the European oligarchy. This same political conspiracy has been behind every lone assassin.

The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln six days after the conclusion of the Civil War was Britain's answer to the final defeat of its plans to take back the United States by force.

A few weeks prior to April 15, 1865, John Wilkes Booth had traveled alone to the Canadian headquarters of the Confederacy's secret services in Montreal, Canada. There, Booth, a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle along with most of the Confederate leaders, received the money to carry out the assassination, which had been laundered through the Bank of Montreal. Booth was acting on the orders of Judah Benjamin, the British subject and case officer for Lord Palmerston who emerged as the brains behind the

Confederacy and its secretary of state.

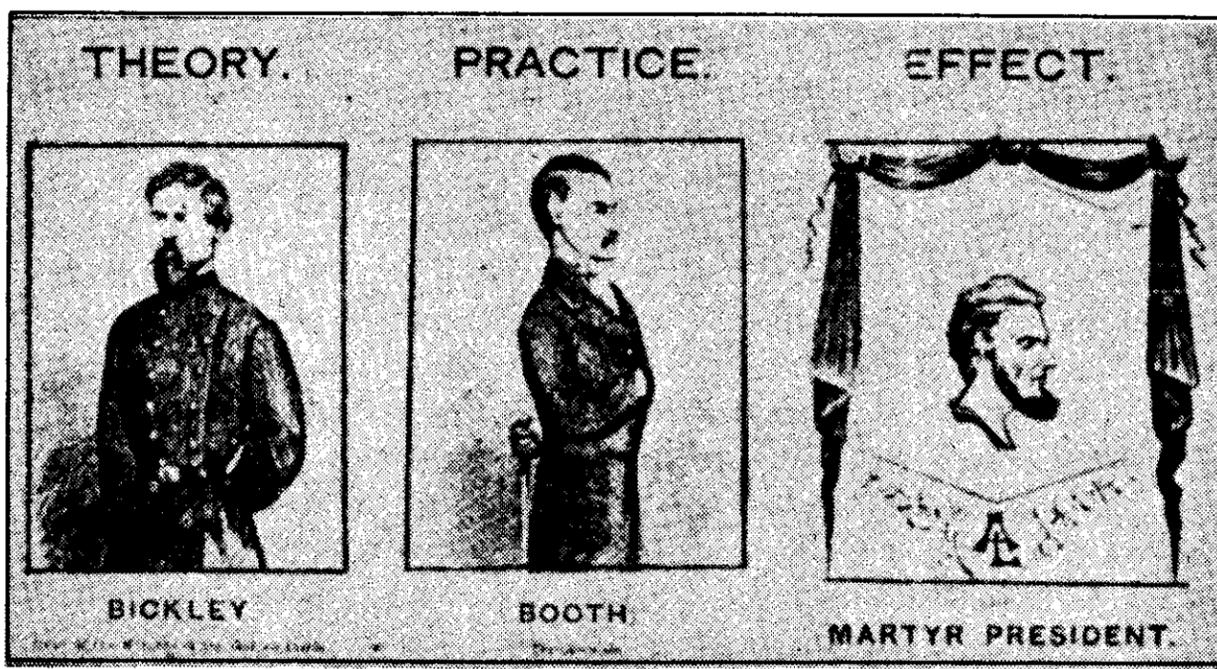
Booth's escape after the murder had been secured by the Union Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton. Booth was able to flee to safety in Canada; although his burned body was declared found by Secret Services chief Lafayette Baker, it was the wrong man.

Swept away with the President's life was Lincoln's peace-winning strategy to rebuild the devastated South with industrial development, the policy Lincoln had championed as a spokesman for American System economics. Instead the South was put through the looting of Reconstruction and was forced to endure economic backwardness until a century later. Even more dangerous for the British was the possibility that Lincoln would bring the United States into alliance with the emerging industrial nations of France and Germany, and with its wartime ally, Russia. Such an alliance based on a "community of principle" in industrial development would have posed a powerful threat to the financial monopoly the British had wielded since the 1815 Treaty of Vienna.

The death of Lincoln and the burial of the truth enabled the British to tighten their financial grip over the American economy, a grip that was strengthened with the 1887 Specie Resumption Act.

The assassination of President William McKinley offered similar benefits for the British Empire. McKinley was determined to break the British financial stranglehold over international trade and financing, and reassert the American System of economic growth after the British-instigated depression of 1885-97. His re-election in 1900 was a mandate from the nation to carry out that policy—an undertaking that depended primarily upon his own personal leadership.

The bullet of a Russian anarch-



A contemporary poster identified the British-run Knights of the Golden Circle cult as the conspirators behind the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Booth's bullet was aimed not only at Lincoln, but at his strategy to rebuild the Union by developing the South.

ist brought a deadly halt to McKinley's plans. Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt, a man more than willing to supply British brains with American brawn, assumed the presidency.

The by-now British-controlled national media had a field day with the McKinley assassination, proclaiming that it was the American tendency to nurture "violence-prone" groups that was to blame for the murder of the President. It was pure rubbish. Like most anarchists of his day, McKinley's assassin was under the strict control of networks themselves operated by the British. Also like the terrorists of today, the assassin enjoyed the protection of the "social work" radical settlement houses that had been established a decade earlier in the United States by the British Fabian Society's Jane Addams. After he shot McKinley, the assassin found refuge in the Henry Street Settlement House run by anarchist Emma Goldman, a woman with connections of her own to the British Lord Rothschild.

With McKinley's fight to re-establish the American System shot down, the British proceeded to use Roosevelt's gunboat diplomacy to protect British financial looting throughout the rest of the world. And the way was clear for the 1913 establishment of the Federal Reserve, an act that placed



credit generation within the United States in the hands of British-dominated private finance.

Lincoln and McKinley are two cases of undeniable political assassination, but the American public was also convinced that the death of President William Henry Harrison in 1841 was likewise due to foul play. Like McKinley after him, Harrison was determined to undo the damage to the nation and economy that the twelve-year reign of British puppets Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren had wrought. His death—officially from a common cold—one month after his inauguration placed in power Vice-President John Tyler, a turncoat who hastily revived the same economic policies Americans had voted out of office along with "Magician" Van Buren. Four months after Harri-

son's death, the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* asserted with horror that the medical treatment prescribed for the President—not the original disease—had been the cause of death.

Nor were Americans convinced by the sudden death by food poisoning of Warren Harding. Just before his death, Harding was beginning to impinge on what the British considered their own private preserve with a plan to recognize the Soviet Union and normalize business relations through a huge trade package between the United States and the Lenin government.

In short, the United States has suffered the loss of five Presidents without once following an investigation into the actual or probable political conspiracy behind their deaths to its final conclusion.

For many adult Americans, the date Nov. 22, 1963 rings with the same sense of shock as Pearl Harbor Day. The assassination of President John Kennedy on that afternoon in Dallas is one indication of how slight a deviation toward American national interests the British are prepared to tolerate in a President of the United States.

To be sure, the Kennedy family had been owned lock, stock, and liquor barrel by the British since Somerset Importers, Ltd. of Lord Haig et al. had given Joe Kennedy the U.S. distribution franchise for Scotland's finest. For Joe Kennedy, pride in his position as the American ambassador to the Court of St. James was exceeded only by his joy at marrying off his daughter Katherine to the powerful British Cecil family. From the get go, his sons, including John Fitzgerald, were groomed for power in the United States, and at Harvard Kennedy was placed under the wing of anglophile William Yandell Elliott. The installation of Kennedy in the White House was therefore designed to secure the United States for the British, ending the irritating problems they had had with President

Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Passages in the memoirs of Harold Macmillan exhibit the growing exasperation in British policy circles as their plan began to veer off course. In the months before his death, Kennedy, made increasingly wary after the 1961 debacle of the Bay of Pigs, indicated more than once that American national interests were also beginning to enter into his thinking. He and his brother Robert had taken personal action to cool out the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, managing to disarm the potentially catastrophic consequences of unauthorized actions taken on both the U.S. and the Soviet sides.



From that point on, Kennedy began to take matters more and more into his own hands. He ordered the firing of Dr. Henry "Strangelove" Kissinger on the grounds that the British-trained National Security officer was a "lunatic." To the further consternation of the British, in early 1963 he made a speech at American University in which he announced his intention to steer a foreign policy course that would lower tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, as opposed to following the Cold War line that the British had used since Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech in 1946 to maintain the United States as a pawn in its geopolitical games. And the young President, almost certainly assured a second term, indicated that he intended to bring a halt to U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Even more dangerous as far as



544 Camp Street in New Orleans (above left), office of the FBI's Division Five, links Perminde assassination attempts on French President Charles de Gaulle and that of John F. Kennedy. French intelligence traced Perminde funding to 544 Camp Street; Lee Harvey Oswald used the address for his Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

the profilers in British intelligence were concerned, Kennedy's frontier spirit slogan and the launching of the American space program under the civilian NASA threatened a take-off in American scientific and technological capabilities. It appeared that Kennedy was in the process of reviving the sense of America that President Roosevelt had envisioned in 1944 when he told an apoplectic Winston Churchill that the United States was determined to end colonialism and embark upon the project of industrializing the Third World in the image of the United States.

What did the murder of Kennedy accomplish for the British? NASA was scaled down. America was thrown into its first losing war. Vietnam not only cost American lives but demoralized the American population and provided the ready ground for the epidemic of the drug-rock counter-culture.

In the eighteen years since President Kennedy was shot, no American President has been permitted to serve out two full terms.

The millions of words poured out by conspiracy buffs about the Kennedy assassination have not worried the British. There are two kinds of conspiracy books. The first delves into various minute aspects of the case in a Sherlock Holmes fashion to uncover contradictions pointing to a conspiracy—without, however, offering any conclusion as to who the conspirators might be. The latest example of this genre, David Lifton's *Best Evidence*, was published by the New York branch of the British Macmillan Company, complete with an expensive promotional campaign.

The second type of buff points his fingers at forces the British would also like to target: namely the Central Intelligence Agency or the International Brotherhood

of Teamsters. This is all hogwash. Neither the CIA, nor the Teamsters, nor Cubans disgruntled with Kennedy over the Bay of Pigs, gained anything from the murder of the President. Nor could any of these groups mount the massive cover-up that began minutes after the President had been shot.¹

Everything possible was thrown against the 1967 investigation of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison in order to stop the indictment of one Clay Shaw for conspiracy to murder President Kennedy.

Ramsey Clark, at the time U.S. Attorney General, declared that he might be forced to bring Garrison up on charges. (Clark later retracted the statement.) Walter Sheridan, the former official counterintelligence chief for the British-created supersecret National Security Agency, was hired by the National Broadcasting Company just long enough to produce a national television slander of the Garrison investigation. (Garrison later indicted him for bribery of witnesses.)

The investigation was also effectively terminated by the murder or mysterious and sudden deaths of up to thirty people who could have been called as court witnesses for the line of investigation that Garrison was pursuing.

Jim Garrison had cracked the operational level of the conspiracy to assassinate Kennedy.

Clay Shaw was not only an off-and-on contract employee for the CIA; he was also a contract employee for Division Five (counterintelligence) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under Canadian Louis Mortimer Bloomfield. And he was also a member of the board of directors of the shadow corporation called Permindex.

In the same year that Garrison arrested Shaw in New Orleans, the name Permindex came to light in another investigation into assas-



Jim Garrison: his Kennedy probe put him on the trail of the terrorist controllers.

sination: the attempts on the life of President Charles de Gaulle. In 1967, SDECE, the French intelligence agency, published its report that Permindex—or Permanent Industrial Expositions, incorporated in 1958—had laundered the money for a 1962 attempt on the life of the French President who, as is widely known, considered the British his primary mortal enemy. The French government expelled Permindex from French soil, and the company was forced to move its headquarters to Johannesburg, South Africa.

SDECE had traced the funds for the hit attempt through the branch office of Division Five of the FBI in New Orleans on 544 Camp Street. This is also the address that Lee Harvey Oswald had placed at the bottom of his Fair Play for Cuba leaflets in September 1963. The money had been funneled to New Orleans from the Montreal law offices of Louis Bloomfield, and to there from the Permindex account in the Banque de Credit International in Switzerland.

With the indictment of Permindex's Clay Shaw, New Orleans DA Garrison had gotten his

hands on the legs of the political beast that runs international assassinations.

Followup investigations to the Garrison probe have established the operational scenario for the Kennedy murder as beginning in the spring of 1963, with a meeting in the Tryall Compound resort complex in Montego, Jamaica. Present were the following curious collection of individuals, all of them members of the Permindez board of directors:

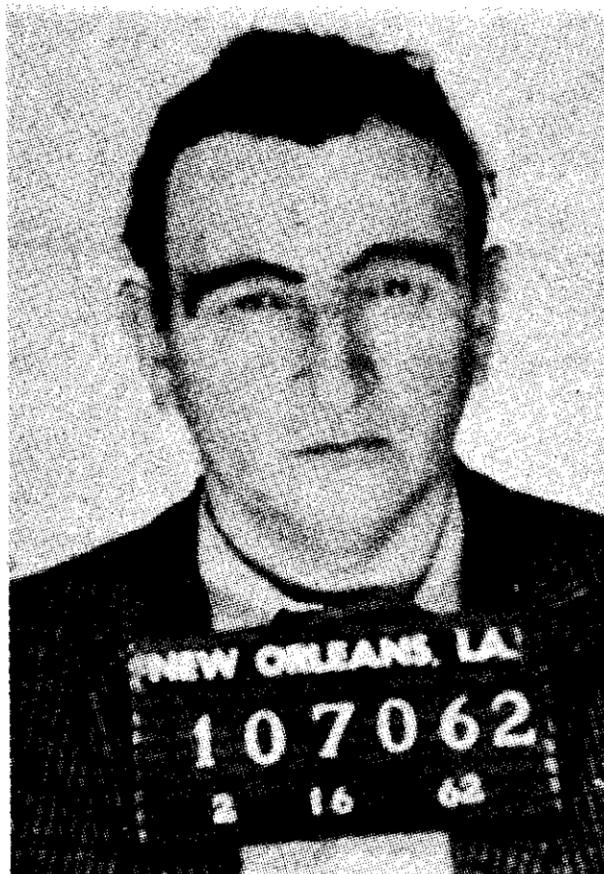
Major Louis Mortimer Bloomfield, then agent of the British Special Operations Executive under William "Intrepid" Stephenson, and the chief recruiting officer for Division Five of the FBI; *Ferenc Nagy*, a wartime cabinet minister in the pro-Hitler government in Hungary and later its prime minister; *Georgio Mantello*, a Romanian-born Jew who had served as trade minister under Mussolini and was the financial adviser and investment banker to the Italian House of Savoy; *Jean de Menil*, a White Russian emigré and president of the Houston-based Schlumberger oil-drilling equipment corporation; *Paul Raigorodsky*, another White Russian emigré who had served as special representative to Europe for NATO, and was a high-ranking official of the White Russian Tolstoy Foundation; and *Colonel Clay Shaw*, former officer of the Office of Strategic Services and president of the New Orleans International Trade Mart.

The Tryall Compound site for the meeting had been constructed by William Stephenson after the war as a "retirement" colony for fellow British spies, including Ian Fleming, who incorporated descriptions of the complex in his James Bond thriller, *Dr. No*.

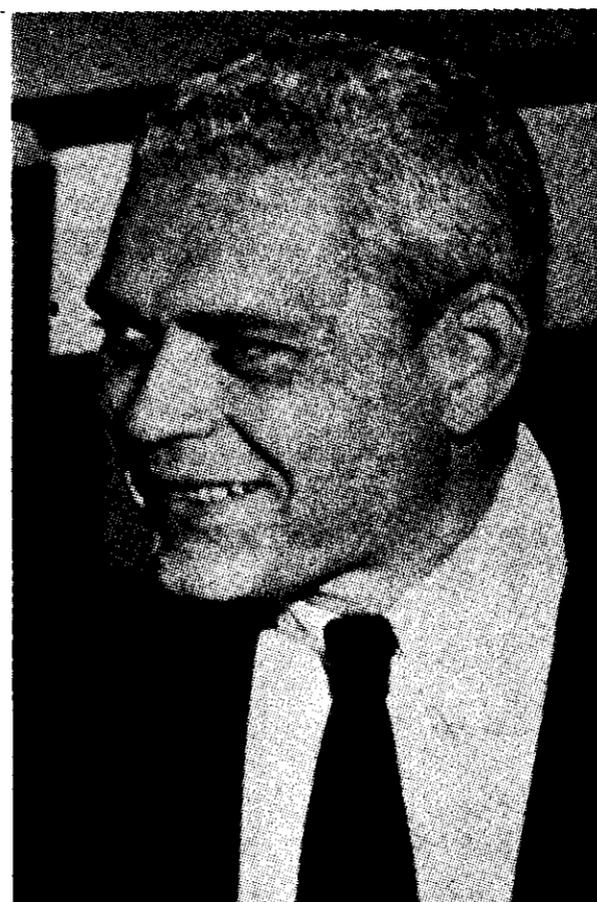
Tracing the Permindez operation through the events leading up to the crime, the crime itself, and the subsequent cover-up takes the investigator into a "spook" world in which hundreds of people and



Lee Harvey Oswald shot by Jack Ruby, who was assigned the job of getting rid of the patsy in the JFK murder; right, Permindez's Clay Shaw, who planned the assassination; bottom, his operative David Ferrie.



details are carefully arranged in a series of staged tableaux. Out of this mass of detail, Garrison isolated startling evidence for the court. On March 14, 1967, he presented Perry Raymond Russo, an insurance salesman from Baton Rouge, to a three-judge criminal district



court panel. Russo testified that during the middle of September 1963, he had been witness to a conversation between Clay Shaw, his co-worker David Ferrie, and an individual named "Leon Oswald." The topic of the conversation—which took place at Ferrie's house in New Orleans—was a plan to murder Kennedy. In the conversation, Ferrie, an agent of Division Five, emphasized the importance of using at least three marksmen to produce a

“triangulation of fire” from which the victim could not escape.²

Russo was testifying at grave personal risk. A month earlier, three days before Garrison was to take him into custody, David Ferrie had been found in his apartment dead of a massive brain hemorrhage.

According to Garrison's investigations, the person Russo named as Leon Oswald was in all likelihood not the Lee Harvey Oswald charged by the Warren Commission as Kennedy's lone assassin, but was more likely William Seymour, one of several persons assigned to impersonate Oswald in the months leading up to Nov. 22, 1963.

Garrison had other evidence linking Ferrie et al. to the Kennedy murder. In February 1964, a Winnipeg businessman, Richard Giesbrecht, overheard a conversation between a man (whom he later identified 100 percent positive as David Ferrie³) and another man in the Winnipeg International Airport. The topic of this conversation was the successful completion of the assassination plot against Kennedy, and Giesbrecht perked up his ears. He reported the exchange to the FBI that day, and was told several months later by the agency to forget about the episode, as it was “two-hot” and “we can't protect you in Canada.” Giesbrecht did as he was told.

But in 1967, when he saw David Ferrie's picture in the newspaper with a report of the Garrison investigation, he reported the incident anew and gave an interview to *McLeans* magazine.

Giesbrecht tentatively identified the other participant in the conversation as Louis Bloomfield.

Louis Bloomfield maintains his headquarters in Montreal. Until the adverse publicity stemming from the French exposure of Permindex, his name appeared on the letterhead of the law firm, Phil-

lips, Vineberg, Bloomfield, and Goodman. The firm's most prominent client is the Bronfman family, whose vast Seagram liquor empire and holdings are themselves a front for the Eagle Star Insurance grouping of top British financial interests and the \$200 billion-a-year British drug cartel.

Throughout his life, Bloomfield, a member of the Queen's Most Venerable Order of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, was an agent of the British Special Operations Executive, to which he was recruited in 1938. (Readers will know the British SOE through the best-selling book *A Man Called Intrepid* by William Stevenson.)

Under SOE commission and through the SOE's prewar special relationship with the United States, Bloomfield was given an officer's rank in the U.S. Army and assigned to the newly created Office of Strategic Services. From there the Canadian subject was detailed to Division Five of the FBI. He remained as the division's recruitment officer through the period of the Kennedy assassination.⁴

Of Romanian-Jewish origin, Bloomfield also assumed such diverse positions of influence as the directorship of the Israeli-Canadian Maritime League and the Western Hemisphere consul-generalship for the African state of Liberia, the famous smugglers' port of call.

In 1952, he became a ranking official of the United Nations Organization, from his position as Overseas Representative of the International Executive Board of the International Law Association. Bloomfield's area of expertise is as expected: international terrorism and air piracy. To this day, the International Law Association has representatives in nearly every nation in the world, including the socialist bloc, with a heavy component of “international terrorist

experts.” The loud demands this spring that jailed terrorists in Northern Ireland, West Germany, and Colombia be given the status of prisoners of war can be traced back to Bloomfield's International Law Association.

In the United States, Bloomfield was joined on the board of Permindex by such low-level characters as Roy M. Cohn, the hatchet-faced general counsel for Senator Joseph McCarthy and protégé of J. Edgar Hoover. Also on the board was Major-General John Bruce Medaris, former director of the Defense Industrial Security Command, which attempted in the 1950s to place all U.S. space programs under armed forces instead of civilian control. (Medaris has since moved on to become an Episcopalian priest.)

Other components of the Permindex board link it to the Italian “black nobility” rather than to Britain. For example, Prince Guiteirez di Spadafora, former undersecretary of agriculture under Mussolini, is the foremost landowner in Sicily and the sponsor of the Sicilian separatist movement. He is also president of the Sicilian Compagnia Armatrice Industriale Petroliifera Armatoriale, which is involved with arms and oil.

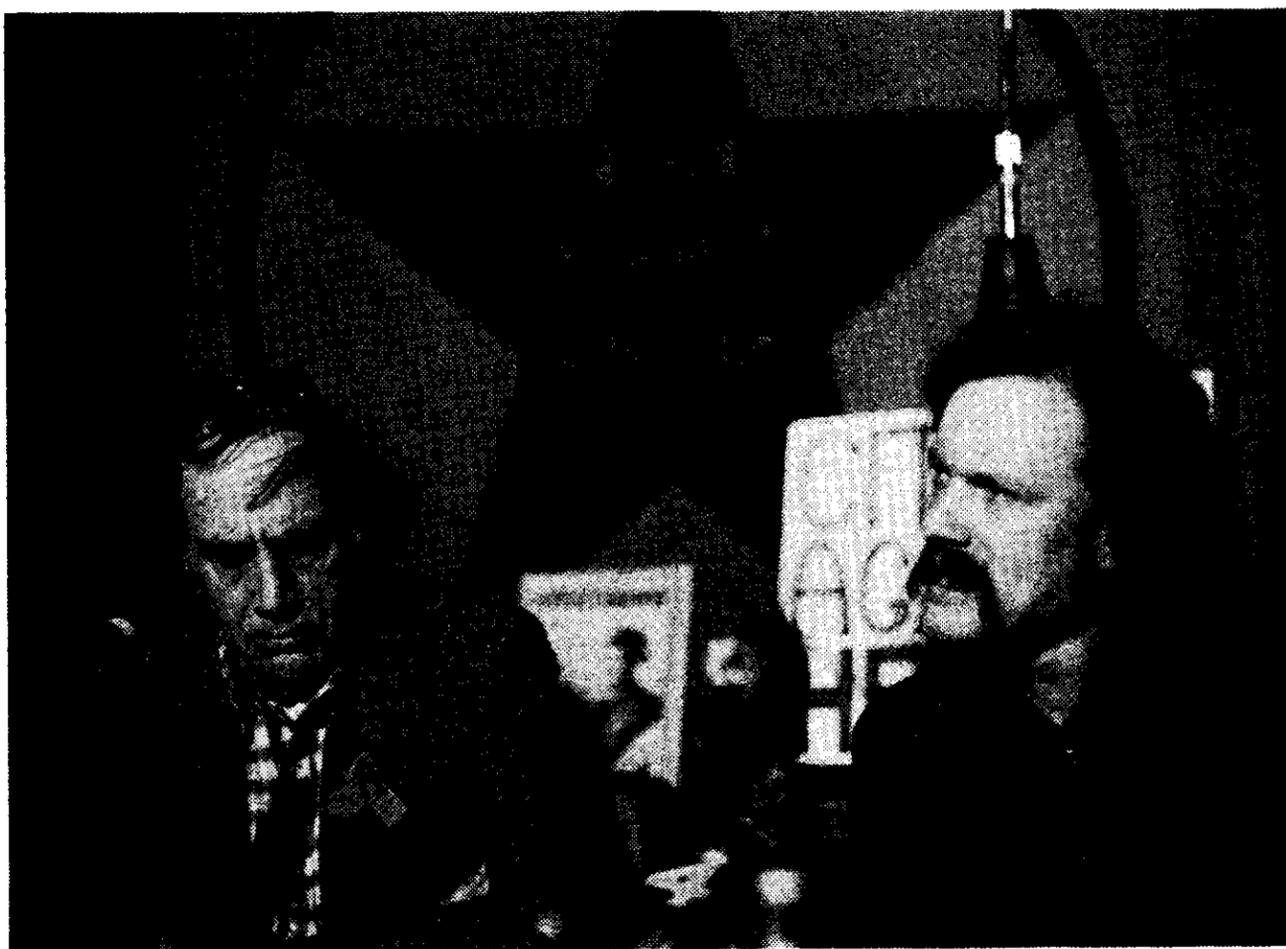
The personage of Spadafora gives the American reader a rare glimpse into the peculiar mind-set of an oligarch. According to a 1967 account in the Italian newspaper *Paese Sera*, Spadafora was the owner of the largest hothouse in the world in Syracuse. His more than a hundred employees were supervised by “landsmen” from his estates in Italy, who rode about in velvet jackets and high black boots, with fancy revolvers flashing from their belts. “The Syracusans,” recounts the Italian daily, “unaccustomed to these Mafia-like habits, held a general strike in protest in December 1962, and the Mafiosi of the prince were forced to return” to his more

feudal properties. Carlo D'Amelio is another Permindex board member. This Rome attorney is representative for the financial holdings of the House of Savoy and the House of Pallavicini. D'Amelio is also the attorney for the "Circolo Rex" of Italy's black nobility, and is general counsel for Permindex's wholly owned subsidiary, the Centro Mondiale Commerciale.

It almost goes without saying that Lee Harvey Oswald was not a member of the Permindex board. Nor was his killer Jack Ruby. Oswald was neither the assassin, nor was he alone. The life history of this person or persons is quite different—a mere pastiche of events without logic, all designed to leave a maze of conflicting trails.

As for Ruby, he was associated with Permindex through Clay Shaw and David Ferrie (both homosexuals) in New Orleans, with whom he was involved in gun-running and other ventures in Cuba. It is presumed that Ruby drew the "short straw" in the plot to assassinate the President, and was assigned the job of eliminating the patsy.⁵

President Ronald Reagan poses a far greater threat to the British-European oligarchy today than President Kennedy did in the spring of 1963. His "natural" antiliberal inclination tends to direct him toward pro-growth (and antidrug) policies at home and toward alliances with the anti-British republican leaders of France, West Germany, and Mexico. The possibility that President Reagan might be guided by America's allies to join the power of the United States with the 1978-created European Monetary System to generate credit for Third World industrialization—and thus undercut the genocidal policies of the British-controlled Internation-



al Monetary Fund—is probably the gravest challenge to the oligarchy since the European-American alliance that founded the United States two centuries ago.

Therefore, to policy-wise intelligence officers, it was not surprising to find that within three months of his inauguration, a nearly successful assassination attempt was launched against the President.

In the eighteen years since the murder of President John Kennedy, particularly the French and Italian exposure of the Permindex capability has made clear that the business of killing heads of state is a risky one for the conspirators. Not the assassination team itself, but the degree of coordination behind such an operation and the amount of traceable funds leave a bloody trail miles wide for a competent intelligence agency to follow.

Other capabilities have been developed, old ones revived. There is a renewed reliance on the "terrorist" gang, in which professional killers are implanted. The Yippies, which held a conference one week before the Reagan assassination with the slogan "Kill

Reagan," is an example of a screen for assassinations.

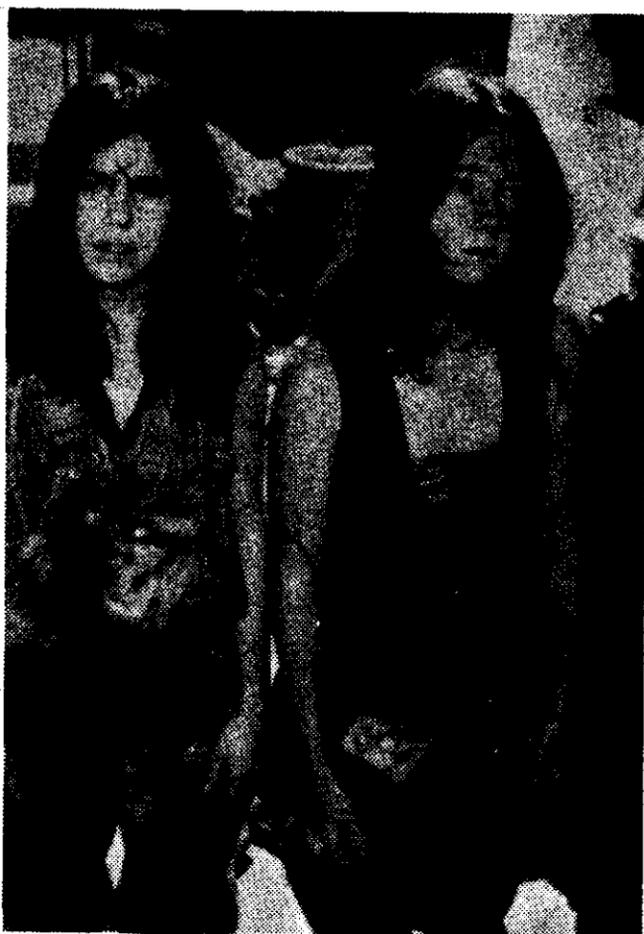
There is also the use of the "Manchurian Candidate" psychotic killer, who is prepared to bask in the glory of being caught, but whose scrambled brains are wired to convince investigators that they have already reached a dead end. In both cases, tracking the controllers behind the scenes demands the admission of a class of circumstantial and contextual *political* evidence which the Sherlock Holmes investigators deny.

How is it possible for glassy-eyed John Hinckley to fire off four shots in the space of seconds in a near-fatal attempt to murder the President? Furthermore, how is it possible for fourteen more "Hinckleys" to suddenly appear with the same profile? To see how the deployment of a "brain-washed" Manchurian Candidate works, let us examine the case of David Berkowitz, the convicted murderer of the thirteen Son of Sam murders and near-murders that terrorized New York City in 1976-77.

When David Berkowitz was caught in 1977, he confessed to all the murders, claiming that he had

Permindex's in-depth capabilities

include the Yippies organization and terrorist cults. Left, lawyer William Kunstler and Yippie leader Dana Beal; below, Lynette (Squeaky) Fromme during "Manson family" trial; right, Fromme in custody after assassination attempt on President Ford.



been ordered to do so by his neighbor Sam Carr's dog. New York breathed a sigh of relief that the killer had been apprehended, Berkowitz pleaded insanity, and the case was closed.

Not everyone was convinced. After a two-year independent investigation, Maury Terry, a reporter for the Westchester County daily *Today*, convinced the district attorney of Queens to reopen the case. Terry had dug up evidence showing that Berkowitz was a member of a satanic cult, and that the cult had actually carried out the murders. In March 1981, from his jail cell, Berkowitz admitted that he was a member of such a cult. As reported in a Terry article in *Today*, "David Berkowitz says he did not kill alone . . . that the sensational Son of Sam murders were committed by members of a satanic cult he belonged to. Ber-

kowitz named the late John Carr, son of his Yonkers neighbor Sam Carr, as a fellow cult-member. . . . In letters, he also wrote details of the cult's operations, plans, and dark activities. . . . The group, Berkowitz says, practiced a variety of rituals, and followed the teachings of 'occultists' Eliphas Levi and Aleister Crowley."

Terry's findings and Berkowitz's later admissions seemed corroborated by Yonkers police reports of the corpses of ritually murdered German shepherd dogs in that city's Untenmeyer Park. As is known, this cult phenomenon extends beyond Yonkers. In California, law enforcement officials have reported not only ritually killed dogs, but the discovery of ritually murdered human beings. The 1980 series of killings in Buffalo were all marked by victims whose hearts had been cut out.

To get a glimpse of the "inside" of a killer-cult like the Son of Sam, the reader need only bring to mind the numerous cult movies Hollywood has recently thrown onto the market. Every cult—as opposed to religions—shares an extreme expression of the antiscience, antirational, and hence Malthusian outlook of the oligarch

(the devil) himself. Throughout history, the oligarchical faction has not only organized itself into cults (the Roman-Egyptian cult of Isis in particular, which can be traced into modern times), but has created cults as the control medium for a subject population. It was against such cults that the early Christians struggled in Rome.

The Son of Sam cult is no exception.

Evidence shows that all members of the Son of Sam cult were associates of the Carr family. But the Carr family has other interesting ties. The family's phone number is also the answering service for the Hudson River Counseling Service, a branch of the Norman Vincent Peale Institute. David Berkowitz had been employed there the year before the Son of Sam murders.

The majority of referrals for the Hudson River Counseling Service come from the Westchester County Medical Health Association, which is also the site of the offices of Rabbi Maurice Davis. Davis, the "cult-deprogrammer," is also the man who funded the satanic Reverend Jim Jones for his first People's Temple in Indianapolis. Before crossing paths with Jones, Davis had been the chaplain (1961-1966) at the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital in Lexington, Kentucky. This institution had been implicated in the CIA's MK-Ultra drug experimentation program and specialized in various forms of psychological behavior modification.

It is at the level of controlled behavior modification—or more bluntly, brainwashing—that the case of David Berkowitz intersects that of John Hinckley, Jr. To probe that intersection is to peer into the Pandora's box of evil that not only turned the disturbed Hinckley into a "lone assassin" but has turned millions of American youth into a generation lost to drugs and the rock counterculture.

In 1963, Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in Sussex, England, the psychological warfare division of British intelligence, was contracted by a bureau within NASA to evaluate the effects of the U.S. space program on American society. As of this date, most of the contents of the Tavistock report remains classified, but in 1966, Dr. Anatol Rapoport, editor of Tavistock's journal *Human Relations*, reported that the U.S. space program was producing an extraordinary number of "redundant" scientists and engineers, and that their presence and rate of expansion had a profound impact on the values of the American population, specifically kindling a new burst of interest in science, as had been anticipated by President Kennedy's New Frontier.

By the time Rapoport was writing, British intelligence's counterdeployment against this phenomenon in American society was just beginning to show its effects. The Flower Children—from which such lovelies as Charles Manson would soon emerge—were already stalking the streets. And although drugs were not widely available in the nation's elementary and high school yet, LSD was flooding the nation's college campuses.

The British counterdeployment came under the general codename MK-Ultra. The operation represented a decision by British intelligence to undermine America from the bottom up with drugs and a counterculture belief structure programmed for psychosis.

The way had been pioneered earlier by Aldous Huxley, who after writing his *Brave New World*, was dispatched to California in 1937 where he became the grandmother for the famous gurus of the counterculture: from Alan Watts to Timothy Leary to Baba Ram Das to Gregory Bateson. Huxley, one of the degenerate children of England's turn-of-the-century ar-

istocracy who called themselves the Children of the Sun, was a member of the kook Isis-Urania Temple of Hermetic Students of the Golden Dawn. The founder of this group was the cult-priest Aleister Crowley later worshipped by the Son of Sam.

Although MK-Ultra proper was a drug experimentation project run under the label of Allen Dulles's CIA, which "accidentally" resulted in the mass distribution of LSD on college campuses, it was really a British project and had been launched in the 1950s by the British stronghold in America's naval and air force intelligence agencies. This is the same general Defense Industrial and Security Command network that had fought under General Medaris for control of the U.S. space program during the Eisenhower years.

Under the MK-Ultra project, hospitalized veterans and criminal prisoners supplied the pool of human guinea pigs for experiments in mind torture. Maurice Davis's U.S. Public Health Service Hospital in Lexington, Kentucky, for example, was the site of an eleven-year project carried out by the Office of Naval Research from 1952 to 1963 on the effects of mind-altering drugs.

By the late 1960s, this operation had produced a far-flung network of psychiatrists and psychologists placed in mental hospitals, prisons, and drug abuse centers, all equipped with the technology required to ego-strip an already weakened individual to his bestial, infantile self, and then wire him with a new identity controlled by the psychologist. The entire process is aided by the use of drugs and sadistic torture (euphemistically called positive and negative reinforcement).

The film *Taxi Driver* was almost certainly used in the reinforcement process in the various zombie factories that produced fourteen Hinckleys.

By the early 1970s, this brain-washing capability had been hardened and was ready for widespread use.

Thus it is not surprising that the last known address for psychotic murderer Charles Manson, three weeks before his killing spree in California, was the Esalen Institute. This "radical psychotherapy" center was founded by Aldous Huxley and Gregory Bateson. Since its founding in 1962, it has churned out over a million graduates. Manson is merely the most notorious.

The Symbionese Liberation Army emerged from the Maximum Psychiatric Diagnostic Unit at the Vacaville Medical Facility for the criminally insane in California, where SLA chief Donald DeFreeze had been confined. While at Vacaville, DeFreeze was recruited to the "Black Cultural Association" by Colston Westbrook, a board member of the Huxley-Bateson controlled Stanford Research Institute. It is here that DeFreeze was introduced to the seven-headed snake and its seven principles of Kawaida, the same belief structure embraced by Leroi "Imamu Baraka" Jones in Newark. From Vacaville, DeFreeze was moved (surprisingly) to minimum security in Soledad prison, from which he escaped to form the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The police-murdering Black Liberation Army was the end-product of the (drug) Detoxification Center at Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx. In 1973, investigators found that the Detox Center was a recruiting office for the BLA. As the addict walked in each morning, he signed in under a large BLA poster. Announcements of funerals of BLA-ers and calls to attend BLA support rallies were printed on official Lincoln Detox stationery. The program was methadone and a series of political education classes. The BLA cop-

killer was conditioned like a dog to murder anyone who wore a police uniform.

Similarly, the Baader-Meinhof terrorist gang in West Germany was manufactured at the Heidelberg Mental Patients Collective, which was run on the basis of the theory of Tavistock's R. D. Laing that the insane person is actually sane, because the real world is insane.

There is evidence to show that John Hinckley, Jr. was a victim of Britain's MK-Ultra project. His personal psychiatrist in Lakewood, Colorado, Dr. Jackson Hopper, is one of a group of doctors who have lobbied for the use of electroconvulsive shock therapy (EST) and LSD-25.

How do such LSD killers get to the proper place for the proper target, with the appropriate weapon, at the right time? The answer brings us back full-circle to the International Law Association of Louis Bloomfield. Two examples suffice to identify the deploying apparatus.

Professor Thomas Mitchell of Carlton University in Ottawa, Canada, revealed in April 1981 that he had personally conducted a profile study of the behavior of President Reagan, the U.S. Secret Service, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and their reactions to a severe security problem during President Reagan's March visit to Ottawa. Mitchell is the sponsor of a Conference on International Terrorism in the 1980s and is listed as a consultant to the International Law Association.

His admission is not without significance. A successful attempt on the life of a President requires a detailed profiling of the victim, involving hours of viewing his actions on videotapes of past events. This is necessary to predict how the President will respond, and move, and how the killer must position himself and when and how he must fire. In that aspect of

the matter, Hinckley's deployment was nearly flawless.

In his written works, profiler Mitchell extends his personal gratitude to Dr. David Hubbard, a consulting psychiatrist for the International Law Association. Hubbard is director of the Aberrant Behavior Center in Dallas and a former consultant at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri. The Springfield facility is a center for behavior modification. It is in the world of Louis Bloomfield's International Law Association that the psychiatrists who create and control the Manchurian Candidates converge with the terrorist profilers and scriptwriters.

The Manchurian Candidate is but one of many capabilities at the disposal of the Permindex international assassination bureau. The success of Britain's MK-Ultra project in the United States has created the culture out of which hundreds of right- and left-wing terrorist cults have been spawned, providing Permindex with a "sociological" screen for assassination. The environmentalists, the Ramsey Clarks

who extoll the "moral courage" of terrorists, are the loud minority that allows the conspirators free rein.

For the ordinary American, stepping into the "spook" world and pinning names of people and agencies onto the intuition that the United States has been victim of a conspiracy is to open one's mind to an awesome fear: Is the everyday world—like the TV boob-tube itself—merely a set of manipulated images projected onto a screen by forces that we cannot see? To the extent that Americans remain comfortable in their ignorance, the answer will remain yes.

The only insurance policy for an American President is for our nation to once again take up the responsibility of republican citizenship mobilized to win the political battles for which Presidents have been murdered. It is this mandate of republican citizenship which is also the starting point for competent law enforcement agencies to bring the assassins of President Kennedy and the would-be assassins of President Ronald Reagan to justice.

Linda de Hoyos is associate editor of the newspaper New Solidarity.

Notes

1. Within minutes of the shots that killed President Kennedy, for example, Dallas police cars were putting out the description of Lee Harvey Oswald, although there was nothing to link him to the murder. Such irregular procedures continued through the Warren Commission, and beyond. For example, no agency involved in the hours' long interrogation of Oswald submitted a written report on it, and to this day, its contents are unknown. There are also seventy-five documents classified by the Warren Commission that will not be revealed to the American public until the year 2038.

2. According to the "Torbutt papers," the assassination was carried out by a team of professional assassins that were safehoused in Mexico and dispatched under the direction of one Albert Osborne, an itinerant preacher associated with the right-wing American Council of Christian Churches of Carl McIntire, an early associate of J. Edgar Hoover. It is likely that the shots were fired from the "grassy knoll," the Dallas School Textbook Depository Building, and a sewer

adjacent to the motorcade.

3. It is unlikely that Giesbrecht could be mistaken about Ferrie's identification. Ferrie suffered from a condition that caused him to lose all his body hair. Each morning, he pasted on his head a ball of orange mohair to serve as hair, and two strips of the same material for eyebrows.

4. The role of the FBI, and particularly of J. Edgar Hoover, in the assassination is noteworthy. In 1978, when the House Select Committee on Assassinations ruled that four shots, rather than three as the Warren Commission contended, had been fired on the afternoon of Nov. 22, 1963, the FBI contested the House Select report. The FBI provided the Warren Commission with most of the material for its investigation.

5. The Ruby question explains the murder of Dallas police officer J. D. Tippett on Nov. 22, 1963. It is likely that Tippett, who knew Ruby, had been asked to kill Oswald on that day. He was either killed by a Ruby agent when he balked at the assignment at the last minute, or he was killed by Oswald himself. The evidence placing Oswald at the scene of the crime is conflicting.

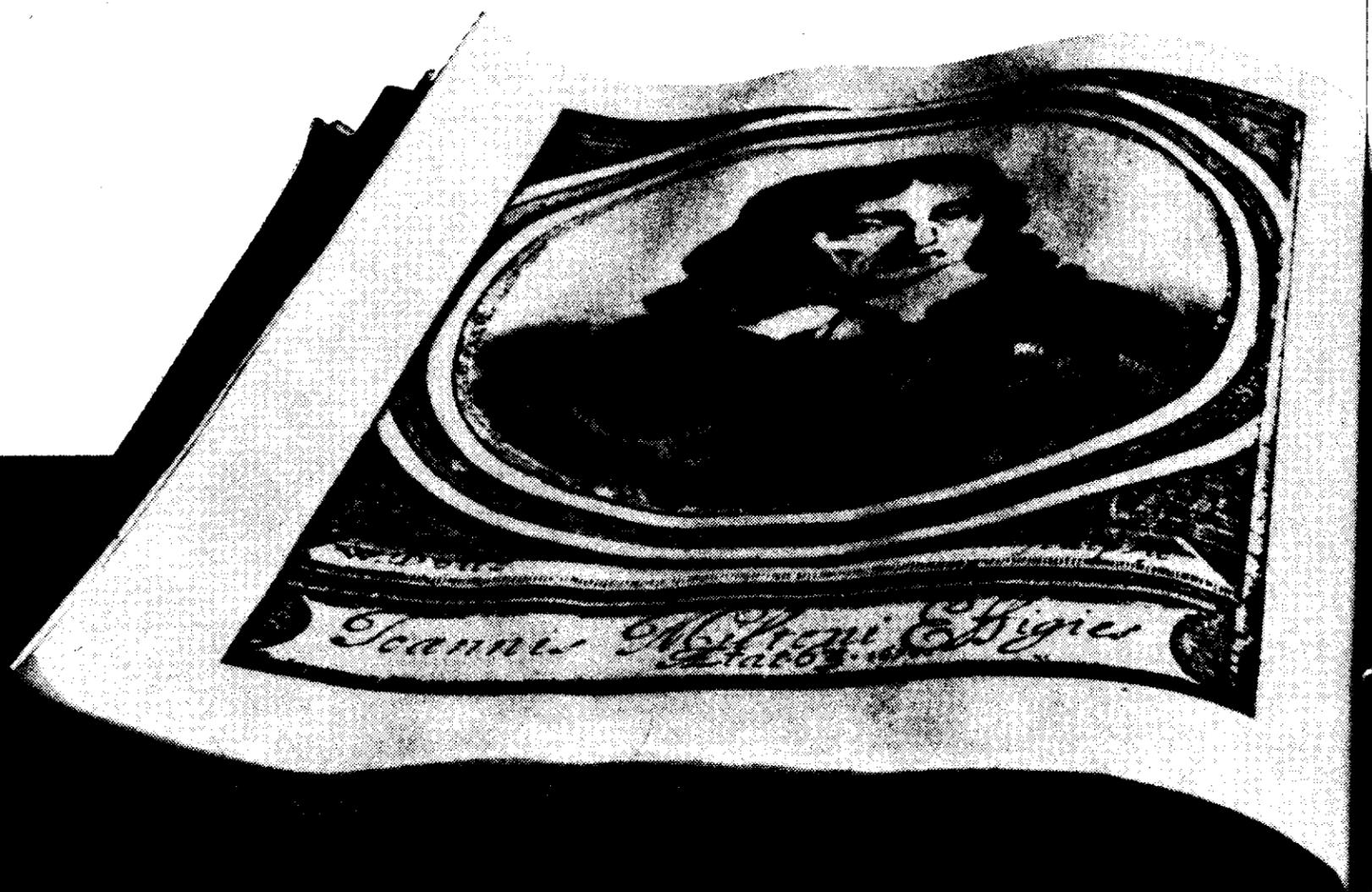
JOHN MILTON'S AMERICAN LEGACY

by Lydia Schulman

*“His Power over the human mind was absolute
and unlimited.”*

*“His Genius was beyond Conception, and his
Learning without Bounds.”*

JOHN ADAMS, from his *Diary
and Autobiography*, 1756



Italy has a national poet—Dante. Germany has Schiller. Russia, Pushkin. It has often been said maliciously that we in America have no national poet. But we do. He is, ironically, John Milton, the intellectual leader of the English Commonwealth.

Just as Dante created the language and national consciousness that to this day bind together Italians as a sovereign nation, so Milton's writings shaped the language and moral outlook of the Thirteen Colonies and early American republic. Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, in fact, with the intention of educating a future generation of republicans in America so that they would avoid the pitfalls of the failed English republic. For America, it is John Milton more than any other poet who exemplifies Shelley's dictum that "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

A century after his death in 1674, Milton's poetry and political tracts served as the basis of literacy and store of republican conceptions in revolutionary America. Children in the American colonies learned to read, write, and speak effectively from primers based on Milton's language. Ministers quoted him extensively in sermons, both on the subject of religious and political liberty and on Neoplatonic theological points. Most Americans became acquainted with Plato's

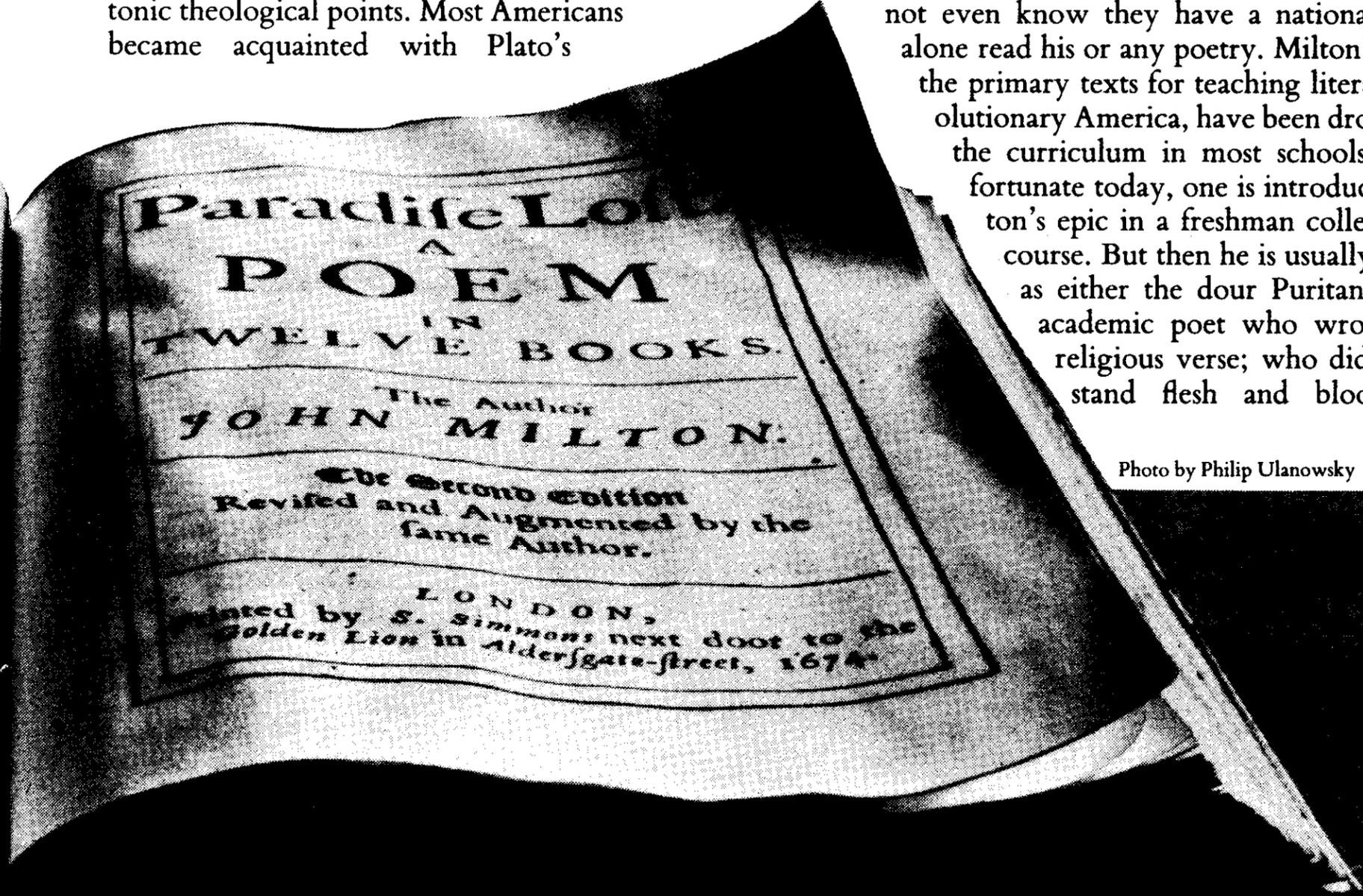
Timaeus not directly but through the description of the Creation in Book VII of *Paradise Lost*. The music and conceptual power of Dante's *Commedia* were transmitted to native English speakers in America through *Paradise Lost*, which was directly modeled on Dante's masterwork. The founding fathers developed their republican political conceptions in significant part from reading Milton.

This latter point is particularly well-documented in the case of the Adams family, which provided two generations of Presidents—John and John Quincy Adams—and eighty years of continuity of republican leadership during the crucial period from the 1760s to 1840s. Both men wrote and spoke Milton's language and cited him as a key source in their political education.

When the first major factional struggles broke out in the 1790s between the constitutional republican tradition represented by the Federalist party and the Jeffersonian-Jacobin "democratic" faction, both sides couched their arguments in language and imagery taken directly out of *Paradise Lost*—so deeply ingrained was the poem in popular consciousness.

Today, however, the majority of Americans do not even know they have a national poet, let alone read his or any poetry. Milton's writings, the primary texts for teaching literacy in revolutionary America, have been dropped from the curriculum in most schools. If one is fortunate today, one is introduced to Milton's epic in a freshman college English course. But then he is usually presented as either the dour Puritan or lifeless academic poet who wrote difficult religious verse; who didn't understand flesh and blood human

Photo by Philip Ulanowsky



Paradise Lost
A
POEM
IN
TWELVE BOOKS.
The Author
JOHN MILTON.
The Second Edition
Revised and Augmented by the
same Author.
LONDON,
Printed by S. Simmons next doot to the
Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street, 1674.

beings; and who destroyed the English language by writing it as if it were Latin.

Although there was never a time during Milton's life or after his death when he was not slandered, this scurrilous portrait of Milton did not gain widespread currency in America until the early twentieth century. When it did, it was as a result of being deliberately inculcated as part of a broader political effort to mold the United States into an imperialist power on the model of Britain.

The Spanish-American War (1898), the assassination of President McKinley (1901), and the presidency of anglophile Teddy Roosevelt (1901-09) were the leading political events in this operation. The all-important cultural side was the obliteration of the tradition of Neoplatonic republican poetry in America—the tradition epitomized by Milton.

To effect this end, the London-New York financial and publishing establishment promoted a collection of life-weary expatriate writers, led by Henry James, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot, who declared that America was a cultural wasteland, renounced their American citizenships, and pursued "art for art's sake" in the haunts of Europe's dying aristocracy.

Dante and Shakespeare were recast by the esthetes as apolitical lovers of beauty. But when it came to Milton, his politics were too overt, and he was made the chief target of their attacks on the Neoplatonic republican tradition.

Ezra Pound, the Jeffersonian-democrat-turned-Mussolini-propagandist launched the attack. Writing in the avant-garde magazine *The Egoist* in 1917, Pound flaunted his "personal active dislike" for Milton and Milton's republican politics. Pound attacked both Milton and the tradition that revered Milton: "Mil-

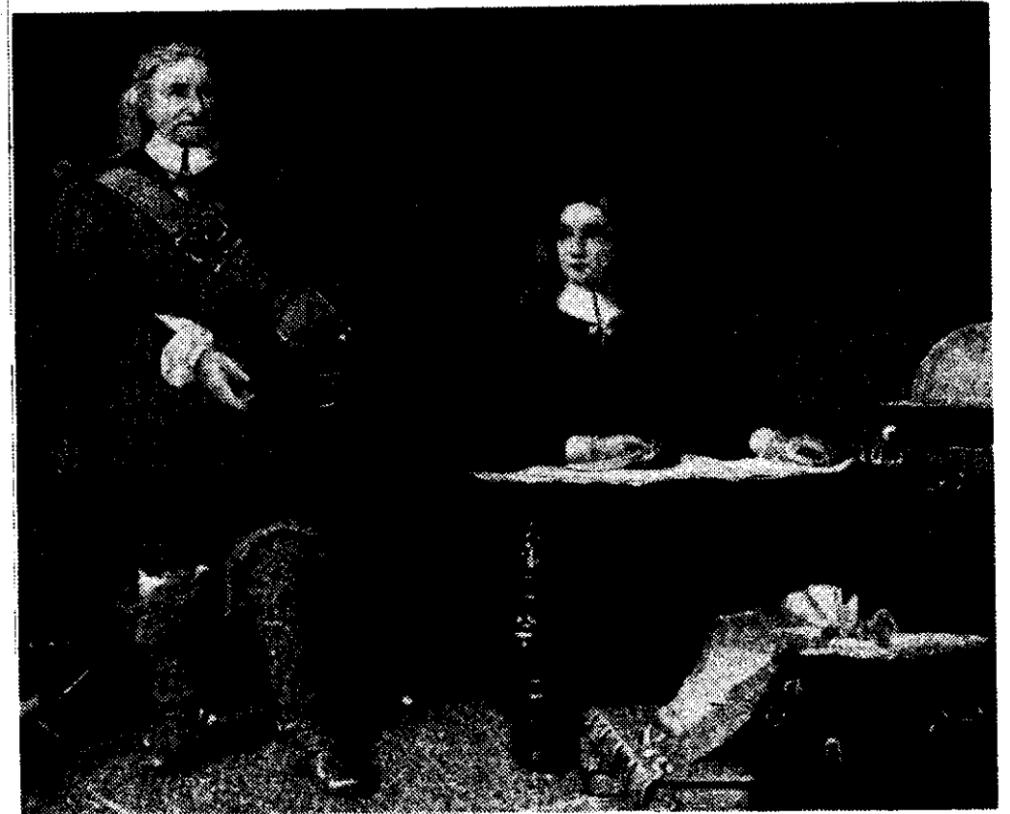
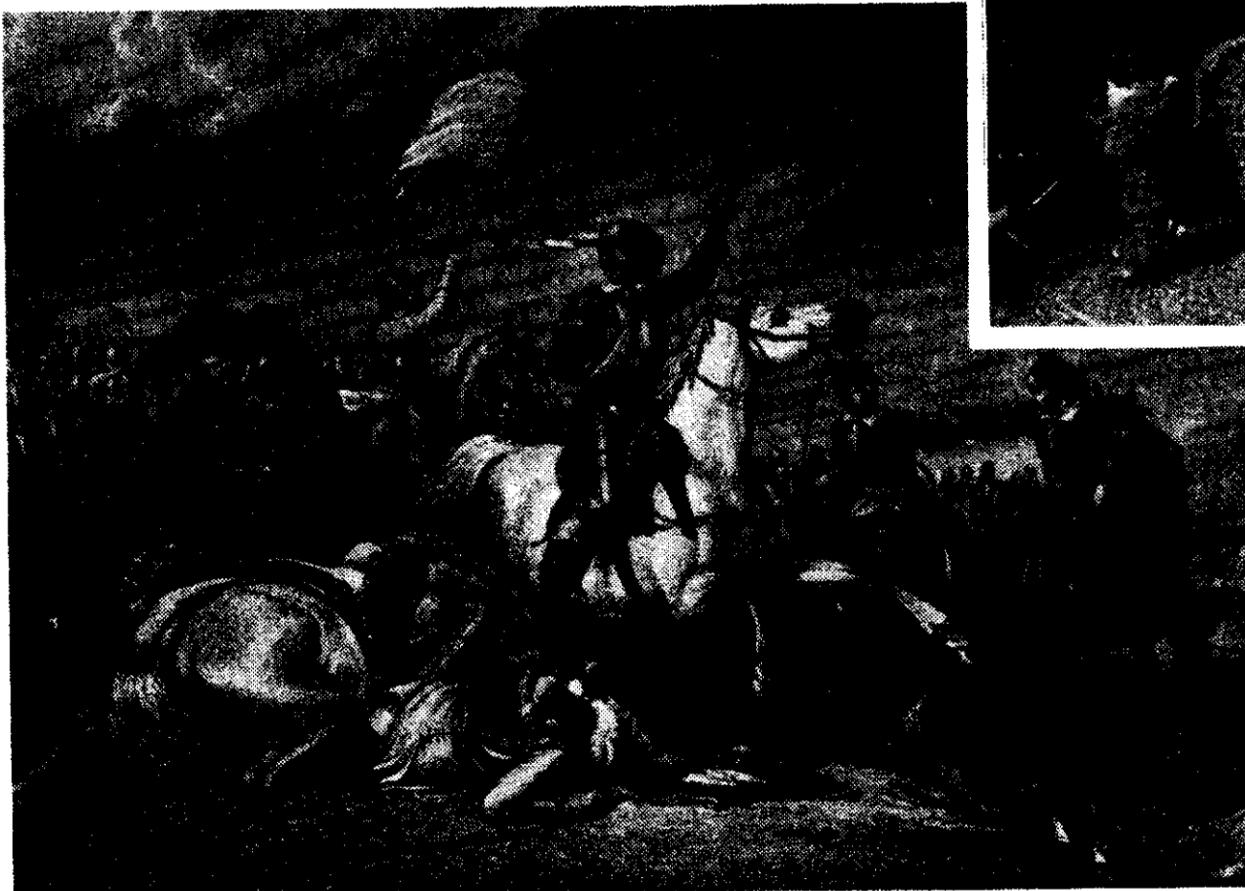
ton is the most unpleasant of English poets, and he has certain definite and analysable defects. . . . His popularity has been largely due to his bigotry, but there is no reason why that popular quality should be for ever a shield against criticism. His real place is nearer to Drummond of Hawthornden than to 'Shakespear and Dante' whereto the stupidity of our forebears tried to exalt him."

In the 1930s, Pound's disciple T.S. Eliot, who was incapable even of producing an original slander, echoed and popularized Pound's attack on Milton's "Latinated" language, declaring, "he may still be considered as having done damage to the English language from which it has not wholly recovered."

It is not difficult to understand why Pound, Eliot, and their backers hated Milton to the degree they did. Compare Eliot's pathetic self-conception as expressed in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock":

Do I dare
Disturb the Universe? . . .
I should have been a pair of ragged claws
Scuttling across the floors of silent seas—

or in *The Waste Land*—



THE FIGHT FOR ENGLAND

Milton and his allies fought a civil war to found a republic in England, and recognized the cultural enrichment of the citizenry as central to their effort. Left, Cromwell leads the New Model Army to victory at the pivotal battle of Marston Moor; above, as Lord Protector, Cromwell dictates a letter to his Latin Secretary, Milton; right, nineteenth-century painting of Milton playing the organ for Cromwell and his family.

I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two
lives,
Old man with wrinkled female breasts—

with the awesome image of what it is to be a human being communicated in Milton's poetry. Think of Milton's Samson, a man chosen by God to carry out His divine purpose. Despite blindness and physical enslavement, Samson withstands and is mentally strengthened by the entreaties of the traitorous Delilah to return with her to the comforts of the hearth and of his father Manoa to think first of "self-preservation" and allow him to ransom Samson from the Philistines. In Samson's final act, as he brings down the Philistine temple on the enemies of the Israelites and on himself, Samson is the image of someone who has put the claims of selfhood behind him and who uses whatever resources are at his disposal to carry forward a universal purpose.

Milton's portrait of Samson is all the more compelling because of its autobiographical overtones. Like Samson, "eyeless in Gaza," "blind among enemies," Milton the poet and political leader used every drop of physical and mental strength—gave his sight—to carry out what he understood to be God's will in his lifetime: the founding of republican nation states throughout creation.

The "New Created World"

Samson Agonistes, *Paradise Regained*, and, above all, *Paradise Lost* played a crucial role in forming the republican consciousness of the American founding fathers.

John Adams, the key leader in Massachusetts of

the movement for independence from Britain, was early captured by the power of Milton's mind. Adams recorded in his diary in 1756 that Milton's soul "was distended as wide as Creation" and that he could "only gaze at him with astonishment, without comprehending the vast Compass of his Capacity."

Milton's works were second nature to Adams and other New England republicans who had been brought up on sermons based on Milton's versions of the biblical stories and on his ideas of political and religious liberty. As the crisis with England drew to a head, pro-republican ministers quoted increasingly from works such as *Areopagitica*, Milton's tract against press censorship in which he develops the notion of true liberty as freely choosing to serve necessity.

John Adams would later quote Milton himself in addressing prerevolutionary meetings at Boston's Faneuil Hall and invoke the imagery of *Paradise Lost* to epitomize the wiles of his opponents. Writing to a compatriot in 1775, Adams related that he never thought about the (pro-British) Boston Junto "without recollecting the infernal spirits in Milton after they had recovered from their first astonishment arising from their fall from the battlements of heaven to the sulphurous lake, not subdued, though confounded, and plotting a fresh assault on the skies."

After the break with England, in a correspondence with his cousin Samuel Adams on the nature of republican government, Adams cited Milton's works as one of the key sources for the concept of a republic as government by laws not men.

John Adams transmitted his love for Milton to his son John Quincy. In lectures at Harvard University, which were published as the *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory* in 1810, Quincy Adams drew copiously on

Milton's writings to illustrate the powerful use of language. Quincy Adams emphasized that Milton had discovered the power of classical syntax—the device of placing "the most emphatic word in the front." Through such syntax, Adams explained, Milton had been not only "enabled to invigorate his thoughts by exhibiting occasionally the strong word at the head of the sentence; but he multiplied the use of this artifice, by presenting it in the front of the line, where its effect is equally striking, and where he could more frequently and more easily sweep away from before his frontispiece the rubbish of articles, auxiliaries, pronouns, and prepositions."

It is noteworthy that these



“classical inversions,” identified by Quincy Adams as a key source of the driving force of Milton’s prose and poetry, were precisely that feature of Milton’s language seized on and reviled by poetasters from Dr. Johnson in the eighteenth century to Pound and Eliot in the twentieth.

In enlisting Milton to teach politically effective speech and writing in his Harvard lectures, Quincy Adams was following a good American tradition. During the revolutionary period, new textbooks on grammar and rhetoric were adopted in the schools as part of the increasing politicization of the colonies. Up until around 1770, such texts drew illustrative material almost exclusively from classical authors and the Bible, but the new texts were based on English-speaking writers, and the favorite source was the republican poet John Milton. One of the most popular texts was a short grammar by the English author Robert Lowth, which was published in Philadelphia in 1775. Lowth relied heavily on Milton to illustrate his points and on numerous occasions would defend an expressive, everyday grammatical usage frowned on by eighteenth century neoclassical taste by pointing out that “the great Milton” had employed the same usage.

This tradition of holding up Milton as an exemplar persisted into the nineteenth century and was reflected in the pedagogical works of the famous American lexicographer Noah Webster. Webster regarded Milton as one of the most effective masters of idiomatic language in the history of English literature and filled his works with Miltonic examples.

The Fight Against Jacobinism

Milton’s epic of Satan’s rebellion and the seduction and Fall of man reflected a keen understanding of social and political processes—of the manipulative art of political demagoguery and of the wiles of the fallen leader who forms a self-serving clique around himself. Milton’s poem raised in particular the key problem faced by nascent republics—vulnerability to subversion by foreign powers who play on the corruptibility of the uneducated layers of the population. *Paradise Lost* addressed this issue by clearly counterposing the evil of heteronomic rebellion (Satan’s revolt) to the principles of reason and lawful change (Creation through the Logos; Adam and Eve’s education in the ways of “right Reason”).

The highly politicized citizenry who read *Paradise Lost* during the early decades of the American republic saw in Milton’s epic a savvy representation of the political processes unfolding around them, and they invoked Milton, the English Commonwealth leader, to help fight their battles.

The first crucial battle of the American republic

was against the spread of Jacobinism from France. In the 1790s, members of the radical wing of Jefferson’s Republican party began founding Jacobin clubs modeled on the Société des Jacobins in France and opposing the “rights of the individual” to the program of dirigist economic development being pursued by the Federalist government—as embodied in Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton’s 1791 *Report on Manufactures*.

The Federalist party of John and John Quincy Adams, Washington, Hamilton, and Marshall countered with an anti-Jacobin campaign that drew its imagery from Milton’s picture of the conclave of devils in *Paradise Lost*. The message was that under the guise of democratic debate, the Jacobin devils were plotting the subversion of the American republic.

A *Jacobiniad* appeared, a mock heroic poem by the Reverend S.J. Gardiner. This spoof portrayed Boston’s Jacobin club as the conclave in Pandemonium and drew the connection between the rebellious activities of the club and the false democratic debate during the infernal council. Jefferson, the leader of the Jacobin tendency, was portrayed by Gardiner and other Federalist writers as Satan himself.

The irony in this was that Jefferson himself openly identified with Milton’s devil and filled up pages of his Commonplace Book with quotations from Satan’s “magnificent” speeches. Jefferson was one of a succession of nineteenth century readers of *Paradise Lost* who were infected by the Enlightenment idealization of “natural” man—and hatred for the “oppressive” dirigist state—and who accordingly fell into the trap of seeing something heroic in Satan’s rebellion.

There was a good reason why Jefferson and the Federalists seized on Milton’s epic—although Jefferson for exactly the wrong purpose. The English Revolution of 1640 to 1660 was an “early run” of the same political battles that were fought out more than a century later in America. The English Commonwealth of Milton and Oliver Cromwell was whiplashed between the ultrademocracy of the radical Levellers and millenarian religious sects—the Jacobins of the English Revolution—and the oppressive policies of the landed aristocracy, which threatened to bring back the Stuart monarchy and hereditary aristocracy. Milton’s *Paradise Lost* was the republican’s answer to both of these tendencies.

John Milton was the intellectual leader of a core of humanists in the English Revolution who countered the two poles of political anarchy and stagnant, oligarchical rule with a republican program: universal education and state-fostered economic development to uplift what Milton was to call the “misguided and abused multitude.”

The program for creating a new species of republican man was stated concisely in Milton’s *Of Educa-*

Cyriack Skinner was a pupil at Milton's school in Aldersgate Street and one of the secretaries who took dictation from Milton after he went blind. Milton composed the sonnet "To Mr. Cyriack Skinner Upon His Blindness" in 1655 when his blindness was complete.

*Cyriack, this three years' day these eyes, though clear
To outward view of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light thir seeing have forgot;
Not to thir idle orbs doth sight appear
Of Sun or Moon or Star throughout the year,
Of man or woman. Yet I argue not
Against heav'n's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overplied
In liberty's defense, my noble task,
Of which all Europe talks from side to side.
This thought might lead me through the world's
vain mask
Content though blind, had I no better guide.*

In the early 1650s, Milton's doctors warned him that if he persisted in his heavy reading and writing schedule as Latin Secretary, he would lose his sight. Milton put his nation's welfare above his own, and kept turning out a stream of pamphlets answering the opponents of the Commonwealth throughout Europe. As blindness overtook him, Milton's enemies claimed that God had punished him by taking away his sight. After the Restoration in 1660, Milton composed *Paradise Lost* by memory, without being able to read or write, dictating it to Skinner and other secretaries.

outline of a major poem he had projected two decades earlier. Milton foresaw the imminent downfall of the English republic, and he sought to address the grave epistemological flaws in his nation's leaders and population that had led to this debacle.

The dominant themes of Milton's prose tracts are the complementarity of political tyranny and heteronomy—thralldom to narrow self-interest—in the population at large and the crucial importance of education. This polemic reaches its highest pitch in Milton's last pamphlet, *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence Thereof Compared with the Inconvenience and Dangers of Readmitting Kingship in this Nation*. The second edition was published in 1660 after General George Monck had entered London and betrayed his intention of restoring the Stuart monarchy. At the close of the pamphlet, Milton addresses his fellow Englishmen in ruthless terms, warning of the political catastrophe that would be brought on by "the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude."

Paradise Lost was a different, poetic means of carrying on that same polemic. When it became known in London after the Restoration that Milton was in the process of setting down a major poem, his friends and enemies

alike trembled at what they suspected would be its subject—and some were apparently relieved when in 1667 Milton published an epic based on the Genesis story of the Fall of man, a subject that appeared to have nothing to do with politics. More astute readers knew otherwise. After reading the first three books of *Paradise Lost* that had been translated into German by Theodore Haak (the friend of Milton and of the agricultural improver Samuel Hartlib), the Hanoverian pastor H. L. Benthem remarked in a 1694 work: "This very wily politician concealed under this disguise exactly the sort of lament that his friends had originally expected."

Paradise Lost was an effort of another sort to implant the republican tradition in America.

Milton began to compose *Paradise Lost* in 1658 on the eve of the Stuart Restoration, building upon the

Milton's epic was indeed political, but it was not a lament. Milton completed work on *Paradise Lost* during the evil days of the first years of the restored

monarchy, whose Dionysian character Milton portrayed in the opening of Book VII of the epic. Under the Restoration, sycophantic courtiers supplanted God-fearing Commonwealth men, and Dryden's rhymed couplets replaced Milton's sweeping periods. However, Milton had fully internalized the reasons for the collapse of England's republican experiment, and in writing *Paradise Lost* he sought to create something positive out of the wreckage—to educate future generations in the ways of "right Reason," with an eye to founding a sturdier republic in the "new created world" of America.

Milton's Neoplatonic Tradition

... After these appear'd
 A crew who under Names of old Renown,
Osiris, Isis, and Orus and thir Train
 With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd
 Fanatic *Egypt* and her Priests, to seek
 Thir wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish form
 Rather than human.

(*Paradise Lost*, I, 476-482)

The realization of Milton's concept of a republic in the American Revolution was a victory with a 2,000-year history behind it. Milton explicitly identified with the republican or Areopagus faction of fifth century Athens (hence his *Areopagitica*). He also came to understand, through firsthand political experience, the key method by which the feudal oligarchy of the ancient world had crushed the republican tendency: whipping up the democratic mob.

The manipulation of peasant and urban masses became increasingly important as a weapon of the oligarchy in modern times. After the Renaissance and the development of the printing press and new, more productive agricultural and manufacturing techniques, the crucial historical question was whether these technologies would be used to raise up the masses for the first time in history, or whether the residual backwardness of the masses would be used as a battering ram against progress itself.

The goal of republicanism as understood by Milton was precisely to uplift ignorant, malleable populations through universal education and economic development. The form of government was not the issue; a republic could be a constitutional democracy or a monarchy, although there were obvious drawbacks to rule by a hereditary family line.

The core of the opposition to incipient republicanism in seventeenth century England and Holland were the old Venice and Genoa-based families whose financial power derived from usury capital and ground rent. By the early decades of the century, these oligarchical families had to a significant extent

captured the Netherlands, and their next project was the subversion of England.

The placing of the Scottish Charles I on the English throne in 1603, arranged by the Genoese-allied Cecil family, was a major step in this direction. However, in time even the Stuart king began to show some nationalistic impulses. After Charles's government placed a few "stops" on the exchequer, thus stymying the king's Italian financiers, and undertook efforts to rebuild the navy and merchant marine, England's foreign-linked nobility launched tax revolts against the monarchy, triggering the Civil War.

A republican faction whose chief spokesman and intellectual leader was John Milton gained the upper hand. And in turn, after 1649 when the English Commonwealth was established, Cromwell's government was continually besieged by ultrademocratic political parties and religious sects, whose agitations for universal suffrage and the redistribution of wealth regularly coincided with the Stuartist military attacks against the Commonwealth.

The same scenario unfolded in the Netherlands. There, in 1672 Jan de Witt, Holland's last republican leader, was lynched by a "democratic" mob directed by William III of Orange (later king of England). (In more recent history, the Shah of Iran was toppled on account of his westernizing, industrialization policies by crazed fundamentalist religious sects manipulated by foreign oligarchical powers.)

Milton was aware of the problems that would crop up in the English Revolution from a very early point. His ode "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," written in 1629 shortly his twenty-first birthday, is an attack on the cults that his alma mater Cambridge would later use against the Commonwealth, as well as a bold assertion of Milton's own world-historical identity. In the poem, Christ is represented as the Neoplatonic Logos whose birth routs the pagan gods—among them the "brutish gods of *Nile*," Isis, Horus, and Osiris. For Milton, this conception was much more than a literary conceit. He regarded the historical advent of Christianity—which built on the Neoplatonic strain in Judaism—as the triumph of light and reason over the irrationalist cults of ancient Egypt and Rome. And he recognized England's pre-lacy and mindless religious sects as contemporary incarnations of the Egyptian priesthood and Isis fertility cults.

Even as Milton wrote his Nativity ode, the oligarchy's academic hirelings at Oxford and Cambridge were reviving the occult religions of the ancient world for use as a battering ram against nascent republicanism in England. The "Platonist" Henry More and a circle of scholars around him at Cambridge were delving into the mystical secrets of the Cabala. Cambridge was likewise the spawning

ground for the ultrademocratic religious sects that proliferated in England in the first half of the seventeenth century and for radical Puritanism.

Oxford, on the other hand, was the oligarchy's "Apollonian" center, the seat of high priests like Elias Ashmole, the astrologer who went on to become the chancellor of the exchequer after the Restoration. Oxford was one of the earliest centers of Egyptology in Europe, and in the 1630s the first studies of the Coptic language were done there from manuscripts brought back to Europe by Jesuit expeditions.

When Civil War broke out in the 1640s, Oxford was the royalist stronghold, and Elias Ashmole was one of the four Gentlemen of the Ordinance of the city's garrison.

Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* two decades later after the oligarchy's forces had crushed the English Commonwealth, and the poem represented the culmination of Milton's project to expose the bestial epistemology of its enemies. Milton had projected a drama on the subject of man's Fall from Paradise shortly after he returned from Italy in 1639. In the succession of outlines for this drama and finally the epic poem published in 1667, the personality of Satan came more into the foreground, and the polemic sharpened. Satan, in his rejection of a higher reality outside his self-serving ego—divine providence, progress—epitomized the mind of the oligarchy.

Gnosticism

In using the Fall story as he did, Milton was building on a long humanist tradition going back to Philo Judaeus and the Church fathers, who had reworked the reactionary myth of the Fall of man in Genesis 3 as a key weapon against the pseudo-Christian Gnostic cults fostered by the Roman oligarchy.

St. Paul was the first to set the Fall opposite to the Redemption and establish its central place in Neoplatonic Christianity. "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made live," he proclaimed (I Corinthians xv. 21-22). This treatment of the Fall, later elaborated principally by Philo, Ambrose, and Augustine, was intended as a bulwark against the dualism of the cults. The treatment explained evil within the framework of a monist, monotheistic universe—as the absence of good—not as having an independent existence. It placed responsibility for the Fall on man's lapse from the ways of reason—on the violation of natural law and the work of continuous creation. But it also allowed man free will to seek atonement through God's grace.

By the third century, St. Paul's inclusion of the Fall as an integral part of God's plan was attracting hostile criticism from the Gnostic cults—against whom it was directed. According to Genesis, the

Gnostics said, man fell as a consequence of eating of the tree of good and evil. If this was so, and if, as Paul insisted, the Fall was part of divine providence, then why should God have denied man knowledge, the one gift that distinguished him from the animals? And if man was culpable, how could a perfect creator have created so imperfect a creation?

The Gnostics claimed to resolve these questions in their own Fall myth. Jahweh, the God who lays down the prohibition against eating the fruit, was neither omnipotent nor benevolent, the Gnostics said, but the servant of a malicious deity who was the archenemy of the true God. This malicious deity had created man for his own selfish ends and attempted to keep him ignorant of the supreme deity by forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge. Consequently, they concluded, the tree of knowledge was good and the serpent man's best friend in offering to release him from bodily captivity by giving him redemptive knowledge (*gnosis*).

In the version of the Ophites, an early Gnostic sect attacked by Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 202) in his *Against the Heresies*, it is Christ who persuades the first pair to eat the fruit. According to this reading, Adam and Eve are locked in flesh, and the tree of knowledge is a source of spiritual illumination that God placed in the garden for them to partake of.

The Manichaen sect, which emerged in the third and fourth centuries, adopted the Ophite reading of the Fall as the basis of its entire system. Like the Gnostic version, the Manichaen reading of the Fall story was based on a belief in the inherent evil of matter and the obligation of man to free himself from this bondage by means of spiritual knowledge—a formulation that deliberately perverted the Neoplatonic interpretation of man's transgression.

In its elaborated form, the Neoplatonic interpretation of the Fall story goes back to Philo Judaeus, the first century Alexandrian rabbi. Philo interpreted the Fall as reason's submission to sense perception, an inferior form of knowledge. He described the transgression in these terms: "For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception (*Legum Allegoria* II, xiv).

In the fourth century Ambrose, the teacher of Augustine, taught a version of the Fall story that reinstated the forbidden tree of Genesis 3 to a central position in the narrative and associated it with craft, or magic. Satan seduces the first pair with the promise of magical powers devoid of moral purpose: "Now since God knew that man's affections, once endued with knowledge, would more readily incline towards craft than towards perfect prudence. . . . He desired to

cast out craft from Paradise, and as the provident Author of our salvation, to place therein the desire of life and the discipline of piety. Wherefore He commanded man to eat of every tree which is in Paradise but that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil he should not eat" (*Letters*, xlv. 9).

Augustine put the emphasis on pride, the sin of turning away from the universal and serving one's own ego. In his *Genesis Against Manichees*, Augustine says, "for if a heart . . . leaves God and turns in upon itself in the desire to bear fruit of its own power . . . pride then wells up within, and pride is the beginning of every sin. And with this, the sin of the heart will bring on its own punishment, for by experience it will learn what is the difference between the good it has forsaken and the evil into which it has fallen. And this will be to that soul the tasting of the fruit of the tree of the discernment of good and evil."

All of these formulations would later be echoed in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and other writings—Augustine's most directly in both the epic and *Areopagitica*.

Milton's Dutch Allies

The Augustinian tradition that Milton drew on in writing *Paradise Lost* continued down into the mid-seventeenth century. The immediate antecedents of Milton's epic were two works by the Dutch humanists Hugo de Groot (Grotius) and Joost van den Vondel—*Adamus Exul* and *Lucifier*. Grotius and Vondel seized on the Fall story as an epistemological weapon against the Genoese-Amsterdam oligarchy that came to dominate Holland. Like Milton would, both men drew out the personality of Satan and his rebellion in Heaven—which were nowhere to be found in Genesis or other parts of the Bible—for unmistakable political reasons.

It is likely that Milton was introduced to Grotius's *Adamus Exul*, written in 1601 when Grotius was eighteen, by the elder statesman himself. The legendary occasion was Milton's meeting with Grotius in Paris in 1639, the first stop on the young Milton's tour of the European continent. Grotius was then himself in exile, having been banished from his native Holland by the House of Orange, and was serving as the ambassador to France of Queen Christina of Sweden.

Anyone reading Grotius's youthful drama of Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise cannot help but be struck by the strong similarities in conception and direct verbal echoes between it and *Paradise Lost*.

An early sketch of *Paradise Lost* preserved in the Trinity manuscript dating from the 1639 to 1641 period appears to have been directly influenced by Milton's reading of Grotius's drama. It opens with Satan's introspective soliloquy, as does *Adamus Exul*, and follows the same narrative sequence as Grotius's

FALL OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In Holland, poet and statesman Hugo de Groot (Grotius), and later Jan de Witt, sought to establish a republican government. This potentially strong ally for the English Commonwealth was undermined by the oligarchy's Jacobin mobs. Right, the 1672 murder of de Witt by an Amsterdam mob.



Grotius



Jan de Witt

drama; the projected title, *Adam unparadiz'd*, looks like a translation of *Adamus Exul*.

Grotius's *Adamus Exul* was no youthful academic exercise. Its polemical thrust was aimed clearly against the Calvinist establishment in Amsterdam, which would in 1619 sentence Grotius to life imprisonment and execute Oldenbarnevelt, the leader of Holland's republican faction. The drama exposed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and complementary view of man as unregenerately sinful, a creature of the passions, demonstrating that these ideas were the ideological basis for turning the population into a malleable mob.

Grotius's polemic culminates in Satan's successful temptation of Eve, a scene that reflects a profound understanding of epistemology and politics. The temptation scene opens with a guileful Satan delivering a false democratic diatribe:

... 'Tis a privilege
For those born to obey, not to endure wild
tyrants
But to receive the clemency of human sway.
When reason rules the rulers, servitude is free.

God must be a tyrant, Satan induces Eve to believe, because He imposed a prohibition against eating the



fruit of the tree of knowledge. Satan proceeds by playing on Eve's vulnerability to the gamut of infantile feelings:

We marvel only that the Author of all Good
 (A title He delights in) has forbidden you
 To feed on yonder fruits. Does such great envy
 dwell
 Within his Mind?

Before long, Satan has kindled in Eve feelings of envy and desire for the "secret power" contained in the golden apples, and he has awakened the "guileful fascination of the senses." Eve can no longer hear the voice of reason that once guided her actions. Follow your "nature" instead, Satan tells her:

If anything had brought sweet pleasure
 to thy mind,
 Consider it permitted; where thy senses lead,
 Follow straightway, nor join in war against
 thyself.
 Nature, thy guardian and parent, has assign'd
 Senses to living things as teachers. . . .

Satan eventually convinces Eve to eat the apple by arguing that it makes no difference whether she eats

the fruit or not, God has already determined her fate—the argument of a Calvinist!

Grotius's exposé left a deep impression on another Dutchman, the poet Joost van den Vondel. Vondel remained a factional ally and defender of Grotius after Grotius's exile from Holland. His drama *Lucifer* became a *cause célèbre* when it was produced in 1654 and was banned by Amsterdam's Calvinist consistory after only two performances. Milton, who as Latin Secretary, or secretary of state, for the Commonwealth, was extremely well-informed about Dutch affairs, undoubtedly knew of the scandal and was familiar with the drama.

The year 1654 was the period of the truce between Holland and the English Commonwealth following the first Anglo-Dutch war. The head of state was the republican leader Jan de Witt, whose government was seeking to reduce the Dutch war debt and the crushing levels of taxation on the population and to effect constitutional reform. However, the political situation in the United Provinces was highly unstable; although the stadholderate—the quasimonarchical office held by the House of Orange—had fallen into abeyance because there was no heir of age, the States General—the parliament—was still controlled by the oligarchical Orange faction. Vondel's drama was directed against the still powerful Orangists and their pretensions to greater power.

Lucifer opens with an extraordinarily bold conception: Apollyon, one of Lucifer's camp, who had been dispatched by Lucifer to survey the newly created universe, has now returned to Heaven, and he describes Eden for his comrades Beelzebub and Belial:

. . . What I have seen
 With mine own eyes forsooth deceives me not.
 Earth's fields and their delight now beggar us,
 And Eden quite out does our Paradise.

The Earth is more beautiful and perfect than Heaven; creation is a continuous, self-perfecting process! The supreme feature of Earth is man:

The body, beautiful of shape, bears witness
 To the Creator's art, whose glory glows
 Most in the face, the mirror of the mind.
 Upon that face is stamped the soul's
 bright image,
 That lights the countenance, and makes life fair
 With godlike glances out of human face.

But instead of being overjoyed by all of this, the angels are seized by envy. Most hateful to them is man's "twofold" sex and the prospect that through marriage and mating, man's kingdom will soon surpass that of the angels, "For no angel/ Has power,

from out his loins, to sow his seed/ In myriad hosts of countless progeny." Man is distinguished from the angels by his godlike soul and his capacity for infinite creativity.

The final blow to the envious angels is the announcement by Gabriel, God's messenger, that henceforth their role will be to assist man in his ascent above heaven toward the divine radiance of God.

Lucifer, who was identified in the dramatis personae as the "Stadholder," enters the stage at this point to protest to Gabriel that God is violating the rights of primogeniture and the fixed, unchangeable hierarchy of the universe. He continues:

Why does His Grace degrade us thus so early?
What Angel has been tardy in His service?
How, too, can Deity be mix'd with man?
How could he pass His chosen Angels by
And pour His essence in a human body,
How knit the finite with the Infinite,
The highest with the lowest thing of all,
The great Creator with the creature made?

So sharp a delineation of the epistemological issues separating the Neoplatonic Christian faction from the Calvinist oligarchs was unprecedented. Vondel portrays Lucifer and his followers as rebelling explicitly against the process of continuous creation—of the finite becoming infinite—in favor of the static universe of the oligarchy. In answering Lucifer's complaint that God has violated his rights as first born, Gabriel explains to Lucifer that God's laws are such that God is allowed to change them!

It was no secret to Vondel's audience who Lucifer, the "Stadholder," and his followers were intended to represent. Lucifer proceeds to organize the rebellion in Heaven using methods of mob manipulation well-known in seventeenth century Amsterdam. At first Lucifer conceals his own rebellious intentions, while drawing out the festering resentments of the ego-dominated members of Heaven's angelic population. And when the mob finally demands that Lucifer lead a rebellion against the tyrant God, Lucifer showers them with "republican" speeches—the same tactics that Milton's Satan will use.

England's 'Born Again' Christians

Milton's *Paradise Lost* was directed against the same Calvinist ideology that Grotius and Vondel did battle against in Holland—contrary to the portrait of Milton as a Calvinistic Puritan—and against its inverse—the know-nothing mysticism of England's ultrademocratic Protestant sects.

Despite the profusion of sects, there were a few

common features to all of them: They threw out the established church, and with it the patristic tradition; any idiot's reading of the Bible was considered valid. The more radical sects threw out scripture and books altogether. These sects considered the only truth to be the "immediate experience" of godliness. The Family of Love spoke of the "divine possibilities" of man and preached "personal revelation." Gerrard Winstanley, the leader of the primitive communist Digger sect named for its practice of squatting on farmland, promoted "experimental" religion based on intuition and rejected the "imaginary" knowledge of books. Fox, the founder of the Quakers, spoke of "openings" of the Lord to him. The Anabaptists practiced adult baptism or "dipping," in which the believer would be "born again" in Christ's image.

Milton counterposed to the sects' "every man is Christ" the Neoplatonic concept of man-become-God, and to their different varieties of "personal revelation" the path of self-conscious reason.

In a famous book on the sects, *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth*, published in 1939, Quaker historian Rufus Jones argued that the "self-governing" sects of the English Commonwealth period were the forerunners of later radical democratic movements—from a sympathetic standpoint.

England's "born again" Christian sects were an early form of the same political current that later manifested itself in the Jacobin mob during the French Revolution, the Jefferson-Jacksonian tendency in the United States, and the hippies and radical environmentalists of the last two decades.

This current was deliberately nurtured in Britain in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign by the Genoese-allied Cecil family, with the aim of creating shock troops that could be used against a dirigist, "French-type" monarchy in England and later the Commonwealth government of Milton and Oliver Cromwell.

As Jones reports, the first full-fledged attempt to reconstruct the church in England on "a completely democratic basis" was by Robert Browne, a Cambridge scholar and first cousin to William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, the same Burleigh who played the key role in subordinating the British monarchy and economy to Italian finance. Browne developed farther than anyone previously had in England the separatist principle. The launching of a separatist movement set up a "gang-countergang" opposition in England with an oppressive, Calvinist established church on the one side, and the anarchist, millenarian sects on the other. The movement to separate from the established church, moreover, was the first step in a process that led in short order to the rejection of the patristic tradition and scripture itself and the embrace of the ahistorical religion of "immediate experience."

The second attempt at a church "of the people

and by the people" was led by Henry Barrowe in the 1580s. Barrowe was also a Cambridge scholar and related to both Lord Burleigh and Lord Bacon. In 1586 Barrowe was imprisoned by Elizabeth's government along with another separatist leader for subversive activities. Miraculously, the two men managed to write their ideas down on little scraps of paper that were conveyed by their friends to Holland, where they were printed.

The Genoese-dominated Netherlands was the fertile seedbed of many of the English mystical sects. Many future English mystics had lived and been seized by the spirit while in Holland. One of the chief sects, the Family of Love or Familists, founded by Henry Nicholas of Münster, germinated in Holland from whence it was transported to England.

The Familists believed in what they termed the "divine possibilities" of man, but the transformation they spoke of was entirely mystical with no human volition, works, or faith involved. According to the Familist doctrine, the source of truth was inward illumination, which manifests itself in history as successive "breakings through" of the spirit and is experienced by man as "immediate revelation."

It is noteworthy that the apparent opposite of Familist-type mysticism, the empiricism of Locke and Hobbes, is based on the same doctrine of "immediate experience"; both philosophies attack Neoplatonic reason as "imaginary"; and both were nurtured in seventeenth century Holland. Several decades later, the quintessential British empiricist David Hume would admiringly write of Leveller leader John Lilburne (who turned to mysticism in later life) that "he was the most turbulent, but most upright and courageous of human kind." (The two strands, mysticism and empiricism, would later join up in William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, a study of radical empiricism.)

In keeping with Cambridge University's ultra-democratic traditions, historian Christopher Hill, master of Balliol College, has singled out Gerrard Winstanley's Diggers as the most politically advanced of the English Commonwealth sects, calling them the harbingers of modern socialism. In Winstanley's *The New Law of Righteousness*, published in January 1649 in the early days of the Commonwealth government, the Digger leader related how a voice had spoken to him while he was in a trance, commanding, "Work together, eat bread together." Winstanley subsequently led a small movement of squatters who took over land in southeastern England, invoking the "creation-right" of access to land. This proposition maintained that private property in England dated from the Norman conquest when William turned the English out of their land, and that the landless consequently had the right to any property they pleased. In

line with their wish to return to pre-Norman times, the Diggers unsuccessfully practiced primitive communal agriculture on the land they had expropriated, until they were booted out by the combined forces of the local landlords and central government.

All these streams of mystical life converged in the Quaker movement led by George Fox. The Quakers began feebly in 1647 and spread rapidly after 1652, drawing former Familists, Seekers, and Ranters, as well as Puritans, into their ranks. The Quaker movement became a thorn in the side of Cromwell's Protectorate government during the 1650s, as its members swelled the ranks of the antigovernment agitators.

Milton's Devil

Milton's contemporary audience would have recognized in one level of *Paradise Lost* a devastating portrait of England's Gnostic sects and the oligarchical forces that deployed them. Eat the fruit, Satan tells Eve, "and ye shall be as Gods, / Knowing both Good and Evil as they know." The forbidden fruit smacks of both craft (the occult) and of the varieties of "personal revelation"—instant flashes of knowledge—reported by the mindless sectarians. (To today's readers, the fruit may appropriately suggest the hallucinogenic drugs and other false shortcuts to illumination taken by modern Dionysians.)

Of course, if such particular allusions were all there were to *Paradise Lost*, it would be an interesting social document but not a great poem. The epic's greatness lies partly in the fact that it reverberates with more fundamental insights into epistemology and political processes, as well as with their contemporary embodiments. Beyond that, Milton engages the mind of the reader in a dialogue to the end of developing a positive conception of human identity in the education of the reader's soul, the progress of true knowledge, thus bringing something good out of the evil of the Fall.

It was for this dimension of Milton's epic—its poetry—that Milton looked to Dante as his model. In Dante's *Commedia*, the character Dante and the reader of the poem together travel through Hell, ascend to the top of Mount Purgatory, and enter Paradise, progressing from the mode of sense certainty, to the understanding, and upward to reason.

Milton composed *Paradise Lost* with the *Commedia* still ringing in his ears; we know, in fact, from the notes in his Commonplace Book that as Milton was beginning to write *Paradise Lost* in 1658, he was also rereading Dante's "Purgatorio." In Milton's epic, the reader is plunged into darkest Hell, the realm of the satanic, infantile ego and sense certainty; he moves up to the Garden of Eden—Milton's Earthly Paradise—

the domain of moral souls like Adam and Eve before the Fall who live according to God's commandments and conscience; and finally, through looking sin in the face, the reader of the poem is, along with the first couple, given a glimpse of Milton's Paradise—the "paradise within thee, happier far"—the state of self-conscious reason and scientific inquiry foreshadowed at the close of the epic.

As he progresses through these modes of consciousness, Milton's reader, like Dante's, experiences within himself the process of continuous creation, the transfinite ordering principle of both physical Creation and of his own internal mental processes.

Milton's devil willfully opposes this process. He is "to himself enthrall'd"—one who serves his own egoistical ends and not divine providence. This is the flaw that defines Satan and from which all his other sins follow—pride, envy, the capacity for endless self-delusion.

We first encounter Satan shortly after his expulsion from Heaven, and he is boasting that he is

... One who brings
A mind not chang'd by Place or Time.
The Mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
(I, 252-255)

Later, in a moment of self-conscious reflection as he approaches Eden for the temptation, Satan recognizes that this "independence of mind" is an illusion; the egoism that led him to reject God's benevolent reign in Heaven is the source of all his agony:

Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;
And in the lowest deep a lower deep
Still threat'ning to devour me opens wide.
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n.
(IV, 75-78)

Unlike Adam and Eve, whose self-conscious mental powers are strengthened in recognizing that they have sinned, Satan's introspection degenerates into self-pity, and he emerges confirmed in his desire to seek revenge on God by subverting mankind. Henceforth, Satan is more and more consumed by the desire for revenge; he is the image not of freedom but of bondage to the passions.

Milton shows us that Satan's method in seducing others is to play upon their egocentric impulses. Satan incites the revolt in Heaven by stirring up the angels' resentment of Christ, whom God set above them and made more perfect than them to be the instrument of universal Creation.

Satan's speeches to the angels are couched in republican language:

Another now hath to himself ingross't
All Power, and us eclips'd under the name
Of King anointed. . . .
Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee?

(V, 775ff.)

But then this is the traditional ruse of tyrants. (There was no lack of contemporary referents for the method in the ploys of the false democratic opponents of the English Commonwealth.) The rebellion that Satan organizes is in reality an assault on the highest expression of freedom, Creation through the Logos.

Abdiel, the sole faithful angel who refuses to follow Satan's treachery, steps forward to expose Satan's democratic pretensions and to assert God's actual intention of exalting not demeaning the angels:

... by his Word the mighty Father made
All things, ev'n thee, and all the Spirits of
Heav'n
But him created in thir bright degrees,
Crown'd them with Glory, and to their Glory
nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers,
Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscur'd,
But more illustrious made, since he the Head
One of our number thus reduc't becomes,
His Laws our Laws, all honor to him done
Returns our own. . . .

(V, 836-845)

Satan and the rebel angels cannot bear to hear the truth spoken so directly, and they ridicule Abdiel, who departs to join the faithful legions.



The Fall of Man

For the seduction of Adam and Eve, two moral, if untested, silver souls, more sophisticated techniques are required. Satan's deception of mankind is based on guile; like any skilled, immoral political agent, Satan's method is to mimick the arguments of reason and play upon the perceived weaknesses of his enemies.

Satan enters the body of a serpent, a lovely and upright animal before the Fall, to hide his dark intentions, and he addresses Eve in human speech. When Eve reveals her amazement at finding a brute that can speak, the serpent answers with a discussion of the distinction between man and the animals, explaining that he has grown humanlike and acquired the powers of language by eating the fruit of a certain tree in the garden:

Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree
Of Reason in my inward Powers, and Speech

Wanted not long, though to this shape retain'd.
Thence forth to Speculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts. . . .

(IX, 598-604)

As Edgar Allan Poe noticed, Satan's remarks contrasting the noble capacities of man to the limitations of the brutes are taken from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle—whom Milton recognized to be a philosophical opponent of Plato's, also mimicks Platonic ideas.

Satan has soon persuaded Eve to eat the fruit of the tree of prohibition by promising her that the fruit will immediately confer God-like knowledge on her:

That ye should be as Gods, since I as Man,
Internal Man, is but proportion meet,
I of brute human, ye of human Gods.

(IX, 710-712)

But the knowledge that Adam and Eve receive, in violation of God's prohibition, is lacking in moral purpose and therefore a sham. For Milton, morality was a question of acting in harmony with and to further divine providence; any knowledge that turned its back on the work of continuous creation was necessarily false.

In fact, the first change to occur after the Fall is that Adam and Eve, who were previously blessed with powers of intuitive reason, are plunged into the mode of sense certainty; they have lost the powers of mental discernment. And their love for one another, at once spiritual and sensuous before the Fall, degenerates into mere pornography.



MILTON IN AMERICA

Together, the Bible and Milton's *Paradise Lost* were the basis of literacy in early America. For many Americans, Milton's rendering of the Fall of man was even more familiar than the Book of Genesis. Thus, Milton's wedding of republican freedom and scientific discovery helped frame the moral outlook of the colonies. Left, a colonial schoolroom; above, family reading of *Paradise Lost*; right, public worship at Plymouth, Massachusetts.



Man's Fall is only half of Milton's story:

Of Man's First Disobedience and the Fruit
Of that Forbidd'n Tree, whose mortal taste
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With Loss of *Eden*, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
Sing Heav'nly Muse. . . .

(I, 1-6)

There will be an upward movement, too, out of the darkness toward a higher state: man's restoration or salvation through the intervention of "one greater Man," of Christ the Messiah.

There is a deliberate ambiguity to this phrase, which echoes the central ambiguity of Neoplatonic Christianity: Christ is at once God and man; he is God-become-man. The one greater man is also the divine or universal identity of every human being, or his or her republican leadership qualities, if you will.

In the last two books of the epic, the archangel Michael descends from Heaven to lead Adam and Eve out of Paradise. He takes a contrite Adam to the top of the highest hill in Paradise and shows him all of human history. The prospect is mostly one of terrible visions—of men and women in the grip of envy, intemperance, lust, and other sins that spring from the lapse of reason. Viewing scene after scene of corruption and death, the fruit of his original sin, Adam nearly succumbs to despair:

O miserable Mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd.
Better end here unborn. . . .

(XI, 500-502)

Adam is pulled back from despair, however, by the sight of the righteous few like Noah, "the only Son of light/ In a dark Age . . . The one just Man alive." Noah prefigures Abraham and Moses, the virtuous leaders of the Hebrews, who in turn prefigure Jesus. In subduing the passions to reason, these exemplary individuals have exercised freedom, and their example and leadership will enable future men to free themselves from bondage to the passions.

A little farther on, Michael explicitly draws out for Adam the connection between the internal state of subjection to passions and political tyranny.

Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart Passions catch the Government
From Reason, and to servitude reduce
Man till then Free. Therefore since hee permits
Within himself unworthy Powers to reign
Over free Reason, God in Judgement just
Subjects him from without to violent Lords;
Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
His outward freedom. Tyranny must be,
Though to the Tyrant no excuse.

(XII, 83-96)

This formulation is identical to Milton's analysis of political tyranny in his political tracts, for example, in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, which Milton wrote in 1649 to vindicate in the eyes of all Europe the deposing and—when plots to restore him endangered the life and liberty of Englishmen—the execution of the Stuart king. The message is politically double-edged, however, for Milton locates ultimate responsibility for the King's oppressive reign in a servile and immoral population:

If men within themselves would be governed by reason and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny of custom from without and blind affections within, they would discern better what it is to favor and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vicious rule by which they govern themselves. For indeed, none can love freedom heartily but



good men; the rest love not freedom but license, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants.

For Milton, a republic was a form of government where moral men, those who have subordinated individual heteronomic interests to a higher universal purpose, rule and foster the economic and social conditions in which the rest of the population will also rise to that pattern. Milton paid tribute to Cromwell, and sounded a warning to him, in his *Second Defense of the English People* in describing Cromwell as a leader who could govern well because he had first learned the discipline of self-government.

Milton's notions of morality and good government, however, were not only couched in negative terms, as lying in the negation of heteronomic passions. The final vision that Adam and Eve and the reader of *Paradise Lost* come away with is that of the capacity of every individual to act as a universal

being, to carry out the will of God. That is the essence of freedom. And it is the notion that is the basis of Milton's political republicanism. Milton's great epistemological accomplishment was to have wedded the Neoplatonic concept of man-become-God, the universality of every individual, to secular republicanism.

The Fortunate Fall

How does Milton's man become godlike? It is, ironically, through the Fall itself.

In Milton's reworking of the biblical story, the Fall—or self-conscious reflection on the Fall—becomes the basis for Adam and Eve to progress to a higher state of knowledge and practice. Theologically, this is the doctrine of the *Felix Culpa*, the Fortunate Fall. The first appearance of the doctrine was in the writings of St. Ambrose, Augustine's teacher. Augustine in turn elaborated the doctrine in his writings, and it was given widespread circulation probably starting in the early fifth century, when it was incorporated into the Roman liturgy in a hymn that was part of the Easter Even service. The significance of the doctrine is suggested by the fact that the hymn, which was known as the Exultet, was considered dangerous by many ecclesiasts and omitted from the liturgy at a number of points in church history.

The authors of the *Felix Culpa* had taken the reactionary story of the Fall of man and reshaped it to their own purpose. The Redemption celebrated in the Exultet is the thoroughly Neoplatonic concept of



BIRTH OF AMERICA

Milton's republican conceptions came to fruition in the American Revolution, fought for the right to industrial development. Left, Benjamin Franklin makes an appeal to George III's House of Lords for repeal of the oppressive Stamp Act; above, a Boston celebration of the repeal; right, raising the Liberty Pole on a village green after Britain's policies had forced the colonies to break.



man's progression to a higher state of knowledge and being through the recognition of sin.

In the final book of *Paradise Lost*, the archangel Michael concludes his account of future history with the promise that "the Earth/ Shall all be Paradise, far happier place/ Than this of *Eden*, and far happier days." Adam is overjoyed but also somewhat bewildered:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By mee done and occasion'd, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
(XII, 469-478)

Michael reiterates the crucial point in his final words to Adam. The aim of history is not the restoration of Eden and lost innocence, Hesiod's reactionary notion of the return of the Golden Age, but spiritual progress:

. . . only add
Deeds to they knowledge answerable, add Faith
Add Virtue, Patience, Temperance, add Love
By name to come call'd Charity, the soul
Of all the rest then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but thou shalt possess
A paradise within thee, happier far.
(XII, 581-587)

The notion of perfection developed here has been the dividing line historically between the Neoplatonic tendency that Milton represented and a Hesiodic oligarchy and its "back to nature" legions—whether the sects in Milton's day who prayed for the restoration of pre-Norman agricultural society in England, nineteenth century Rousseauveans, or today's environmentalist movement.

Milton's Republicanism

Milton's republican intentions in writing *Paradise Lost* are pointed up the the history of his project to write an epic poem, to do for his country and language what Homer, Vergil, and Dante had done for theirs. The necessity of writing a national epic in English was uppermost in Milton's mind when he returned from Italy in 1639. As he later wrote in *The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelaty*, "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."

Between 1639 and 1641 Milton considered scores of possible subjects for the epic, both historical ones from classical and pre-Norman British times and biblical subjects. For a period, Milton seemed to favor a poem on Arthur, the legendary king of the ancient Britons who was famous for his exploits against the invading Saxons. Edmund Spenser, Milton's poetic mentor in his youth, had planned in the *Faerie Queen* to fashion a virtuous, noble person, with each of the twelve projected books presenting one of the virtues of the exemplary King Arthur. In writing an "*Arthurriad*" Milton would have been finishing Spenser's uncompleted project (Spenser only completed six books and part of a seventh before he died). However, Milton's own advancing historical and political education intervened, making Arthur's exploits an unsuitable subject for his epic poem.

Writing in his *History of Britain* in the 1640s, Milton concluded that all of the stories of Arthur's reign and achievements were "unlikelyhoods" and that the previous works on the subject were not to be trusted.

The issue of whether or not Arthur existed was of more than antiquarian interest for Milton. For the Elizabethan political faction to which Spenser belonged, the legend of Arthur's happy reign in Camelot symbolized the possibility of rule by a virtuous and enlightened nobility. Milton wrote his *History of Britain* during the sitting of the Long Parliament, and as he watched the great Presbyterian nobles and landed gentry block every important political and economic reform, the possibility of good government by a benevolent, hereditary aristocracy appeared to him to be as much of an illusion as King Arthur.

(In the nineteenth century, the British poet laureate Alfred Lord Tennyson would resurrect the Arthur myth and create an aristocratic cult and geopolitical strategy around Arthur and his knights and the quest for the Holy Grail in Jerusalem.)

Along with the Arthurian legend, Milton rejected the myth of a happy golden age in England before the Norman invasion, a myth promoted by both the Presbyterian nobles in the Parliamentary faction to justify the overthrow of centralized monarchy and the radical, "back to nature" sects. Milton broke with the fashion of idealizing pre-Norman England and portrayed the Saxons as a crew of belligerent and uncivilized barbarians.

When Milton selected the Genesis story of the Fall

of man as the appropriate subject matter for his epic, it was with an eye to the republican themes implicit in it: negatively, the character of Satan, the anarchist and rabblrouser, and over against him, the possibility of progress through the education and salvation of Adam and Eve. The closing lines of the poem were pregnant with implications for the future course of human history:

The World was all before them, where to
choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and
slow,
Through Eden took thir solitary way.
(XII, 646-649)

It is a sad commentary on the later development of the republican movement in Europe that Percy Bysshe Shelley, the next great republican poet writing in English after Milton, seriously misinterpreted Milton's intentions in his epic. Shelley thought that *Paradise Lost* was a great poem in spite of its apparent theological bias and maintained in *A Defense of Poetry* that "Milton's poem contains within itself a philosophical refutation of that system, of which, by a strange and natural antithesis, it has been a chief popular support." Shelley fell into the same trap as Jefferson and the nineteenth century Gnostic William Blake in admiring Satan as the "moral" hero of *Paradise Lost*. "Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of Satan," Shelley proclaimed.

This is not to imply that Shelley had not absorbed Milton's poetic achievement. There is no greater tribute to the power of Milton's language and its influence on future poetry than Shelley's *Adonais*, the elegy written on the death of John Keats. Milton is the "Most musical of mourners" to appear at the bier of the murdered poet, "the third among the sons of light" after Homer and Dante. But more than that, Shelley's poem itself is a variation on Milton's *Lycidas*, and rings with direct verbal and rhythmical echoes of Milton's elegy.

Shelley misread *Paradise Lost* because of an early slander operation against the Miltonic tradition and Neoplatonic Christianity—the atheistic Enlightenment. A victim of the Enlightenment ethos, Shelley viewed Christianity as a sickly tradition and contrasted it with robust and pagan classicism. The corollary of this bias was the association of republicanism with materialism. (An extreme example of Shelley's disorientation about the history of the republican movement is his tribute to Venice as the seat of liberty in Italy in "Lines Written in the Euganean Hills." In actual fact, Venice had been the seat of the Italian black nobility since the Renaissance except for peri-

odic interludes. In 1822, four years after he composed the poem, Shelley drowned off Leghorn, another center of the Italian oligarchy, not without suspicious surrounding circumstances.)

The ideologues of the Enlightenment attacked Christianity as part of an operation to sunder modern man from the Neoplatonic tradition. The Romantic misreading of *Paradise Lost* to the contrary, Milton's epic was the very embodiment of the continuity between Neoplatonic Christianity and modern republicanism.

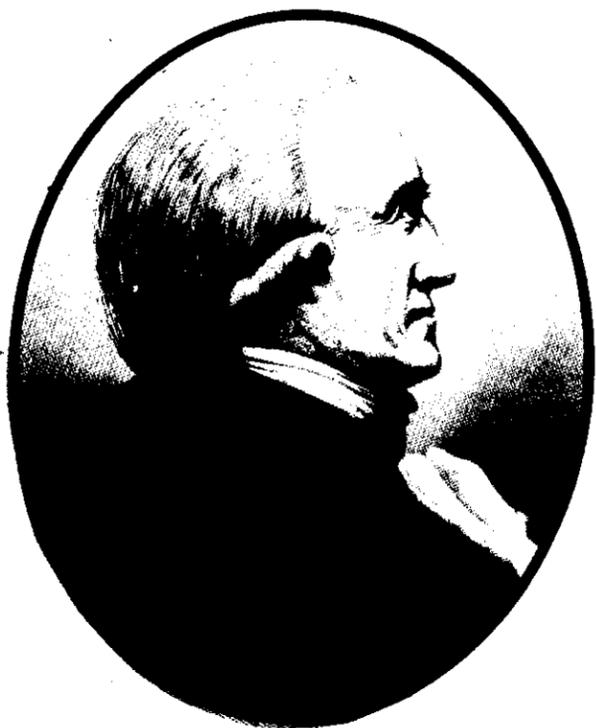
Part II will treat the pedagogical method of Paradise Lost whereby Milton recreated in the English language a poetic experience akin to Dante's Commedia; and it will vindicate Milton's epic style against the criticisms of its detractors. The second part will also demonstrate that Milton's theology is the rigorous philosophical expression of the same Neoplatonic outlook expressed poetically in the epic. The central notion of Milton's theology and poetry—the perfectibility of man and of physical nature—was later to be the basis of the U.S. Constitution.

For Further Reading

1. *Milton in Early America* by George Sensabaugh (1964). This is an extremely useful work of scholarship that documents the pervasiveness of Milton's influence on every facet of life in seventeenth and eighteenth century America.
2. *Milton: A Biography* by William Riley Parker (1966). This, the most comprehensive modern biography of Milton, breaks with the view that Milton wrote *Samson Agonistes* last after *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and dates its composition between 1646 and 1655. This dating attributes greater political immediacy to the drama, locating its composition in the period when Milton was becoming increasingly critical of the "populous rout" of the English Revolution and the Presbyterians who controlled the populists.
3. *John Milton: Poet and Humanist* by James Holly Hanford (1966). The chapter on Milton's youth provides a vivid portrait of Milton preparing himself for public service and the task of writing an immortal poem.
4. *The Life Records of John Milton* edited by J. M. French (1949-58). This five-volume series catalogues everything Milton read or might have read.
5. *The Early Lives of Milton* edited by Helen Darbishire (1932). Two of Milton's biographers, John Aubrey and Anthony Wood, were collaborators of the Oxford astrologer Elias Ashmole, so don't expect the real story.
6. *Milton and the English Revolution* by Christopher Hill (1978). Hill maintains that Milton was in a dialogue with the radical underground of the English Revolution—Seekers, Diggers, Ranters, and Familists.
7. *The Celestial Cycle: The Theme of "Paradise Lost" in World Literature* edited by Watson Kirkconnell (1952). This is a useful collection of the major antecedents of Milton's epic, including those by Grotius and Vondel, in translation.
8. "Paradise Lost" and the Genesis Tradition by J. M. Evans (1968). This exhaustive review of theological and literary treatments of the Fall story from the Jewish interpretations to Milton's has a useful bibliography.
9. "Milton and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall" by Arthur O. Lovejoy (1937) reprinted in *Essays in the History of Ideas* (1948). Lovejoy, a crypto-gnostic, reviews the history of the doctrine of the *Felix Culpa*.
10. *Milton Criticism, Selections from Four Centuries* edited by James Thorpe (1969). This volume contains all the important "position papers" written on Milton from the time of his death to the mid-twentieth century. These statements usually reveal more about the biases of their writers and historical periods than about Milton—e.g. Dr. Johnson's complaint in the eighteenth century that Milton did not write tidy rhymed couplets.

How the American Indians Were Destroyed

The 1828 defeat of the Federalists by Jeffersonian Andrew Jackson derailed efforts to bring the Indians into the mainstream of American life. The result: genocide. Richard Welsh presents the evidence.



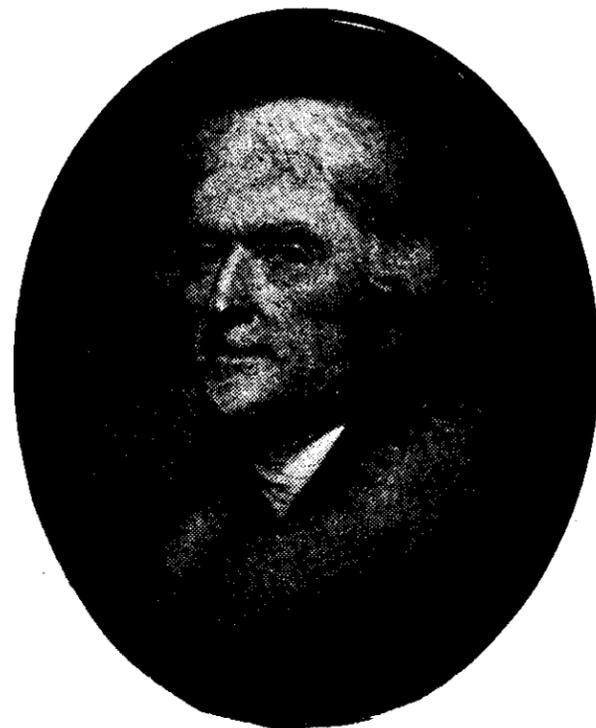
*Federalist Indian agent
Benjamin Hawkins*

"The mental qualities of the Americans are not inferior. If equal care was taken of their education we should see rise among them philosophers, mathematicians, and divines who would rival Europe."

—Federalist Jedediah Morse

United States policy toward the native American Indians is one of the most obvious failures of nineteenth-century American domestic policy. Unlike black slavery, the causes of and solution to that failure have not been fully accounted for to this day. The poverty and degradation of today's Indian "reservations," from Maine to Arizona, is unequalled in the United States. And, now being superimposed on that backwardness is the terrorism and cultism being advanced by the trained counterinsurgents of the Institute for Policy Studies under the aegis of the American Indian Movement.

Since Richard Hofstadter and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., discovered that President Andrew Jackson was a great "democrat," and foisted this view into the most recent generation of American history texts, many Americans are only dimly or not at all aware that it was Jackson's genocidal mass deportation of southern Indians to the Far West—making their lands available to the southern slavocrats and overturning earlier Federalist



Thomas Jefferson

"Be glad to see the influential individuals among them run into debt. When these debts get beyond what the individual can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands."

—President Thomas Jefferson

policies—that entrenched the dreary pattern of broken treaties, land seizures, and lies that characterized Indian affairs for the remainder of the century. And most Americans are entirely unaware that the real author of Jacksonian policy was Thomas Jefferson.

Prior to Jackson and Jefferson, the U.S. government had an entirely different policy. That policy, championed in particular by President George Washington, was to assimilate the Indians into full citizenship in the new republic as rapidly as possible—a rate limited only by the resources the government could commit to the project and by the Indians' ability to absorb higher-level civilization. The Cherokees, living in a section of territory including parts of Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina, were the demonstration project.

British Policy: Enforced Backwardness

The question of Indian relations was fundamentally a moral question for the United States's founding fathers. British policy toward the Indians, based on the doctrines of David Hume and Adam Smith, was antithetical to the purpose of the new nation. For the British, the colonies were to function as backward, raw materials-supplying regions. The stagnant culture of the eighteenth-century Indians suited that policy well. The British were loathe to sell the Indians ploughs, seed crops, hoes, draft animals, or any other modern productive technologies.

They did, however, freely provide the Indians with guns, and, as the historical novels of James Fenimore Cooper vividly attest, they manipulated the North American tribes toward various British policy goals. For instance, under British policy, the Iroquois largely exterminated the rival Hurons, some 50,000 of them—competitors for the European fur trade. Through

the War of 1812 and beyond, the British time and again organized Indian tribes to war against the United States.

Indian policy was thus a primary concern for the Federalist movement. On the eve of the Revolutionary War, William Bartram, a protégé of Benjamin Franklin, made a three-year scientific and intelligence-gathering mission in the Southeast, recording observations of the Creek and Cherokee that are among the best to this day. The strategic issue—both Creeks and Cherokees were still firm British allies—was clearly wedded to the moral questions for Bartram as he posed the question of:

“Whether they were deserving of the severe censure which prevailed against them among the white people, that they were incapable of civilization.

“In the consideration of this important subject it will be necessary to inquire, whether they were inclined to adopt the European modes of civil society? Whether such a reformation could be obtained, without using coercive or violent means? And lastly, whether such a resolution would be productive of real benefit to them, and consequently beneficial to the public? I was satisfied in discovering that they were desirous of becoming united with us, in civil and religious society.”

Because of the war and the alliance of most tribes with the British—continuing in the western territories down to the War of 1812 and the Shawnee chief Tecumseh's uprising—Bartram's proposals could not be put into effect immediately. Others were active. Educational opportunities were proffered to the Indians by the missionary circles of New England Federalist Jedediah Morse, the father of Samuel Morse. In 1787, the staunch Congregationalist Morse had helped found the “Moravian Society for

propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.” In his 1790s *History of America*, one of the nation's first textbooks and a companion to his geographical texts, Morse wrote:

“We declare . . . to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not in the least inferior to those of the Europeans; that they are capable of all, even the most abstract, sciences; and if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in seminaries, under good masters, were protected and stimulated by rewards, we should see rise among the Americans, philosophers, mathematicians, and divines, who would rival the first of Europe.”

In 1791, Bartram printed his *Travels* by special subscription from, among others, President Washington and Vice-President Adams. The book, a full report on his months-long exploration among the Indians, was an immediate popular success, and in 1792, President Washington made his move, settling on the Cherokees to begin the grand project.

In his fourth annual message to Congress on November 6, 1792, Washington insisted: “I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians, without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them as agents would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighborhood. If in addition to these expedients an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to

their wants and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interest with ours could not but be considerable."

Civilization of the Cherokees

Washington deployed his intimate and long-time supporter Benjamin Hawkins to implement the civilizing policy. Washington ordered Hawkins to obtain plows, spinning wheels, looms, and other tools, and to hire instructors in their use.

In 1807, provoked by the accelerating corruption of Harvard, Jedediah Morse established Andover Theological Seminary. Among the early graduates of Andover was one of the new generation of educated Cherokee leaders, Elias Boudinot. Several other Andover alumni staffed the first mission schools in Cherokee country.

In 1813, a Cherokee report published by the Baltimore-based national newspaper *Niles Weekly Register* proclaimed:

"Under these conditions [the treaties with the U.S.] our nation has prospered, our population has increased—The knowledge and practice of agriculture and some of the useful arts, have kept pace with time. Our stocks of cattle and other domestic animals fill the forests, while the wild animals have disappeared. Our spinning wheels and looms now in use by the ingenious hands of our wives and our daughters, enable us to clothe ourselves principally in decent habits, from the production of materials the growth of our soil. In addition to these important acquisitions, many of our youth of both sexes have acquired such knowledge of letters and figures as to shew to the most incredulous that our mental powers are not by nature inferior to yours—and we look forward to a period of time, when it may be said, this artist, this mathematician, this astrono-

mer, is a Cherokee."

The Cherokees were rightfully proud. Only two years earlier they had emerged stronger than ever from their last great faction fight with the other eastern tribes over whether to civilize or not, when their leading men had—at great personal risk—rebuffed the messianic Shawnee chief Tecumseh in the face of growing support for his war plans among the neighboring Creeks and Shawnees. Ironically, it was the Cherokee fighters who the next year made the difference between victory and defeat for Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, where the British-allied Creeks, whipped up by Tecumseh, met their final defeat.

Encouraged by the success so far, Congress in 1819 passed a bill appropriating \$10,000 annually for the development of the Indians, and the Monroe administration delegated Morse to conduct a survey of the western tribes to determine the most effective path of implementation of the development policy. This was a resounding affirmation of Bartram's strategic and moral conclusion of forty-five years before. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun wrote to Morse:

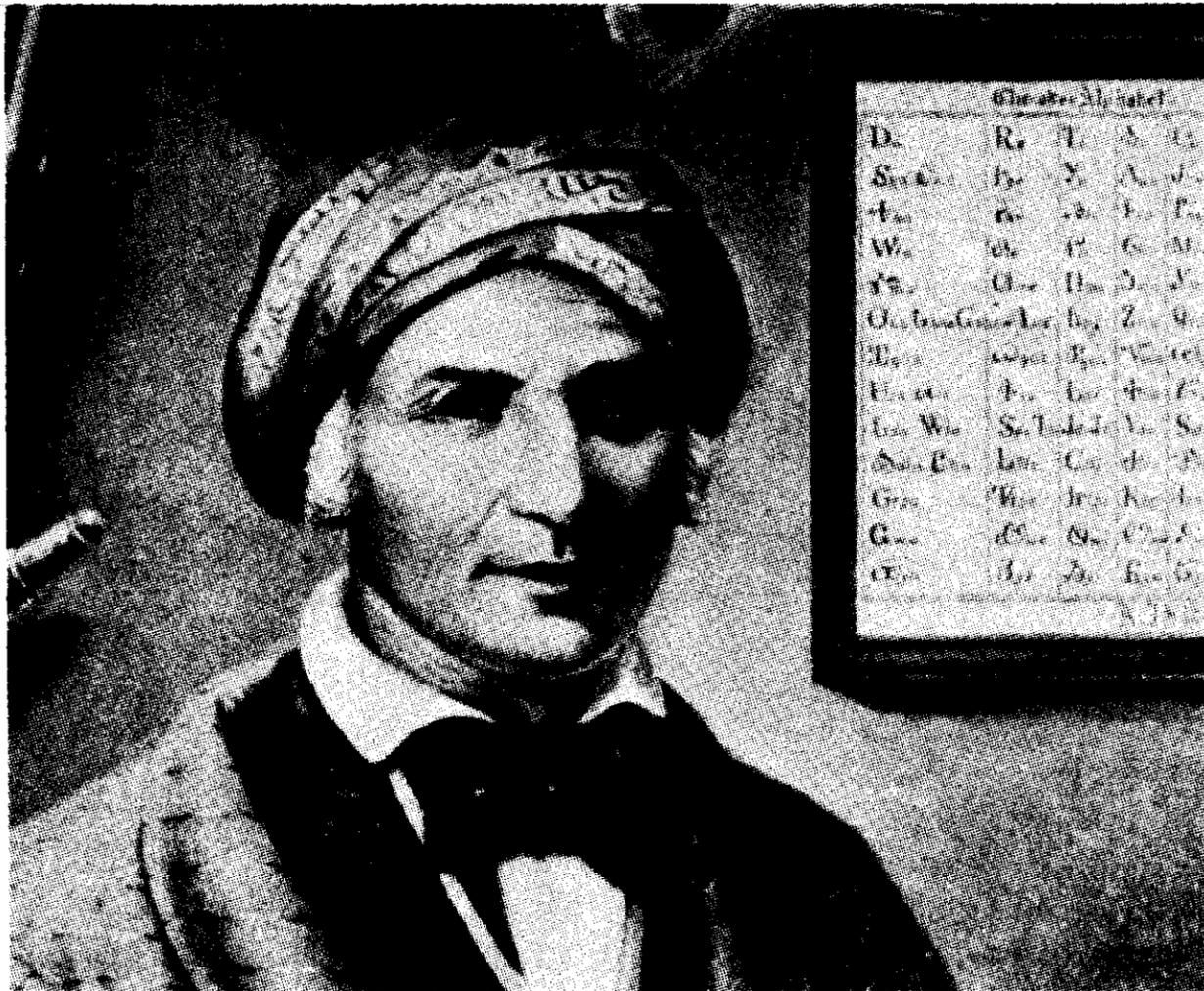
"Your attention will be directed to ascertain the actual condition of the various tribes, . . . in a religious, moral, and political point of view You will particularly ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of the various tribes which you may visit, and those adjacent; the extent of territory, with the nature of the soil, and climate of the country . . . their mode of life, customs, laws and political institutions. . . . You will also particularly report on the number of schools, their position, the number and character of the teachers, the number of scholars of each sex, the plan of education, with the degree of success which appears to attend the respective

schools. . . . You will also report your opinions to the improvements which may be made, and the new establishments, to promote the object of government in civilizing the Indians, which can be advantageously formed."

In a circular to the War Department, Calhoun urged his agents to cooperate with "benevolent associations" in administering the new funds; two years later, upon his return, Morse founded the association which Calhoun clearly had in mind. Called the "American society for promoting the civilization and general improvement of the Indian tribes within the United States," the new organization was a tremendously expanded and secularized version of the Moravian Society. It was made possible by Calhoun's eager execution of the congressional appropriation, by Morse's powerful leadership, and by the living testimony of the Cherokees, whose self-development was by this time famous throughout the nation and spreading around the world.

In the words of its constitution, as reported in the society's 1824 first annual report:

"The special objects of this Society shall be to secure for these tribes instruction in all branches of knowledge, suited to their capacities and condition; and for this purpose to ascertain the character and strength of their moral and intellectual powers, and their dispositions to receive instruction; to examine into their origin, history, memorials, antiquities, traditions, government, customs, manners, laws, languages, and religions; . . . to ascertain . . . the stations where education families may be most advantageously located. . . . Also, to select suitable spots in the Indian country for making experimental farms in the immediate view of Indians, on which to cultivate the different kinds of grains, grasses, trees, plants, roots, and



Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, the only written language in American Indian history.

“Under these [treaties with the U.S.] our nation has prospered, our population increased. We look forward to a time when it may be said, this artist, this mathematician, this astronomer, is a Cherokee.”

—Cherokee report printed in *Niles Weekly Register*, 1813

other garden vegetables, adapted to the various soils and climates of the aforesaid country; to introduce the best breeds of domestic animals, and feathered fowls: And generally, to do all other things which such a Society can do, to accomplish its grand object, *the civilization of the Indians.*”

In 1820, the Cherokees took a giant step forward when Sequoyah, an older contemporary of Elias Boudinot, introduced a syllabic alphabet to render their language in writing. Overnight the Cherokee population, many of whom still knew little or no English, became literate in Cherokee. In 1825 Elias Boudinot, the graduate of Andover, founded the bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper solidly in the tradition of

Benjamin Franklin’s mass-educational papers and pamphlets.

In 1826, the Cherokee Nation, as the Indians called their territory centered in Georgia, had adopted a constitution modeled on that of the United States. This move brought to culmination a process of increasing political centralization begun decades earlier, as Cherokee national councils and other delegated bodies assumed greater authority over the previously autonomous town and village councils.

In 1825, the census of the Cherokee Nation revealed the existence of “22,000 cattle; 7,600 horses; 46,000 swine; 2,500 sheep; 762 looms; 2,488 spinning wheels; 172 wagons; 2,943 ploughs; 10 saw-mills; 31 grist-mills; 62 blacksmith

shops; 8 cotton machines; 18 schools; 18 ferries; and a number of public roads. In one district there were, last winter, upwards of 1,000 volumes of good books; and 11 different periodical papers both religious and political were taken and read.”

Jefferson’s Program

Had United States Indian policy continued to be modeled on Cherokee policy up to the mid-1820s, the misery inflicted on both Indians and white settlers throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century could doubtless have been largely avoided. But the United States was by no means united behind such a policy. The rapacious southern slavocracy, embarked already on the policy of land acquisition that precipitated the Civil War, was demanding a policy of confiscation of Indian lands and the expulsion of their owners, and the slavocrats had two prominent national spokesmen for this policy: Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. As the proverb states, He who sows injustice will reap calamity.

Although the decisive overturn of Federalist Indian policy did not occur until Andrew Jackson took over the White House, the Jefferson administration was marked by persistent moves toward a policy of deportation and enforced backwardness. Rousseauvian Jefferson himself inclined toward the view that the Indians could only be “tainted” by contact with civilization. In 1803 he had written to John Adams that he saw “no great harm” in Indians adopting the primitivist ideology of the British-manipulated chief Tecumseh, and later in his administration he was to recommend avoidance of civilization to the Cherokees as one of the benefits accruing from deportation.

Jefferson’s ignorant prejudice that the Indians were “noble savages” who could not be civilized

and assimilated into the American mainstream was an expression of the same Rousseauvian outlook that became the basis for twentieth-century cultural relativism and the pseudoscience of cultural anthropology. During the 1960s, this racialism was packaged and merchandized as part of the effort that created the radical-terrorist American Indian Movement, in much the same way that the British colonialists sold it to Tecumseh, with Jefferson's help, in the first part of the nineteenth century.

With the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson began to agitate openly for a mass deportation of the Indians. In that year he wrote a letter to Andrew Jackson expressing fear that Washington's Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins—the man who was maintaining white-Indian stability in the Southeast and rapidly turning the Cherokees into educated farmers, mechanics, and professionals—was overly committed to the interests of the "Indians" and insufficiently loyal to the "United States."

Indeed, both Hawkins and the Cherokees themselves proved to be more committed to the republic of the United States than was the amoral Jefferson. An entire generation of young Cherokees fought for America in the War of 1812, following the lead of their chiefs in repudiating the call of British asset Tecumseh to fight against the nation. At that very moment Jefferson, whose sabotage of the economy and the armed forces had helped bring on the war, was writing to John Adams of Tecumseh:

"I concluded . . . that he was a visionary . . . vainly endeavoring to lead back his brethren to the fancied beauties of their golden age, I thought there was little danger of his making many proselytes from the habits and comforts they had learned from the Whites to the hardships and privations of savagism, and *no great harm if he did . . .* [emphasis added]."

In Jefferson's administration, the time was not yet ripe for the naked brutality of the Jackson administration's Indian policy. Viewing the newly acquired Louisiana territory as a suitable Indian homeland, Jefferson pursued a more duplicitous policy of acquisition of Indian lands. Jefferson told Congress in 1803 that:

"In order peaceably to counteract . . . the Indians' increasing reluctance to sell land and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient. First to encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising of stock, to agriculture, and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them. . . . The extensive forests necessary to the hunting life will then become useless, and they will see the advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms. . . ."

Writing that same year to General William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, Jefferson was more frank. In order to encourage the Indians' "disposition to exchange lands," Harrison should "be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run into debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individual can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands."

Harrison, like Hawkins a member of Washington's Cincinnati Society, did all he could to resist Jefferson's blandishments.

The Cherokees came under intense pressure to migrate to Arkansas during the Jefferson administration. In the years preceding 1809, they had been forced to cede half their lands to the federal government, and the administration was determined to extract more. Writes historian Dale Van Every of Jefferson's methods:

"Innumerable conferences had

"The special objects of this Society shall be to secure for these tribes instruction in all branches of knowledge."

—First Annual Report of the American Society for Promoting the Civilization of the Indians, 1824



GWY **J. A. U. O. A.**
CHEROKEE **PHOENIX.**

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NO. 12.

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PRINTED WEEKLY BY
ISAAC HARRIS,
FOR THE CHEROKEE NATION.

At \$2.00 if paid in advance, 25 in six months, or 50 in one year at the end of the year.

To subscribers who can not send the Cherokee language the price will be \$3.00 in advance, or \$2.00 to be paid within the year.

Every subscription will be considered as continued unless otherwise given notice to the contrary before the commencement of a new year.

Any person procuring an advertisement, and becoming responsible for the payment, shall receive a correct price.

Advertisements will be inserted at 10 cents per square for the first insertion, 50 for the second, and a half cent for each subsequent; longer ones in proportion.

All letters addressed to the Editor, post paid, will receive due attention.

GWY **J. A. U. O. A.**
CHEROKEE **PHOENIX.**

treasury. The person or persons buying such licenses, upon presenting the officer's certificate before the national treasury, for the service performed, shall be entitled to receive one dollar per day for the time so engaged from actual necessity. The constables, upon executing their duties in arresting or conducting criminals to the place of trial, shall also be entitled to one dollar per day for the time actually engaged. Each marshal shall be entitled to receive forty dollars, and each principal sheriff shall be entitled to receive thirty dollars per annum, for their services from the public funds, in addition to their fees of eight per cent. for collection. The deputy sheriffs and constables shall also be entitled to receive eight per cent. for collection.

By order,
J. M. ROSS, Secy. N. Com.
M. JOSEPH RIDGE, Speaker.

Approved—**PATHE** **KILLER**,
Secy.
A. M. COY, Clerk of N. Com.
E. BOUDINOT, Ch. of N. Council.

Ata Toon, Nov. 9, 1825.
Resolved by the National Committee and Council, That all written bills, bearing the signature of the testator, be used by one or

permanently committing a rape upon such female, he or they, on conviction upon conviction before any of the district or circuit judges, for the first offence, shall be punished with fifty lashes upon the bare back and the left ear cropped off close to the head; if the second offence, one hundred lashes and the other ear cut off; for third offence, death.

It is further enacted, That any man or woman, making evidence against any man, and falsely accusing him of having laid violent hands on any woman, with intent of committing a rape upon her person, and on proof having been adduced in any district or circuit court, to the testimony of such woman or witness or they so offending, shall be lashed with twenty-five stripes on their bare back, to be laid on any of the marshals, sheriffs, or clerks. By order,
J. M. ROSS,
MAJOR **ELI**
Secy.
CHART
E. BOUDINOT

Ata Toon, Nov. 9, 1825.
It has been



The bilingual Cherokee Phoenix was founded in 1825 by Andover graduate and Cherokee leader Elias Boudinot.

been held. Federal and state agents and commissioners had argued, cajoled and threatened. Presents had been lavishly distributed. Chiefs had been bribed. Indian delegates had been glutted by food and addled by drink. Still the stubborn resistance to the proposal had persisted."

One old Cherokee is quoted as saying of Jefferson: "The Indians say they don't know how to understand their Father the President. A few years ago he sent them a plough and a hoe—said it was not good for his red children to hunt—they must cultivate the earth. Now he tells them there is good hunting in Arkansas; if they will go there he will give them rifles."

In 1809, one group of Cherokees yielded and migrated west.

The Deal with Georgia

Those that remained did not understand that Jefferson's Indian policy was determined exclusively for the benefit of expansion of southern slave-holding interests. Jefferson's proslavery policy was solemnly ratified in writing by his administration in its 1802 compact with the state of Georgia, which promised to liquidate all Indian titles to land within the state's boundaries. Already by this year, the land-devouring slavocracy was embarked on its westward expansion. "All I want in this Creation," sang the Georgia slaveholders, "Is a pretty little wife and a big plantation / Way up yonder in the Cherokee Nation."

The Georgia slavocrats had extracted Jefferson's promise to expel the Indians from state land by making a concession of their own. In 1802, Georgia ceded to the United States its territorial claims on lands west of the Mississippi, claims which the other twelve states all conceded long before as part of the process of ratifying the Constitution between 1780 and 1790.

The only reason the Georgia claims were ceded even then was that the state had sold the same lands five times over to competing land speculation companies. Georgia thus managed to escape out from under the tangle of violent claims and counterclaims by selling the whole mess—again—to Washington and leaving the federal government with the problem of straightening it out.

On the basis of this so-called Compact of 1802, Georgia mounted increasing pressure on the Cherokees to evacuate west and on Congress to speed their migration. By 1823, the state was asking President Monroe to remove them militarily. Monroe attempted to placate the Georgians and refused military action against the Indians.

In 1825, his successor John Quincy Adams began intervening militarily against the Georgians, sending in federal troops to prevent the surveying of illegally acquired Creek tribal lands. The Georgia governor prepared the state for military action against the federal soldiers. Although a clash was avoided, the federal government was bested and the surveys continued.

As the Cherokees continued their rapid economic, intellectual, and political development, the Georgians became more and more enraged. Here on their doorstep was the looming threat not of savage depredations, but of mature Federalist republicanism whose extinction to make way for the expansion of the slave system was difficult to justify.

In 1829 the state passed legislation that officially extended state law to the Cherokee territory—a flagrant violation of the Constitution's delegation of Indian relations to the federal government alone. The same legislation annulled all Cherokee laws, including the recently adopted constitution of the Cherokee Nation. It concluded by denying Cherokees

standing in Georgia courts of law.

Then gold was discovered in the Cherokee hills. Swarms of prospectors joined the swelling ranks of land-grabbers, whisky-traders, slavers, and speculators. When Andrew Jackson took office in 1829 he withdrew the federal troops Adams had dispatched, and in 1830, in the midst of social chaos and unchecked violence, the Cherokees appealed to the Supreme Court.

Chief Justice John Marshall, against his own opinion on the merits of the case, felt obliged to dismiss the case for lack of standing in the court by the "Cherokee Nation." He was able to reverse himself two years later, however, when the missionary Samuel Worcester, condemned by Georgia courts to four years hard labor for refusing to obtain a state pass into Cherokee country, brought a parallel case. Marshall ruled uncompromisingly against the Georgians, noting that:

"The treaties, subsisting between the United States and the Cherokees, acknowledge their right as a sovereign nation to govern themselves and all persons who have settled within their territory, free from any right of legislative interference by the several states composing the United States of America. That the act under which the prosecution was instituted [the Georgia legislation] is repugnant to the said treaties, and is, therefore, unconstitutional and void. That the said act is, also, unconstitutional; because it interferes with, and attempts to regulate and control, the intercourse with the Cherokee Nation, which belongs, exclusively, to Congress; and because, also, it is repugnant to the statute of the United States, entitled, "an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers."

In one of the earliest appeals to the secessionist conception of

“state sovereignty,” Georgia Governor Wilson Lumpkin confidently addressed his legislature: “The ingenuity of man might be challenged, to show a single sentence in the Constitution of the United States giving power, either direct or implied, to the general government, or any of its departments, to nullify the laws of a state, enacted for the government of its own population, or coerce obedience by force, to the mandates of the judiciary of the union.”

The governor could well be calm; his friend Jackson was in the White House. “The President,” he continued, “has manifested equal solicitude with ourselves, to effect an amicable and satisfactory adjustment of our territorial embarrassments. He has proposed to the Cherokee people, terms of the

most liberal character, with a view to induce them to emigrate to the West, and thereby to enable him to effect the great object of his solicitude, in permanently benefiting that unfortunate and deluded race. . . .”

Jackson, in turn, declared of the chief justice: “John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it.”

Jackson Orders Mass Relocation

The Supreme Court ruling was too late in any case. In 1830, ignoring mass opposition and violent public protest, Jackson rammed the removal bill through Congress, authorizing the mass relocation of all the eastern Indians to the western territory.

The fight was bitter. Jackson and the Georgians were opposed

not only by the northern abolitionists and by such friends of the Indians as Morse’s circles, but also by anti-Jackson Westerners including Congressman Davy Crockett. The Cherokees sent memorial after memorial to Congress and the public protesting:

“The country west of the Arkansas Territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has been assigned. . . . The far greater part of the region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors, in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours, and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants.”

Though the removal bill passed, its enforcement remained politically impossible until the late 1830s, when Jackson’s destruction of the National Bank had dealt a body blow to Federalist forces and triggered the Panic of 1837. General public dismay at the economic chaos undermined both the popular commitment to progress and its moral extension to the Cherokee cause. The Cherokees’ bayonet-point “Trail of Tears” to the West in 1838 killed a quarter of those forced to make the journey.

By 1839, in the administration of Jackson’s successor Martin Van Buren, virtually all Indians who had inhabited the eastern United States had been deported west of the Mississippi River. The stage was set for the Indian wars and massacres of the second half of the nineteenth century.

“We want to stop the march of industrial society. We are definitely into self-sufficiency.”

—Russell Means, American Indian Movement, 1981



American Indian Movement leader Russell Means (center) champions the Jeffersonian call for Indian backwardness.



A European-American Triumph

On October 19, 1981, French and West German leaders will be the honored guests of President Ronald Reagan in Yorktown, Virginia at a celebration commemorating the 200th anniversary of the battle which ended the Revolutionary War. No more appropriate assembly could be conceived for this occasion, for it was commanders of the French and German armies who led more than 4,000 European officers, soldiers, and seamen on the battlefields of North America in the fight to free the United States from British colonial rule.

The conspiracy of European republicans that financed and deployed the fighting forces that helped to win the American Revolution was led by Benjamin Franklin. Through years of diplomatic work in Europe, Franklin brought into being the League of Armed Neutrality, which involved republican leaders of France, Spain, Prussia, and Poland in a program to establish the United States as a temple of liberty in the New World.

This coalition deployed forces against the British in three theaters of warfare: North America, the Mediterranean, and India. The victory against Britain in America, signaled with the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington at Yorktown, was its shining success.

Invasion of Britain

The final stage of the trans-Atlantic struggle that resulted in the victory at Yorktown began in ear-



October 19, 1781: British commander O'Hara, substituting for the indisposed Cornwallis, presents George Washington and the allied commanders with the articles of surrender at Yorktown.

ly 1779, when French Foreign Minister Vergennes and Spanish Count Florida Blanco allied to aid the American colonies by launching a joint invasion of Great Britain. Vergennes and the French command had trained for this expedition since the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, when they decided to break free of the British cabinet warfare game of fighting over colonial possessions and European fiefdoms that were not vital to the French strategic interest.

General Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, a veteran of the Seven Years War, reorganized the French army for the invasion project. He mandated religious train-

ing, a good diet, and sturdy clothing to ensure high morale.

The powerful French and Spanish navies were a growing threat to the declining relic known as British seapower, which was being dissipated in the colonial war across the Atlantic. The industrial base of France, as Thomas Paine reported in his *Rights of Man*, had overtaken the collapsing British economy; the Brest shipyards were turning out three-decker man-of-war vessels in less than eighteen months—the same type of ship it took the British three years to build.

Unfortunately for humanity, the planned invasion of England was canceled in the fall of 1779



due to bad weather and a smallpox epidemic. But the Marquis de Lafayette, pointing to the assembled troops and fleet, successfully lobbied with French King Louis XVI to send the expedition to America instead. Only twenty-two years old, Lafayette had just returned from a successful American campaign against the British at the side of General George Washington.

Lafayette briefed the expeditionary force leader Rochambeau on the military situation in America, and the logistical needs of the revolutionary army. On the basis of Lafayette's information, Rochambeau, a master tactician, submitted battle plans to Louis's court. Under the title *Rien San la Marine Preponderante*, the plans stressed the need for absolute naval superiority in the American theater.

Landing in Newport

The allied fleet under French command landed in Newport, Rhode Island on July 12, 1780 and established it as a base of operations. This port had been abandoned by the British after French Admiral d'Estaing had challenged British control of the American seas by laying siege to the British garrison at Savannah, Georgia in September 1779. The siege failed, but the British were convinced that they could not hold their newly acquired ports in the south, and both New York and Newport in the north.

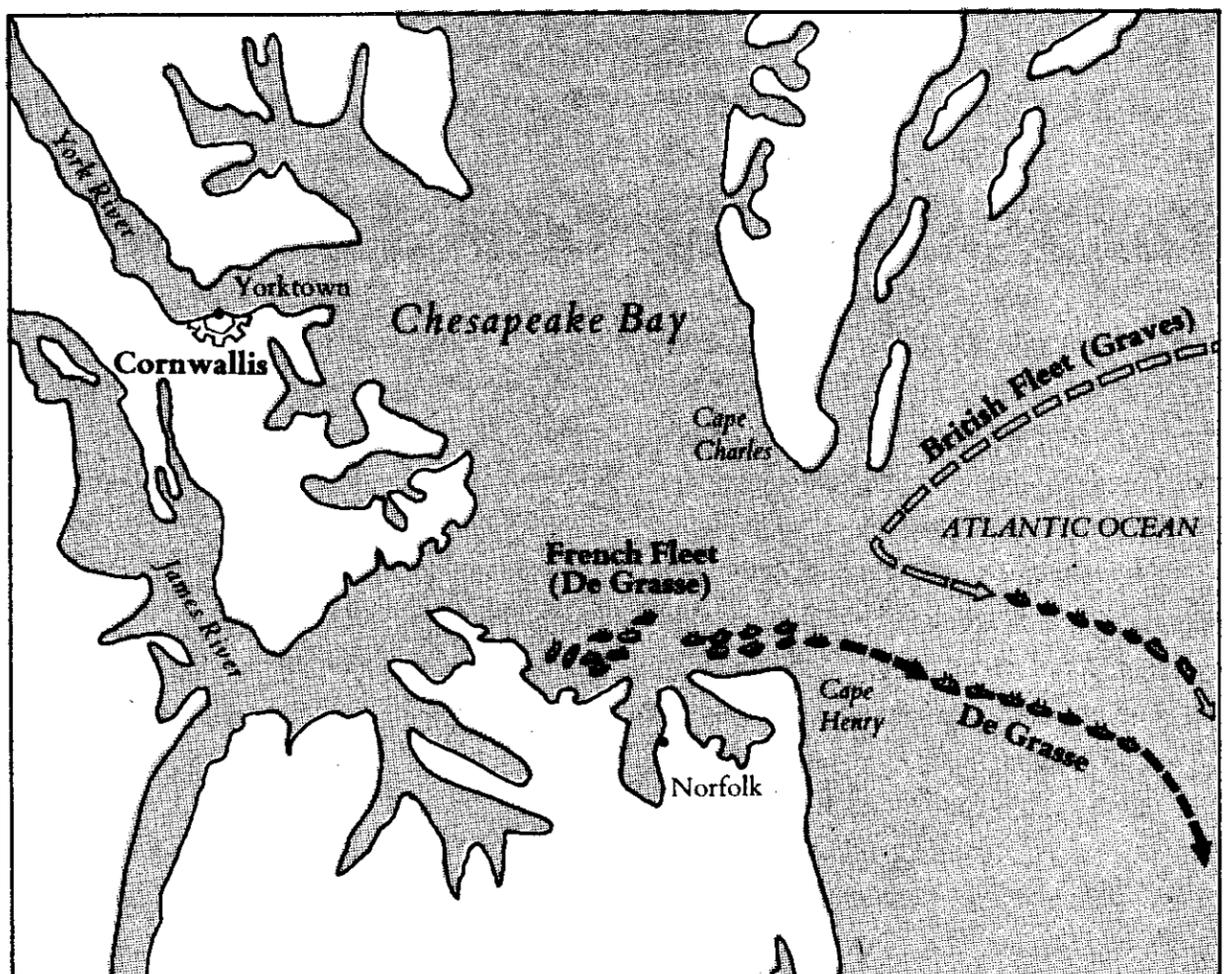
When Rochambeau landed in Newport, Lord Cornwallis was in charge of the new southern British army of 8,000 troops, and was rampaging through the Carolinas. British General Sir Henry Clinton was in command of 10,000 Hessians and Redcoats, which he had drawn into New York City after being thoroughly routed in Sara-

toga, Boston, and elsewhere along the northern tier of fighting.

Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, Baron von Closen, has preserved for us the entire expedition in a journal he kept daily throughout. Closen came from a German-speaking French regiment in Rochambeau's army known as the Deux Ponts, drawn from the Saar.

Von Closen's first impressions of George Washington were re-

Throughout my career under General Washington I had ample opportunity to note his gentle and affable temper his easy accessibility, his even temper, his great presence of mind, in sum it is evident that he is a great man and a brave one. He can never be praised sufficiently. In military matters he does not have the brilliance of the French in expression, but he is penetrating in his calculations and



The Battle of Cape Henry

On September 5, 1781, a French fleet under the command of Admiral de Grasse took control of the Chesapeake Bay from the British, pinning Cornwallis and his army in Yorktown.

corded during the winter 1780 summits of the two allied generals. Washington journeyed with his personal body guard of fifty dragoons from his Morristown, New Jersey headquarters to meet with Rochambeau in Newport. Von Closen's diary refutes accounts of Washington as a "stoical" leader:

"He bears with him the regrets, affection, respect and veneration of the entire army.

a soldier in his bearing. That is the opinion of the entire army. . . ."

Von Closen's journal also preserves for us a record of the international struggle against the British that was taking place during the Revolutionary War. He carefully noted news dispatches received during the campaign from as far away as Gibraltar and India, and recorded battles against the British colonial forces. Von Clo-

sen summed up the strategic key to Britain's defeat in America with this observation:

"What does it profit Cornwallis to win victories and advance if he cannot maintain himself in the country through which he is marching? The Americans lose six hundred men in a day and eight days later twelve hundred rejoin the army; whereas to replace ten men in the British army is quite an undertaking."

Cornwallis's Army Retreats into Virginia

The Carolina militia and U.S. Continentals under General Morgan dealt severe casualties to Cornwallis at King's Mountain, Cowpens, and Guildford during 1781. Cornwallis split his forces to chase the elusive Americans and eventually had moved entirely into Virginia. With the enemy so close at hand, General Washington sent Lafayette to command the Virginia militia.

At a summit meeting in May 1781, Washington and Rochambeau decided that although they would prefer a frontal attack on New York, the key center of British power in the north, such a strategy would require at least 24,000 troops—more than they had—and a naval blockade. Pending arrival of more French troops, the commanders decided to feint toward New York, and then head south to trap Cornwallis in Virginia. The French army departed from Newport to rendezvous with the American army in Westchester, New York.

Meanwhile, Lafayette's troops skirmished with the British near Richmond, Virginia to keep them off guard. Clinton was kept squirming in New York, unsure of the destination of the allied army. On August 1, he ordered

Cornwallis, who was literally living on his horse, to camp the British army in Yorktown, Virginia.

As the British occupied Yorktown, Lafayette wrote to Washington, "Should the French fleet now come to [the Virginia port of] Hampton Roads, the British army, would, I think, be ours." This, in fact, was what was to happen.

On May 23, Washington had sent an urgent message by special frigate to French Admiral de Grasse in the West Indies. The message arrived in mid-August, and within days de Grasse and his fleet sailed for the Chesapeake Bay off Virginia. By early September de Grasse had arrived, bringing with him twenty-four warships, and 3,300 troops led by the Marquis de Saint Simon.

The French army under Rochambeau spent the summer of 1781 marching down the East Coast. The French troops were resplendent, marching through the countryside with regimental names like Bourbonnais, Royal Deux Ponts, Soissonais, Sain-tonge, the international Lauzun League (composed of Poles, Hungarian Hussars, Irishmen, and Germans). Rochambeau's personal regiment, the Soissonais, wore white uniforms with rose-colored facings, sky blue collars, and yellow buttons—a virtual rainbow. "When lilies flourish, roses fade" soon became a favorite toast of the American and French officers at their frequent summits—a reference to the British Redcoats and the white uniforms of the allies.

Citizens thronged the line of march to greet the French soldiers. After making an elaborate feint toward New York from central New Jersey, the army sped south to Philadelphia. It entered the city



French commanders of the Revolutionary War (from the top): Admiral d'Estaing, General Rochambeau, and Admiral de Grasse.



on September 2, and the entire Congress turned out to doff their caps in unison to the passing regiments.

Baron von Closen's first look at the American troops on July 5 indicates that morale was high: "I admire the American troops tremendously! It is incredible that soldiers composed of every age, even of children of fifteen, of whites and blacks, almost naked, unpaid, and rather poorly fed, can march so well and withstand fire so steadfastly."

Meanwhile, the allied navies moved into place to cut off Cornwallis's escape route to the sea. In the mid-Atlantic a combined French and Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Cordoba intercepted and captured a British relief mission of 3,500 soldiers and warships headed for America. At the same time, de Grasse's fleet was arriving off Chesapeake Bay.

The arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake Bay off Yorktown thrilled Washington. His army, refurbished with French funds, was on the move, led by the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania regiments under General Lincoln. His earlier worries about Cornwallis escaping the allies' trap disappeared. Von Closen described the scene of Washington informing Rochambeau of the news:

"We discerned in the distance General Washington, standing on the shore and waving his hat and a white handkerchief joyfully . . . M. de Rochambeau and Washington embraced warmly on the shore. . . . The entire army shared our generals' joy that their calculations had worked out so well."

Battle off Cape Henry

By this time the British commander Clinton had unraveled Wash-

ington's strategy and dispatched Admiral Graves with nineteen ships of the line to rescue the hapless Cornwallis. They arrived shortly before de Grasse and cruised off Cape Henry in Chesapeake Bay to meet him. A battle ensued on September 5 (map).

Under the superb direction of the veteran de Grasse, whose flagship *Ville de Paris* was financed by the citizens of Paris, the French fleet riddled the English ships with cannon fire, damaging the *Princessa* and sinking the *Terrible*. Graves, leader of the vaunted British navy, managed to send the wrong signals to part of his squadron, and half of his ships sailed so far away that they never got into the battle.

Several days later, as the two fleets cruised around each other, another French fleet of eight ships arrived from Newport carrying siege equipment from France. Graves took one look at the combined fleet and left Cornwallis to fend for himself.

After this naval encounter, the Battle of Yorktown was a simple exercise for the veteran siege commander Rochambeau, who had conducted fifteen sieges in his career. The combined armies deployed in a complete circle around Cornwallis and dug parallel trench lines according to the Prussian commander von Steuben's book. Nearly 18,000 soldiers of the allied army slowly tightened the noose around Cornwallis's neck as the modern French artillery wreaked havoc on the British defenses. Cornwallis spent the last days in a cave for protection.

Later, von Closen described the devastation thus: "I will never forget how frightful and disturbing was the appearance of the city of York . . . one could not take three steps without running into some great holes made by bombs

. . . scattered arms and legs . . . houses riddled with cannon fire and no window panes. . . .

"Daily communication between the armies was excellent as Washington and Rochambeau met daily with the greatest unity, much agreement on the manner of proceeding, and complete accord on the means of execution . . . the profound knowledge of de Rochambeau, who was engaged in his 15th siege, guided in large measure the successive works of the besieging army."

When the parallel lines were dug, Alexander Hamilton and Lafayette argued with Washington for the honor of storming the remaining British bunkers.

Surrender!

By October 17, Cornwallis had had enough. His drummer mounted a parapet and sounded a truce, and terms of surrender were worked out over the next two days.

On October 19, 1781, the British were forced to march out of Yorktown, their flags encased, as the French and American armies lined each side of the road. Their band played the British tune "The World Turned Upside Down."

British Commander O'Hara, substituting for the indisposed Cornwallis, attempted to snub Washington "the insurgent" by presenting the sword of surrender to General Rochambeau. But Rochambeau firmly directed him over to Washington, who in turn allowed his top general, Lincoln, to accept the sword in remembrance of his valiant effort against the British at Charleston.

Celebrations exploded across the world, crowned by Mozart's *Coronation Mass*, composed in honor of the American victory. The entire population of Philadelphia

turned out to honor French Ambassador Luzerne with a demonstration in front of his home. Rochameau gave the honor of informing the king to M. le Duc de Lauzun, who sailed for Paris on October 21. A month later mass was celebrated at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and all of the city's houses were ordered illuminated in honor of the victory.

The gratitude of the Americans to the French king who had committed his nation's resources to the establishment of a democratic republic across the Atlantic was profound. When a son and heir to the French throne was born to Louis XVI one year after the victory at Yorktown, a splendid ball was held in Philadelphia, still the nation's capital, honoring the new prince.

Society of Cincinnatus

The crowning of these historic events took place a year later in May 1783. General Washington and the other leaders of the allied forces met on May 13 at the Newburgh, New York headquarters of Baron von Steuben to form the Society of Cincinnatus, charged with safeguarding the military and political gains of the war. The society was named after the Roman farmer of antiquity who took up arms to defend his city, and then returned to farming.

Washington offered membership to all allied officers, and the more than 2,000 who enrolled elected him as the society's first president-general.

Three months later, on September 3, 1783, representatives of America and Great Britain signed the Treaty of Paris, officially ending the war and recognizing the United States as a sovereign nation.

—Glenn Mesaros

Celebrate Yorktown's Bicentennial!



May 10–Dec. 31 Yorktown Victory Center, Yorktown, Va. Visit an exhibit of portraits, military uniforms, and documents on loan from U.S., British and French museums. George Washington's personal diary of the Yorktown siege is featured.

June 27–July 4 Freedom Week celebrations, Philadelphia, Pa.

July 4, Independence Day Celebrations, Yorktown, Va. These include modern military displays on both land and the York River.

Aug. 22, Commemoration of Cornwallis's Departure from Portsmouth, Portsmouth, Va. On this date in 1781, British commander Cornwallis and his officers boarded a boat and departed Portsmouth for Yorktown. Authentically costumed troops will recreate this historic event.

Sept. 5, Battle Off the Virginia Cape, Yorktown, Va. An international naval review is planned for the commemoration of French Admiral de Grasse's successful blockade of the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

Sept. 19, Richmond County Bicentennial Celebration, Warsaw, Va. At 10 a.m., Virginia Governor John N. Dalton will deliver an address on the lawn at Mt. Airy, beginning a day of events marked by a parade and an international ball.

Oct. 9–Oct. 16, Washington-Rochambeau March from Rhode Island to Yorktown. 1,100 authentically costumed troops will march down the East Coast from Providence, R.I. to Yorktown, recreating the march of the French-American army in 1781. For information on when this colorful historical spectacle will be in your area call the Yorktown Victory Center at 804-887-1776.

Oct. 16, Festival Day, Yorktown, Va. Colonial units fighting in the Revolutionary War will be represented by more than 400 costumed soldiers encamped in Yorktown; battlefield ceremonies will honor the French.

Oct. 17, Military Day, Yorktown, Va. The Armed Forces of the United States will demonstrate military technology, then and now.

Oct. 18, International Day, Yorktown, Va. Exhibits, cultural festivities, and military encampment demonstrations.

Oct. 19, Victory Day, Yorktown, Va. President Ronald Reagan will head a contingent of American, French, British and German leaders who will speak at a ceremony recreating the British surrender.

BIRTHDAY FÊTE

Dorati Premiers His Works In Detroit

To even the seasoned concertgoer, compositions of the twentieth century leave a distinctively bad taste. Perhaps that is the explanation for the sparse turnout for the premier of Antal Dorati's compositions presented in Detroit April 5.

As the conductor of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, Dorati routinely plays to standing-room-only crowds in his deservedly well-received presentations of Beethoven and other composers of the classical era. Certainly the public cannot be faulted for its disdain of the garbage presented as modern music. The only thing that differentiates much of the "serious" music of our time from the overtly bestial punk rock is that the performer of the classical modern composition wears a tuxedo while he insults the audience.

A Refreshing Change

Maestro Dorati's compositions represent a refreshing change from that drift of contemporary music. None of these pieces are "easy listening." But Dorati has created something that doesn't sound like all wrong notes when it is performed, unlike his contemporaries, whose often-expressed purpose is to exercise their freedom to break all the laws of composition and tonality choosing each note anarchistically and arbitrarily.

The Sonata for Two Flutes and the Five Pieces for Oboe Solo were laden with musical jokes and

irony. Perhaps the most ironic piece of the evening was the Fugue for Solo Oboe. This counterpoint for three voices presented on an instrument capable of playing only one note at a time presents a challenging conception of "horizontal harmony."

The overtly mystical song cycle *In the Beginning* was the most disappointing due to its obscurity. But Dorati's only string quartet (1980), especially the second movement, renews one's faith that perhaps the creativity that seemed to have been lost to the irrationalists over the last one hundred and fifty years can be rekindled.

This concert was part of the celebration presented to Dorati in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday. In return, Dorati presented Detroit with the full stage production of Beethoven's towering opera *Fidelio*.

Dorati to Step Down

Unfortunately the commitment to uplift the spirit of Detroit, brought to a new level by Maestro Dorati in his three years as conductor of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, will be soon blunted. Dorati will step down as conductor at the end of this concert season.

Even more important than the symphony's loss of the world-renowned conductor are the issues over which Dorati found it necessary to resign. Dorati has repeatedly emphasized the importance of developing an audience capable of assimilating the creative principles that are the content of all great music. To this end, Dorati upgraded the repertoire of the symphony to emphasize the classics of the Mozart and Beethoven tradition. He instituted a series of annual, mid-season festivals in Detroit, beginning in 1977 with an all-Beethoven festival, followed

by Schubert, Brahms, and Bartok festivals in succeeding seasons. (Dorati's esteem for Bartok, his teacher and a fellow Hungarian national, is an exception to the maestro's preference for music of the classical period.)

The Beethoven festival was the first of its kind to be televised by national public television over one hundred and sixty affiliate stations. The series was subsequently nominated for the Emmy Award.

During his three years as the conductor of the Detroit Symphony, maestro Dorati premiered the orchestra on its first tour of Europe. Detroit's musicians played to full houses and won rave reviews across the continent.

But when the budget for the new season was revealed, it contained substantial cuts in the programs Dorati had developed for the musical education of both his musicians and their audiences. The radio-television broadcast series and a youth symphony orchestra established by the maestro were both cut.

Dorati threatened to resign if these programs were not restored. When the corporate sponsors of the symphony did not respond, he made good on his threat. Detroit is not yet aware of what the city has lost. The *Detroit Free Press* went so far as to editorialize that Dorati's staging of *Fidelio* for his birthday celebration was a waste of money.

Although some might rationalize the city's cuts in the orchestral budget by pointing at Detroit's depressed economy, the present situation leaves unanswered one unhappy question: Without a commitment to creating the Beethovens and Mozarts of tomorrow, how can we hope to rebuild America's cities as centers of art, science, and industry?

—David Thill



New Jersey Symphony Music Director Thomas Michalak.

Who Sank the N.J. Symphony?

"New Jersey doesn't need a symphony orchestra, opera, or ballet. If people in New Jersey want culture, they can go to New York." Reliable sources attribute this comment to Robert Beck, chairman of New Jersey's Prudential Insurance Company, and chairman of the board of trustees of the New Jersey Symphony orchestra.

Beck reportedly made the statement at a private meeting with New Jersey's Governor Brendan Byrne and other trustees of the New Jersey Symphony, which includes members from the Allied Chemical Co., and Hoffman-LaRoche pharmaceuticals company on its board. The private meeting took place last March 19, ten days after the board's announcement that the orchestra's spring 1981 season would be canceled.

Shut Down Since October

Both the meeting and the cancellation followed a sequence of

events that has had the orchestra shut down since last October, when its 1980-81 season was scheduled to begin. At that time, both the orchestra's members and its management agreed that the musicians were underpaid and the symphony itself underfunded.

Thus a "friendly" strike by the orchestra committee, which began in October, resulted in a new contract, agreed to by both orchestra members and management, extending the orchestra's twenty-eight week season to thirty-six weeks. The contract would have raised musicians' salaries from \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year because of the extended season.

It was verbally ratified by both sides at the end of December, but subsequently management refused to sign, and the orchestra members were "locked out" from December to March, awaiting management's next move.

Management claims the lock-out was the result of lack of funds

to open the new season due to covering the orchestra's \$350,000 deficit to reopen its lines of credit. But by March management reported the funds had been raised, and its decision to cancel the season anyway came as a shock.

Who Supports the New Jersey Symphony?

The New Jersey Symphony is the state's only major orchestra. It is a traveling orchestra, having no "home" concert hall, and instead moving around the state to perform at schools, for local community groups, invalid and senior citizens centers, and for conventional concert-going audiences as well. Its budget is \$2 million a year, well below the \$4 to \$8 million national average for a major symphony orchestra.

The New Jersey Symphony has never received sizable federal (National Endowment for the Arts) or private donations, and relies instead on its 12,000 subscribers and on small- and middle-income supporters, who, notwithstanding Prudential head Beck's opinions, do not go to Philadelphia or New York for concerts.

The symphony is also dependent on the New Jersey State Arts Council and state government administration for a fourth of its budget, with the remainder of nonticket income derived from private and public fundraising efforts delegated as the responsibility of the symphony's corporate board of trustees.

Deliberate Mismanagement?

According to orchestra committee chairman Casimer Kossakowski, the orchestra's present board and its executive management director, John Hyer, have only succeeded in worsening the orchestra's deficit over the past year. John Hyer's first year as executive di-

rector saw the orchestra's deficit grow by 30 percent, attributed to "mismanagement."

At the same time, management and trustees have refused to implement fundraising plans proposed by orchestra members, including plans to hold press conferences, public events, and benefit concerts. Reportedly, management declined to publicize the orchestra's financial dilemma and organize public fundraising events for fear of appearing to pressure or offend Byrne.

John Hyer, as former manager of the Long Beach Symphony in California, caused that orchestra to lose much of its funding from the National Endowment for the Arts, which cited "mismanagement" as the reason for the cutoff. His recommendation for executive directorship of the New Jersey Symphony is rumored to have come through the symphony's conductor Thomas Michalak, who has now accepted a new position as music adviser of the Kansas City Philharmonic.

Gambling Casino Culture

The New Jersey Symphony is not the state's only cultural institution now facing extinction. The state's only ballet company has also canceled its current season, and two local community orchestras have closed, leaving the state with almost no resources for music performance and music education.

Many in the state feel that Governor Byrne and his colleagues at Prudential, Allied Chemical, and Hoffman-LaRoche don't want the New Jersey Symphony and the state ballet to reopen. Some speculate that the state administration is encouraging its population to turn to gambling casinos and sports arenas for entertainment instead.

—Fay Sober

Plato Debate

continued from page 4

The I.F. Stone Case

When the professors of the Princeton Classics Department invited Stone to deliver the prestigious William Kelly Prentice Lecture last year, they as good as proved Zoakos's argument that they are no better than the sophists of Plato's day. Stone used the podium at Princeton to present the shocking thesis that the Athenian mob was justified in bringing about Socrates's legal murder. Stone received a standing ovation, and a year later members of the department were still praising Stone's diatribe as "a contribution to the study of the classics." As Stone told an interviewer, "Plato was a great artist, but reading him revulsed me. . . . It's a relief to read Aristotle's *Metaphysics*."

Moreover, as Zoakos pointed out, the Nicholas Katzenbach who has pledged to keep the Labor Committees off the Princeton campus stands firmly in the camp of those U.S. leaders whose policy for the nation is zero growth and deindustrialization, a policy which means genocide in the Third World. Among the Princeton trustees, Katzenbach shares his

EDITORIAL (cont'd)

Spaceweek

continued from page 3

Johannes Kepler, the father of modern astronomy? The visitor should be given the image of the problem Kepler assigns himself—to understand the orbits of the planets and their distancing from the Sun in terms of the principle of their generation. He should fol-

views with directors of the Morgan Bank and Prudential Insurance Company.

To create a "postindustrial society" in the U.S., Katzenbach and his associates aim to expunge the impulse toward scientific and cultural progress from the minds of America's youth. They seek a next generation schooled in British empiricism and liberalism, committed to no greater goal than immediate personal gratification.

Follow-up Classes

Follow-up classes elaborated the viewpoint presented by Zoakos, using Plato's *Timaeus* to demonstrate the actual developmental laws of the physical universe, and Plato's *Republic* to show how such ideas could be incorporated into a republic through the notion of the philosopher-king uplifting citizens to his level of moral consciousness.

This was the founding principle of the American republic, and the nation's founding fathers were immersed in the Platonic cultural tradition. A final class detailed the contributions of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, whose theories of political economy and scientific epistemology represented a crucial continuation of the Platonic Academy in the modern age.

low the steps by which Kepler elaborated his understanding of this physical geometry, and the amazing relevance of his method to the problems we face today.

If Spaceweek were given the direction we propose, then we fully expect that this commemoration would become an annually recurring feature of national life, commemorating greater achievements each year.

Star Wars in Heavy Armor

Excalibur

(Orion/Warner Bros.)
 directed by John Boorman,
 with Nicol Williamson, Nigel Terry,
 and Helen Mirren
 Rated R

Lion of the Desert

(Falcon International)
 directed by Moustapha Akkad,
 with Anthony Quinn and
 Oliver Reed
 Rated PG



In Star Wars it was *The Force*. In John Boorman's medieval extravaganza it's the enchanted sword *Excalibur*.

I knew things were amiss when deadline day arrived and the poor fellow I sent out to review *Excalibur* appeared at the offices dressed with a fondue pot on his head and what appeared to be two chafing dishes of vaguely Scandinavian design strapped to his chest.

"Hail," he roared, "I am Grauth of Grauthgaard and this," he said, shaking a flyswatter in his right hand, "is my enchanted battle-axe, Shirley."

After he was subdued, I determined from family and friends that on the morning of his unfortunate metamorphosis our critic had indeed seen director John Boorman's new film *Excalibur*. In the late afternoon, the fellow turned on the TV, switched to NBC, and found himself watching *Fugitive from the Empire*, the first of five "sword and sorcery" movies-made-for-TV to be broadcast by the network this year.

It was left to me to see the two films myself. The following is my report.

Nominally based on Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, the famous fifteenth-century agglutination of the Arthurian legends, *Excalibur* is really a heavily armored version of *Star Wars*, but lacking all the sense of humor that made *Star Wars* an interesting if inferior film. Arthur and Lancelot (Nigel Terry and Nicholas Clay) play the *Star Wars* male leads; Queen Guinevere (Cherie Lunghi) plays the fickle Princess Leila; "the Force" is played by the enchanted sword Excalibur; and the gremlin Yoda, guardian of "the Force," is here played by Merlin the magician.

You have to admit that at least Nicol Williamson, playing Merlin, realized that the picture was a bomb and decided just to ham it up. As a matter of fact, in a one-on-one scene-stealing contest, I'd

pick Williamson over Yoda anytime, even if Yoda is green, three feet tall, and can wiggle his ears independently of each other. Of course, Williamson was trained at the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Like Nazi Art

Director Boorman, like many uncreative film-makers, has been content to piece together a film which is really just a series of visually gorgeous photographic stills. In many cases these stills were directly lifted from paintings by the late-nineteenth century school of British artists who called themselves the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood."

The Brotherhood was a very kooky bunch who felt that the masterpieces of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and other Renaissance artists were too modern in their appreciation of man's scientific mastery over nature. The Brotherhood artists, like today's hippies,

wanted all art to be "magical" and painted overly romanticized, pre-Renaissance scenes—often with explicit homosexual themes—from the Arthur legends. The Nazis loved their stuff and official art under Hitler looks just like the Brotherhood's.

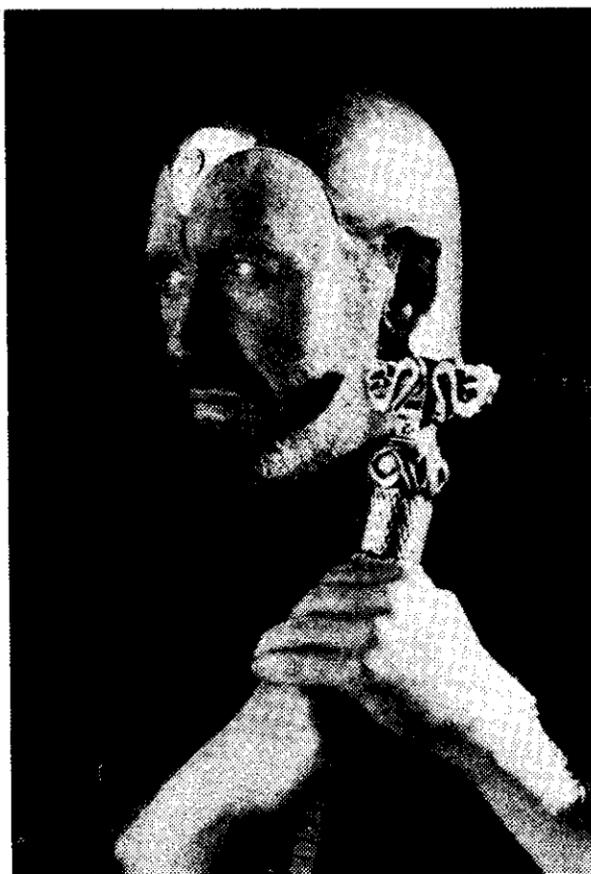
This plodding visual style is carried over onto the soundtrack. Every time Boorman switches to a scene which includes Lancelot and Guinevere, the soundtrack abruptly cuts into exactly three bars from the opening of the *Liebestod* (Love-Death) theme from Wagner's opera *Tristan and Isolde* (another Nazi favorite). After about the sixth time, this gets pretty hilarious.

The rest of the film is otherwise a showcase for Helen Mirren—last seen in *Penthouse* magazine's production of the X-rated *Caligula*—to run around in a revealing, stainless steel camisole in various scenes of sex and bloody violence. In fact, Boorman has placed a scene right in the beginning of the film in which a young woman is brutally and graphically raped by a man in full armor (the girl played by Boorman's own daughter no less!).

Enchanting?

The television movie *Fugitive from the Empire* is far worse film-making than *Excalibur*. Veteran character actor Arthur Kennedy is dressed up in a bearskin kilt, Viking helmet, and long, blonde pigtail wig. The plot resembles a William Burroughs adaptation of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*: a mish-mash of enchanted bows, wizards good and bad, and "Snake People" who look like out-takes from the old Buster Crabbe *Flash Gordon* serials.

According to reports, *Excalibur* and *Fugitive* are just the beginning. NBC is planning five more of



Excalibur's Merlin Nicol Williamson.

these "sword and sorcery" films. The list of films about to be released by Hollywood includes:

- *Knights*
- *Dragons of Krull* (Columbia)
- *Dragons and Dungeons* (20th Century)
- *Dragonslayer* (Paramount/Disney)
- *Tristan and Isolde* (from Europe)
- *Conan the Barbarian* (starring muscle-popper Arnold Schwarzenberger)
- *Hawk the Slayer* (Avco Embassy)
- *Merlin* (Orion)
- *Terinor the Wanderer*
- *Thongor in the Valley of the Demons*

Ten feature films at two hours each, plus five television specials at ninety minutes: that's almost twenty-eight hours. You could in this time read *Don Quixote* by Miguel Cervantes, that marvelous story of the impact of soupy medievalism on the consistency of one's brains. *Quixote* is a perfect antidote against foolish people like Boorman, who go into romantic fantasies or think that magic has some place in the real world.

Lybian Agitprop

Lion of the Desert by director Moustapha Akkad proves two things: Arab propaganda is as stupid as Zionist propaganda; and, major film stars can easily be persuaded to make complete asses of themselves for large amounts of money.

Lion was made largely for the Arab world. Its story is of a Bedouin leader (Anthony Quinn) who fights a twenty-year guerrilla war against Mussolini (Rod Steiger) and one of his fascist generals (Oliver Reed). The film was made in Libya, was financed by Colonel Qaddafi, and appears to include the entire Libyan Army and a better part of the Libyan population as extras.

The film is nearly three hours long. In the first half it is demonstrated that fascists are bad people who like to murder the inhabitants of defenseless villages. In the second half, the long-suffering Arabs fight back. They do not fight back by winning, but by dying. The film's thesis is that Arabs are spiritually superior because they are capable of committing suicide; the film makes a big deal of showing the guerrillas tying their legs together so they cannot move in the face of an Italian tank assault which will surely wipe them out if they do not retreat.

The film's American release came about the same time as the showing of the inexcusable television miniseries, *Masada*, whose thesis was that Jews are spiritually superior because they are capable of committing suicide. Both these propaganda exercises are contributing to the psychosis and war tension in the Mideast.

I'm sure *Lion of the Desert* will do well at theaters in Teheran.

—Michael J. Minnicino

Raphael Masterpiece Tours

continued from page 5

choices of Dr. Fabrizio Mancinelli, curator for Byzantine, Medieval and Modern Art at the Vatican Museums, where the exhibition was first mounted. Having also supervised the recent restoration of the painting, he was able to point out the inestimable value these paintings have for scholars and students: "With a painting as large as *Transfiguration*, the viewing distance does not allow full appreciation of the precision and technical execution of detail. Now it is possible for the observer to inspect the painting at the same proximity the restorers enjoyed."

Dr. Carlo Pietrangeli, director general of the Vatican Museums, said: "It is clear in these images that the photographic eye is much more precise and sharper than the human eye and is able to detect every hidden secret of the original work, revealing it and presenting it to the art critic—and to the public."

Dr. Pietrangeli has compared the impressive equipment required to make the photographs to "science fiction applied to the field of art." In order to make the 95 percent-scale photograph of the entire work, the technical staff from Polaroid's research laboratories, headed by John McCann and Victoria Lyon Ruzdic, built a three-story camera inside the gallery where *Transfiguration* hangs.

Space Age Technology

In a sense, the design of the camera has come full circle with the construction of the camera that produced the life-sized Polaroid reproduction of *Transfiguration*. Fundamentally, today's cameras are no different from the crude *camera*

obscura (Latin for dark room) used by scientists in the Renaissance and before: a small hole in one wall projects on the opposite inside wall an upside down image of the world outside, just as the eye forms an image on the retina.

The three-story camera used to photograph Raphael's painting resembles the *camera obscura* of old far more than today's pocket-size electronic marvels. However, it is the quality of technology represented in the miniature cameras which allowed Polaroid to accomplish its remarkable success in making the otherwise inaccessible masterwork available to Americans in a clarity of detail and color not possible from an enlarged negative.

The combination of such large scale and fine tolerances in a single instrument reminds one of the achievement of the space program. The 23 by 20 by 20 foot camera is constructed of black-painted scaffolding, set up in the room where the painting hangs. It is wrapped with heavy black Mylar plastic, making a light-tight enclosure in which the several operators work.

The lens, specially made for the project, measures eight inches in diameter and weighs over fifty pounds. Two twenty-three foot high towers each hold six double tiers of powerful studio electronic flashes, carefully arranged to prevent any reflections or glare from the painting's shiny surface.

Inside the camera, the image is projected onto a 4 by 10 foot sheet of Polaroid color film held flat in a special holder. The holder, like the lens, is suspended from the scaffolding by cords much like sailboat rigging with pulleys. The

film plane must be exactly parallel with the painting, the lens axis must be at precisely 90 degrees to avoid distortion. The lens and film holder are not attached to each other, and each must be positioned at four levels, each taking in one quarter of the nearly thirteen and one half foot tall painting.

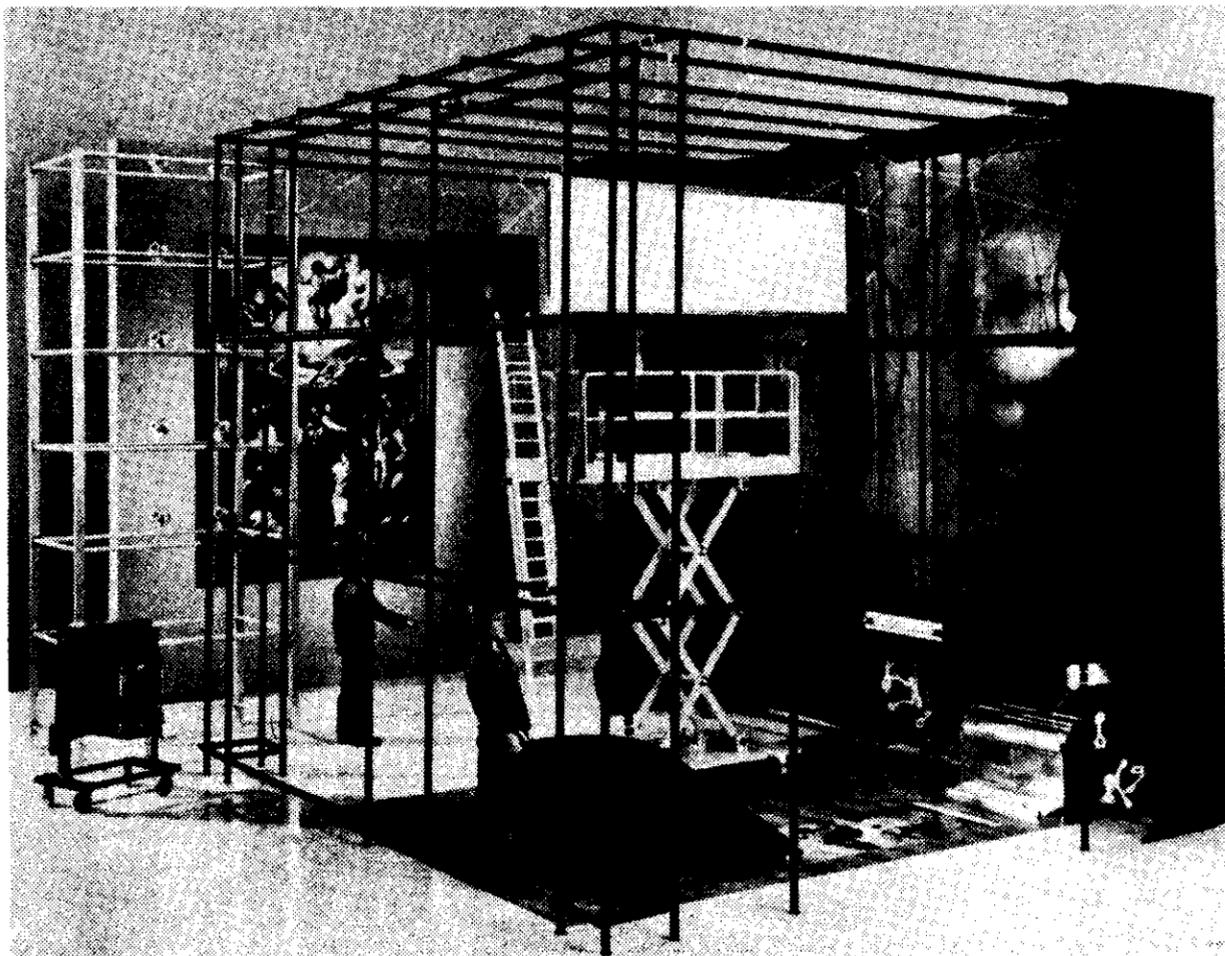
Once all is set up, a sheet of film is drawn from a spool onto the holder. The lens aperture is opened, the flashes triggered, the lens closed, and the film respooled. The spool is then carried down to the floor where the negative is fed through two processing rollers—precisely machined to a tolerance of .0025 mm—in contact with a positive print sheet, as a viscous developer is evenly spread between them. A minute later, the sandwich is peeled apart and the print is ready for inspection. A week of trials preceded the final series of four sections which were then butted together.

By comparison, the camera used for the detail shots is small. Also made by Polaroid, the camera is raised and lowered on a hydraulic platform, and resembles turn-of-the-century portrait cameras. This one is only about six feet tall and produces prints of 20 by 24 inches.

Solving the Mysteries

Dr. Mancinelli considers "A Masterpiece Close-up" a didactic exhibition, and believes the detailed photographs even help solve some of the legends and mysteries surrounding the painting.

Raphael was at work on *Transfiguration* at the time of his death at the age of thirty-seven. The painter, who died on Good Friday, 1520, was already considered to be nearly a saint, and the extraordinary composition of *Transfiguration* confirmed, in his contemporaries' minds, that Raphael's inspi-



A fifteen percent scale model of the camera constructed by the Polaroid Corporation in the Vatican Picture Gallery to photograph *Transfiguration*.

ration was divine. Vasari wrote that the painter, later concentrating all his artistic forces on the face of Christ, never touched the brush again; of all Raphael's paintings, the chronicler added, *Transfiguration* was "the most celebrated, most beautiful and divine." Later critics and writers echoed Vasari's sentiments; one of them concluded that *Transfiguration* was not only Raphael's masterpiece, but the triumph of painting.

Yet by the mid-eighteenth century, the painting's reputation had declined considerably. Later critics, especially the British, found the composition confusing and unnatural; many began to doubt Vasari's assertion that the work was entirely by Raphael's hand and found evidence that substantial parts of the painting were completed by his assistants. Nineteenth-century restorers apparently found the painting's color-harmonies too unconventional and changed them with yellow-tinted varnishes.

When the painting was cleaned and restored in 1972-1976 scholars were astonished by the change in the work. Raphael's masterful color harmonies were once again revealed and the details of brushwork became more visible than they had been in centuries.

Conveying Dante's Concept

According to art historian Stephen Pepper, *Transfiguration* is the fulfillment of the century-long drive of Renaissance artists to express "storie," the concept formulated by Leon Battista Alberti in 1436 that art could successfully convey intangible ideas. In the painting, according to Pepper, "Raphael successfully conveys Dante's concept of the three universes corresponding to the three levels of human existence."

The arrangement Raphael used to express the hierarchy of the three levels, according to Pepper, "is the reason blind men deny its authorship."

"In the foreground reigns an-

archy where the leaderless apostles react in shameful chaos to the epileptic fit of the possessed youth. In the second level, the 'informed' apostles, namely Peter, John, and James, are blinded by the transfiguration. There, mere martyr understanding is overwhelmed by truth. Finally, above Mt. Tabor, appears Christ accompanied by Moses and Elias, Old Testament prophets who foretold the appearance of the Godhead. *Transfiguration* is the culmination of Christ's ministry when he is transformed into perfection itself.

"These three levels of existence are not linked by a simple linear perspective but by quantitative relations. Christ is too small for the space, the figures in the foreground too large, and the figures in the middle ground occupy an indeterminate relation to the rest.

"Because of these 'mistakes,' modern critics have denied that Raphael painted the entire work. The absurdity of this contention has been fully exposed by the recent cleaning of the work. But the reason for this assertion is that modern critics, being empiricists, view works of Neoplatonic themes with the attitude 'what you see is what you get' and ignore the invisible dimension of ideas that determines the work's appearance."

Exhibition Dates

- Aug. 31 through Sept. 30, 1981, Low Library, Columbia University, New York.
- Nov. 2 through Dec. 15, 1981, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.
- Jan. 14 through Feb. 28, 1982, the David & Alfred Smart Gallery, University of Chicago.
- March 17 through June 6, 1982, University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind

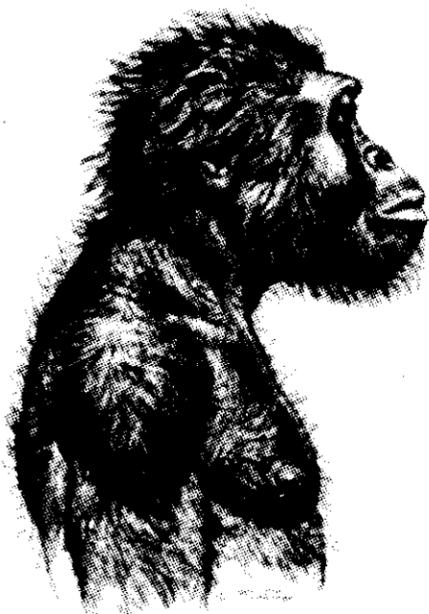
by Donald C. Johanson and Maitland A. Edey

Simon & Schuster

1981

409 pp.

\$16.95



When Did Man Emerge?

Like many popular anthropology books, *Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind* gains much of its authority from the fact that its author has made the latest spectacular fossil find, in this case a human predecessor between 3 and 4 million years old. *Lucy* is coauthored by Donald C. Johanson, the curator of physical anthropology and director of scientific research at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and Maitland Edey, a science popularizer who helped him put his story on record. Johanson led a series of expeditions in the Afay region of north-central Ethiopia which, between 1974 and 1976, produced some of the most dramatic fossil finds in history.

Johanson's American team, accompanied by French scientists under the direction of geologist Maurice Taieb, began the digs in 1973 with a small grant and shoestring private funding. When the remains of the creature they nicknamed Lucy were found, money flowed in from the National Science Foundation and *National Geographic* magazine to help continue the exploration.

Although the Lucy find is dramatic, Johanson's claim that it has shaken the foundation of our beliefs about man and his evolution is perhaps more than a bit overstated. Like all of his twentieth century predecessors, Johanson fails to put forward a coherent overview of human development—largely because he ignores the singular importance of the emergence of the creative intelligence which has allowed the human species to master nature and control the course of its own evolution socially.

A New Species

Lucy herself is a creature reliably dated to be between 3.5 and 4 million years old. Fully bipedal, she is with-

out a doubt the single most complete human predecessor ever found. Over 40 percent of her skeleton was unearthed by the Johanson crew. (Most finds consist of only one or two small bones).

This skeleton is only the most spectacular of a series of finds. Shortly after Lucy was unearthed in 1974 came a large find of many fossils representing at least thirteen individuals of the same type of creature as Lucy. This put at Johanson's disposal a sample of fossils large enough to attempt substantiation of his claim that Lucy is a hitherto unknown species of prehuman, *Australopithecus afarensis*. This is of no small importance in a field in which many have claimed species status for half a jaw bone.

At the very least, Johanson has brought us new information of creatures on the evolutionary road toward humankind or at least related to man as long as 4 million years ago. Lucy and her companions were completely erect, and walked much like we do today. This was effectively established by the fit of Lucy's knee joint, which was found in the dig along with the knee joints of several of her presumed relatives. Collateral evidence also supports the bipedalism thesis, and skull bones have shown that Lucy's cranial capacity was no larger than that of a modern chimpanzee.

The evidence of smaller-than-human cranial capacity is very important because it helps clarify the sequence of human development. We can now confirm that all the conditions for human development existed as early as 4 million years ago, and these conditions combined to bring about the emergence of human creative intelligence.

Exciting descriptions of the find

are only one virtue of Johanson's presentation. I have not read a clearer exposition of the history of human fossil finds, and the controversies surrounding them, and I recommend this one to the nonspecialist. Johanson's discussion of the problems of dating fossils prior to the very recent period is particularly useful. He gives a fine exposition of how the potassium-argon dating process that came into use in 1960 works, and how unreliable dating by the now-obsolete geological layering method is. He also succeeds in unraveling many of the controversies that have plagued human paleoanthropology. Perhaps most fascinating (and refreshingly easy for the layman to read) is his lengthy and detailed section on the differences in dentition in apes and man, and man and other hominids. This and other technical sections are of major interest.

Problems in Evaluation

But unfortunately for those of us who have been waiting for a competent overall discussion of human evolution, *Lucy* falls off the track when Johanson and Edey move from discussion of the find into an evaluation of its significance. All the major theoretical sections of the book suffer from the deep flaws which dominate the field of human anthropology as a whole.

The point that Johanson makes preeminent in his discussions of evolution, the fact that Lucy was fully erect yet had an apelike brain, is not nearly as controversial as he tries to make it. The evidence has been pointing in this direction for years, and it is not surprising that man's ancestors would have developed a new degree of freedom of movement to prepare for the advent of the radically different large-brained, tool-making genus *Homo*.

Johanson also spends an inordinate amount of effort doing battle with Richard Leakey, from the family of the media-inflated anthropologist superstars. Although the tussle with Leakey over whether Lucy was in fact ancestral to man has been the most celebrated aspect of the book and provided good advertising copy,

it adds little of substance to Johanson's evaluation of the importance of his finds.

A closer look in fact reveals that Johanson ultimately poses a theory to explain the relationship between the development of man's upright posture and the advent of intelligence which coheres with the approach taken by Leakey. Through anthropologist G. W. Lovejoy, who was brought in on the evaluations side of the project, Johanson stresses the primary importance of social factors, such as the nuclear family, food-sharing requirements, etc., to explain the freeing of prehominid species' hands and the dawn of creative intelligence. This is a line of reasoning pursued by Leakey and his associates as well.

The Darwinian Flaw

What is at stake here is the fundamental flaw of the Darwinian approach to evolution, adopted by virtually every anthropologist on the scene today. The Darwinian view identifies man as merely the fittest of the beasts—a species that has survived fierce competition with other species on the basis of physical and behavioral characteristics. The next step, a step Leakey takes, is the adoption of the cultural relativist outlook, that all forms of human culture from the most primitive to the most developed are to be equally valued.

Man is correctly viewed as a unique emergence in the history of the developing biosphere, a singularity in the evolution of the system as a whole, which by virtue of the intelligence of the species, not only changed that system for all time, but took command of the process of change and evolution within the biosphere itself. This approach to evolution would once and for all silence the arguments of the environmentalists and their cothinkers within the field of anthropology by opening the way to exploring precisely by what paths of development man has freed himself from the struggle for scarce resources by creating new ones, and how he has thereby created his own ecological niche in each era of his development, something no other species has ever done.

Intelligence and Tool-Making

This approach would also establish as man's hallmark the emergence of primitive technology in the form of the first tools, and establish as the critical previous points in human evolution those which bestowed upon man's ancestors the new degrees of freedom required for the invention and use of tools: binocular vision, upright posture, and the fully opposable thumb. In this context it is important that Johanson plays down what was perhaps the most significant result of his expedition: the unearthing of several stone tools now tentatively dated at 2.5 million years old. These are by far the oldest tools of their type ever to be discovered, and could prove pivotal to further work in determining when human intelligence emerged.

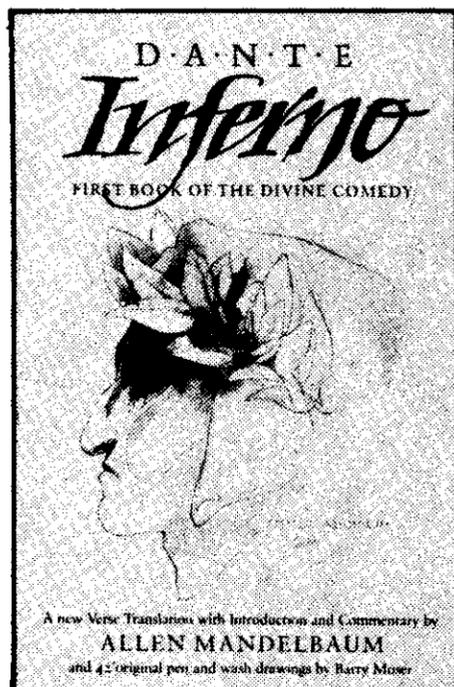
Johanson and his colleagues also overlook the fact that the necessity—the driving force—behind the development of the human species was the changing relationship of man's predecessors to a continuously changing biosphere. Early man and his ancestors faced, just as we do today, alterations in the source of their energy and other resource supplies, and necessarily advanced to meet these new challenges. This approach toward human evolution is far more common among geologists of the nineteenth century, some of whom undertook to correlate changes in the fossil record with the evolution of the biosphere as read in the development of the earth's climate and plant life.

All this points to the conclusion that paleoanthropology is much more in need of sound theory than of more expeditions and digs, although competent field work can and should expand. However successful future explorations may be, however, they are limited by practical problems, such as the fact that only small portions of the earth's surface are geologically suited to the preservation of a fossil record.

Lucy is the kind of enjoyable reading that gets many people interested in fossil-hunting. But its flaws are the flaws of an entire field of study, which is badly in need of correction.

—Philip Rubenstein

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri
 A Verse Translation with Commentary and Introduction
 by Allen Mandelbaum
 University of California Press
 1980
 307 pp.
 \$25.00



New California Dante *An Unexpected Treat*

One can only rejoice at the news that a fresh verse translation of the *Divine Comedy* has been released. Professor Allen Mandelbaum's new translation of "Inferno" (to be followed, one hopes soon, by the other two canticles "Purgatory" and "Paradise" as well as a "Lectura Dantis" canto-by-canto commentary) promises to fill up one gaping hole in every American's cultural life. The translation is sure to spread knowledge of Dante's great epic among the American population and other English-speaking peoples. This "California Dante," as the publishers call it, could render the comedy as popular as any native classic, in which happy event it would do much to rescue the American population from the cultural and intellectual morass into which it has plunged over the last one hundred years.

The reason why Dante's poem is so necessary to America's moral and cultural recovery is that it is a true poem in the sense that Percy Bysshe Shelley understood—a vehicle of beauty capable of communicating the most impassioned statements about man. Dante makes such truths, the most advanced conceptions concerning the physical universe, accessible to the reader (in "Paradise"), not by watering them down, but by using poetry to elevate the soul and radically develop the reader's conceptual capabilities.

This is the significance of Dante's tripartite structure. Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise are more than merely metaphorical realms in the life hereafter. They are three distinct, yet causally historically connected orders of thinking processes in the developing human mind.

Hell is the mind of the individual Plato called the bronze soul, the infantile being whose judgments and actions, enslaved by the dictates of

individual sense perception and irrational desire, irrevocably lead to sin. This is the mind of the wretched existentialist who falsely deems satisfaction of his own itching appetites the basis of human social existence.

Much of the cultural and political world today is populated by similar minds.

Dante guides the reader through such mud and excrement (often literally in the poem's extraordinarily perceptive psychological imagery) as he himself is guided by Virgil. By facing up to the apparently unlimited manifestations of sin characterizing bestialized man, Dante—and with him the reader—undergoes an internal confrontation process leading him out of this internal hell.

Purgatory brings us to a second, higher order of thinking, characteristic of the well-schooled, edified individual that Plato called the silver soul. This is the order of thinking associated with logical reasoning, which defines the basic parameters of morality, albeit in a formalistic guise. Through a strict adherence to duty, morally defined in terms of the Christian ethic, purgatorian man frees himself of sin.

Yet he, the man on the streets of our towns and cities, a moral citizen unblotched by sin, is likewise without great ideas, a good person but not a scientist.

Paradise is the realm of scientific thinking, open to those purified "golden souls" who like Dante pass through Purgatory by breaking the constraints of Kantian formalism to know love, the love (mediated through the intellectual dialogue between Beatrice and Dante) proper to creative thinking. Here the mysteries of a self-developing universe unfold to the mind of Dante who, driven solely by the intellectual thirst for the

knowledge of universal law (God), rejoices in his continuously expanding capacity to comprehend.

In the final vision of the closing strettolike canto of "Paradise," Dante brings God (the subject of universal creation and lawfulness) and the human mind's comprehending it as itself, into one. That image, which recapitulates in a concentrated form the developmental principle "behind" the succession of the three canticles, is also the starting point for modern scientific thinking.

This is the level of intellectual and therefore moral existence urgently required of a citizenry such as ours if we are to overcome the deep political and moral crisis wracking humanity today. Most pointedly, this is the standpoint that must be resurrected as the foundation for all art, art which is the necessary medium through which moral recovery is possible.

Poetry Should Be Read Aloud

What the modern age has lost is the habit of group readings of poetry, where poetry is rightly regarded as knowledge. Since the seventeenth century Restoration in Britain and the British takeover of American cultural life in the nineteenth century, poetry has been relegated to the classrooms, where it is dissected after the manner of a foetal pig in biology laboratory. In the specific case of Dante, the great poet's masterpiece has been subjected to such annotative hysteria that on opening a standard classical edition of the *Commedia* in Italian one literally cannot see the forest for the trees. One gets lost, not in the *selva oscura* (dark wood), but in the footnotes. Professor Mandelbaum and his publisher have shown unusual guts in dispensing with footnotes altogether, and relegating critical analysis to a commentary to be issued as a fourth volume.

Another problem beleaguering most modern translators (like John Ciardi and Dorothy Sayers) is the verse form. Professor Mandelbaum rightly rejects any attempt to reproduce the specifically Italian *terza rima* (tercets) in English, out of need, he writes in his introduction, "to reach

as clean and precise a rendering as possible." Following in the footsteps of the Rev. Francis Cary's beautiful, though archaic version, Professor Mandelbaum produces an extraordinarily faithful translation of something approximating Miltonic blank verse. His awareness of the primacy of prosodic considerations is explicit in the introduction, especially in his statement that "this translation asks to be read out loud."

When one takes up the translator on his generous offer, one finds that the English (including contemporary contractions) is free-flowing and thus, more than any other modern translation, eminently *readable*.

The Problem of Prose

Yet, here the Mandelbaum text stimulates further stickling considerations, for, on reading the text aloud, one finds something else as well. One finds, in short, that the verse often slides down into prose. The following passage for instance:

I was already well prepared to
stare
Below, into the depth that was
disclosed.
Where the tears of anguished
sorrow bathed the ground,
And in the valley's circle I saw
souls
Advancing, mute and weeping,
at the pace
That, in our world, holy
processions take.
(Canto XX, 4-9)

might also be written thus:

I was already well-prepared to
stare below into the depth that
was disclosed, where tears of an-
guished sorrow bathed the
ground; and in the valley's circle
I saw souls advancing, mute and
weeping, at the pace that in our
world holy processions take.

To echo Edgar Allan Poe, one could well declare this to be more than perfectly respectable prose. But prose it is.

Admittedly a translation stands or falls on the strength of the whole, not on a single passage jerked out of

context to be subjected to microscopic inspection. And on the whole—it bears repeating—this translation stands up admirably.

The problem is another. The prosodic quality here is "heard" in a way unthinkable with, say, Milton, the most Dantesque of the English-language poets—even when read aloud. This raises the question: what is it that makes this translation (among others) a "translation" and not poetry?

It is no moot point. For if the revival of Dante's poem is not only to awaken a culturally anesthetized citizenry but to sow the seeds of a sorely wanted poetic renaissance in the English language then translations of the great classics must themselves explore new frontiers of the language. This has been the case historically, as the great translations for the Italians by Chaucer, followed by Wyatt and Milton himself, enhanced the powers of the new tongue to express exalted conceptions.

The Question of Prosody

Where lies the difference between poetry (*Paradise Lost*, for example) and the translation (in the case at hand)? Fundamentally it is the question of prosody. Poetry becomes prose (as Poe convincingly though only partially showed) when the internal rhythm of the line is *unlawfully* altered such that the line does not itself "tell" how it must be read. What is at issue here is what Milton called "number." The basic unit of poetry, as Dante outlined, is the verse line, defined rigorously in terms of numbers, i.e. the number of syllables of which it is composed, and not any pedestrian notion of a poetic "foot" (poetry doesn't walk, it flies on the wings of poesy).

In Italian, for reasons we have developed elsewhere (see Muriel Mirak, "How Dante Used Poetry to Start the Scientific Renaissance," *Campaigner*, April 1980, Vol. 13, No. 3), the most perfect line has eleven syllables. The stress falls predominantly on the fourth or sixth syllable and on the tenth. This is by no means an exceptionless rule, but it does describe the general case (which itself reflects the prosodic regularity of Ital-

ian prose), where generally stressed syllables are separated by two unstressed ones. Whether or not this basic ("dactylic") rhythmic regularity is explicitly hegemonic in each poetic line, it must needs provide the underlying "metric" (means of measurement) for the whole, within which variations have free but lawful play.

It is in this sense that Professor Mandelbaum's translation often spills out of the mold. Two very famous lines from Canto V serve to illustrate the point.

The canto opens with Dante's encountering Minos, the first of several guardian monsters in Hell. Minos stands at the entrance to the second circle, where the lustful are condemned, and examines each sinner who arrives. He judges their sins and sends them off to an assigned circle whose number is indicated by the number of times he wraps his tail around his body. Dante presents it concisely thus:

Stavvi Minos orribilmente
e ringhia
Esamina le colpe ne l'entrata,
Giudica e manda secondo
ch'avvinghia

Mandelbaum translates it thus:

There dreadful Minos stands,
gnashing his teeth,
Examining the sins of those who
enter,
He judges and assigns as his tail
twines.

What is wrong here? The first line holds the key. Dante has operated one of his very tricky rhythmic variations with the first, fourth, eighth, and tenth syllables stressed.

The first part of the line *Stavvi Minos* (note that Minos has an accent written in Dante's text on the *o* of the second syllable) is strangely symmetrical with the first and last syllables stressed (*stavvi* is a contracted form of *vi stava*, contracted presumably to achieve this effect). Then, the central word of the phrase, indeed the primary descriptive term for Minos, is the five-syllable word *or-ri-bil-men-te*, which monopolizes the line, spatially

and verbally.

Dante has already enhanced the potent effect of the adjective *orribile* by creating the adverb, thus gaining two whole syllables in an impressive aural effect. He has further underlined the prime stress which falls on *mente* through an echo heard in the last verb *ringhia*, which is added on almost in a second wind. The effect is that the reader has almost a visual impact of Minos (*orribilmente*) spreading out before him, and, as if that weren't enough, hears him *ringhia*. The close proximity of the phonemes *-men/rin-*, both stressed, brings this across to the ear.

This is the kind of musical virtuosity that Milton handled with ease. Indeed, when Reverend Cary translated the line as

... There Minos stands
Grinning with ghastly feature;
he, of all
Who enter, strict examining the
crimes,
Gives sentence and dismisses
them beneath,
According as he foldeth him
around

he rightly points to a similar line in *Paradise Lost* where Milton wrote

... And death
Grinned horrible a ghastly
smile, to hear
His famine should be filled. . . .

What is clear in Milton's borrowing from Dante is the focus on the wonderful word "horrible" and its enhancement, through the roller *r*'s in "grinned" immediately preceding.

This Professor Mandelbaum has somehow missed. His version

There dreadful Minos stands,
gnashing his teeth

sacrifices much of the internal richness while adding on a rather extraneous feature in the "gnashing his teeth." An English rendering that more closely reproduces the *principle* animating Dante's brilliant line would be:

There Minos stands full horrible,
and growls

where the added "full" expands the syllabic spread of "horrible" and "growls" tends to echo the accented first syllable of "horrible."

Another example, the celebrated final line of the same canto, describes Dante's fainting, overwhelmed by the tale of lust he has heard from Francesca:

E caddi come corpo morte cade

Here the obvious modulation between *caddi* and *cade* (reflecting past/present) defines the end moorings of the line, while the assonance in *corpo morto* functions as the central hinge. Professor Mandelbaum seems to forfeit the extraordinary possibilities the line offers even to the point of dispensing with Dante's heavy alliteration. He translates thus:

And then I fell as a dead
body falls.

Whereas, for reasons that should be clear by reference to the earlier examples, the following rendering is preferable:

And down I fell as a deadened
body falls.

Although the same effect is obtained, the syllabic symmetry is respected. Furthermore, "deadened" is preferred to "dead" because it more closely approximates the intense weightiness that *corpo morto* carries; in Italian the phrase refers not only to a dead body, but a dead weight of an inanimate thing. In this episode, Dante falls in a swoon much like an inanimate thing, deprived of his human senses.

The foregoing notwithstanding, Professor Mandelbaum is a translator of no common skills. He has done a service to us all by undertaking this Promethean task. Perhaps the eagerly awaited "Purgatory" and—above all—"Paradise" will usher in with them new heights of achievement.

—Muriel Mirak

BOOKS

The Pope, His Banker, And Venice

by Felix Gilbert
Harvard University Press
1981

167 pp.
\$14.95



Pope Julius II

How Venice Reversed The Golden Renaissance

An admirer of the Venetian system, Professor Felix Gilbert of Harvard University has dug out of the state archives of Venice, Rome, and Genoa a set of check-stubs that shed important new light on one of the great problems of modern history: the destruction of the Italian and German Renaissance within the span of two dozen years.

The year 1492 represented one of the great peaks in human history, possibly the greatest proliferation of genius before or since, alongside Europe's most important period of economic development since Charlemagne. By 1498 the second French invasion of Italy had ruined the political stability that made this possible. By 1527, the German Peasant Wars and the Sack of Rome left bleeding wounds in the previous centers of Renaissance achievement. Emperor Charles V of Hapsburg dominated Europe, and the course toward the next century's Thirty Years War and mass depopulation was set.

Why?

We have the choice of believing, as most historians seem to, that innate human greed and bestiality merely overwhelmed the fragile moment of creation, or of assigning blame to specific persons and specific actions. Professor Gilbert's evidence helps us to attempt the second alternative, and advance a hypothesis that a Venetian-Genoese combination willfully destabilized the Italian and German centers of the Renaissance. Exhaustive work in the existing archives, especially the dispatches of Florentine intelligence chief Niccolo Machiavelli and the reports of Venetian ambassadors and the Council of Ten would be required to prove this. But the evidence already at hand is compelling.

To set the background for Gilbert's discoveries: Cosimo de' Medici's Italian League, founded one year after the 1453 fall of Constantinople to the Turks, maintained peace among its previously warring members—the Italian city-states of Florence, Milan, Venice, Naples, and the Papal States—for most of the next forty years. But the 1492 death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Cosimo's son and heir, prompted the banking and trade-based Venetians to initiate a struggle for control over manufacturing-oriented Florence and its allies. The papacy was one of the most bitterly contested terrains in this battle for decades.

By 1494 the Venetians organized an invasion of Italy by the French King Charles VIII, through the offices of their agent, the Milanese governor Ludovico Sforza. The French invasion toppled the Medici from power in Florence.

Charles's successor, Louis XII of Orleans, marched French troops into Italy once again in 1498—to all accounts also at the invitation of the Venetians. This second French invasion triggered the many-sided Italian civil war that ended only with the Hapsburg ascendancy and the Sack of Rome in 1527.

Professor Gilbert's account begins in the middle of this mess, at about the time that the Genoese-born Venetian-backed Giuliano della Rovere stepped into the papacy as Julius II. Della Rovere was to be the most despised Pope of his times, owing to attacks on him published by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Defeat of League of Cambrai

Venetian attempts to expand southward set the Genoese Pope temporarily against Venice, and in 1508 the

Vatican joined the League of Cambrai—a union of all the powers of Europe whose objective was to crush Venice once and for all. Spain, England, France, the German Empire, and the Vatican all stood against the single city. For reasons Professor Gilbert explains, they lost. Venice won.

Alliance with Genoa

After the initial assaults by the allies, which threw the Venetians out of virtually all their fifteenth century conquests including even Padua, the Pope switched sides. Gilbert shows how Julius II's banker, the Siennese Agostino Chigi, took the huge revenues of the papal monopolies on salt and alum (the mineral salt essential to cloth-dyeing and glass-making) and converted them into war loans for Venice. A combined loan and alum marketing agreement worth 146,000 ducats bought Venice Swiss mercenaries. Venice then proceeded to reconquer virtually everything the city had lost.

Della Rovere and Chigi (whose modern influence extends down to the \$20 billion asset Monte dei Paschi di Siena today) got Venice out of a real jam. Gilbert vividly portrays the actual internal condition of the city at the time all Europe stood against it: "The recently appointed patriarch, Antonio Contarini, appeared in the Pregadi [the ruling inner core of the Venetian Senate] and . . . accused Venice of being a thoroughly amoral city. Nunneries served the sexual needs of the rich and powerful. Homosexuality was so widespread that female prostitutes had come to him complaining that they had earned so little they had to exercise their profession into old age."

The consequences of this *Venetian-Genoese alliance* were fatal for Europe. Both cities, ancient and bitter rivals for the eastern Mediterranean trade, underwent transformations. Venice, Gilbert reports, had been a tight-knit oligarchy for centuries, but the forms of republican government were still preserved up through the period of the League of Cambrai war. "The Great Council, originally the source of all power, had to concede part of its functions to the Senate; then the

Collegio and the Savi began to take over many of the activities of the Senate; and, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Council of Ten became all-powerful. The years of the War of the League of Cambrai turned out to be a crucial step in this development." Venice's Council of Ten, the internal security force or "state inquisition," and its foreign intelligence service, were the largest and most effective in Europe until Napoleon dissolved the 1,300-year-old Venetian state in 1797.

Luther and the Peasant Wars

How well did men like della Rovere and Contarini plan for their future? The diaries and archives must be scoured. What we have now is circumstantial evidence. Paramount among the events that completed the destruction of the Renaissance were two: the appearance of Martin Luther on the religious scene in 1517 and the installation of the Austro-Spanish monarch as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V two years later. There is much evidence to show that Charles V bought his election (against Francis I of Italy) with loans from the then-dominant Fugger firm in Augsburg, whose principal, Jacob Fugger, was trained in Venice. Did the Council of Ten have a role in this? We do not know.

But we do know that the Medici Pope who replaced Giuliano della Rovere in 1513, Leo X, denounced the Venetian-controlled University of Padua (a finishing school for all Venetian aristocrats, who were forbidden to study elsewhere) for inspiring the "German disease" of Lutheranism. Leo had to intervene with the Senate to prevent a Venetian monk from publishing pro-Luther tracts in 1517; immediately the German monk had surfaced as a Vatican opponent!

The first fruits of Luther's break from the Vatican, the Peasant Wars, had by 1525 resulted in 100,000 dead—a foretaste of what was to come in the Thirty Years War a century later. The same year Charles V moved to crush his French opponent, still in control of northern Italy. Genoa's leading military command-

er, Andrea Doria, was in the service of France. When the imperial forces routed the French armies at Pavia, the Dorias prepared to bolt. Charles's mop-up operations headed toward Rome in 1527. He was opposed only by greatly outnumbered papal forces, allied to a Venetian corps commanded by Francesco della Rovere, a Genoese of the same family as Julius II. The Venetians had no intention of giving Charles a real challenge, and the German Emperor's Lutheran mercenaries ravaged the Vatican capital and humiliated the Medici Pope. Hapsburg power remained dominant in Italy until national unification three-and-a-half centuries later.

The 'Venetian' Problem

Whatever deal the Pope and Venice concluded in 1509, the Genoese and Venetians proceeded to loot the world for the next century. By the final third of the sixteenth century, the world financial picture was dominated by this Venetian-Genoese alliance, whose workings are well-documented by the French historian Fernand Braudel.

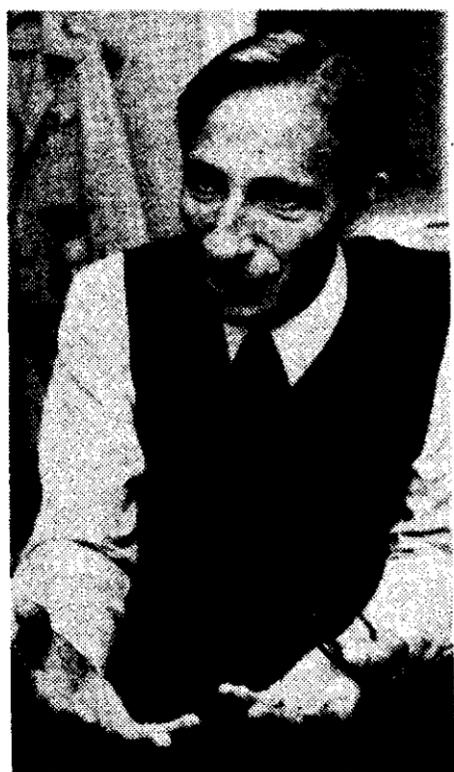
Although Venice is supposedly in decline at this point, its role is pivotal in disposing of the loot of the New World. Its financial power stretched deep into the London, Antwerp, and Amsterdam markets, from which it spawned the leading institutions of modern-day monetarism, heralded first by the Dutch East India Company and its successor, the notorious British East India Company.

Professor Gilbert's book permits us to advance the guess that this powerful Venetian-Genoese alliance dated formally from the appearance in Venice of Agostino Chigi in 1509, if not from the 1498 conspiracy to bring Louis XII of Orleans to Italy. As Jeffrey Steinberg and I show in *Dope, Inc.*, the high-profit eastern traffic in illicit drugs is still a crucial factor in the world monetary system, and is run by the direct heirs of the British East India Company. Clearly, the "Venetian" problem is very much with us today, and Professor Gilbert deserves gratitude for having shed light on its origin.

—David P. Goldman

Shadow Work

by Ivan Illich
Marion Boyars
Publishing, Inc.
1981
152 pp.
\$5.95 paper



Illich

Jesuit Ideologue Preaches Ban on Language

After a few years of recess from the public eye, Ivan Illich, the ex-priest who spent the 1960s indoctrinating hundreds of cadre for the Theology of Liberation movement that runs left-wing terrorism in Latin America, has emerged into the daylight again. *Shadow Work* was immediately puffed on publication by the *New York Times Book Review* as another of Illich's "brilliant, intensely and cogently argued" works, and is now making the rounds of the radical deindustrial society advocates.

Illich announces in the introduction to his series of essays which comprise it that he interrupted a major study of the "history of scarcity" to prepare *Shadow Work*. His reason: to shape the "third stage into which the public discussion of the limits to growth is just now entering."

The Third Stage

What is the "third stage" in the limits to growth debate?

The first, Illich says, was the popularization of the idea of limits to goods, with a focus on the limitations of the physical environment. Then followed the recognition of the "limits on services," the campaign against schooling, modern medicine, mass transit, etc., which Illich rightfully credits himself with major responsibility for propagating.

The third stage, which, according to Illich is now upon us, comes when man finally gives up all remaining illusions that he can dominate the environment, that science and technology are anything other than reflections of man's fundamental weakness and evil.

With the eighties, Illich argues, people must realize that all economic growth, even soft technologies, destroys the feudal world in which mankind once lived. One entire essay

in the volume is devoted to the theme that human creativity is perverse—based on the arguments of a twelfth-century philosopher, Hugh of St. Victor. This thinker, says Illich, was "the first to reduce inventions of arts and science to certain defects of human nature."

Illich was a Vienna-born aristocrat before he became a radical priest, and in *Shadow Work* he unabashedly embraces the medievalist ideology of the European oligarchy. *Shadow Work* presents all history from this feudal perspective, and the oligarchy's centuries-long hatred for the sovereign nation-state comes through loud and clear.

The Art of Language

A central point of the entire book is Illich's assertion that once the clock is turned back from modern society to the Dark Ages, national languages are revealed to be an unnecessary burden placed on the population by the demands of industrial progress.

"In the essentially sun-powered cultures" of the past, Illich writes, "there was no need for language production. Language . . . was learned from the encounter with people whom the learner could smell and touch, love or hate." This Illich champions as "vernacular values."

The only clearly comprehensible section of *Shadow Work* comes during this discussion of language, via Illich's vituperative attack on Elio Antonio de Nebrija, a leading humanist of fifteenth-century Spain who campaigned for the development of the Spanish language. Nebrija, a collaborator of Erasmus of Rotterdam, convinced Queen Isabella to circulate a unified Spanish grammar throughout her dominions with this argument (reprinted by Illich):

"My illustrious Queen. When-

BOOK BRIEFS

ever I ponder over the tokens of the past that have been preserved in writing, I am forced to the very same conclusion. Language has always been the consort of empire, and forever shall remain its mate. Together they came into being, together they grow and flower, and together they decline."

Fortunately, Isabella adopted Nebrija's project, and his Spanish grammar, the first such organization of a language other than Latin or Greek, was used throughout the Spanish realm—in some places for as long as three hundred years.

Illich quite accurately charges Nebrija with identifying language as "a pillar of the nation-state" and the means for assuring the universal advancement of the nation's citizens. "In a morally ordered world, to be wild is to be incoherent, mute, . . . sinful, and accursed," writes Illich in criticism of Nebrija. Out of the idea of national language, he fulminates, grew the potential for universal education—and an end to feudalism.

In this Illich is quite accurate. During the Renaissance, humanity's greatest poets spearheaded the drive to create a unified language capable of expressing the ideas appropriate to the development of the nation-state. The creator of the Italian nation, Dante Alighieri, is explicit on this point in his "On the Eloquence of the Common Tongue." Chaucer, Rabelais, Cervantes, and Shakespeare all sought to establish a national language whose conceptual enrichment of popular culture proved the bedrock for the advance of civilization.

Turning Back the Clock

Over the last three to four years, Illich's "vernacular values" have been imposed on entire nations of the developing sector through a network of primitivist pedagogues centered around the Club of Rome's Learning Project. The goal of these programs, like the racist "Black English" peddled to school systems in America's inner cities, is to eliminate modern languages and replace them with (at best) local dialects born in the sweat of the "subsistence existence," Illich lauds.

Paulo Freire, a 1960s collaborator of Illich at his Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexico, is perhaps today's leading implementor of Illich's programs. As a consultant to newly independent Guinea-Bissau, Freire ran an education program to destroy that nation's literate class. Children from the country's only high school were sent out to work in the fields; no university existed and none was built. Writing was taught on a strictly limited basis, since Freire asserted that it imposed a "rationalizing intellectualism" over the African "body." He even went so far as to argue that *pantomime* benefits Third World populations better than language, due to their populations' innate rhythms, and that language, the heart of human communication, could be eliminated altogether.

When the pompous sociological phraseology is stripped away, Illich and his collaborators like Freire stand directly responsible for the murder of tens, and perhaps millions of Africans who are now being forced into tolerating "subsistence economies" and "vernacular values."

Investigative Leads

Police investigators should take up the leads provided by the Vatican's Holy Office in the late 1960s, when Illich was called to Rome for questioning on his heretical views. Among the questions included were some dealing with the precise nature of his ties to the Guatemalan terrorist movement. At his hearings, just as during his previous years' organizing of Liberation Theology terrorists at Mexico's CIDOC, Illich was shielded by Cuernavaca's "Red" archbishop, Mendez Arceo, another outspoken advocate of terrorism.

If these leads are traced out, it will be discovered that Illich has more than ideological connections to terrorist groups now operating in Europe, Latin America, and the United States. These groups, in fact, are spawned in the breeding grounds of the "alternative life style" collectives that read Illich's books!

—Gretchen Small

Eisenhower and the Cold War, by Robert A. Divine, Oxford University Press. Divine's book is a refreshing change from the vast array of books which portray Eisenhower as merely a weak captive of his secretary of state, a President who accomplished little of success during his years in office. Divine acknowledges that "I write with a basic sympathy for a badly underrated President."

Divine concentrates on Eisenhower's role in world affairs. "For eight years he kept the United States at peace, adroitly avoiding military involvement in the crises of the 1950s. Six months after taking office he brought the fighting in Korea to an end; in Indochina he resisted intense pressure to avoid direct American military intervention; in Suez he courageously aligned the United States against European imperialism while maintaining a staunch posture toward the Soviet Union. He earnestly sought a reduction in Cold War tensions, traveling twice to European summit meetings . . ."

These events the author discusses in some detail, making clear that it was Secretary of State John Foster Dulles who always tried to steer the President toward a confrontation stance, who would have had the United States often use military means rather than attempt peaceful answers to these problems, but was overruled by Eisenhower.

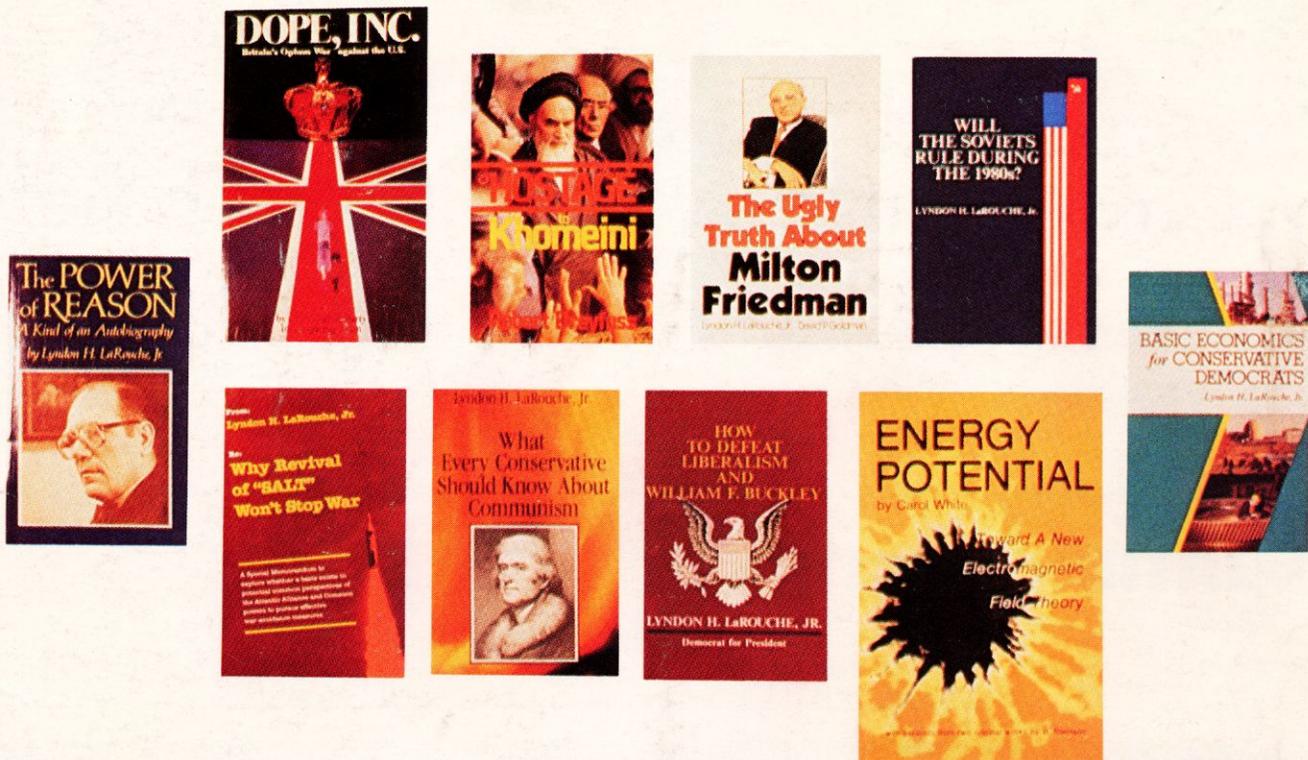
Divine also makes mention of Eisenhower's historic Atoms for Peace proposal which would have directed the United Nations to use nuclear materiel to provide the Third World with nuclear energy, and agriculture, and medicine.

However the book is such a short account, only 155 pages of narrative, that events are covered without much detail. A longer, more in-depth treatment of the material would have brought out that Dulles acted on behalf of British oligarchical interests in his attempt to create crises between the United States and the Soviets, and that Eisenhower thwarted a major effort to undermine the U.S. national interests.

—Barbara Dreyfuss

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