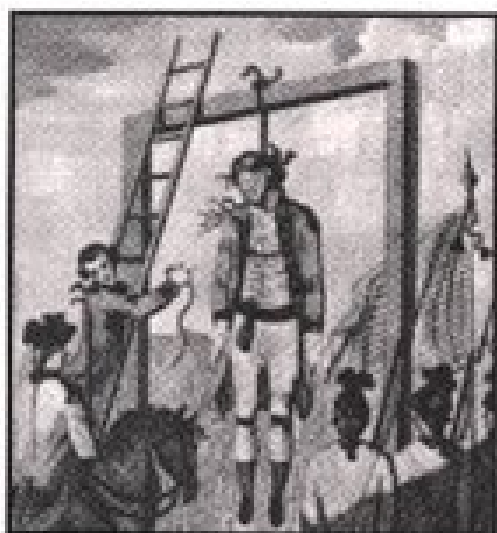


# TREASON IN AMERICA

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FROM AARON BURR  
TO AVERELL HARRIMAN

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ANTON CHAITKIN

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ANTON CHAITKIN

Executive Intelligence Review  
Washington, D.C.

Treason in America  
From Aaron Burr to Averell Harriman

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*To the memory of my father, Jacob Chaitkin, and to those  
of his generation who fought the Nazis.*

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## Author's Preface

*Treason in America: From Aaron Burr to Averell Harri-*  
*man* first circulated as a feature series in *New Solidarity*,  
the newspaper of the Lyndon LaRouche political move-  
ment, beginning Jan. 17, 1983. In March 1984, Chapters  
1–13 of the *Treason* series were gathered together in the  
317-page first edition of this book.

Chapters 14–19 appeared in *New Solidarity* from April  
1984 through July 1985. The completed, 607-page second  
edition, with footnotes, index, and bibliography, was  
released in December 1985.

A certain steady demand having continued for the book  
while it has long been out of print, this second printing  
of the second edition is now issued. No changes have  
been made, except for the substitution of this preface  
for those of the previous printings, and the updating of  
the author's biography.

The historical method employed in this book arose  
from the author's association with Lyndon H. LaRouche,  
Jr., since 1966, in a political war against the power elite  
of the London-New York financial axis. That conflict  
reached a climactic intensity in the period the *Treason*

series first appeared. LaRouche's fight for a just economic order and Third World industrialization, rallied nationalist leaders everywhere, and led to Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo's 1982 call for a debt moratorium. LaRouche aides wrote a key part of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's March 23, 1983, national address announcing the Strategic Defense Initiative, the beam-weapon defense program developed and fought for by LaRouche over the preceding several years.

Such initiatives, designed to break Western policy out of the paradigm imposed by British and Anglophile "globalists," brought responses of fearful fury from LaRouche's opponents. Over many years, an arena of this global scope and at this level gave to the participants a uniquely elevated vantage point from which to appreciate the realities of political combat. For example, the disguised use of sundry varieties of political radicals, or of supposedly neutral press outlets, as fronts for assaults by the oligarchy and its controlled police agencies, became increasingly easy to anticipate and unmask. Ultimately, massive judicial and other force was used in the unsuccessful attempt to shut this movement down.

Such a real-life academy affords the student of history special advantages. Being an active participant in an intense contest for some policy, allows one unusual facility to detect lying concerning such a policy in the popular press, in particular when events are described as accidental and not the outcome of a bitter fight between two sides. It was quite natural to apply such observations to original study of the struggles of one's predecessors in the republican tradition, from Plato through the Renaissance into the American Revolution and the modern world, once this tradition had been identified and revived by Lyndon LaRouche.

*Treason in America* was preceded by Nancy Span-

naus's 1977 essay, "Uncovering the Treason School of American History," in her *The Political Economy of the American Revolution*, rebutting the Anglophile and Marxist historians' burial of the universal values of the American Founding Fathers; and by W. Allen Salisbury's 1978 book, *The Civil War and the American System: America's Battle with Britain, 1860-1876*, with its rediscovery of Abraham Lincoln's economic adviser Henry C. Carey, restoring the Lincoln-Carey nationalism to the center of U.S. history, as was understood by all educated men of that era.

The *Treason in America* story was conceived as a kind of family biography of the Anglophile U.S. Eastern Establishment, seen in their conflict with republican patriots from the American Revolution into the present era. The bad repute of "conspiracy theories" in polite society was no deterrence to such a study, nor was Karl Marx's attack on the pro-American System economist Friedrich List: "Since his own work conceals a secret aim, he suspects secret aims everywhere. . . . Herr List, instead of studying real history, looks for the secret, bad aims of individuals, and, owing to his cunning, he is very well able to discover them . . . making [his enemy] an object of suspicion. . . . Herr List casts aspersions on the English and French economists and retails gossip about them."

Using mainly primary sources, so as to go beyond mere gossip, an attempt has been made in this work to reconstruct the pivotal political wars in U.S. history from the 1780s to the mid-20th century. This is a confidential exposition of the employment record, so to speak—not only the "secret, bad aims"—of Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, Albert Gallatin, the blue-blood dope pushers, the Free Traders, the secessionists, the backers of Hitler, and the Anglo-American forerunners of the recent decades' New Agers. It is believed that this work is the first



serious chronicle of the anti-nationalist side of American history yet written.

But, a complete picture requires the other side of the story, a thorough-going account of the republican nationalists. H. Graham Lowry's 1987 *How the Nation Was Won: America's Untold Story, Volume I, 1630-1754*, and several articles since 1988 by the present author, have documented the tradition of Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Lincoln, Carey and their allies, who created modern times and spread civilization despite the British Empire-centered enemy.

After this later work was done, it became apparent that a particular section of *Treason in America* was in error, namely, the treatment of the early years of the Smithsonian Institution. That part of Chapter 16, "Anthropologists Against Indians," contains a fallacy of composition, in the omission of the truth about scientist Joseph Henry, the first leader of the Smithsonian. A later study of Henry's career revealed him to be a close collaborator of Alexander Dallas Bache and his circle of patriotic nationalists of the Franklin-to-Carey tradition. The account in *Treason in America* usefully describes the contrary tradition at the Smithsonian, the cultists, psychical researchers, and enemies of Western states' development; but it wrongly (if vaguely) implicates Joseph Henry with those who were in reality his opponents. The account of the Swiss educational reformer Johann Pestalozzi, in the same chapter, suffers a similar failure in historical method.

These errors have been left uncorrected in the current edition. Also, later research work, on such *Treason in America* figures as Albert Pike, and on Harriman's partners, the family of George Herbert Walker Bush, has not been included. It is believed that the present volume

stands on its own merits as an original inquiry into the identity of the oligarchs who came to wield power in America, against America's revolutionary heritage.

October 1998  
Leesburg, Virginia

## INTRODUCTION

# Up McGeorge Bundy's Family Tree

by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

According to the celebrated Harvard economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, McGeorge Bundy was secretly elected "the head of the [U.S.] Establishment," back in 1965. Bundy had richly earned the appointment; as head of the National Security Council under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, he had done about as much to destroy the United States as any man in that post conceivably could, and was therefore candidate for a much higher position of power and responsibility, as head of the powerful Ford Foundation.

Since spring 1968, Bundy has never liked this writer very much. By his lights, he has had reasons for this growing enmity. A handful of the writer's associates made a fair mess of an insurrectionary project Bundy had afoot at that time, and later did damage to Bundy's funding of an effort to detonate anti-Semitic race-riots in New York City. Since then, the two of us have come afool of one another more or less constantly, a circumstance efficiently calculated to foster mutual dislike. Admittedly, since Henry A. Kissinger unleashed the first of his international covert operations against me during 1975, it is Kissinger's personal vendetta against me and my friends—including a few who have died after a Kissinger threat was delivered—which has been off and on in the headlines around the world. In this matter, and other notable affairs, Bundy is vastly more important in rank and capacity for sheer meanness than the unhappy Mr. Kissinger.

The roots of the differences between Bundy and myself go back deep into the nineteenth century. By family background and present political profession, I am a "Henry Clay Whig," whereas Bundy's roots and convictions are those of the Lowells of New England. We patriots of the early nineteenth century never liked the Lowells, the Russells, the Cushings, the Perkinses, the Higginsons, or their friend and accomplice, Aaron Burr. We had reasons: those "New England Federalists" of Hartford Convention notoriety made their fortunes in the slave trade, the China opium-trade, and, above all else, outright, damnable treason. The New England "blue bloods" returned the sentiments, when they weren't distracted by such enterprises as hiring fellows around Harvard University or elsewhere, to cook up a cheerfully falsified, official version of their families' history. Looking at Mr. Bundy today, we are tempted to the view that perhaps certain family political traits are a matter of breeding.

Alas! Anton Chaitkin's survey of what the New England families could not manage to have covered over by the industrious gentlemen of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, is not going to increase Mr. Bundy's affection for me and my friends. So be it: the very thought of being within the orbit of Mr. Bundy's affections would cause me to shudder no end.

These fellows of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale—and a touch of Groton tossed in here and there—consider themselves "the best families"; it is said by the press, which they largely own, that these self-styled American Patricians are "eminently respectable." Why should they not be "respectable"? How many Chinese died to make them respectable? How many women and children died of virtual slavery in the Lowells' New England textile monopoly, and how many black slaves on southern plantations to produce the cheap cotton by whose profits the Lowells greatly enlarged their "respectability"? How many fisherman of Newburyport and Gloucester died in eternal pursuit of the had-dock and cod, all to give the same Lowells the more "respect-

ability"? How many Americans gave us their lives in the war of 1861-1865 because of the New England crowd's plotting with the Carolina slaveholders to split the United States into several, balkanized provinces—in a failed effort to make such folk as the Lowells even far more "respectable" than they are today? Can we be so inconsiderate to those countless dead as to deny that their blood made the fine gentlemen-families of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, so very, very "respectable"?

Shall we permit the loutish traditions of Dr. Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, our quaint, un-British conceit, the natural political equality of persons, to blind us to the plain and simple historical fact, that these celebrated "families" are not only passing "respectable," but full well "bloody respectable"? By all the saints of Holy Hesiod, and by all the fine traditions of the Theban Phalanx and Sparta's Lycurgus, we must not blind ourselves to the simple fact—which one can read, plainly enough, and often enough, in the unimpeachable pages of *The New York Times*: these "families" are "damned respectable"!

Even the helots of our nation admire the Spartan respectability of fellows such as McGeorge Bundy. We may take this from none less than the voice of labor itself, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. Do not permit yourselves to be distracted by the respectable Mr. Kirkland's membership in Henry A. Kissinger's Trilateral Commission, or Mr. Kirkland's creative financial ventures in Caribbean real-estate speculation. He is, after all, the certified voice of labor, and a great, true Democrat. Were he not, would he have been sponsored by so faithful a servant of democracy as that stalwart Fabian, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, and one-time professed servant of Joseph Stalin's OGPU, Jay Lovestone?

Do not seek to persuade Mr. Kirkland otherwise, by showing him that these families played both sides in the War of 1812 or the devastating war of 1861-1865. You will not fool Mr. Kirkland on this point. He knows that it was only brutal "aggression" which prompted the United States to suppress the institution

of black chattel-slavery, and has said so more than once. Mr. Kirkland's knowledge in the matter is unshakeable; it was his ancestor, after all, who directed the firing on Fort Sumter.

Do not raise your voice to allege that it is these gentlemen of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, who have ruined our nation's economy and defense during most of the recent 20 years. You must admire the fact that they have done so successfully, as respectable people should. As for this fellow, LaRouche; he is merely a disgruntled Whig, who keeps dragging out unpleasant facts which almost no one—"Believe me: none of my friends"—wishes to hear.

Despite all that, there are a few disgruntled people, here and there, in the United States, and some other parts of the world, who wish to know how these damnably respectable gentlemen-families of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, came to walk in the imperial footsteps of the celebrated Second Earl of Shelburne, and the ways of the great Tiberius before him. Since the families in question have not yet successfully destroyed the entirety of the records of their ancestors' doings, the time has come to present these surviving facts to the disgruntled—before such evidence vanishes in some eminently respectable fire.

# TREASON IN AMERICA

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FROM AARON BURR  
TO AVERELL HARRIMAN

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PART I  
The British-Swiss  
Secret Service  
In North America



-1-

## Benedict Arnold Re-Examined

On August 24, 1814, invading British armies entered Washington, D.C. and burned the Capitol, the White House, and the other government buildings, in a classic demonstration of the "arrogance of power."

But for the astonishing valor and intelligence of America's tiny navy during the Second War of Independence (1812-1815), the United States would likely have ceased to exist.

The country was defenseless; its financial, industrial, and military power had been systematically stripped away since 1801. Just as today, with demolished auto, steel, rail, port, and housing industries, the nation is vulnerable to our military and economic rivals, and financially terrorized by the Swiss and British through Paul Volcker's Federal Reserve; so, then, the country had been deliberately steered away from the nation-building, strong-government policies of Washington and Hamilton, and made weak—the object of contempt and ridicule by the enemies of freedom, who applauded U.S. "budget cuts."

It is time to put to rest the notion that "fiscal austerity" or "cutbacks to pay debt" are somehow American answers to growing deficits. These policies were smuggled into the United States by our foreign enemies and were imposed on the country in a coordinated attempt to end the American republic. That this is literally true and a precise description of events in the first quarter century of our national independence, will be shown here.

Alexander Hamilton's founding policies for the United States—a national bank providing cheap credit for productive enterprise; national sponsorship for the building of roads, canals, harbors and later railroads; and government protection of developing industries from British trade war (“competition”)—continued the tradition of Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), French finance minister under Louis XIV. The Congress enacted these policies, and America assumed its place among the powers of the earth.

But the founders were displaced from power, Hamilton was killed and his policies reversed by a British-Swiss secret intelligence organization, among whose principal American agents were Vice-President Aaron Burr (1756-1836) and Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin (1761-1849).

Facing bankruptcy as a result of the losing, worldwide conflict with America, and threatened with global emulation of the American republican experiment, the British Empire responded by organizing a campaign to subvert enemy governments. The U.S.A. must be reconquered, the oligarchs vowed. France must be destroyed, and Spanish America must be captured before being lost to independent republicanism.

The campaign was directed by William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, whose new British Secret Intelligence Service represented an alliance of “noble” families of Switzerland, Scotland and England. The eyes and the arms of this apparatus were provided by the British East India Company. Company Chairman George Baring's family, along with the Hopes, were the Anglo-Dutch financial power. Shelburne and Baring used the Company to employ a legion of “theorists,” including Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and Thomas Malthus. They controlled an elite army of spies and assassins, based primarily in Geneva. We will present here the simple, direct evidence that Burr and Gallatin were not Americans, but British agents based in this Genevan assassin-nobility.

### Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold

Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton. Later, he was tried for treason after leading a mercenary army against the United States. He was acquitted in that trial because the existing evidence was not presented to the jury. Burr fled the country under state indictments for murder and treason, only to return, have all charges quietly dropped, and become a rich New York lawyer.

All Burr biographies speculate on the “psychological drives” which may have motivated his “adventures.” No book in existence today raises even a question that Burr may have been a spy.

As for Gallatin, who migrated to America and spent a lifetime trying to destroy the country, no biography even hints of base motives.

On July 11, 1982, the anniversary of Hamilton's shooting, *The New York Times* carried a major “reassessment” of Burr's guilt:

The indictment of Aaron Burr for treason 175 years ago proved to be the final blow to the former Vice President's reputation and political career, even though he was found not guilty of the charge. Now, a scholar contends that a coded letter implicating Burr and long believed to have been written by him was in fact written by an associate.

That letter . . . supposedly showed that Burr was planning to seize Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mexico for his own undefined political purposes. And it was that letter that persuaded President Thomas Jefferson to issue a warrant for Burr's arrest.

Citing handwriting analysis, the scholar . . . contends that the letter was written by Jonathan Dayton. . . .

“Burr was probably guilty of something, but no one's absolutely sure of what. . . . [Burr was] close to a nervous breakdown.”

Why does *The New York Times* attempt to resurrect Aaron

Burr, and in effect, celebrate the anniversary of Burr's murder of Hamilton?

To answer this question is to unlock crucial secrets of American history—"secrets" which have remained so only because of the self-imposed blindness of historians for more than a century. And it will reveal the deeper significance of the *Times's* backing for the austerity policies of today's "Albert Gallatins"—Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker and the Swiss-based international monetary powers.

Aaron Burr's maternal grandparents were the famous anti-rationalist theologian, Jonathan Edwards, and Sarah Pierrepont, whose family intermarried with the (J. P.) Morgans, later the owners of *The New York Times*. Taking an extreme form of the anti-free will doctrine of Geneva's John Calvin as his starting point, Edwards was at the same time an apostle of the British determinist philosophers Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. The result was a particularly savage notion of Man forced to submit blindly to the capricious will of an incomprehensible God. A counterpole to the ideas of progress expressed by the Pilgrim Fathers, Edwards was applauded as America's greatest original mind by the royalist reactionaries of Europe.

Burr's father, Aaron Burr, Sr., visited Edwards as a disciple and married his daughter, Esther. The family scene was one of chaotic terror: two of Esther's sisters (Burr's aunts) were institutionalized for insanity and one murdered her own daughter; an uncle of Edwards slashed his own throat at the height of an Edwards revival frenzy.<sup>1</sup>

Aaron Burr, Jr., was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1756. His parents both died in his infancy, and the orphan boy was taken to live with family friends who were prominent merchants, the Shippens of Philadelphia. His step-sister in this household, Margaret "Peggy" Shippen, became the wife and instigator of the world's most famous traitor, Benedict Arnold.

1. Alexander, Holmes: *Aaron Burr, The Proud Pretender*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937, p. 7.

Later, while living with his uncle, Burr was tutored by Tapping Reeve in marksmanship and the arts of diplomacy—rhetoric and dissimulation. He attended Princeton University, then called the College of New Jersey, from 1769 to 1772. His father had been the second president of the college, his grandfather the third.

As the political conflict with the British grew, the sympathies of the students were largely with the American cause; Burr's classmate James Madison and others joined the patriot Whig Society. But Burr marked himself for the attention of nervous British authorities. He organized the Cliosophic Society in opposition to the Whigs. Reciting cynical British poetry, Burr and his student followers spent their nights in bars and brothels, their days scoffing at the more politically inclined.<sup>2</sup>

Among those who must have taken a particular interest in the young nihilist was the highest-ranking British military officer in New Jersey, James Mark Prevost. James Prevost and two brothers<sup>3</sup> had left Geneva, Switzerland, in the 1750s to enter the British service; they had been army officers in the French and Indian War. The Prevost family in Geneva were hereditary members of the ruling Council of 200. Abraham Prevost was principal of the University of Geneva during the American Revolution. In England and in Switzerland, the Prevosts were intermarried with the Mallets; the Mallet-Prevosts, who lived as a single extended family, will form the most important link in this story of assassins sent against America. And it was the Prevost family, as we shall see, who finally gave the orphan Aaron Burr a home and identity.

2. Burr, Aaron, and Davis, Matthew L., *Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence*, Matthew L. Davis ed., Harper and Brothers, New York, 1836, Vol. I, p. 20. See also Lomask, Milton, *Aaron Burr, 1756-1805*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 1979, pp. 68-69.

3. The genealogies and official histories of the Prevost and Mallet families are given in Mallet-Prevost, Severo, *Historical Notes and Biographical Sketches Regarding the American Branch of the Mallet Family, 1794-1930*, New York, 1930; and Choisy, Albert, *Notice genealogique et historique sur la famille Mallet de Geneve*, Geneva, 1930.



Following his Princeton career, Burr re-immersed himself in grandfather Jonathan Edwards's "New Light" visions by enrolling in a theological school taught by another Edwards disciple in Connecticut. At the end of nine months of this religious training, Burr stole a horse and rode to Litchfield, to be tutored again by his shooting teacher Tapping Reeve.<sup>4</sup>

Reeve taught Burr the basics of British law, and with Burr as his first student, Reeve went on to establish the first law school in America. Tapping Reeve, now married to Burr's sister Sally, trained two generations of positivists and aspiring oligarchs from the Southern plantations and the New England shipping and slave-trading families.

Sally Burr Reeve was one of the countless women who served Aaron Burr as efficient instruments—like a glove through which Burr could reach out and handle his agents and dupes.

### Aaron Burr Joins the Army

The tradition of two centuries of history says that Aaron Burr was a daring American soldier, a hero of the Revolution. No biographer contradicts this estimation. Let the reader decide the value of the tradition.

While at the Litchfield Law School, Burr struck up an intense friendship with Dolly Quincy, then the fiancée of Continental Congress leader John Hancock. Miss Quincy was passing the summer at the home of one of Burr's cousins, who was Hancock's friend. When war broke out at Lexington and Concord, Aaron Burr went to Philadelphia carrying Dolly's recommendation, and secured from John Hancock, by then her husband, a letter of introduction to the commander of the new Continental Army, George Washington.

Burr went back to Boston in the summer of 1775, suddenly "ablaze with patriotism," as one biographer puts it.<sup>5</sup> The American army was camped outside the enemy-occupied city. Burr

4. Alexander, *Pretender*, p. 21.

5. Lomask, *Burr 1756-1805*, p. 34.

presented Hancock's letter to General Washington, who took one look at the applicant and denied Burr's request for a commission.

But Burr did not leave. While Washington fought desperately to whip his undisciplined ranks into a combat force, Burr wandered on and off the post, flashing his Hancock letter.<sup>6</sup>

After two months of this, Burr found a way around Washington's watchful eye. An expedition of 1,200 soldiers had set out on the march to Quebec, under the leadership of Colonel Benedict Arnold. Burr walked 60 miles north of camp to meet the expedition. He had no commission—he was a "gentleman volunteer." He said he would pay his own way, and he was accepted by Arnold.

The first of Burr's revolutionary exploits entered the history books on the basis of Burr's testimony alone. Colonel Arnold wanted to link up with General Richard Montgomery's forces over a hundred miles away, moving toward Quebec after conquering Montreal. Arnold sent Burr as a messenger, and Burr's account of what happened is reported without comment by biographer Holmes Alexander: "In order to traverse the strange, hostile [i.e. British-controlled] territory, Aaron devised an ingenious plan. He disguised himself as a priest, affected a college patois of French and Latin and guilelessly presented himself at a nearby monastery. Here, prevailing upon the holy father for assistance, he obtained a guide, who brought him swiftly to Montgomery's camp."<sup>7</sup>

Is this a true story? Before rejecting it as absurd, consider its possible partial truth from the fact that the Catholic Church in Canada, largely Jesuit-controlled, had reached an agreement with the British authorities to cooperate with British rule, while being allowed to maintain their religion and French language. In any case, somehow Burr was escorted in the manner and comfort of a royal guest through enemy territory and arrived at the

6. Vail, Philip, *The Great American Rascal*, Hawthorn Books, New York, 1973, pp. 11-12.

7. Alexander, *Pretender*, p. 44.

camp of General Montgomery, who was so dazzled with Burr's apparent ingenuity that he made him a captain and an aide de camp.

Montgomery now joined Arnold's forces to prepare the final assault on Quebec, and Burr got the assignment he had sought—to be a spy and scout behind enemy lines.<sup>8</sup>

In the closing pages of the first full-fledged Burr biography, Englishman James Parton harks back to a scene in preparation for the attack:

During the expedition to Canada, while the American forces lay near the heights of Quebec, Burr . . . went down to a small brook to drink. Having no cup, he was proceeding to use the top of his cap as a drinking vessel, when a British officer who had come to the other side of the brook for the same purpose saluted him politely, and offered him the use of his hunting cup. Burr accepted the offer, and the two enemies entered into conversation. The officer, pleased with the frank and gallant bearing of the youth . . . concluded the interview by [giving Burr] part of a horse's tongue. They inquired each other's name. "When next we meet," said the Briton, "it will be as enemies, but if we should ever come together after the war is over, let us know each other better." Stepping upon some stones in the middle of the brook, they shook hands, and parted. In the subsequent operations of the war, each saw the other occasionally, but before the peace the British officer went home badly wounded. Thirty-six years after, when Colonel Burr was an exile in Scotland, he met that officer again. . . .<sup>9</sup>

When the Montgomery-Arnold forces finally launched what was supposed to be a surprise attack on the fortress of Quebec,

8. *ibid.*, pp. 45-46. Parton, James, *The Life and Times of Aaron Burr*, Houghton, Osgood and Company, Boston, 1880, Vol I, p. 73.

9. Parton, *Life and Times*, Vol. II, pp. 317-318.

the British had somehow learned of the plan, the timing, and the place of attack.<sup>10</sup> The Americans were slaughtered. Canada was lost, to remain a British base of subversive operations against the U.S.A.

But in the crushing defeat, Burr emerged a hero! One of Burr's followers from Princeton had also joined the expedition as chaplain, and his story was circulated by the rumor mills to Congress: General Montgomery was shot dead inside the fort, and all others who had gone inside lay dead or dying except Burr. He walked over and picked up the body of the general, and the British stopped firing as he walked out of the fort with it, in honor of such a noble and courageous act!

Arnold refused to give up the attempt on Quebec; he stayed through the winter and gathered more forces from the lower colonies. But in May 1776, Aaron Burr simply deserted<sup>11</sup> and went to New York. One of his cousins had obtained for him an appointment to Washington's staff. Burr left behind him a new-found friend and correspondent in the Arnold camp: General James Wilkinson, whose career as an enemy agent later intertwined with Burr's at many crucial points.

Burr arrived at Washington's New York headquarters with a hero's reputation, and took up his duties as secretary to the commander-in-chief, assigned to copy the most crucial military secrets. Within a few days, Washington fired Burr. As biographer Milton Lomask puts it: "Some sprightly tales have been written of Burr's service . . . how he examined documents meant only for the general's eyes . . . there is reason to believe that something happened between Washington and Burr during the latter's short stay at Richmond Hill headquarters—something that, were we to know its nature, might explain Washington's frequently ungracious treatment of Burr in the years to come. Clearly something in the manner of the younger man

10. Vail, *Rascal*, p. 22.

11. Parton, *Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 78.

annoyed the older one. Perhaps it was Burr's innate air of superiority, derived from his family background. . . ."<sup>12</sup>

Upon Burr's complaint, John Hancock got him transferred to the command of General Putnam. Burr bulled his way to a promotion by disobeying orders and making bold sallies in contempt of senior officers, with sometimes pretty, but always inconsequential, results.

In the winter of 1777, Washington's troops were holed up in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, ragged, cold, and weary. Colonel Aaron Burr, with a retinue of spies and scouts, was hanging around the fringes of British-occupied New York. Burr wrote to Washington asking him to send his 2,000 best troops for Burr to lead in a final assault on New York City.

Washington responded by ordering that Burr's troops be merged into his command in Pennsylvania. But Burr and his immediate circle were never cold, hungry, or ill-clothed at Valley Forge. They were supplied with the best of everything by the British. Burr and his men would often reappear in camp, plump and dressed in the finest; on occasion Burr would quiet the mumblings by distributing a small part of these goods to the camp. Burr explained that his spies kept him informed of where the British supply caravans would be passing through; his stocks, he said, came from raiding these British wagons.<sup>13</sup>

A few miles south, the British army occupied Philadelphia. Among the most prominent Tories, who came out to gala parties of the British officers, was Aaron Burr's step-sister, Peggy Shippen. At one famous dance, the "Mischianza," she appeared with her boyfriend, Major John André, adjutant general of the British Army.

Major André, born in London, was the son of a Geneva, Switzerland, merchant-banker. John was sent from London to Geneva to receive his training in military and related arts at the

University of Geneva during the late 1760s.<sup>14</sup> Now, in Philadelphia, Major André and Miss Shippen were preparing what would be American history's most famous treason.

At the same time, Burr, now an American colonel, began making visits to the New Jersey home of British Captain James Mark Prevost, who was in the South fighting the Americans. James's brother Augustine was by then the Commander of British forces in the South, and he and James became governor and lieutenant governor of Georgia after it was reconquered by the British. Burr was visiting *Mrs.* Prevost, whom he was later to marry, who introduced him to the works and the world of Jeremy Bentham and Voltaire.

These were no mere literary favorites of Theodosia Prevost. Bentham was then living on the estate of British intelligence overlord Shelburne, sharing in the work of controlling agents around the world; and Voltaire was an acquaintance of *Mrs.* Prevost's brother-in-law General Augustine Prevost, from as early as 1767.

Jacques Mallet du Pan, the founder of the British branch of the Mallet family, began his association with Voltaire in 1770, frequently visiting his residence outside Geneva until Voltaire's death in 1778. In 1772, on Voltaire's recommendation, Mallet du Pan became a professor of history in the German province ruled by the Landgrave of Hesse, who within a few years was to sell his people to King George to be mercenaries against America.

Mallet du Pan's services to British intelligence will be noted later.

In April 1778, Burr requested a transfer to the staff of General Horatio Gates. The "Conway Cabal" of anti-Washington political and military men had made Gates their intended replacement for commander-in-chief. While they circulated slanders against Washington, Gates refused the commander's orders to move

12. Lomask, *Burr 1756-1805*, p. 74.

13. Vail, *Rascal*, p. 36.

14. Sargent, Winthrop, *The Life and Career of Major John André*, W. Abbatt, New York, 1969, p. 8.

south with his troops to Washington's assistance. General Gates's chief aide and secretary was General James Wilkinson, Burr's confidante from the Canada expedition.

Doubly confirmed in his suspicions, Washington squelched Burr's request to join Gates.<sup>15</sup>

In the spring of 1779, Benedict Arnold and Peggy Shippen were married, and the first letters negotiating Arnold's treason, conduited through his wife, went between Arnold and Major André.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile Aaron Burr, closely watched by George Washington, finally got himself transferred out of the area by contracting "nervous fatigue." Burr's contacts arranged that he be assigned to supervise the activities of espionage agents, whom Burr regularly sent to New York to "study British shipping" in the enemy capital.

In September 1778, Burr transferred to West Point, the crucial fortress on the Hudson which blocked the British Navy's passage north from New York City and guarded the American connections between New England and the southern colonies. Burr had two to four months there to study the fort's layout and its defenders.

In January 1779, Burr transferred to White Plains, just north of the city. From this base he rode every night down to the

15. For Burr's hearty affiliation with the Conway Cabal, see Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 23; the memoirs are edited and come with commentary by Matthew Davis, Burr's aide and executor, who writes forthrightly about Burr's attitude.

16. See Van Doren, Carl Clinton, *Secret History of the American Revolution. . . Drawn from the Secret Service Papers of the British Headquarters in North America*, The Viking Press, New York, 1941. Van Doren's treatment of the Benedict Arnold treason and other such British operations, though very "revealing," should be read with some caution. It is taken from papers the British authorities chose to release about the period in question, and may be particularly misleading in its emphasis on spectacular, or even pornographic, espionage affairs, diverting attention from relatively more significant matters of philosophy, commitment and enemy organization among prominent Americans.

British lines.<sup>17</sup> The official story was that he used the knowledge gained to plan raids against enemy outposts.

The Benedict Arnold plot came to its climax in September 1780. Peggy Shippen Arnold left Philadelphia to be with her husband for the planned surrender of West Point, whose command Arnold had succeeded in obtaining. On her way she stopped in Paramus, New Jersey, to confer with Mrs. Prevost. When the conspiracy collapsed, André and his assistant Joshua Hett Smith were captured, Arnold fled to the British, and his wife play-acted her way past Alexander Hamilton's interrogation.

On her first day out of West Point, Mrs. Arnold stopped again at the Prevost mansion. Matthew Davis, longtime aide and finally executor for Aaron Burr, wrote in his 1836 edition of Burr's *Memoirs*:

Mrs. Prevost was known as the wife of a British officer, and connected with the royalists. In her, therefore, Mrs. Arnold could confide.

As soon as they were left alone, Mrs. Arnold became tranquilized, and assured Mrs. Prevost that she was heartily sick of the theatrics she was exhibiting.

She stated that she had corresponded with the British commander—that she was disgusted with the American cause and those who had the management of public affairs—and that, through great persuasion and unceasing perseverance, she had ultimately brought the general into an arrangement to surrender West Point to the British.<sup>18</sup>

### Aaron Burr and the Escape of the Traitors

On this visit, Theodosia's boyfriend, Aaron Burr, was also present.

The Shippen family complained in a bitter historical record—never printed until 1900—that Aaron Burr, in this post-West

17. Vail, *Rascal*, p. 39.

18. Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

Point encounter, made sexual advances to Mrs. Arnold which she repulsed. The Shippens conjectured what Burr's "line" must have been: that he would now care for her, that after all he had promised her parents, his own step-parents, that he would look after her in the future.<sup>19</sup>

Benedict Arnold's accomplice Joshua Hett Smith,<sup>20</sup> in whose coat Major John André was captured, was arrested and held for trial. He admitted that he had brought André from the British ship *Vulture* for his meeting with Arnold, which took place in his house; that he had hidden André in his house; and that he had provided him with a disguise and conducted him toward New York, the plans of West Point hidden in André's clothes. In the words of George Washington, Smith was to be prosecuted "for aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late a Major General in our service, in a combination with the enemy, to take, kill, and seize such of the loyal citizens or soldiers of these United States, as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies."

Joshua Hett Smith was acquitted at the court martial on the pretext that he was only obeying Benedict Arnold; but he was held for a civilian trial on similar charges. While he was being transported as prisoner to another court, the convoy stopped at the home of his brother Thomas Smith. Aaron Burr was there. Burr succeeded in delaying the party overnight, and tried various stratagems to stall their progress longer, but they moved on. Later however, while awaiting his civilian trial, Joshua Smith escaped from custody, fled to New York and thence London, where he lived in the comfort and grace of his nephew's family, the *Mallets*.

At the point of Joshua Smith's escape, Aaron Burr, having

19. Walker, Lewis Burd, "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIV, 1900, pages 408-409, and Vol. XXV, July, 1901, pp. 152-156. The material is taken from the papers of the Shippen family.

20. For Joshua Hett Smith see Koke, Richard J., *Accomplice in Treason: Joshua Hett Smith and the Arnold Conspiracy*, New-York Historical Society, New York, 1973.

resigned from the army, was studying law in that very same home of Thomas Smith, Esq., who is described by biographer Milton Lomask as "a respected figure in the profession."<sup>21</sup> George Washington thought otherwise, however.

Washington noted that the discovery that Thomas Smith had been seen behind enemy lines after Arnold's treason "may . . . added to other circumstances of a suspicious nature, furnish the legislature with good reasons for removing the Gentleman in question from Haverstraw, which, from its vicinity to our posts, affords him an opportunity of gaining and giving intelligence very material to the enemy and injurious to us. Of his dispositions to do this there is little doubt."<sup>22</sup>

As for Benedict Arnold, he came back into action leading British troops who were burning American villages along the James River. Somewhat earlier, further South and equally infamous, the commander and sub-commander of raiding and burning British forces had been General Augustine Prevost and Colonel Mark Prevost, respectively the brother-in-law and the husband of Aaron Burr's sometime girlfriend.

Major André was hanged for his role in Arnold's treason; historians today still mourn his "unfortunate" end, a spy's death being an indignity for someone of André's breeding. But André's family did well. Merged into the de Neuffize family, and joining the Mallets, they formed the de Neuffize, Schlumberger, Mallet (NSM) Bank—now known to the world as the Schlumberger financial and intelligence interests.

Aaron Burr married Mrs. Theodosia Prevost in July 1782, after being informed that her husband had died while on tour with the British army. He was now a husband, step-father, cousin, and uncle of Mallet-Prevosts in many very important places.

21. Lomask, *Burr 1756-1805*, p. 75.

22. George Washington to William Duer, Commissioner for Detecting Conspiracies in New York State; *Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, Washington, D. C., 1931-1944, Vol. XX, p. 226, quoted in Koke, *Accomplice in Treason*, p. 164.

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## The British Surrender, But the War Continues

At the close of the American War in 1783, while the British and French were still fighting, East India Company operative Adam Smith wrote an updated version of the *Wealth of Nations*. This was to be the essential document of the new order of things in London, for by then Smith's friend Lord Shelburne had established his power in the British government by a virtual coup.

In it Smith complained that "Mr. Colbert, the famous minister of Lewis XIV . . . [endeavored to regulate] the industry and commerce of a great country upon the same model as the departments of a public office; and instead of allowing every man to pursue his own interest in his own way . . . he bestowed upon certain branches of industry extraordinary privileges, while he laid others under as extraordinary restraints . . . [Colbert preferred] the industry of the towns above that of the country."<sup>1</sup> This unfair policy (by which France had become a greater manufacturing power than England!), said Smith, was responsible for provoking cycles of retaliation between France and England, and peace between the two nations could only be secured on the basis of "free trade" between them.

In France, Adam Smith's theory of free trade was popularized by Burr's new cousin, Jacques Mallet du Pan, who called Smith "the most profound and philosophic of all the metaphysical writ-

ers who have dealt with economic questions." Later du Pan's cousin Pierre Prevost, professor at the University of Geneva, would translate the works of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus.

Attacking Colbert's policies in 1786, Mallet du Pan lobbied strenuously with France's King Louis XVI to accept British Prime Minister William Pitt's offer of a treaty that would force France to give up all protective measures, and put the country at the mercy of Britain's "free trade" policies. At the same time the international banking houses, led by the Swiss, suddenly refused credit to the French government, and Louis XVI was forced to sign Pitt's Eden Treaty. No sooner had that been accomplished, than the British launched a terrifying trade war, dumping cheap British manufactures on the French market and cutting off the supply to France of vital Spanish wool.

Within France, employment, agriculture, and trade quickly collapsed and starvation followed. In 1789, credit was again withdrawn from the French government. King Louis XVI was forced to reinstall Genevan banker Jacques Necker as minister of finance—after having fired him several times before—in order to "regain the confidence" of the banking community.

Necker proposed austerity as the only solution to the crisis. He told the people of France that their troubles stemmed from "wasteful spending" by the King and Queen.

Necker was again dismissed by the insulted King, but now mobs surged through the streets crying that Necker was the only hope for the French people. As they stormed the Bastille prison, the French Revolution began.

Aaron Burr's kinsman, Mallet du Pan, satisfied that anarchy was burying French greatness, returned to Geneva and then settled in London—where he set up a European-wide spy network for the British. Spymaster du Pan received first-hand accounts of French government secret deliberations from his agents within France.<sup>2</sup>

1. Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Oliphant, Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh, Scotland, Second Edition, 1817, Vol. III, p. 2.

2. Acomb, Frances, *Mallet Du Pan, A Career in Political Journalism*, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C. 1973, pp. 257-59: "Berne . . . was an

## Enter Albert Gallatin

Albert Gallatin, who was to serve the British with Burr on American soil in the decades that followed the Revolutionary victory, came from one of the leading oligarchical families of Geneva. Relations of blood, and of bloody deeds, united them with Gallatins, Galitzins, Galitis, and Gallatinis in Russia, South Germany, Holland, Italy and Savoy, where the family originated. They had served the feudal nobility of Europe for centuries as financiers and soldiers of fortune.<sup>3</sup>

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ideal location for the center of the intelligence network that Mallet Du Pan created. . . ."

The British Representative at Brussels, Lord "Elgin was impressed, decided to employ Mallet's services upon a regular basis, and in the first six months of 1794 received [a] series of intelligence reports . . . [on] the dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety and the means by which it governed France and managed to wage the war. . . .

"The correspondence with Elgin was succeeded by a similar correspondence with Don Rodrigo de Souza-Coutinho, the Portuguese diplomatic representative at Turin . . . from the beginning of 1795 through 1797. This Lisbon correspondence was set up on British initiative as a way of maintaining communication with Mallet at Berne: Lisbon was a 'letter box' . . . the best known correspondence of this type by Mallet Du Pan is that with the Court of Vienna, from the end of 1794 until the close of February, 1798. There was also a much less extensive correspondence with Berlin, through Hardenburg, between 1795 and 1799. . . .

"Mallet's sources of information . . . [included] emigres of various descriptions, he also had his regular correspondents within the country [France] . . . One of these . . . was Peuchet . . . under the Directory he went to the Ministry of Police where he was in charge of the bureau dealing with litigation concerning emigres, priests and conspirators. . . ."

3. For an anecdotal introduction to Gallatin family life, see Gallatin, James, [son of Albert] *The Diary of James Gallatin*, Ed. by Count Gallatin, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919. This edition has an introduction written by Viscount James Bryce in 1914, just after Bryce's reign as British Ambassador to the United States. The Gallatins' relations with the *Galitzins* are variously described throughout the Diary. In the entry for October 27, 1813, p. 12: "Count *Galati* called this afternoon. He says he is a branch of our family; that his family were from Savigliano in the Piedmont; that his father was intimate with Count Paul Michael de Gallatin, Councillor of State of the Republic of Geneva, who acknowledged relationship. He is very charming, and father does not doubt the relationship. Count Paul Michael was the head of our family and my father was his ward. Count

The Gallatins maintained a seat on Geneva's Council of 200, along with the family that had finally given Aaron Burr a home and identity—the Mallet-Prevost family. The Gallatins were cousins of the Mallets, the Prevosts, and the Neckers, with active relations in England, Holland, and Geneva.

Albert Gallatin was born in 1761. His most intimate friend and father-figure in his youth was the writer Voltaire, the Gallatins' neighbor. According to all his biographers, Albert spent countless hours on the lap of the ultra-rich cynic, whose love of British and hatred of Continental philosophy made a deep impression on the youth.

At the University of Geneva as a student, Gallatin formed a life-long friendship with classmate Etienne Dumont, who left Switzerland and became the tutor to the sons of Britain's Lord Shelburne, as well as the worldwide agent and translator of Jeremy Bentham.

Another formative relationship, not mentioned in any existing Gallatin biography, can best be described by Gallatin himself in an affidavit he filed in New York City, September 18, 1835:

Having been requested to state the facts within my knowledge respecting the identity of Paul Henry Mallet-Prevost of Alexandria in New Jersey and sometime ago deceased I do hereby declare and certify as follows, viz:

I was myself born in the city of Geneva, Switzerland in

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Galati is a great person in Russia. He was in full uniform, covered with orders and stars. He kindly explained them to me. He has the following orders: the Military Orders of St. George and St. Vladimir of Russia, St. Maurice and S. Lazare of Sardinia, and the Sovereign Order of St. Jean of Jerusalem."

The better-known details of Albert Gallatin's life may be learned by consulting any of his almost worshipful eulogies, including: Adams, Henry, *The Life of Albert Gallatin*, Henry Holt, New York, 1879 (Adams was hired by the Gallatin family to write this book); Muzzey, David, "Albert Gallatin," in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931; Stevens, John Austin, *Albert Gallatin*, Houghton Mifflin and Co., Boston, 1883; Stevens was himself a member of Gallatin's family by marriage.

the month of January, 1761, and left for the United States in April 1780. From the year 1765-1766 till my departure I was intimately acquainted with the family of Paul Henry Mallet aforesaid, kept on an uninterrupted intercourse with several of its members and particularly with his two younger brothers, and knew him personally, though he being a few years older than myself, my intimacy was less with him than with them. The said Paul Henry Mallet was the son of Henry Mallet a merchant, manufacturer, and highly respected citizen of Geneva and of [Jeanne Gabrielle] Prevost. . . .

The brother of the said Henry Mallet was Professor Mallet, distinguished in the republic of letters as the author of *Northern Antiquities*, the history of Denmark. . . . He was an intimate friend of my family, took great interest in me, and to his friendship and kindness I am indebted for having directed and assisted me in my history studies.<sup>4</sup>

4. Quoted in Mallet-Prevost, *Historical Notes*; this affidavit was requested of Gallatin in a letter from Andrew Mallet-Prevost, dated Philadelphia, Aug. 21, 1835 (Gallatin Papers).

The compiler of the Mallet genealogy was apparently anxious to enhance the value of his own "pedigree" by demonstrating the famous Gallatin's close relationship to his family; the affidavit was a crucial clue which has led the present author to many discoveries in the traditionally semi-private world of oligarchical control in political and academic spheres. See Morris, Richard Brandon, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence*, Harper and Row, New York, 1965. Morris describes (p. 100-104) the activities of Gallatin's tutor and guide, Prof. Paul-Henri Mallet, during the American Revolution: "[Viscount] Mounstuart [son of Lord Bute, King George III's closest friend] spent a good deal of time [in Geneva] with his former tutor, Paul-Henri Mallet. The Swiss professor and historian had toured Italy with the young Viscount in 1765 [where] the young Viscount . . . pursued . . . uninhibited explorations of the customs and talents of the courtesans of Rome and Venice . . . Mallet, best known for his history of Denmark, had important connections in royal circles . . . and was at that time committed to write a history of Brunswick for George III. He knew Paris well, and from childhood had been an intimate of Jacques Necker, a fellow Genevese. . . ."

"In the spring of 1780 Mallet spent two and a half months in Paris, a good part in Necker's company. On his return to Geneva he made contact

Gallatin goes on to mention two brothers-in-law of this professor, uncles to his intimate friends, the little Mallet brothers: General Augustine Prevost, who "defended the South from the combined forces of the United States and France," and James Mark Prevost, "also a high-ranking officer in the British command . . . who was the husband of Theodosia Prevost, later the wife of Aaron Burr."

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with Mountstuart immediately. The tutor talked freely to his former pupil 'under solemn oath of secrecy.' Were these talks to be disclosed, he cautioned, they might 'greatly prejudice M. Necker,' who was now winning the support of the King [Louis XVI] . . . Necker had been frank with the Swiss historian, according to the latter's own account. To introduce fiscal reforms, the court of France had to have peace [i.e. stop France's war with Britain, in alliance with the American Revolution, which was] a war he had never had nor could approve . . . The only thing that was holding up that peace for a single minute was the American rebellion. As regards the latter, Necker . . . was quoted by Mallet as expressing the fervent hope 'in God the English would be able to maintain their ground a little better this campaign.' Mallet, who had done quite a bit of preliminary cogitating on this problem, then proposed to Necker that 'some one province,' say New England, be declared independent, 'and the others obliged to return to their former allegiance.' Necker's response was favorable. . . ."[emphasis added]

". . . Mountstuart was . . . thrilled at the prospect of playing an important role in ending the war, and he believed that, with the American reverses in the South, the timing was right to 'incline our enemies to think a little more seriously of peace.' From Geneva he rushed . . . a report of these conversations [to London]. Mountstuart [reported]: What Mallet wanted was that the sums advanced to him by George III for writing the Brunswick history would be increased and given to him for life. . . .

". . . Necker was prepared to go behind [French foreign minister] Vergennes' back and effect a peace without satisfying even the minimum goals of France's . . . allies and without regard to Louis XVI's own honored commitments.

"On December 1st, Necker, in the full assurance of his growing power, dispatched a secret message to [British Prime Minister] Lord North. . . 'You desire peace,' Necker wrote. 'I wish it also.' . . ."

[Morris, p. 149]: "In the months and years ahead . . . the notion of dealing with the separate states demonstrated remarkable vitality . . . the partition or fragmentizing of America. In essence the Mallet-Necker plan, it was seriously advanced. . . ."

Seriously advanced, indeed, until the Union forces finally put it to rest in 1865.



In the 1790s, Gallatin's intimates the Mallet-Prevost brothers came to America. The affidavit further states: "I met Paul Henry Mallet for the first time [since his arrival in America] at Mr. Burr's, the first husband of whose wife was as above stated Paul Henry's uncle."

Gallatin attended the University of Geneva while his cousin Jacques Necker was battling the Colbertist tradition in France by demanding that budget cutbacks, not industrial growth, be the central aim of the administration.

Upon Gallatin's graduation in 1778, the American Revolution was threatening to turn the world against London and its allies. Gallatin's grandmother informed him that her intimate friend the Landgrave of Hesse would make Albert a lieutenant colonel in the Hessian mercenary army fighting against America. Here the anglophile biographers have blithely passed along the most preposterous story to explain how the son of one of the most reactionary families of feudal assassins, who himself was a member of the anti-republican Negatif Party in Geneva, could come to America and pose as a friend.

According to this legend, Albert Gallatin replied to his grandmother, "I will never serve a tyrant," and received a box on the ear. He then secretly left Switzerland, and traveled to America, an adventure-loving young liberal. His family, the legend lamely concludes, then wished him well and sent along letters of recommendation to help him out in his new country.

Gallatin arrived in Boston in mid-July 1780. The Revolution was in its darkest moment: if Benedict Arnold's traitorous surrender of West Point went through as planned for September, the United States would be cut in half—the British and their Tory spy networks would soon be back in power. Albert Gallatin awaited the outcome in Boston.

But Arnold was foiled when his British purchaser Major John André was caught with the West Point plans.

On October 1, 1780, two days after André was condemned to death, Albert Gallatin sailed out of Boston harbor toward Maine. He hid in a cabin by the Canadian border until receiving

word a year later that the British had surrendered at Yorktown. Gallatin then returned to Boston, where his family had arranged for him to become a Harvard University instructor.

Despite Gallatin's fervid assurances to the contrary, some biographers continue to assert that he "fought in the American Revolution."<sup>5</sup>

In 1786, Gallatin moved west, settling on 60,000 acres in southwestern Pennsylvania's Fayette County, a worldly prince among the backwoodsmen. He immediately set to work to prevent his adopted country from becoming a nation.

It was the same year that saw the outbreak of Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts and other movements which threatened to dismember the country. Burr's friend from the Quebec Expedition, General Wilkinson, had led a movement to separate the Kentucky region from Virginia and the nation, and cement it commercially with the Spanish-held port of New Orleans. It was only the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 which undercut these projects.

As soon as the document was sent to the states for ratification, Albert Gallatin became the mastermind of the Pennsylvania opposition forces. John Smilie, a Gallatin lieutenant, was the floor leader of the anti-ratificationists in the state convention. Smilie condemned the Constitution for "inviting rather than guarding against the approaches of tyranny," and what he said was its "tendency to a consolidation, not a confederation, of the states." Gallatin lost; Pennsylvania ratified by a two-to-one majority.

In September 1788, Gallatin drew up the resolution of the anti-Federalists calling for another constitutional convention, and corresponded with like-minded men in other states.

In 1790, 1791, and 1792, Gallatin was elected to the Pennsylvania state legislature, meeting in Philadelphia alongside the

5. An example of this puffery: "... alarms of English invasion reached the settlement, and volunteers marched to the defence of the frontier. Twice Gallatin accompanied such parties . . . and once . . . was left in command of a small earthwork and a temporary garrison of whites and Indians at that place." Stevens, *Gallatin*, p. 16.

Congress. In the session of 1791-1792, Gallatin was on 35 committees, preparing all their reports and drawing up all their bills.

Gallatin's first initiative was the creation of an armed movement against the new federal government. We shall return to this topic after reviewing the continuing career of Gallatin's new cousin.

### Aaron Burr, the Wall Street Lawyer

When the war ended, Aaron Burr began a law career in New York City and became known as an exceptionally clever lawyer. With no interest in the theory or purpose of law, Burr could nevertheless be counted on to amaze and confound juries, sometimes gaining a not-guilty verdict when the jury believed the contrary to be the case.<sup>6</sup>

During the war, as chief aide to General George Washington, Alexander Hamilton had observed Burr; and he had observed the British mode of treachery in warfare. Now his suspicions were growing. During the fight over the ratification of the Constitution, Burr took no stand, but he proposed to Hamilton that a coup d'état might settle the problem. They should "seize the opportunity to give a stable government," he told Hamilton.

"Seize?" Hamilton replied. "This could not be done without guilt." Burr retorted with his favorite maxim: "Les grandes ames se soucient peu des petits morceaux [great souls worry little about trifles]." Hamilton solved the problem by writing, with James Madison and John Jay, the *Federalist Papers*, with which they convinced the national majority to back the Constitution; Hamilton reported this conversation 13 years later, when stopping Burr's drive for the U.S. presidency.<sup>7</sup>

One of Burr's most important law clients was John Jacob Astor, whose ill-gotten fortune later saved Burr's neck.

6. Alexander, *Pretender*, pp. 89-92 Schachner, Nathan, *Aaron Burr*, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1937, p. 89.

7. Hamilton to James A. Bayard, Jan. 16, 1801, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1961-1977, Vol. XXV, pp. 319-324. Parton, *Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 283, quotes Burr as saying "moraux," or morals.

Astor had left Waldorf, Germany, at the age of 17, landing in London in 1780. While working for a London-established brother, he became associated with the East India Company. He lived in London during the American Revolution, moving to New York City in March 1784 where his brother, Henry Astor, was waiting for him. Henry had become extremely wealthy during the war years in British-occupied New York, buying and selling the livestock stolen by British rangers from Americans living north of the city.<sup>8</sup> (These rangers were thus called "Cowboys"—reportedly the origin of this term in America.)

Staked by his brothers with a boatload of pelts, John Jacob Astor returned to London in 1784 to trade with the East India Company for a fabulous markup. Astor and his fur-trading organization then ranged through the wilderness to and across the Canadian frontier, John Jacob maintaining a close relationship with the Montreal fur monopoly.

By 1800, Astor was given permission by the East India Company to enter freely with his ships into any port monopolized by the Company. He thus became the pioneer among a handful of early nineteenth century American merchants to make a fortune on the sale of opium to the Chinese.<sup>9</sup>

At the close of the war of the Revolution, the British had continued to occupy forts in American territory, and British military agents and their allied fur traders armed the northern Indian tribes and organized continual slaughter of American settlers. This British-Indian combination continued until the 1796 Jay Treaty removed the British from their military installations.

But the British also occupied America in civilian dress.

New York Governor George Clinton appointed Burr State Attorney General in 1790, and shortly afterward the legislature made him Land Commissioner as well. The following year they

8. O'Connor, Harvey, *The Astors*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1941, pp. 10-11.

9. Porter, Kenneth Wiggins, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man*, in the series Harvard Studies in Business History, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, Vol. II, p. 601.

appointed him U.S. Senator from New York. Burr was rapidly becoming political boss of New York State.

The legislature had passed a bill following the Revolution to sell off state lands at a low price to encourage settlers to populate the northern areas. Burr and his associates rapidly moved in to take advantage of the situation. Attorney Aaron Burr was legal representative of the head of a ring of speculators—Alexander McComb—and McComb's grouping was permitted by Land Commissioner Burr and Attorney General Burr to buy 3.3 million acres southward from the St. Lawrence River, for eight cents an acre, on long-term credit. Burr was also the New York lawyer for the Holland Land Company, a European company organized and managed by the Swiss adventurer Theophile Cazenove, and partly owned by Albert Gallatin. The Holland Company bought 1.5 million acres in western New York and 3.5 million acres in Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup>

By the end of the year, Aaron Burr, British intelligence, and the British military, would control virtually all the border lands between British Canada and downstate New York.

In 1791, Captain Charles Williamson of British military intelligence returned to the United States. Captain Williamson, later to play a key role in Burr's famous "Western Conspiracy," had been captured by the Americans during the Revolution. Exchanged for British prisoners, he married a Connecticut girl and returned to Britain. Now he was to be the agent of a group of London financiers who had purchased 1.2 million acres of land in northwestern New York, which he was to manage.<sup>11</sup> Aaron

10. For Cazenove family political and financial connections see "Autobiographical Sketch of Anthony-Charles Cazenove, Political Refugee, Merchant, and Banker, 1775-1852," ed. John Aspling, in *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 78, July, 1970, No. 3, pp. 295-307.

11. An interesting though not always accurate account of Captain Williamson's New York State operations is given in Parker, Arthur C., "Charles Williamson, Builder of the Genesee Country," in the *Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series*, Vol. VI, 1927, pp. 1-34. The article's author is by family tradition closely associated with the 19th-century British agentry and freemasonic activities among the Indians in Western

Burr became his lawyer and confidante, when Williamson moved in to occupy the land.

As it was against state law for foreigners to own land, Captain Williamson managed to get himself naturalized as an American citizen. The actual owners of the land, however, were the Pulteney Associates; William Pulteney, a very wealthy Englishman who had been a friend and supporter of Adam Smith for 40 years; John Hornby, former British governor of Bombay; and Patrick Colquhoun, sheriff in charge of policing the port on London's Thames.

Williamson's father was secretary to the Earl of Hopeton in Scotland. Williamson and the Pulteney Associates all took direction from Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, who was the political boss of Scotland for 30 years beginning in the 1780s. Dundas had restored to the many Scottish aristocrats the lands and titles that had been taken from them by the English. And to ensure their special allegiance to his and Lord Shelburne's management of intelligence and military affairs, Dundas re-established the wearing of the kilt in Scotland.

Captain Williamson was the most intimate friend and confidential agent of Dundas and of Prime Minister William Pitt. His lawyer, Aaron Burr, soon came to be Dundas's agent.

As British secretary of state in 1787, Dundas wrote a master plan to extend the opium traffic into China. From 1793 until 1809 Dundas was head of the Board of Control of India, and

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New York, through his relative Ely Parker, and Ely's friend Lewis Henry Morgan, founder of the Rochester Historical Society; see Chapter 16 below.

See also Cowan, Helen I., *Charles Williamson: Genesee Promoter—Friend of Anglo-American Rapprochement*, Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, N.Y., 1941. This is an unintentionally hilarious account of Williamson, a spy who tried to end the United States, presented rather as a promoter of "Anglo-American friendship" on the model of the British World War II ambassadors to the U.S., Lords Lothian and Halifax.

See also Cox, Isaac J., "Charles Williamson," *Dictionary of American Biography*. Despite the usual Anglophile bias of that publication, the Williamson article has some remarkably frank descriptions of the Captain's activities.

personally supervised the worldwide opium traffic, which had been escalated by the East India Company since the American Revolution. In 1793 Dundas signed the order authorizing British naval units to seize and plunder any U.S. ship trading with colonies of France.

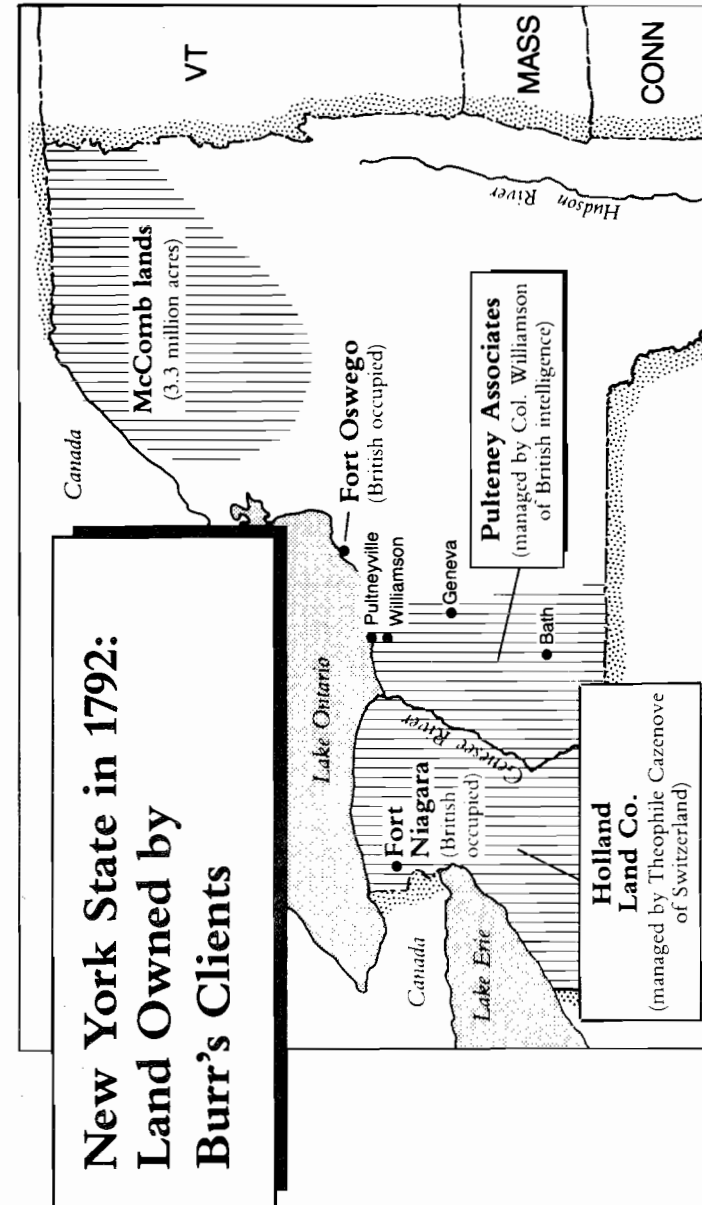
Dundas was Minister of War from 1794 to 1801, and Lord of the Admiralty in 1804 and 1805. William Pulteney's son-in-law was Minister of War in 1807 when Aaron Burr was tried for treason in America. The huge extent of land in the hands of Aaron Burr's clients, including Captain Williamson, is shown in the map on page 31.

### Burr's Western Empire

British troops still occupied Forts Oswego and Niagara. Captain Williamson set up crude ports on the lake shore at Sodus Bay and near the present city of Rochester, New York. The towns of Pultneyville, Williamson, and East Williamson are still there, looking across the lake toward Canada. No true cities were built in this extension of the British Empire<sup>12</sup>—but the villages of Geneva and Bath (named for Lady Bath, Pulteney's wife) commemorate Williamson's peculiar enterprises.

Williamson used Indian runners as his regular couriers to transport sealed mail pouches from the British military authorities in Ontario down to the U.S. capital in Philadelphia. The Canadian authorities, overseeing cross-border British espionage, included Chief Justice William Smith, brother of Aaron Burr's law teacher and close friend of Benedict Arnold. Smith, the bitter, exiled former Tory leader of New York State, was

12. Reginald Horsman, in *The Frontier in the Formative Years, 1783-1815*, University of Mexico Press, 1975, p. 26, claims: "Particularly ambitious was Charles Williamson, the agent for the English Pulteney interests. Throughout the 1790's he made great efforts to attract settlers to the Genesee region, spending \$1,000,000 to accomplish this end." While it is likely that Williamson's superiors provided him with lavish financial resources, it is not at all likely this money was used to promote settlement of the area, which did not take place under the British officer.



on hand in Canada, until his death in 1793, to help coordinate the beginning of Williamson's operations.

Williamson got himself designated a colonel in the New York state militia, and elected to the New York state legislature. He and Burr worked together closely in the state assembly, while Burr was simultaneously in the U.S. Senate.

Williamson worked on a committee which brought to the floor and passed a bill to legalize direct ownership of land by aliens. In order for the bill to pass, Burr supervised the distribution of bribes by his client, the Holland Land Company. The attorney general (one of Burr's successors) received a \$3,000 bribe, and Thomas Morris received \$1,000 for steering the bill through the State Senate. Because Burr himself received \$5,500 and a \$20,000 debt was put aside, his biographers scold Burr for "corruption."<sup>13</sup>

One gentleman in particular remained a thorn in the side of

13. Parton, *Life and Times*, Vol I, p. 241. Parton says that the \$20,000 debt was cancelled as "a perfectly legitimate transaction, by which [Burr] lost, not gained—facts known to half a dozen persons" but that Burr simply chose not to refute the "slander."

Let us quote from Evans, Paul Demund, *The Holland Land Company*, Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, 1924, pp. 211-213:

"The Act of April 2, 1798, which crowned with success the efforts of Burr and his assistants, was the combined result of deft political management and unscrupulous bribery, the Holland Company's agent supplying the funds. Relatively little opposition was met in the Senate through which house the bill was guided by Thomas Morris who hoped to become one of the Holland Company's agents in western New York. . . . Divergent as were the views of some of the legislative leaders, the money of the Holland Company as distributed by the fine hand of Mr. Burr, seemed to have had the magic power of bringing them together. . . . [The payments were] charged on the [Holland Company's] books as for counsel fees since [Company boss Theophile] Cazenove had reported that it was to go to those attorneys who were to guide the affair through the Legislature. As appears in the accounts kept in Holland the total paid out in this way amounted to \$10,500. . . . Of this amount \$3000 went to the attorney-general of the state, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, \$1000 to Thomas Morris . . . \$5500 went to Aaron Burr. . . . Cazenove . . . agreed to exchange one bond which Burr had given [to Holland Co.] as security . . . for another which he presented. . . ."

Burr and the upstate British operations—William Cooper, the father of James Fenimore Cooper. The elder Cooper had begun settling Cooperstown and the area south of Lake Otsego in 1789, devoting his life to establishing the most ideal conditions for the development of agriculture, towns, and industry. He was a close friend of John Jay, George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton, who was his lawyer.<sup>14</sup>

In 1792, John Jay received a majority of votes for governor, but the vote was contested by Burr's aristocratic toy Edward Livingston. Legal authority over the matter wound up in the hands of U.S. Senator Aaron Burr. On the most absurd technicality drawn from obscure British law, Burr had the entire vote from Cooper's Otsego County thrown out, thereby stealing the election for Clinton. When Cooper complained, he was prosecuted by Burr's lieutenants for "unduly influencing the voters in an election."

Cooper won acquittal; but Burr's assaults did not end there. Major Augustine Prevost was the son and namesake of the British "scorched Earth" commander against South Carolina in the American Revolution. Young Prevost was married to the daughter of British Indian agent George Croghan, the former owner of the Cooperstown-area wilderness who had lost it to auction for debts. Prevost's new relative, attorney Aaron Burr, then undertook to represent him for many years in Prevost's litigation to take the land away from the Cooper family—and halt what the British felt was a dangerous consolidation of pioneer strength on the American frontier.<sup>15</sup>

14. For a very moving, fictionalized account of William Cooper's achievements, see Cooper, James Fenimore, *The Pioneers*, New American Library, New York, 1964; this is the first written of Fenimore Cooper's celebrated "Leatherstocking Tales."

15. See Augustine Prevost to Aaron Burr, August 24, 1785, Burr to Prevost April 25, 1789 and August 24, 1789, in the microfilm *Burr Papers*, relating to Prevost versus Cooper.

Major Augustine Prevost was described by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld in his *Travels Through the United States*, published in London in 1799: "Colonel Burr had given me a letter to Major Prevost, who lives

William Cooper was assassinated in 1809 by a blow from behind while he was at a political meeting.<sup>16</sup>

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in the township of Freehold [about 60 miles east of Cooperstown] . . . Major Prevost has a neat little house built on a tract of nine thousand acres which belongs to him. He is a son of that General Prevost, employed in the British service, who distinguished himself by the defense of Savannah, and disgraced his character by the burning of many American towns . . . a part of [Major Prevost's] property became involved in consequence of debts contracted by his father-in-law and himself . . . he [retired] to that part [of the land] to which his claim was the least contested, there to . . . patiently await the moment when, recovering his other possessions [i.e. the Cooper land], he should be certain of leaving a decent fortune to his children . . . two [of his children] have long been and still continue in the British service. . . .

"Major Prevost, a native of Switzerland, has all the frankness of an honest Switzer, and of a genuine, honest Englishman. . . . He speaks well of the American government. . . .

"Many of his opponents who have taken possession of his lands, are influential men: he is the son of a British general, and has himself borne arms in America in opposition to the Revolution. . . . During my stay at Freehold there was no mention of politics. I could easily guess the political sentiments of the Major and his family: but, if I had entertained any doubt on the subject, it would have been completely removed by observing the avidity by which they read *Peter Porcupine* [a royalist newspaper published in Philadelphia]. . . ."

16. Faced with such well-connected opponents, the Cooper family unfortunately chose not to seek justice in the murder. The present author had occasion to discuss the case with William and James Fenimore Cooper's heirs, and they maintained that it was "not unusual" for people to be killed at political meetings in those days. The family retains a vast collection of Cooper correspondence, which has never been published and to which the public has no access.

### -3-

## Burr and Gallatin Drive for Power

The most famous story of frontier violence in our constitutional history occurred in Pennsylvania. Albert Gallatin's first initiative in the Pennsylvania legislature was to attack the source of funding for Alexander Hamilton's program for American financial independence. On January 14, 1791, Gallatin's resolution was introduced, which stated that the excise tax on whiskey, then before Congress, was "subversive of the peace, liberty, and rights of the citizen," and by its use, the nation would "enslave itself."<sup>1</sup> (Never mind the fact that an excise tax on liquor had been on the books in Pennsylvania since 1684.)

Gallatin also drafted a petition which was circulated in western Pennsylvania and presented to Congress, against the "oppression" of the proposed tax.

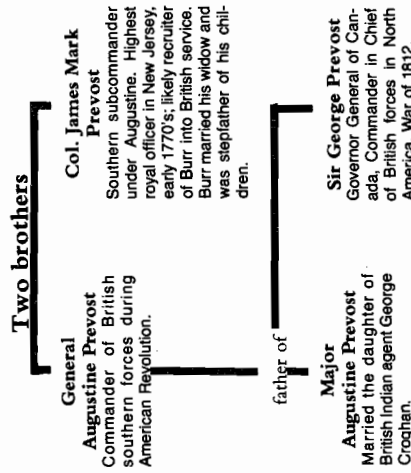
After Congress passed both the excise tax and Hamilton's entire development program, Gallatin and his lieutenants developed a movement for illegally combatting the excise, which succeeded in putting a counterrevolutionary mob into the streets. It should be noted that neither Thomas Jefferson nor James Madison, Gallatin's presumed "party leaders," opposed the tax.

At an anti-excise meeting in Pittsburgh, August 21, 1792, Gallatin was appointed clerk. He was asked to compose a remonstrance to Congress, which was a pledge to shun, boycott,

1. Journal of Pennsylvania House of Representatives, January 14, 1791, microfilm of the *Papers of Albert Gallatin*, New York University, 1972.

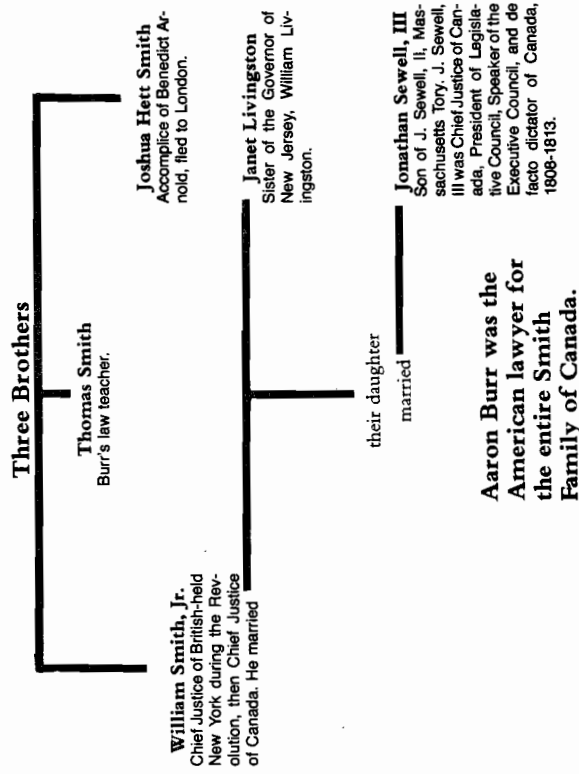
# Aaron Burr's Relationship to the British Military And Secret Service in North America

## Burr and the Prevosts



**Aaron Burr represented Major and Mrs. Prevost as their attorney for at least 30 years. They attempted to take away lands owned by the family of James Fenimore Cooper.**

## Burr and the Smiths



and otherwise harass anyone who agreed to accept the position of excise tax collector. The petition to Congress carried Gallatin's name as originator.

The following February the Pennsylvania legislature appointed Gallatin to the U.S. Senate. He took his seat December 2, 1793, but a week later the Senate began discussion on a motion to bar him from membership on grounds that he had not been a citizen for the nine years required by the Constitution.<sup>2</sup> In that Gallatin had arrived in America 13 years before, the point being made was hardly "technical."

Before he was thrown out, Gallatin introduced one measure, a resolution demanding of Hamilton a massive, detailed accounting for all Treasury operations, all loans, all imports and exports. When Hamilton called the measure dishonestly motivated, Gallatin's friends cried, "Coverup!"

Senator Aaron Burr led the fight to retain Gallatin in the Senate.<sup>3</sup> Burr's sentiments, however, were not widely shared, and the Swiss "financial expert" was expelled.

The Whiskey Rebellion broke out simultaneously with Albert Gallatin's reappearance in western Pennsylvania. Riots erupted in several counties, reminiscent of the mob scenes in Paris five years before, which began when Gallatin's cousin, Jacques Necker, was dismissed.

The tax collectors and the law were defied. A federal marshal serving writs was attacked; battles were fought outside U.S. General Neville's house, and the general's house was burned down. Several thousand armed men assembled on a field near Pittsburgh, Aug. 1, 1794, marched through town, and were only dispersed by authorities with generous portions of whiskey.

2. Resolution expelling Gallatin adopted by the United States Senate February 28, 1794, microfilm *Gallatin Papers*.  
3. See Albert Gallatin to Aaron Burr, [no month or day], 1794, (Reel 3, Item 616), *Papers of Aaron Burr*, ed. Mary Jo Kline, New-York Historical Society and the Microfilming Corporation of America, 1978; Burr was serving in effect as Gallatin's attorney in the case.

They did not attack the garrison as threatened, but armed mobs roamed the countryside.

At the height of the insurrection, their hero, Albert Gallatin, made public appearances to champion the cause, while of course at the same time "urging an end to the violence."

President Washington sent an army headed by Alexander Hamilton to enforce the law. According to all reports, the troops dearly wished to "terminate" Mr. Gallatin. Hamilton was interrogating prisoners; Gallatin's friend Thomas Clare wrote to him that Hamilton had questioned a William Ewen for four or five successive days and "askt Mr. Ewen if he knew how much British gold you recd. and how much he recd. of you. . . . As far as I can understand there was never more industry made by any set of men than there was by sum that was hear to get holt of you."<sup>4</sup>

One Gallatin biographer, John Austin Stevens, writing in 1881, said: "The belief that Gallatin was the arch-fiend, who instigated the Whiskey insurrection, had already become a settled article in the Federalist creed, and for a quarter of a century . . . the Genevan was held up to scorn and hatred, as an incarnation of devilry—an enemy of mankind."<sup>5</sup>

Before the army had arrived, Gallatin was "elected" simultaneously to Congress and to the state legislature. But the legislature declared January 9, 1795, that since the election was held during a state of insurrection, it was null and void. A new election was held after troops had occupied and tranquilized the area, but Gallatin was again elected to Congress.

4. Thomas Clare to Albert Gallatin, Dec. 14, 1794, microfilm *Gallatin Papers*

5. Stevens, *Albert Gallatin*, p. 93. Oliver Wolcott wrote to Oliver Wolcott, Sr., Sept. 23, 1796: "All the great rogues who began the mischief have submitted, and become partizans of government. Findley, Smilie, Gallatin &c., are of this class. The principles of justice and policy required that these men should be hanged; but as they have deserted their party, the punishment will fall upon persons less criminal and influential"—quoted in *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, Edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, by George Gibbs, William Van Norden, Printer, New York, 1846, Vol. I, p. 159.

Treasury Secretary Hamilton, and his development programs, had been the subjects of the most extraordinary array of assaults and dirty tricks since Hamilton took office. Gallatin's entrance into the U.S. House of Representatives was the last straw for Hamilton, who promptly resigned. He believed he could accomplish more outside the government at that point.

Several years later a peculiar Constitutional amendment was passed by the New England states and was barely defeated in Pennsylvania. The governor of Maryland proposed it and immediately died. The amendment was to lengthen the required time of citizenship for members of Congress. It was directed solely against Gallatin.

Soon after his election to Congress, Gallatin emerged as a leader of the Republicans. His mission was to undo what Hamilton had accomplished in laying the foundation for a great industrial economy; he also fought to eliminate the nation's military defenses.

Gallatin's public contests were of no interest to Aaron Burr, however. During his entire Senate career, Burr never once introduced a bill or opened a debate. He was absent whenever controversial measures were voted on. It cannot be said, however, that Burr was not busy.

Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, Burr attempted to use his privileges as senator to obtain access to secret government documents. He had begun work in September 1791 on a history of the Revolution which, he said, would "falsify many matters now supposed to be gratifying national facts."<sup>6</sup>

Burr got up every morning at 5 a.m. and went to Jefferson's State Department, taking notes, copying. "I got together . . . letters, documents, memoranda, all carefully labeled, tied up and put into many tin boxes." He wrote his wife, "I am much in want of my maps . . . ask Major Prevost for the survey he

6. Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 331.



gave me of the Saint Lawrence, or different parts of Canada and other provinces."<sup>7</sup>

Burr let it be known that his history would debunk the Revolution and destroy George Washington's reputation. But the President closed the archives to Burr, and no book was ever published.

### Hamilton Set Up

One night a Mrs. Maria Reynolds showed up on Alexander Hamilton's doorstep with a lying sob-story, asking financial help for her supposed predicament. Hamilton ended up having an affair with the woman. Part of a pre-arranged set-up, her supposed husband then appeared feigning outrage. Hamilton consented to pay him blackmail to keep the story from spreading.

In fact, attorney Aaron Burr had obtained a divorce for the lady from her first husband. After receiving about a thousand dollars in blackmail money, her newest husband, Mr. Reynolds, and his partner, were arrested for a scheme to defraud the Treasury Department. With Senator Aaron Burr as his attorney, the jailed Reynolds told a congressional investigating committee that the (blackmail) payments to him were part of a Hamilton operation to swindle the government out of hundreds of thousands of dollars. (Mrs. Reynolds married yet again, and moved to England.)

The blackmail, the legal troubles, the tortuous "badger game" were kept alive behind the scenes by Burr, Congressman James Monroe, and Thomas Jefferson until 1796, after Hamilton had resigned. The scandal was then publicized, with charges of fraud intended to break Hamilton's paramount position in national politics. Hamilton had the audacity, at this point, however, to pub-

7. Aaron Burr to Theodosia Prevost Burr, Dec. 18, 1791, Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 312-313.

lish a pamphlet<sup>8</sup> confessing the set-up blackmail operation by Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds in detail, making clear that he had stolen no money.

Senator Burr made the acquaintance of Dolley Payne Todd, the daughter of his Philadelphia landlady. When her husband died, Burr took Mrs. Todd under his protection and became the legal guardian for her infant son. As the opportunity arose, Burr introduced his latest lady to Congressman James Madison, and the two were married. Burr later had an inside track to the U.S. President.

One of Burr's confidantes, Commodore James Nicholson, who was a swaggering retired naval officer, told some of Hamilton's friends in 1795 that he had evidence that Hamilton had deposited 100,000 pounds sterling of stolen funds in a London account. When Hamilton was attacked and stoned by a mob on Wall Street for his defense of the Jay Treaty—the treaty that removed the British military from the forts they still occupied on U.S. soil—Commodore Nicholson shouted his charges at Hamilton's escaping entourage. Nicholson also accused the bleeding and enraged Treasury Secretary of advocating a monarchy at the Constitutional Convention. Hamilton challenged Nicholson to a duel, which never came off, but the incident had given Burr insight into how Hamilton could be destroyed.

Three months later, Albert Gallatin married Commodore Nicholson's daughter Hannah.

### The Swiss Economist Moves In

Beginning with the whiskey initiative, Albert Gallatin systematically attacked all the features of Hamilton's program. As part of the constitutional bargain, the federal government had as-

8. Hamilton, Alexander, *Observations on Certain Documents Contained in No. V & VI of "The History of the United States for the Year 1796," In Which the Charge of Peculation Against Alexander Hamilton, Late Secretary of the Treasury, is Fully Refuted. Written by Himself*, printed for John Ferno by John Bioren, Philadelphia, 1797, reproduced in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, Vol XXI, pp. 238-285.

sumed the outstanding war debts of the states. Gallatin was particularly incensed at the way this was done. The government had given Pennsylvania's creditors, in exchange for the old notes, federal notes, one-third of which bore a lower interest rate than the original, and two-ninths of which would pay no interest whatsoever for ten years. Gallatin prevailed upon Pennsylvania to pay the difference to the creditors, and used the Ways and Means Committee of the legislature to publish his Genevan moralisms on debt.

At Gallatin's insistence the state established the Bank of Pennsylvania, which was to serve as a competitor to, and an instrument of warfare against, the Bank of the United States.

Ten days after Gallatin took his seat in the U.S. House, he proposed a resolution appointing a committee to superintend the general operations of the government's finances. Gallatin was appointed to the new House Ways and Means Committee, and for the next six years, the new Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott had to submit detailed reports of his operations to this committee dominated by Gallatin. The Swiss gentleman took more and more power unto himself to block further progress along the lines Hamilton had previously directed the government's economic program.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were delighted by Gallatin's growing power, as they were with Burr's ability to fix New York elections in their favor. Jefferson's attitude toward their activities could be summed up as: "We have common goals; don't tell me all the details, just do what's needed." At Jefferson's request Gallatin drew up the 1796 *Sketch of the Finances of the United States*.

Practical men of affairs, as many Americans considered themselves, were bound to be impressed. The *Sketch* was 200 pages of tables, statistics, and facts designed to prove that the government's debt had been growing alarmingly—from \$72 million in 1790 to \$78 million in 1796.<sup>9</sup> Gallatin proposed in debate that

9. Gallatin, Albert, *A Sketch of the Finances of the United States*, printed by

the debt be totally retired, and that the way to do this the soonest would be to substantially reduce U.S. military forces.

In subsequent debates Gallatin proposed that the army be cut back, that navy appropriations be halted, and that ships under construction be abandoned before completion.

The Jay Treaty was passed by the Senate in June 1795, and signed by President Washington. Though it left open the question of British seizure of U.S. ships and impressment of U.S. sailors into their navy, the treaty removed the British military from the forts they still occupied on U.S. soil.

Gallatin and James Madison attacked the treaty in the House, declaring that, although the Constitution specifically gave the President and the Senate the right to decide on treaties, the House could nevertheless negate the treaty by defeating appropriations for its implementation—a tactic being revived today by opponents of high-technology military efforts.

But Gallatin was given a rude shock by his Pennsylvania constituents. People living on the frontier, from all parties, sent petitions pleading for passage of the treaty. As Gallatin biographer Raymond Walters, Jr., explains: "Many westerners believed that the Indian raids of the past decade had been instigated by English agents along the Great Lakes and would cease as soon as the British treaty went into effect."<sup>10</sup>

Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott wrote, during this time, in a letter to his father, "The leaders of the [opposition] party know that the British government does not conceive the treaty to be any great boon . . . Mr. Gallatin evidently leads in all

William A. Davis, New York, 1796. This pamphlet is a masterpiece of "lying with figures." In his conclusion, Gallatin tries to make it seem that the national debt had *risen* over the six years by \$14.4 million, by subtracting from the *starting*, 1790 figure, the \$11.6 million of state debts originally assumed by Alexander Hamilton, "on the principle that state debts were not proper debts of the Union. . ."

10. Walters, Raymond, *Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957, p. 99.

measures, and it is neither unreasonable nor uncandid to believe that Mr. Gallatin is directed by foreign politics and influence."<sup>11</sup>

Despite the concerns of his constituents in Pennsylvania, Gallatin had, of course, other (European) constituents to worry about. He and Edward Livingston, who was to be implicated with Aaron Burr in treason in Louisiana, carried a resolution from the House to President Washington. They demanded he turn over papers relating to the treaty, threatening that the treaty would not be a "binding instrument" without the approval of the House.

Washington rejected their demands by challenging them to impeach him first. The Jeffersonians backed down and were defeated in the next election.

The Federalist *Columbian Sentinel* of Boston warned that James Madison had become "file-coverer to an itinerant Genevan."<sup>12</sup> The demoralized Madison resigned from Congress at the end of the session, and Albert Gallatin became Republican leader of the House.

### Gallatin's Foreign Policy

Congressman Gallatin's foreign policy aim was to checkmate America's influence in the world.

John Quincy Adams arrived in Berlin, November 7, 1797, having been appointed by his father, President Adams, to be America's first ambassador to the Court of Prussia. His assignments were to renew the expired trade treaty between the United States and Prussia, and to serve as the administration's main intelligence officer in Europe. While in Europe, Quincy Adams engaged in a passionate study of the German language and the classical literature of Friedrich Schiller, Gotthold Lessing, and other leaders of modern German thought. As a means of countering the domination of British culture over America,

11. Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Sr., April 18, 1796, quoted in *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 327.

12. *Columbia Sentinel*, Boston, April 27, 1796.

he created a movement to bring German language and literature back to the United States.

Albert Gallatin had no constitutional right to interfere with the John Quincy Adams appointment. To get around this, on March 1, 1798, he proposed that appropriations for U.S. ministers in Germany and Holland be entirely eliminated, and America's diplomatic contact be limited to Great Britain, France, and Spain. He said money could be saved, and dangerous powers of patronage and influence could be kept out of the hands of the executive branch.<sup>13</sup>

The congressional majority didn't accept Gallatin's contention that the United States should have no ties whatsoever with most nations, nor did they accept the idea that trade treaties would be of no advantage to the young nation. Indeed, in the face of arrogant attacks on U.S. shipping by the navies of Britain, France, and British-supported North African terrorists, President John Adams proposed, and the Congress fully supported, the rapid construction of warships, and the establishment of a separate Department of the Navy. They were determined that our commerce would be protected.

Gallatin complained that his critics wrongfully branded him as a "disorganizer . . . with a design of subverting the Constitution and of making a revolution. . . ." <sup>14</sup> He bided his time; his chance would come.

### Burr's Political Machine

Aaron Burr built a New York political machine in the 1790s, a power base from which to fight against the American nationalist experiment. Though America survived despite the efforts of Burr and his patrons, the particular corruption spawned by Aaron Burr in politics and finance has grown enormously in the twentieth century.

13. Gallatin speech March 1, 1798, *Annals of Congress, 1798*, R. Folwell, Philadelphia, 1798, pp. 1118-1143, microfilm *Gallatin Papers*.

14. Gallatin's speech in Congress March 1, 1798, quoted in Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, p. 198.

With the assistance of his lieutenant, Edward Livingston, Burr reversed the 1792 gubernatorial election result by brazenly throwing out the entire vote of Otsego county. He ran in the combined presidential/vice-presidential race that year, receiving one electoral vote.

Representative James Madison and Senator James Monroe proposed to President Washington in 1794 that Burr be appointed U.S. minister to France. The President replied that he never appointed to high office "any person . . . in whose integrity he had not confidence," and appointed Monroe instead.<sup>15</sup>

With growing power in the state, Burr made himself Jefferson's choice for running-mate in the 1796 elections. Not only were the Federalists swept back into power, but Burr was snubbed and received one electoral vote from Virginia, while on the same ticket Jefferson polled 20 votes.

Although the British had just concluded a treaty to withdraw their troops from America's frontier, they were nonetheless busy with other projects. Tennessee's Senator William Blount was discovered in 1797 to have been intriguing with British Ambassador Robert Liston for an attack on the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida. They planned to send western American settlers, Indians, and British troops down through the heart of the country from Canada.

President Adams turned over correspondence of Senator Blount to the Congress,<sup>16</sup> and Blount was expelled. Whatever Blount's relationship may have been to Burr, the other Tennessee Senator—young Andrew Jackson—had become intimate with the New Yorker, a friendship which was crucial for Burr and Albert Gallatin's plans for dismembering the United States.

Burr's Senate term expired in 1797, and he burrowed into

15. Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 408-409.

16. See *United States Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, July, 1797, p. 448-466 (debate) and p. 3152-3154 (the incriminating Blount letter to his British contact). In the debate, Congressman *Albert Gallatin*, blustering about whether a Congressman is a "government officer" (and thus impeachable), led the attempt to stop Blount's removal.

the New York state legislature, intent on establishing the conditions for taking power in the elections of 1800. Two of his strongest supporters in statewide efforts were Colonel Charles Williamson of British military intelligence, and Burr's stepson John Bartow Prevost. They were at this time both powerful members of the legislature, representing, respectively, the British and Swiss ends of the alliance deploying Burr.

Burr set up in New York City an election-fixing apparatus that was to be the model for future such efforts, using Tammany Hall for this purpose. An index card was made out for every single potential voter in the city, giving each person's political and psychological idiosyncracies.

The financing for Burr's political machine was anything but a grassroots affair. In the spring of 1799, he organized the Manhattan Company, asking the legislature for a charter that would allow the company to supply the city with fresh water. The city must be saved, he said, from the continued yellow fever plagues caused by the contaminated water supply. When the charter was granted, and its attendant prestige helped draw investments, Burr used an unnoticed clause whereby "surplus capital might be employed in any way not inconsistent with the laws," to start up the Manhattan Bank, later known as the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Burr never supplied the city with water; the bank provided him with campaign financing; and the scam produced tremendous public outrage. Burr's reputation for crooked dealing was, by this time, so notorious that he lost the 1799 election for state legislator in his home district. And yet, Gallatin, the Swiss oligarch and minority leader of the U.S. House of Representatives who was entrusted by the Democratic-Republicans with the responsibility of choosing their party's vice-presidential candidate for the 1800 elections, chose Burr.

In the ensuing presidential election, there was a tie between Jefferson and Burr in the electoral vote. The election went to the House.

Burr's New York machine—riotously corrupt but perfectly

ruthless—swept that state's elections, and tipped the national balance. Jefferson and Burr received the highest number of electoral votes. But because each elector was at that time permitted to cast two votes, and everyone voted for a ticket, a predictable tie vote occurred between the two. The House of Representatives would now decide, casting one vote for each state's delegation.

As he had been chosen the vice-presidential candidate of the Republican Party, it would have been logical for Burr now to simply take the second spot by arrangement with the House.

But the British Empire had its own logic. Hamilton, in retirement still the nation's leading Federalist, was stunned by a letter from George Cabot, New England leader of Hamilton's party.

Writing while election returns were still coming from the states, Cabot said: "The question has been asked whether, if the Federalists cannot carry their first points, they would not do as well to turn the election from Jefferson to Burr? They conceive Burr to be less likely to look to France for support than Jefferson. . . . They consider Burr as actuated by ordinary ambition, Jefferson by that and the pride of the Jacobinic philosophy. . . ."17

When the tie was announced, the openly pro-British New England Federalists agreed on the strategy of either throwing the election to Aaron Burr, or failing that, to overthrow the constitutional provisions and place a strongman in power by other means. Boston's *Columbia Sentinel* expressed their sentiments succinctly:

Whatever Mr. Burr may be reported to be, he will eventually turn out good as he is a grandson of the dignified Edwards, the great American luminary of Divinity. . . . [and, in response to Southern criticism of the coup threats] But

17. George Cabot to Alexander Hamilton, *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. XXV, pp. 62-64.

should the Federal members of Congress . . . elect Burr to the presidency, the northern states need be under very little apprehension of danger from this [Southern] mighty paper military skill and strength: For our "General" [Burr] if called upon can assure them that he has seen southern regiments in former times and knows what they are composed of.<sup>18</sup>

Burr made no formal public statement that he either sought or declined the presidency. But one action spoke volumes. After the tie was known, and one week before the House voting was to begin, Burr married off his only child to a South Carolina aristocrat, whose powerful family connections procured for Burr the House vote of that state.

Burr's most important ally, Albert Gallatin, had been chosen by the Republicans to be their floor leader for the contest; the context of their peculiar alliance (as cousins) could not have been known to Jefferson and Madison.

Milton Lomask, author of *Aaron Burr—The Years from Princeton to Vice-President, 1756-1805*, gives a partial insight into Gallatin's feelings about the election:

To [Burr at] Albany . . . came a disturbing suggestion from Albert Gallatin. Dated 3 February, this communication from the leader of the Jeffersonian forces in Washington has never been found. It probably never will be. Burr is thought to have destroyed it. Perhaps Gallatin asked him to do so . . . . Had his 3 February letter come to light in 1801, the Swiss-born financial wizard would never have received [any] appointment at the hands of Thomas Jefferson. . . .

. . . [T]he journal of Benjamin Butterton Howell [a New York merchant], unearthed in the 1960s, [states] "The election by the House was about to come on," Burr sent

18. *Columbia Centinel*, Boston, Jan. 28, 1801, p. 2, Feb. 18, 1801, p. 3.

for two of his closest supporters . . . he "laid before them a letter from Albert Gallatin, informing him that the election was in the hands of Genl Smith [political boss] of Maryland— [Congressman] Lynn [Linn] of N Jersey & Edward Livingston of NY—who held the balance of those three states, that they were friendly to Burr—but to secure them he must be on the spot himself, and urging him by all means to hasten to Washington without an instants delay."<sup>19</sup>

Burr's reply to Gallatin's letter survives: For "ten days past" he had believed that "all was settled, & that J would have 10 or 11 votes [9 states would be a majority] on the first trial. I am therefore utterly surprised by the contents of yours of the 3d."<sup>20</sup>

On the first ballot in the House of Representatives Aaron Burr had an actual majority of the individual congressmen's votes; Jefferson had more states in his column but no majority.

Alexander Hamilton faced a bleak reality. The alliance of leading families which had supported the Revolution, the Constitution, and his economic development program, had collapsed into agent-ridden chaos. The leaders of New England were pro-British; those of the South were anti-industrial; Burr's "Little Band" ran New York; and Gallatin was strong in Pennsylvania. Those who might have agreed with Hamilton's American nationalist outlook were silent; those who were hostile to the nation's existence had assumed control of such extended family constellations as the cousins Lee (Virginia), Shippen (Pennsylvania), and Livingston (New York).

Hamilton, acting alone, rose to do battle with the New England slave-trading merchant families who were backing Burr for President.

He wrote letters to all leading Federalists. He wrote and

19. Lomask, *Burr 1756-1805*, pp. 287-288.

20. Aaron Burr to Albert Gallatin, Feb. 12, 1801, in the *Gallatin Papers*; reel 3 of the *Burr Papers*.

spoke, in public and private, with the full understanding that the future of his country, and possibly the human race, was at stake.

Hamilton wrote to New York Senator Gouverneur Morris: "Jefferson or Burr?—the former without all doubt. The latter . . . will use the worst part of the community as a ladder to permanent power, & an instrument to crush the better part. He is bankrupt beyond redemption except by the resources that grow out of war and disorder or by a sale to a foreign power or by great speculation."<sup>21</sup>

He told Delaware's lone Congressman James Bayard that Burr was "without probity . . . a voluptuary by system . . . corrupt expedients will be to him a necessary resource. Will any prudent man offer such a President to the temptations of foreign gold?"<sup>22</sup>

Hamilton stunned the political world with the passion of his attack on Burr. Twentieth-century writers speak condescendingly of Hamilton's fight as "harangues," "declamations," "hysterical jeremiads," "vituperation pushed to the breaking-point," "essays in detraction," "billingsgate," "slanderous," and "weird."

Most unforgivable, from the standpoint of our mouse-like historians, Hamilton was "pitifully alone," a position they would dread to assume. The Burr scholar quoted by the July 11, 1982, *New York Times*, Dr. Mary Jo Kline, said that "the verifiable facts of [Burr's] life were so incredible that 'serious scholars have approached Burr hesitantly.'"

Perhaps Hamilton knew something our scholars don't.

Hamilton finally concentrated on winning over Bayard's decisive Delaware vote. Jefferson's "politics," Hamilton wrote, "are tinctured with fanaticism . . . he has been a mischievous enemy to the principal measures of our past administration . . . he is crafty . . . he is a contemptible hypocrite." But he would not overturn the established government, he would not be vi-

21. Alexander Hamilton to Gouverneur Morris, December 24, 1800, *Hamilton Papers*, Vol XXV, pp. 271-273.

22. Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard, Dec. 27, 1800, *ibid*, Vol. 25, pp. 275-277.

olent, he was not "capable of being corrupted."<sup>23</sup> Hamilton advised Bayard to get his own assurances from Jefferson to the same effect.

Bayard listened to reason. He told Hamilton that Jefferson had given him the assurances that Hamilton recommended. On the 35th ballot he broke the deadlock, as three Federalist congressmen cast blank ballots. Jefferson was elected President on the 36th ballot, ten states to four.

23. Alexander Hamilton to James A. Bayard, Jan. 16, 1801, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 319-324.

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## 'The Whole Continent of America Will Become English'

Aaron Burr was sworn in as Vice-President of the United States on March 4, 1801. Thomas Jefferson was sworn in as President, and appointed Albert Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury.

The United States had been the victim of undeclared war by the British since the Treaty of Paris officially ended the American War for Independence in 1783. British forces, in Canada and in forts still occupied by the British within the United States, directed Indian attacks against American frontier settlers until 1796. Under the pretext of war with France, British Secretary of State Henry Dundas in 1793 had signed an order authorizing British warships to attack and seize U.S. vessels that might have been trading with the colonies of France.

About 550 American ships were indiscriminately seized, their cargoes stolen, and their crews kidnapped and "impressed" into the British navy. Thousands of U.S. seamen—as many as 10-20,000—were dragged onto British warships.

As British-French warfare intensified in the late 1790s, the French also began attacking U.S. ships, seizing the cargo of perhaps 350 ships. Since the American sailors spoke a different language, they could be of no use to the French navy.

At the same time North African fiefdoms—the "Barbary pirates"—were maintained by British money and supplies as a terrorist auxiliary to the British navy, ensuring British rule of the sea by crippling or destroying other nations' transatlantic commerce.

Prior to the Jefferson administration, the American government had made a start toward defending itself against this onslaught. A brief summary of these efforts will be useful for comparison with the policy the Jefferson-Burr-Gallatin administration was to adopt beginning in 1801.<sup>1</sup>

The first public works law, passed in 1789, had set up federal control of aids to navigation. Treasury Secretary Hamilton personally directed the construction of the Cape Henry lighthouse, built in 1792 at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and in use until 1881. The Montauk lighthouse at the end of Long Island was built in 1797.

Hamilton got congressional authorization in 1790 for ten boats to patrol the coast against smuggling, a project which was the ancestor of today's Coast Guard.

Fears of renewed war with Great Britain led to congressional authorization for the first American system of seacoast fortifications: repairing three existing positions and fortifying 16 additional harbors. The Corps of Artillerists and Engineers was created in 1795 to direct most fortification work, including Fort McHenry in Baltimore harbor.

The southern frontiers were defended against the Spanish and the Indians by four forts built in Georgia, and the army took over Fort Stevens at Mobile from the Spanish. Under the 1796 Jay Treaty, the United States took from the British Forts Niagara and Oswego in upstate New York, and Forts Michilimackinac and Detroit in Michigan.

Fort Washington was built in the Ohio territory at the site of what was later the city of Cincinnati. Fort Pickering was built in 1797 at the mouth of the Tennessee River. A fort was built in 1798 on the Mississippi River near present-day Vicksburg.

The first post-Revolutionary naval construction began in 1794 in response to the attacks of the North African terrorists ("pirates"). President Washington was initially authorized to com-

1. The following material is largely taken from American Public Works Association, *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976*, Chicago, 1976.

mission 2,060 naval personnel, while six frigates were to be built.

The first three frigates, the *United States*, the *Constellation* and the *Constitution*, were completed in 1797. Then-congressional opposition leader Albert Gallatin fought against their construction, on the grounds that "If the sums to be expended to build and maintain the frigates were applied to paying a part of our national debt, the payment would make us more respectable in the eyes of foreign nations than all the frigates we can build."<sup>2</sup>

The other three authorized ships were built in 1798 when the French attacks intensified, and the Department of the Navy was created in 1798. Navy Secretary Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland purchased land and set up government-owned naval yards for ship construction: in Washington, near the capital; in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with ample timber and skilled craftsmen; in Boston, where the legislature ceded choice land; in Brooklyn, New York, at an old Revolutionary War anchorage; in Norfolk, Virginia; and in Philadelphia at the foot of Broad Street.

After the 1801 election, Congress completed the Washington-Adams program by appropriating an additional \$500,000 for the building of six more warships and the completion of yards, docks, and wharves.

The regular army was strengthened and a 15,000-man provisional force was created in 1797. General Alexander Hamilton was second in command to George Washington, and was the nation's highest-ranking officer after Washington's death in 1799.

### Gallatin's Infamy

Before assuming his official duties as Secretary of the Treasury, Swiss oligarch Albert Gallatin drew up the program of the Jefferson administration. He announced that the principal object of the regime would be paying off the public debt. Jefferson, who

2. *Annals of Congress*, Feb. 10, 1797, quoted in Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, p. 170.



had previously favored building a navy, now concurred with Gallatin, saying later that "we shall never see another President and Secretary of the Treasury making all other objects subordinate to" debt reduction.<sup>3</sup> Under the pretext of debt reduction, Gallatin planned to eliminate the armed forces of the United States. This seemed logical enough to Jefferson, who had, after all, once remarked, "If the U.S. stood with respect to Europe precisely on the footing of China, we should thus avoid wars."<sup>4</sup>

Gallatin's financial scheme assumed that for the next 16 years, there would be zero growth in the United States economy. Thirty-eight million dollars of the debt would be paid off by 1810, the remainder (slightly more than that sum) by 1816. Annual revenues of the government were \$10 million, and the plan said that the revenues would stay at that level. Of this annual income, over three-fourths, or \$7.3 million, was to be earmarked for the payment of accelerated debt payments, leaving just \$2.7 million for all non-debt items.

Non-debt expenditures under the previous administration had averaged \$5 million; the Gallatin budget meant that \$2.3 million, or 46 percent of all non-debt items, would be cut back.<sup>5</sup> Under President Adams, \$2.1 million had gone to the navy and \$1.8 million to the army. The armed forces would bear virtually the entirety of Gallatin's cuts, including an immediate halving of appropriations for the navy. Ship construction was halted. The yards, docks, and fortifications were allowed to fall into disrepair and eventual ruin. The money that had previously been appropriated was returned to the Treasury, for the payment of debt. After wholesale dismissals from the navy, there remained 1,395

3. Thomas Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, Oct. 11, 1809, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1903-1904, Vol. XII, p. 324.

4. Jefferson to the Comte de Hogendorp, Oct. 13, 1785, in *ibid.*

5. Balinky, Alexander S., "Albert Gallatin, Naval Foe," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LXXXII, No. 3, July 1958, pp. 293-304. This is an excellent article, despite the author's apologetics for Gallatin's treachery.

men and six warships, facing 800 British warships and over 100,000 men.

Over the next several years, even a temporary shortfall of revenue was used as a pretext for further cuts in the naval budget. The unforeseen 1803 purchase of Louisiana increased the debt by \$11 million (while doubling the size of the nation). In order to keep the same insane ratios in his scheme, Gallatin needed \$700,000 more for debt service payments. Since only \$400,000 additional revenue existed, another \$300,000 was cut from the naval budget.

The first test for the new administration actually came before Albert Gallatin had arrived in Washington to join the cabinet. The Pasha of Tripoli, one of the African pirate states set up by the British to prey on shipping, demanded a larger U.S. payoff than he had been receiving, and declared war against the United States. Advised by loyal cabinet members led by Navy Secretary Robert Smith, President Jefferson approved the dispatching of a squadron to confront the North Africans; the little fleet included the three frigates whose construction Gallatin had sought to block.

The American force employed was inadequate, however, and the plundering continued. In the summer of 1802, the navy, under its Secretary Smith, planned to escalate the attack. However Gallatin wrote to Jefferson (who had left most presidential duties in Gallatin's hands and gone to Virginia for the season) pleading with the President to stop the navy from attacking the pirates. "Eight years hence we shall, I trust, be able to assume a different tone; but our exertions [i. e. expenditures] at present consume the seeds of our greatness and retard to an indefinite time the epoch of our strength."<sup>6</sup>

Raymond Walters, Jr., in a generally fawning biography (*Albert Gallatin—Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat*), describes the outcome of the cabinet dispute:

6. Gallatin to Jefferson, August 16, 1802, *Gallatin Papers*.

While the President hesitated, Smith ordered the frigate *John Adams* to sail from New York to blockade the Barbary Coast. Gallatin sent frantic appeals to Jefferson at Monticello to countermand the order. Not enough of the naval appropriations remained unexpended to cover the cost, he insisted. Jefferson was somewhat impressed and inquired whether some way could not be found to include the expenses of the *John Adams* as a "debt incurred." During the delay, the frigate put to sea.

Thus was the nation committed to war against the pirates. With the squadron against whose use Gallatin had complained, Commodore Edward Preble stormed Tangiers and brought the Emperor of Morocco to terms.<sup>7</sup>

In this heroic assault against immense odds, the U.S.S. *Philadelphia* was captured and its crew made slaves. This so enraged the American public that Jefferson was forced to ask Congress, in March of 1804, for temporary additions of \$750,000 per year to the navy budget to carry on the fight against the pirates. Despite Gallatin's sabotage, the pirates were finally crushed in 1805. During these engagements Commodore Preble and Stephen Decatur, who commanded the *Enterprise*, gave to the world a startling picture of the potential military might of the United States.

As useful as these defensive expeditions had been, they remained virtually the only deployment of the tiny U.S. navy, which was constantly being reduced by Swiss Treasury Secretary Gallatin during the Jefferson years. The graver threat—the vast British fleet—remained unopposed, continuing to attack and plunder American ships and kidnap their crews.

### The Workman Memorandum

When Jefferson and Burr took office in 1801, the British had been at war with France for nearly a quarter-century, with a

7. Walters, *Albert Gallatin*, pp. 150-151.

pause for "peace"—and trade war—in the late 1780s. Most effective for the British side had been their "irregulars" from the British-Swiss secret service, including: British espionage leader (and Burr's cousin) Jacques Mallet du Pan; Swiss banker (and Gallatin's cousin) Jacques Necker, who strangled the French kingdom's finances; and Jean-Paul Marat from Neuchatel and Geneva, who was trained for ten years by British intelligence in England before going on to murder thousands of France's intellectuals in the Reign of Terror.

But with the rise of reformer Lazare Carnot, in the mid-1790s, the French army became a fearsome instrument. Instead of simply dissolving in anarchy, France moved outward to invade Europe, breaking down local feudal trade barriers, stopping British imports, and setting the stage for the rise of modern nations.

At one point in the battle for Europe, in the year 1800, British intelligence officer James Workman submitted a remarkable document to the British Minister of War, Henry Dundas: the British plan for the conquest of the Western Hemisphere. This report, though it was the basis for Aaron Burr's later secession attempts in the American West, has never been mentioned in any Burr biography, or otherwise seen as a matter of concern to the American public.

In this treatise will be found the basis for Britain's appeal to American traitors—white racial superiority and love of the British "mother" culture. Workman's memorandum and his subsequent arrival in New Orleans may be seen as the opening shot of the American Civil War of 1861-1865.

In 1801, James Workman sailed from England to South Carolina, where he published his report as an action proposal to those in the U.S. administration (whose election is referred to as "events of a late date") who might assist in the execution of the plan.

The Workman document was then printed in the *Charleston Courier*, and presumably picked up by Vice-President Burr's daughter and son-in-law in that city. The following are excerpts

from this document, not published in the United States in the past 174 years. It begins with an introduction added in South Carolina:

*A Memorial Proposing a Plan  
for the Conquest and Emancipation of  
Spanish America, by Means, which would  
Contribute to the Tranquility of Ireland.*

During the contest, which has now for so many years agitated the world, two distinct objects of hostility have been avowed by the powers opposed to the Republic of France; the one, to subvert her government; the other, to restrain her ambition. . . . [this proposal concerns the second objective].

The following memorial was drawn up principally in the summer of 1799, when the arms of the allied powers, universally victorious, had driven the French out of Italy, and a great part of Switzerland. Nothing then seemed wanting to restore completely the equilibrium of national power than to place in the British scale, what might counterpoise the French conquests of the Netherlands, Holland, and Egypt. For this purpose, Spanish America seemed a sufficient and an easily obtainable object. . . .

To assist him in drawing up this paper the author procured a copy of the map of Spanish America published in Madrid by the order of the King of Spain, and consulted all the books written concerning [Spanish America] in any of the languages he was acquainted with. The memorial was presented in the summer of 1800 to the late [sic] British War Minister. An attack on the Spanish colonies was proposed by the author himself so long ago as January 1797. . . .

The author intends to persuade the public of the importance of such measures and to urge those who have the power of carrying them into execution that it should be done without a moment's delay. . . .

The capture of Louisiana [then owned by Spain] and La

Plata [Argentina] only . . . would place the other colonies of Spain in such jeopardy and so completely at our mercy that she would be glad to purchase, with her perpetual neutrality at least, our forbearance with respect to them—if, indeed, such a price could be considered an equivalent for such forbearance.

From some events of a late date, it is not impossible that a powerful and effective co-operation, towards the proposed objects, might be obtained from a quarter, from which at the time of writing this memorial, no assistance could have been reasonably expected; and this consideration supplies another inducement for publishing it at present.

After this introduction, the memorial continues by discussing the "naturally irritable Irish character," and a novel means for ridding Ireland of revolutionary leaders—by recruiting them for guerrilla warfare against the Spanish authorities in the Western Hemisphere.

The kind of war pursued by the enemy [the French], gives him an advantage over us. He is always on the offensive; he plays a more lively, interesting, and animating game than we do. When he is defeated he loses nothing; when he gains a victory he makes a conquest. It were highly desirable that we should pursue the same species of warfare. . . .

I suggest . . . leading away all that are formidable of [Ireland's] inhabitants, for the purpose of seizing on the whole, or the chief of the Spanish colonies in America.

The memorial proceeds with arguments that the depopulation of Ireland, then in the third decade of revolt against British rule, would be better for those few Irishmen who would be left; and that after the revolutionary leaders were convinced to go fight the Spanish, the Irish might be sent wholesale to populate the conquered territory.

Of the places that might be attacked, Florida [then also under Spanish rule] and Louisiana are the nearest . . . the advantages of Louisiana are almost commensurate with its extent [about one million square miles]. . . .

New Orleans will be the great depot of the commerce of the western states of America; and the position of Louisiana would be of great consequence with respect to future operations . . . the possession of Louisiana might [also] . . . serve as a place d'armes for invading the richest of the [Spanish King's] dominions.

The memorial then states that 2,500 regular troops, or 4-5,000 colonial irregulars and 1,000 volunteers, would be sufficient to conquer both Florida and Louisiana, the invasion to be backed by one of the British naval convoys in the Caribbean.

Extensive details of appropriate military action in the Americas are discussed:

The situation of the Indians . . . would afford an advantage too important to be overlooked or despised by an invader. He could attach them to his interests . . . by abrogating the vexatious and degrading imposts to which they are now subject, by treating their chiefs with respect and bestowing upon them in compliance with their customs, some privileges and distinctions.

The countries proposed to be conquered would not only afford an immediate increase to our maritime trade, but would become the means of supplying, sustaining, and forever preserving to Great Britain all the colonies now in her possession.

It may be said that these projected colonies might in time revolt. . . . At all events, whatever may become of sovereignty and imperial dominion, it should be a proud satisfaction to every Briton to establish and immortalize his name, his language, and his race in every part of the world. . . .

The same interests, language, laws, customs, and manners will ultimately unite together, *as against foreigners* [emphasis in the original], Great Britain and all the nations and colonies that have sprung or may proceed from her.

These may quarrel with her, and also with one another, but they will soon see that her power is a strong and necessary barrier to protect them against those gigantic military states of the continent of Europe which already threaten all national independence; and their prejudices, their affections, and their pride will prevent them from desiring or even permitting . . . that the country of their fathers and brothers should be brought under any foreign yoke.

*If the Spanish settlements are taken . . . the whole continent of America will, in less than a century, become English* [emphasis added]. . . .

These countries, together with [our] Indian empire, would place nearly one-third of the inhabitable territory, and one-half of the commercial riches of the earth at [our] disposal.<sup>8</sup>

Earlier, the U.S. ambassador to England, Rufus King, had sent a letter to John Adams's Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, dated February 26, 1798, bearing intelligence of a preliminary British plan to the same effect. King called it:

. . . a plan, long since digested and prepared, for the complete independence of South America. . . . England . . . will propose to the United States to cooperate in its execution. [British-backed adventurer Francisco de] Miranda will be detained [in London] under one pretence or another, until events shall decide the conduct of England. . . . I will bring together and . . . send to you, such information as I have been able to procure upon this . . .

8. Workman, James, *A Memorial . . . for the Conquest . . . of Spanish America*, New York Public Library Rare Book Room.

subject, having found out and acquired the confidence of certain Jesuits, natives of South America, who, with a view to its independence, are, and for several years have been, in the service and pay of England. I have often conversed with them, and seen the reports which they have prepared for their employers. . . .<sup>9</sup>

President John Adams had responded angrily to what he later termed the “pretended, ostensible independence of South America,”<sup>10</sup> and he had turned down the British suggestion of his connivance as Prime Minister Pitt’s “insidious plan to dupe me into a rash declaration of war against France, and a submissive alliance, offensive and defensive, with him.”<sup>11</sup>

Now, however, “events of a late date” had put into powerful positions persons more friendly to British conquest of the Americas, North and South.

The most powerful social agency of sedition within the United States, consistent with the global war aims of the British Empire, was the group of merchant families who led the Federalist Party after 1800, and who nearly succeeded in electing Aaron Burr President of the United States. The most important public leaders of this movement were in New England where the names Pickering, Cabot, Perkins, and Lowell were associated with pro-English policies.

These families, along with some who only despised the English a bit less than they hated the thought of a republican world, had

been meditating a destruction of the American Union since at least the middle 1790s.

In the following chapters, we will show how these New York and New England leaders worked with the British spy machine created by Aaron Burr, and nearly destroyed the U.S.A. within the first years of the nineteenth century.

9. Rufus King to The Secretary of State, Feb. 26, 1798, *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams; Boston; Little, Brown and Co., 1853; Vol. VIII, pp. 585-586.

10. John Adams to James Lloyd, Mar. 26, 1815, *Works of John Adams*, Vol. X, p. 139.

11. *ibid*, p. 141.

-5-

## The Murderer Marches West

Among the pro-British merchant families who connived at the dismantling of the young American republic were the Livingston clan of New York.

The Scottish Livingstones were a rugged bunch. Edmund Burke told the story (retold by Edward Livingston's biographer C.H. Hunt<sup>1</sup>) of Sir Alexander Livingstone, who was appointed in 1449 Justiciary of Scotland and Ambassador to England. Livingstone asked an opponent, the Earl of Douglas, to sup at the royal table, in the castle of Edinburgh. Since Livingstone was the guardian of the young King James II of Scotland, and the boy sovereign was to be present at the table, Douglas felt secure. After he was seated, servants brought in the freshly severed head of a black bull and placed it in front of him. The Earl tried to escape but he, his brother, and a friend were captured and beheaded.

The fifth Lord Livingstone was one of the two guardians of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. The grandson of the seventh Lord Livingstone was one of two Scotsmen to negotiate with Charles II for his accession to the Scottish throne as well as the English.

Later the Livingstones revolted as "Jacobites" against the rule of William III and the later House of Hanover, in favor of the continuing claim of the Stuarts.

1. Hunt, Charles Havens, *Life of Edward Livingston*, Appleton and Company, New York, 1864.

The clan was stripped of much of its power, titles, and lands, and retained little love for the reigning monarchs of England.

The first Livingstone in America, son of a Scotsman exiled to Holland, dropped the final "e" from the family name. This Robert Livingston set up a baronial estate north of Albany on the Hudson River. He continued the family's penchant for unusual forms of violence, by convincing the English government to issue a commission to his protégé Captain William Kidd.<sup>2</sup>

The Livingston family of New York, intermarried with the Smith family of New York and Canada, the Lee family of Virginia, and the Shippen family of Pennsylvania, provided both patriotic fighters to the cause of the American Revolution—and others who played a bizarre part in the subversion of American independence. This group aided Aaron Burr's treason, and they helped to restore a subterranean, growing British power in New York and America.

The virtual coup d'état carried out in 1782-83 by British intelligence overlord William Shelburne, by which Scottish political boss Henry Dundas and feudal theorist Adam Smith shared Shelburne's power in Britain, encouraged such exile Scots to come back to the British fold.

Robert Livingston had served on the committee of the Continental Congress which drew up the Declaration of Independence. In 1783, the leader of the Masonic organization of the British army in New York<sup>3</sup> was Grand Master William Walter, who was soon to make a forced departure to the Tory exile

2. The East India Company asked King William III for a privateer to be sent into the Indian Ocean. Livingston, New England's Royal Governor the Earl of Bellomont and five Englishmen bankrolled and outfitted Captain Kidd, who "went too far" and attacked English ships. See John Knox Laughton, "William Kidd," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1921-22; and Frank Monaghan, "William Kidd," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933.

3. For New York masonic data see Lang, Ossian, *New York Freemasonry, a Bicentennial History, 1781-1981*; published by The Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York; New York City, 1981.

station of Nova Scotia. Walter arranged that the leadership of this Masonic organization—now no longer to be officially associated with the British army—would be put in the hands of Robert Livingston. The latter was installed Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New York by William Cock, Walter's temporary replacement, on February 4, 1784, just before Grand Master Cock also left with the departing British troops.

From 1798 to 1800, Burr's law client John Jacob Astor was treasurer of the New York Grand Lodge. From 1801 to 1803, Robert Livingston's younger brother Edward, who was also mayor of New York, and, by virtue of Burr's designation, district attorney, served as Deputy Grand Master.

Burr's intimate friend and brother-in-law Tapping Reeve, of the Litchfield Law School, was busy enlisting recruits for the movement to separate New England from the Union. He wrote enthusiastically to Connecticut Senator Uriah Tracy that "all I have seen and most I have heard from believe that we must separate and that this is the time."<sup>4</sup>

Another Burr confidant, strategically situated in Boston and a friend to that city's bankers and politicians, was Burr's personal physician, William Eustis. The doctor entered politics after a good deal of prodding; in 1802 he defeated John Quincy Adams for Congress and sat in Washington beside his friend the Vice-President.

As a conduit to the New England pro-British party, Eustis would be useful to Burr's organization a decade in the future, when he would be the U.S. Secretary of War during the War of 1812.

Colonel Charles Williamson of British military intelligence was relieved of his upstate New York assignment as manager of a million acres of land on the frontier, and moved into one of the New York City houses of the new Vice-President, where he lived in 1801 and 1802.

4. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, Ed. Henry Adams, (first published 1877), reprinted by Burt Franklin, New York, 1969, pp. 342-43.

The following year he sailed back to London, to confer with British special operations chief Henry Dundas, Prime Minister Pitt, and others about the military activation of British agents in North America. Williamson's two responsibilities were Colonel Aaron Burr and General Francisco de Miranda, both of whom were to lead military expeditions on behalf of the British. Williamson returned to New York with a new British ambassador to the United States, Anthony Merry; they arrived at the same time, perhaps on the same boat.

At a dinner meeting in Washington early in 1804, Senators Timothy Pickering and William Plumer of New Hampshire, and Senators James Hillhouse and Uriah Tracy and Representative Roger Griswold of Connecticut, spoke to Vice-President Burr about their plans for secession. Senator Hillhouse told Burr at that meeting that "the United States would soon form two distinct and separate governments."<sup>5</sup>

Henry Adams, the Anglophile historian of the early 19th century, wrote that the new British ambassador "meddled" and encouraged this and other plots against the American Union out of spite against President Jefferson. But the huge web of associations that Aaron Burr maintained with the British-Swiss secret service organization—one part of which is shown on the chart on page 91—must demonstrate to the impartial reader that Mr. Merry was no "foolish diplomat."

### The Death of Hamilton

Aaron Burr's New York organization had provided the margin of victory for the Democratic-Republicans in the 1800 national elections. But Burr had been immediately isolated within the administration by President Jefferson (though never by Treasury Secretary Gallatin), and he was to be dropped from the reelection ticket in 1804. Burr's place as Vice-President was to be taken by New York's Governor George Clinton.

5. William Plumer to John Quincy Adams, Dec. 20, 1828, *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, p. 144.

The plan of the pro-British party was now to elect Aaron Burr governor of New York, where he was to lead that state, and possibly New Jersey and Pennsylvania, out of the Union along with the otherwise weak New England states.

Again, Alexander Hamilton plunged in with passionate intensity at the crucial moment, denouncing Burr; and though his own Federalist Party endorsed Burr for governor, Hamilton called for the election of his Republican opponent. By pulling out all the stops, by ignoring all the niceties, Hamilton managed to disturb enough otherwise sleepy people that Burr was soundly defeated.

All irrelevant "psychological" explanations aside, the plain fact was that Burr could accomplish little to the detriment of the United States from this point on if Alexander Hamilton remained alive. So Burr killed him.

Why Hamilton went along with the duel proposed by Burr—whether to accommodate "popular prejudices," as Hamilton's last writings indicate, or as a deliberate self-sacrifice calculated to end Burr's career, or as a blind action based on Burr's manipulation of some weakness in Hamilton's character—or whether Hamilton really intended to win the duel had his gun not misfired, as some historians claim, may never be known. The fact remains however, that Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton, the founder of the independent economic system of the United States; and deliberately killing another person was then, as now, against the law, whether in a duel or otherwise. Burr should rightfully have been punished for murder.

Hamilton was shot on July 11, 1804, and died the following day. *On July 20, 1804, while Burr awaited the coroner's findings, John Jacob Astor made available \$41,783. The following morning, Burr fled New York.*

During the period 1803 to 1805, Astor "expended in purchases from Burr . . . a little over \$116,000." In return Burr transferred to Astor title to very valuable Manhattan real estate—which was not Burr's property.<sup>6</sup>

6. Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, Vol. II, p. 920 and 946. Quoting Porter: "in 1797

Burr now proceeded to Philadelphia, where he conferred with Colonel Charles Williamson of British intelligence. Williamson was Burr's law client, his partner in the New York state legislature, and key agent in New York State since 1792.

After the Burr-Williamson conference, the following letter was sent by the proud British Ambassador Anthony Merry to his home office in London—it was fished out of the British archives later on in the nineteenth century by historian Henry Adams:

I have just received an offer from Mr. Burr, the actual Vice-President of the United States, to lend his assistance to his majesty's government in any matter in which they may think fit to employ him, particularly in endeavoring to effect a separation of the western part of the United States from that which lies between the Atlantic and the mountains, in its whole extent. His proposition on this and other subjects will be fully detailed to your lordship by Colonel Williamson, who has been the bearer of them to me, and who will embark for England in a few days.<sup>7</sup>

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Burr was appointed chairman of a committee from the New York legislature to enquire into the affairs of Trinity Church. For some reason the investigation was never made, but on May 11, 1797, the chairman emerged as owner of the remainder of the Mortier lease. Burr, as always, was financially embarrassed, and obtained a mortgage on this lease for \$38,000 from the Manhattan Bank, whose charter he had been responsible for procuring. Burr's extravagance . . . soon made it necessary for him to raise some more funds . . . to Astor he applied . . . on October 22, 1803, Astor bought for \$62,500 the remainder of the Trinity lease . . . subject to the mortgage, which he satisfied on July 20, 1804, by paying \$41,783. During that autumn and the following year Astor bought other lots and lease-remainders from Burr, to a total value of more than \$12,000, an \$8,000 purchase of a lease being made in the month after Burr's duel with Hamilton."

Whether the \$41,783 mortgage was "satisfied" by a payment directly through Burr, or to Burr's bank, the Manhattan Company, thence to Burr, somehow Burr was enabled to make his escape journey from New York to the South.

7. Anthony Merry to British Foreign Secretary Lord Harrowby, August 6, 1804, quoted in Adams, Henry, *History of the United States of America in the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921, Vol. II, p. 395.



The letter is dated August 4, 1804, less than a month after the killing of Hamilton. Burr was by this time under indictment in New York and New Jersey. But already the Burr organization was plastering over the skeleton in the closet. Morgan Lewis, Governor of New York and brother-in-law of Robert and Edward Livingston, denounced the indictment of Burr as "disgraceful, illiberal, and ungentlemanly." The Burr legal and public relations machine succeeded in reducing the New York State murder charge to a misdemeanor; the New Jersey murder indictment stood.

Burr traveled surreptitiously southward. He received a warm reception and had a lively set of conferences with his son-in-law, Joseph Alston, owner of possibly the largest plantation in South Carolina; with Senator Pierce Butler, Burr's close friend, who had threatened a dissolution of the Union in the First Congress, on June 11, 1789; and with other "forefathers" of the Confederacy.

Returning now to Washington, Aaron Burr resumed his chair in the Senate as presiding officer, as Vice-President! Legally he could not be touched—he had immunity from state-level prosecutions as long as he was Vice-President and on federal territory. Politically, the hand of the administration was extended to him, in the person of Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin.

Burr's Swiss cousin Gallatin met repeatedly with the fugitive Vice-President, while writing that "unquenchable hatred of Burr and federal policy have combined in producing an artificial sensation much beyond what might have been expected; and a majority of both parties seem disposed . . . to deify Hamilton and to treat Burr as a murderer. The duel, for a duel, was certainly fair."<sup>8</sup>

Jefferson was convinced that Burr's services were yet needed, and could be used, as presiding officer in the Senate: an im-

8. Albert Gallatin to James Nicholson, July 19, 1804, *Gallatin Papers*.

peachment trial was pending in that body for Federalist Judge Samuel Chase, one of the judicial officers Jefferson wanted to purge to clear the decks for his own party. With Albert Gallatin's timely advice, the President gave Burr three appointments which would supposedly secure Burr's aid against Judge Chase:

- *General James Wilkinson*, Burr's collaborator since the Conway Cabal against George Washington—and now the highest-ranking U.S. Army officer since the death of General Alexander Hamilton—was made governor of Upper Louisiana Territory.

- *John Bartow Prevost*, Burr's stepson and a Swiss oligarchical assassin by heredity and association, was made judge of the Territorial Superior Court at New Orleans.

- *James Browne*, brother-in-law of Burr's deceased wife—the Brownes and the Burrs had been married in a double wedding ceremony—was made secretary of the Upper Louisiana Territory.

Burr's Louisiana appointees joined an entire Burr organization that had been accumulating in that region since it had left Spanish jurisdiction.

Napoleon Bonaparte had thrown a monkey wrench into British plans for taking over the Western Hemisphere in 1803. He had obtained the entire middle area of North America from the Spanish—the Louisiana Territory, stretching from the present state of Louisiana in a broadening triangle up to the Canadian border. He had then sold the entire territory to the United States, which had been hoping to obtain only a small piece.

As a result, the job of the British agents had become more complicated: attacking and conquering Louisiana would now mean attacking the United States.

James Workman, author of the British government memorandum on the conquest of the Western Hemisphere, left Charleston, South Carolina, and traveled to New Orleans, where he managed to have himself appointed judge of New Orleans County.

Edward Livingston, New York's mayor and district attorney, and confederate of Burr and Gallatin, quit his posts, accepted

\$12,000 from John Jacob Astor,<sup>9</sup> and went to "start life anew" in Louisiana.

"Judge" Workman and Edward Livingston became the leaders of an organization known as the Mexican Association. The group's program was explained to new recruits by Workman and his Irish immigrant operatives, as reported in Thomas P. Abernethy's exhaustive book, *The Burr Conspiracy*:

Baton Rouge was to be seized, the Mexican standard then was to be raised, troops collected, and a British naval force from New Providence in the Bahamas assembled on Lake Ponchartrain. Arms were to be sent up to Fort Adams, a post that might be captured to serve as a base of operations. . . . After the capture of Baton Rouge, the money in the banks and the shipping in the river at New Orleans were to be seized, in order to organize an expedition to join Miranda by way of Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

The conspiracy to attack and seize the U.S. territory of Louisiana, and to set up an as-large-as-possible western buffer state under British protection, was the operative version of the British plan of 1800, committed to writing by James Workman.

The French minister in Washington, Louis Marie Turreau, wrote home to Foreign Minister Talleyrand:

Louisiana thus is going to be the seat of Mr. Burr's new intrigues; he is going there under the aegis of General Wilkinson. It is even asserted that he might find the means there already prepared by a certain Livingston . . . from New York City and who is closely associated with Burr.<sup>11</sup>

9. Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, Vol II, p. 923.

10. Abernethy, Thomas Perkins, *The Burr Conspiracy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1954, p. 25.

11. Parmet, Herbert S. and Hecht, Marie B., *Aaron Burr: Portrait of an Ambitious Man*, Macmillan Company, New York, 1967, p. 240.

Burr was not shy about obtaining aid from men and women of the cloth. In the words of Burr's executor, Matthew Davis:

The Catholic bishop, resident at New Orleans, was also consulted, and prepared to promote the enterprise. He designated three priests of the order of Jesuits, as suitable agents, and they were accordingly employed. . . . Madame Xavier Tarjcon, superior of the convent of Ursuline nuns at New Orleans, was in the secret. Some of the sisterhood were also employed in Mexico.<sup>12</sup>

Aaron Burr spent the years 1804 to 1806 preparing to lead combinations of American mercenaries and British naval forces in action commencing in the Midwest and proceeding through New Orleans. Tons of paper have been wasted, anguished millions of words have been strewn onto pages, speculating as to Aaron Burr's intentions in this business. Since Burr had no values or commitments in the ordinary sense, it is of far greater use to ascertain, as we have done, the intentions of his London patrons and employers.

We have provided herein—for the first time since these events took place—the lines of association between Burr, his partner and cousin Albert Gallatin, and the British secret service organization. Any other approach to the Burr "Western Conspiracy" runs into the problem of having to piece through evidence that was destroyed or tampered with by the participants, and later reported on by historians whose sympathies for British-American "re-association" should cast doubt on their zeal for digging into this matter.

We will cite here only those facts, among a mountain of available data, which shed light on crucial future historical developments, and which serve to round out the picture of the main protagonists of this history.

William Eaton, an American diplomat who had helped in the

12. Burr, *Memoirs*, Vol II, p. 382.

fight against the Barbary pirates, testified at Burr's 1807 trial "Mr. Burr inquired of me with what officers of the marine corps and of the navy I was acquainted. I told him with most of them. It is impossible for me to remember distinctly every adverb expressed to me in the course of conversation; but this I perfectly recollect, that if he could gain the marine corps, and secure to his interest the naval commanders, Truxton, Preble, and Decatur, he would turn Congress neck and heels out of doors, assassinate the President, (or what amounted to that,) and declare himself the protector of an energetic Government. If that distinct expression was not used, (though the impression is distinct on my mind that it was used in the course of conversation) yet he used such expressions as these: 'hang him,' 'throw him into the Potomac,' 'send him to Carter's Mountain.' . . . he said the blow must be struck, and if he struck it at that time and place, he would be supported by the best blood of America."<sup>13</sup>

One of Burr's assistants on the Western project was eventually promoted for the Presidency of the United States under

13. Testimony of General William Eaton, Sept. 26, 1807, in *American State Papers; Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, Gales and Seaton, Washington, D. C., 1834, Vol. I, p. 537.

See also the statement to the jury by the United States Attorney for Virginia, George Hay: "To those in whom he confided, he asserted, that all the men of property and influence were dissatisfied with [the government's] arrangements, because they were not in the proper situation to which they were entitled: that with five hundred men he could effect a revolution by which he could send the president to Monticello, intimidate congress, and take the government of the United States into his own hands." *Reports of the Trials of Colonel Aaron Burr . . . In The Circuit Court of the United States . . . taken in short hand by David Robertson, Counselor at Law*, Published by Hopkins and Earle, Fry and Kammerer, Philadelphia, 1808, Vol. I, p. 447.

See also Prentiss, Charles, *The Life of the Late Gen. William Eaton, Principally Collected from his Correspondence and Other Manuscripts*, Printed by E. Merriam and Co., Brookfield [state?], 1813, rare book room, Library of Congress. Prentiss includes an affidavit that Eaton gave to the prosecution before the trial, substantially the same as his courtroom testimony. The affidavit was quite famous at the time.

Burr's and Livingston's guidance. Andrew Jackson, Burr's friend from the Senate days, had provided Burr with hospitality, praise, recruits (including his own nephew), and the boats with which to transport the mercenary army Burr was assembling down the Ohio River.

The collapse of the conspiracy seems to have been caused by the habit (intensely annoying to feudal oligarchs and their employees) of ordinary American citizens to speak out when they suspect that something is being done against the interests of their country. Among these was Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, district attorney for Kentucky, who wrote to President Jefferson on January 10, 1806, outlining the secession plot and asking for the dispatch of investigators.

Eventually General Wilkinson decided to turn against Burr, apparently to save himself. He declared martial law in New Orleans and arrested Burr and several co-conspirators. Judge James Workman—described only as "an Englishman of three years residence"<sup>14</sup> in the Abernethy account—released Burr and his associates and began attacking Wilkinson as a liar.

But Burr was re-arrested, along with Workman and several other eligible characters. One of those taken and sent in chains to Washington was Dr. Justus Erich Bollman, Burr's go-between for European arms and financing, who had previously been employed by Jacques Necker's daughter Madame de Stael in smuggling operations within Revolutionary France.

Edward Livingston, who had been installed as Grand Master of the Louisiana Masonic Lodge as soon as he arrived there, was in sufficient command of the affairs of the legal community to have all charges against himself dropped. All the main conspirators managed to get off as well.

Burr's treason trial in Richmond, Virginia, was presided over by Supreme Court Justice John Marshall. Burr was acquitted, as the jury said, on the basis of the evidence with which they were presented. They insisted on that explicit verdict, despite

14. Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy*, p. 167.

protests from Burr's attorneys. In fact, the crucial evidence by which all historians today judge Burr's activities—such as the letter of British Ambassador Merry—was not available for consideration at that trial.

Witness Andrew Jackson—who was not himself charged because he had earlier “warned” of Burr's designs—denounced the President for “oppressing” Burr. And Albert Gallatin's old friend, Paul Henry Mallet-Prevost, Burr's cousin, swore that he wasn't involved in the plot, and had refused to take part.<sup>15</sup>

When he left the scene of the trial, Burr was a hated and a hunted man. He was wanted by mobs, to be lynched. He was wanted by several states, on charges including treason.

### Burr Goes to Britain

Burr made his way to New York in disguise. *After receiving tens of thousands of dollars in cash advances for his house from John*

15. Clarence B. Fargo, in his *History of Frenchtown* [a New Jersey town just across the river from Pennsylvania], privately printed in New York, 1933, [copy in the local history section of the Library of Congress] tells us “Paul Henri Mallet-Prevost . . . had fled the scene of the French Revolution and settled at this point along the banks of the Delaware. . . . Gradually a small settlement grew up about Prevost, and the people taking him for a Frenchman, called the place Frenchtown. . . .

“Aaron Burr had married the widow of Colonel James Marcus Prevost, who had once held the office of commander-in-chief of the King's forces in New Jersey. He was a distant connection of Paul Henri Mallet-Prevost.

“Tradition tells us that one evening in the year of 1804, a lady and gentleman on horseback rode up to the Prevost residence. . . . The gentleman[s] name was Aaron Burr, former [sic] Vice President of the United States, and . . . the lady was his daughter, Miss Theodosia Burr. It was the year of the Burr-Hamilton duel and very possibly Burr was in virtual hiding at the time.

“The fact came out in conversation that Miss Burr and her host were, in a sense, relatives. Aaron Burr was dreaming of his coming Empire. All evening long he talked . . . of his ambitions. . . . Burr . . . later fell so far from his high estate that he was tried for treason and became an exile,” hosted, of course, by Mallet-Prevost's relatives in Britain.

The author of this curious vignette says nothing more about Paul Henry Mallet-Prevost's actions with respect to Burr's proposals for breaking up the United States!

*Jacob Astor, he fled the country, June 7, 1808, on a ship bound for Nova Scotia.*

The British governor of Nova Scotia was Sir George Prevost, Burr's nephew by marriage, who was soon to be Governor General of Canada. Prevost welcomed Burr effusively, and gave him a royal send-off to England with a letter of introduction to the British Secretary of War Lord Castlereagh.<sup>16</sup>

When Aaron Burr arrived in England, he swore to customs officials that he was “born within the King's allegiance and his parents British subjects.” His purpose in coming to England? “I am known personally to Lord Mulgrave and [Prime Minister] Canning, to whom the motives for my visit have been declared. These reasons have long been known to Lord Melville”—special operations chief Henry Dundas.

While in Britain, Burr divided his time between visits with his Mallet-Prevost relatives; with Jeremy Bentham, who gave Burr the entire use of his London house and servants; and with the Scottish nobility, who, under the leadership of Shelburne and Dundas, had poured the plague of opium upon Asia. Perhaps it is fitting that, while visiting his applauding patrons among the Jardines, the Hopes, and the Ogilvies, Burr was himself becoming addicted to opium.

The diary Burr kept during the four years of his European exile<sup>17</sup> is enlightening from several standpoints. It contains the record of Burr's day-to-day relations with the British and continental noble families, whose hostility to the existence of the

16. George Prevost's Letter of passage for Aaron Burr, reel 6, frame 348 of *The Burr Papers*:

“Government House, Halifax, June 20, 1808 To the Collector of His Majesty's Customs, or who else it may concern:

“You will allow the bearer (Mr. G. H. Edwards [Burr's nom-de-guerre]) to proceed without delay from Falmouth to London; the said G. H. Edwards having despatches for the Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh, at whose office he is immediately to present himself on his arrival in London.

[signed] George Prevost.”

17. *Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, The Post Express Printing Company, Rochester, N. Y., 1903 (2 volumes).

United States makes the document embarrassing to apologists for "Burr the loner." Its pornographic banality—endless details of Burr's relations with prostitutes (prices, quality, etc.)—is shocking, considering the diary was written to be shown to his daughter Theodosia. Most importantly, the character of the man and his relations, when compared to that displayed in other men's diaries of the time—such as John Quincy Adams's splendid 12-volume record<sup>18</sup>—places Burr's apologists in a ridiculous light.

It is quite understandable, though not excusable, that the diary of Aaron Burr would have found its way into the hands of *New York Times* founder Henry Raymond, to be suppressed by his family until 1903.

18. *Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1784-1845*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York and London, 1928.

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## Burr's Machine Prepares America's Surrender

The United States Burr fled from was crippled by dissension. The previous year, 1807, the Jefferson-Gallatin administration had responded to escalating attacks against American shipping by imposing an embargo against all U.S. export trade with foreign countries. To punish Britain and France for stealing our ships, cargoes, and crews, we would prohibit our ships from sailing anywhere they might get themselves captured!

This might have been positive—it did, indeed, increase native manufacturing by stifling foreign competition—except for the fact that Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin of Switzerland was put in charge of enforcing the embargo. Under Gallatin, trade with France and her allies was completely cut off, both by the U.S. Navy ships Gallatin employed, and the British cruisers which dominated the Atlantic. At the same time, trade with Britain—smuggling across the ocean and across the border with Canada—flourished under Gallatin's peculiar enforcement. The British consul in Boston arrogantly gave "licenses" to American shippers to pass the British blockade after running their own country's blockade of itself.

This pathetic display of weakness by the government fed the sedition of the New England Federalists. John Quincy Adams went public 20 years later with a denunciation of the designs of the "Thirteen Confederates" who had plotted with Aaron Burr to dismember the Union and who still, in 1808, were working with England against the United States.

James Madison was elected President in 1808, and Albert Gallatin was now in the most powerful position of his life; he continued in the Treasury post, and was, for all major policy decisions, virtually President. Aaron Burr's personal physician and protégé, Dr. William Eustis of Boston,<sup>1</sup> was sworn in on March 7, 1809, as Secretary of War. Enemies of the United States were now in power both within the administration and in its opposition, centered in Boston.<sup>2</sup>

1. For Eustis's relationship with Burr, see Burr's letters to him in *The Burr Papers*. These begin at least as early as Oct. 10, 1777, when they were chums together on the dark side of the Revolutionary army; they run through Eustis's efforts as Burr's political agent in Boston on behalf of Burr's duplicitous try for the U. S. Presidency Nov. 11, 1800 and Jan. 16, 1801; Burr's rather peremptory and demeaning use of Eustis as a fiscal agent and personal henchman, March 9, 1801; Burr's daughter Theodosia's letter to family-doctor Eustis Oct. 6, 1808, during Burr's exile; and Burr's resumed use of Eustis as his agent following his return from exile, March 3, 1813.
2. A strikingly accurate appraisal of the situation in the Madison administration was published on Sept. 3, 1811, in the *Aurora*, the Philadelphia newspaper of Jeffersonian William Duane. It took the form of a thinly disguised allegory about ancient Egypt, concerning the pharaoh Amenophis (President Madison), and his chief baker (Albert Gallatin). It is of course applicable to any situation of a President and his "palace guard." A few excerpts follow:

There [was] a terrible darkness on the land of Egypt . . . it was admirable to behold many places totally dark; when in the very next adjoining, they were totally light. To [understand] this was only in the power of philosophy . . . I ventured boldly into the capital palace of Amenophis; though every way to approach it was involved in darkness.

After I had entered into the INNER-CHAMBER in private, I saw some apartments irradiated with surprising splendor, and others hid in mysterious obscurity.—How highly agitated was I, to see CHIEFS, and a few CHIEF MINISTERS and SECRETARIES enjoying a perfect light, while the great HEAD OF OUR NATION was busied (as it appeared) in almost inconceivable obscurity . . . unconscious of the gathering clouds and darkness that surrounded him, and would ere long prove his certain ruin. . . .

I did the duty of a faithful monitor and subject; I informed this GREAT MAN, whose ease and security was lulling him into a dose [doze], that some unfriendly MINISTER, who had sinister views, kept him in the dark to answer his abominable designs of wickedness, while he enjoyed all the knowledge and happiness of light. But ah! unhappy, credulous and partial man! he answered, "it is told me the people are on my side, and they have no more light than I have; nay even that I enjoy more than they; whom

But a powerful movement to break the country out of this catastrophe was soon to emerge under the congressional leadership of Henry Clay of Kentucky. Clay and his followers proposed full-scale war with Britain, and the American conquest of Canada, as the salvation of American honor and independence, and of a revived national spirit.

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whould I believe but my servants? Am I not their master? Dare they deceive and mock me? Begone thou weak and JEALOUS PHILOSOPHER, speak not against my servants. I will not hear anything that can be said against them . . . to accuse them is accusing my judgement, which made them what they are."

I then repaired to the apartment of the CHIEF BAKER (or premier) and demanded some explanation on affairs of the utmost importance; I was admitted into his hall of audience, and found him accompanied with many chief rulers [of the cabinet, etc] . . . all was light, all was joy, all was triumph; they seemed well pleased that the darkness, which prevailed in so many places in the land, could not be traced out; and it was some cause of merriment to them, to see the people groping in the darkness. . . .

I addressed myself [to the chief baker] . . . "I am a petitioner from the people . . . I come to desire . . . that you would bring the head of our nation out of this darkness. . . ." "A very pretty request," truly cried the CHIEF BAKER, "ha, ha, as you are a wise man, and versed in the ARCANA of NATURE and PHILOSOPHY; but were you in the least acquainted with the mysteries of state juggling, you would not mention so ridiculous a thing. You seem to be surprised at this; but sir, the moment I should let the nation know the complex and secret springs of action and how they must be ruled and bring them to the light, I should be dismissed, perhaps hanged, how could I vindicate myself in keeping them in the state of perplexities, which have disturbed a nation's peace, and almost brought them to the brink of ruin . . . they know not what I do."

"We ministers, (at will and pleasure,) plan, digest and execute, everything beforehand: the HEAD of the nation will not much worry his brain about them or us. In short let him eat, drink and be merry; have his tournaments and levees; he has nothing to do but approve our decrees, and give us support; and he and the nation may as well be in the dark, as in the light."

I was, I confess, astonished at the INGRATITUDE and WICKEDNESS of this MINISTER: who was FORTUITOUSLY IMPOSED into the nation, by some ISMAELITISH caravan, and who by the arts, hypocrisy, and contrivance, had arrived to great consequence . . . among the other BEYS of the nation and considered its premier. This man being of a deep, dark and plotting mind, had heretofore made himself necessary to the PREDCESSOR OF AMENOPHIS [i.e., the previous president, Thomas Jef-

Gallatin tried his best to discourage Clay's nationalists, prevailing on President Madison to do or say nothing to give Britain, or Britain's American opponents, a pretext for war. He published an annual report in November 1811, warning of the drastic tax increases and higher interest rates that a war would necessitate.

Virginia Senator William Giles introduced a bill in December 1811 to raise a 25,000-man army for five years' service. The administration had said the nation could not afford such a military force. Giles retorted that perhaps Treasury Secretary Gallatin lacked either the talent or the desire to defend the national honor, that he acted as if it were more important to retire the public debt than to provide for national defense. Giles contended that if Gallatin were such a financial genius, he would be able to find a way to finance the necessary measures.

The attack against Gallatin, unfortunately, also brought down the Bank of the United States, whose 20-year charter expired without renewal in 1811. No institution viewed as being under Gallatin's domination could be approved by the enraged Congress.

The United States was bankrupt, insulted, without any appreciable naval force. Henry Clay and his followers put the matter bluntly to James Madison: either you declare war, or we get a new President in the 1812 elections. The Second War for Independence, as it was known then, was declared on June 12, 1812.

The previous month, on May 5, Aaron Burr had returned

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erson]: though abhorred by the people, he was seemingly a friend to the nation, though in fact their enemy, and was always devising ways and means to fill his master's and the nation's coffers; and when done, would let no one finger it but himself and his minions. . . .

[The ruler retained the chief baker and his crew; thus] they helped poor AMENOPHIS into the RED SEA, A SEA OF BLOOD! in which, by the righteous retributions of God's providence, he persihed, and his whole host.

[Signed] HISTORIOGRAPHER  
[dated] New Geneva

[the home town Gallatin created in Pennsylvania].  
July 3, 1811.

from exile, landing in Boston. In disguise, he made his way to Harvard University, where Harvard's President Kirkland gave Burr a check drawn on the Harvard treasury<sup>3</sup> to allow him to return to New York. Still in disguise, and still under indictment for treason and other crimes in various states, Burr went back to New York.

Preparing for his return, Burr's daughter Theodosia had written to Albert Gallatin and the President's wife, Dolly Madison (who knew Aaron before she knew James), asking them to arrange for his indictments to be quietly forgotten. Somehow, this was done. Burr was back, and had visited Boston, the center of anti-American operations, just before the war began.

The first six months of war were a disaster for the United States. General William Hull, based in Michigan, planned the defense of Detroit with Secretary of War William Eustis, before war was declared. On his way west, Hull's convoy was attacked by the British out of Canada, who had somehow been informed that the war had started, while Hull somehow had not been informed. All of the general's papers, all of his orders, and most of his supplies and equipment were taken by the British. When he engaged, soon after, in combat back and forth across the Canadian border, Hull was demoralized, was never reinforced, was never given intelligence from the outside. Surprised by a force of British soldiers and Indians threatening "uncontrolled outrages," Hull surrendered Detroit without firing a shot.

One invasion of Canada was attempted with leadership provided by General James Wilkinson, who had been an agent for several nations in Burr's Western Conspiracy. Wilkinson did not conquer Canada.

A plan for winning the war, and badly damaging the British Empire, was presented to the War Department by a Lieutenant Colonel Jessup. The plan called for a full-scale assault on the British naval base at Nova Scotia. This was not only the pivotal point for British naval operations in the Atlantic; it was a source

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3. Parmet and Hecht, *Aaron Burr*, p. 328.

of raw materials, primarily forest products, for the construction of most of Britain's fleet. Knocking out this vital station would have the additional benefit of boosting the trading and fisheries interests of the American northeast states, by removal of their commercial competition. This would be a way to restore the New Englanders to their proper national allegiance.<sup>4</sup>

Aaron Burr's personal physician, Secretary of War William Eustis, contemptuously rejected the plan and closed the subject.

### Bankrupting the U.S.A.

The war effort was being stymied in a less dramatic, but even more devastating fashion, however. It had been arranged by the British in Canada, now led by Governor-General Sir George Prevost—the nephew of both Aaron Burr and Albert Gallatin's teacher Paul Henri Mallet—that certain brokers in Boston would distribute British bonds for sale in major U.S. cities. The bonds carried high-interest premiums, so that those who bought them made a lot of money; the brokers received a commission; and American gold, which would otherwise have been available to support the American war effort, was smuggled by the Bostonians into Canada and across the Atlantic to support the British war effort. U.S. government bonds could be sold only with difficulty; and in Boston, only in secret!<sup>5</sup>

When the Treasury was bare, and Gallatin under intense pressure to stop the sabotage, the Treasury Secretary made a deal with banker Stephen Girard of Philadelphia and John Jacob Astor of New York. They would agree to take most of a \$16,000,000 government issue . . . but there were conditions.

Girard was to be assured that he could operate in any manner

4. Ingersoll, Charles, *Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America and Great Britain*, Volume entitled "The Events of 1814," Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1849, pp. 236-239.

5. Carey, Mathew, *The Olive Branch*, Rowe and Hoopes, Boston, 1815, p. 286-306 Among other evidence Carey reprints an advertisement in the Boston Daily Advertiser for Dec. 16, 1814, "GOVERNMENT BILLS. British Government Bills for sale by Charles W. Green, No. 14, India Wharf. . . ."

of his choosing in Pennsylvania without the interference of state authorities.<sup>6</sup> Astor, meanwhile, was already enjoying certain

6. Gallatin told Girard's cashier "that the making of this loan by Mr. Girard would have tendency to prevent the legislature of Pennsylvania from taking measures to arrest the progress of Mr. Girard's bank." The legislature was attempting to outlaw unchartered banks, and Gallatin said that he "would recommend to the several banks in which the public moneys are deposits to receive in payment the notes of S. Girard's bank" in lieu of gold or the notes of chartered banks. Adams, Donald R., Jr., *Finance and Enterprise in Early America: A Study of Stephen Girard's Bank, 1812-1831*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, p. 26.

Where did Girard get the money with which to buy Gallatin's influence? Wildes, Harry Emerson, *Lonely Midas: The Story of Stephen Girard*, Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1943, p. 169-171: "On almost every ship that sailed under the Girard blue pennon for the East, 133-pound cases of opium could be discovered in the cargo, though never on the manifest. As early as 1806, Hutchinson received orders to buy 20,000 pounds of high-grade opium to be smuggled at either Macao or Canton. 'Apply,' said Stephen, 'to the security merchant at Canton ["Houqua"], who, by the arrangements which he will make with one of the head officers, will obtain permission to have it landed without danger of seizure.' If, contrary to expectation, guards should visit the ship to make a search for the forbidden drug, Girard assured the supercargo that 'a small trifle will bribe them. . . .'

"The trade increased rapidly in importance, until, by 1815, Baring Brothers estimated that no less than a quarter million pounds were annually exported for Chinese use. . . . Chinese efforts to reduce opium importation had but slight effect upon Girard's activities. By 1820 he was sending, by the *Rousseau* alone, 7,500 pounds of opium per voyage, buying it at \$900 a chest and selling it for nearly \$2,000. He took for his own ships virtually the entire supply available from the London, Hanburg and Amsterdam markets. He bought 5,000 pounds from a Baltimore merchant who offered Smyrna opium at the cut-rate of . . . \$876 per chest. . . .

"These consignments were an important factor in the great bootleg opium business; it was estimated that 40,000 pounds of opium passed into China by way of Batavia alone . . . Girard's share averaged about three-eighths of the illegitimate business passing through Batavia. . . ."

Stephen Girard was eventually edged out of the opium business by the syndicate formed in Boston — see Chapter 9 below. But Girard was making millions of dollars by smuggling the deadly poison into China, entirely under the protection of the British Empire, before, during and after the time when the United States was at war with Great Britain. Yet Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin used his influence to negate the efforts of the state of Pennsylvania to outlaw Girard's enterprise, on the pretext of borrowing from Girard some of his criminally-obtained funds.



unusual privileges which tended toward the creation of a financial oligarchy in the U.S.A. He had been given the use of Treasury Department seals and franking on his private documents run by couriers to his agents on America's frontiers.

Gallatin took the first opportunity to escape the heat. When the Russian government offered to mediate between Britain and America, Gallatin asked President Madison to appoint him to the negotiating team. Albert Gallatin was negotiating with the British when Sir George Prevost led an invasion force into New York State, while another British force raided and burned the Capitol, the White House, and other buildings in Washington.

But how the disaster was turned around; how the little U.S. Navy began smashing up the British; how some good Vermont citizens defied their Tory governor and clobbered the invaders from Canada; and how the American nationalist movement, led by Henry Clay, Mathew Carey, and John Quincy Adams, used the occasion of our victory to build a more permanent and effective defense force and a national economy that astonished the world; must be reserved for future telling.

Burr and Gallatin lived on, into the 1830s and 1840s, respectively. Burr proposed, after the war, that his co-conspirator Andrew Jackson should be made President, so as to end the domination of Virginia over that office (and the domination of sane nationalists over the South). Jackson became Burr's one-man project. When the idea took hold, Edward Livingston was on hand to guide Jackson's course to the White House.

During the presidency of John Quincy Adams, preceding that of Jackson, the short-lived Anti-Masonic Party of the United States was formed, with Adams's encouragement, in reaction to a case of kidnapping, torture, and murder perpetrated by some Masons to preserve their secrets.

In 1830, shortly before he was named U.S. Secretary of State by President Jackson, Edward Livingston was installed as Grand High Priest of Masonry, in the tradition that had been left in the United States by the evacuating British forces at the end of the Revolution. It was to Secretary of State Edward Liv-

ingston, then, that ex-President John Quincy Adams addressed his famous *Letters on the Subject of Masonry*, in which he demonstrated the incompatibility of the Masonic oaths of secrecy with the public trusts and the public office which Livingston held.<sup>7</sup>

In 1831, John Jacob Astor created the National Bank of New York, and made Albert Gallatin its president. From that post, Gallatin was the leader of the free trade movement in this country,<sup>8</sup> while his and Aaron Burr's cousins, the Mallets, led that movement in England. With the help of renewed threats from the South Carolinians to secede from the Union, Gallatin's movement forced the repeal of the protective system and the final destruction of the Second, restored Bank of the United States. Thus were ruined all the Colbertist measures for industrial development which had been established by Hamilton, torn down by Gallatin's Treasury Department, and re-established by Clay and Adams. One last time, under President Abraham Lincoln in the 1860s, was the full American System of the Founders to be implemented in a resurgence of national growth.

After President Jackson, another protégé of Aaron Burr, Martin Van Buren—trained in the political and conspiratorial arts by Burr during his Tammany Hall days and rumored to be his illegitimate son—became President of the United States. He immediately plunged the country into the blackest depression of its short history, and was quite unpopular.

The political "theories" of Albert Gallatin live on today in the work of Milton Friedman, Paul Volcker, and other monetarist leaders.

The organization that Aaron Burr created to control America and sabotage its independence is still in place.

The chart of the Mallet-Prevost family tree,<sup>9</sup> which shows

7. The Anti-Masonic Party may have been less effective in furtherance of Adams's views, and more useful to the designs of a faction of Masonry seeking to dominate the field; see Chapter 10.

8. See Chapter 11.

9. Mallet-Prevost, *Mallet Family*, appendix chart.

the generations of spymasters committing their lives to the destruction of America—from Burr's generation forward—sits in the New York Public Library. On the chart will be found the names Rhea and Petit Dulles, respectively cousin and uncle of a founder of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles.

The Mallet-Prevosts, and allied family groupings in the era of the American Revolution, continued to attack the United States over the next two centuries from strategic nests within financial, political, diplomatic, educational, and cultural institutions.

It was this continuing treasonous core-group of the British-Swiss secret service in America, later including the Dulles and Harriman families, which brought repeated tragedy to America and the world—the Civil War and the two world wars.

## The Small World of the British-Swiss Secret Service

### Agents Moving Between Geneva and North America

- GEN. AUGUSTINE PREVOST** Commander of British forces in American Revolution in the south; brother of James Mark, father of Sir George
- COL. JAMES MARK PREVOST** Second-in-command to brother Augustine against the Americans in the South; royal administrator of British-conquered Georgia; co-husband of Theodosia Prevost with Aaron Burr
- MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ** Adjutant General of British Army; hanged for managing Benedict Arnold's treason; family joined Mallet-Prevosts in forming bank now known as Schlumberger bank; military training at Geneva University
- ALBERT GALLATIN** U.S. Treasury Secretary under President Jefferson; creator of systematic attack on Hamiltonian economics; leader of free trade party through 1830s; initiated anthropology in America
- SIR GEORGE PREVOST** Commander of British forces in North America, War of 1812; Governor General of Canada; son of Augustine

### North American-Based

- AARON BURR** U.S. Vice-President and grand spymaster against U.S.A.; husband of Theodosia Prevost, step-father of John B. Prevost

**JOHN JACOB ASTOR** Financed Burr's and Gallatin's treason; backed by East India Company; created slum system in New York

**THEODOSIA PREVOST** Wife of Col. James Mark Prevost; wife of Aaron Burr

**COL. CHARLES WILLIAMSON** British military intelligence; co-authored and brought Burr's proposal for secession of Western U.S. to British government; Burr's law client; New York State legislator and landlord

**JOHN B. PREVOST** Son of James Mark and Theodosia Prevost; stepson and political aide to Aaron Burr; U. S. diplomat

#### Geneva-Based

**ABRAHAM PREVOST** Cousin of France's Necker and Gallatin; Principal of Geneva University

**PIERRE PREVOST** Translator of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus; Professor, Geneva University

**PAUL HENRI MALLET** First author of nordic-myth Teutonic romanticism; anti-American strategist paid by King George III of England; intimate of Gallatin and director of his studies; his brother's wife the sister of Augustine and James Mark Prevost

#### London-Based

**LORD SHELBURNE** Intelligence overlord coordinating British-Swiss Secret Service

**ETIENNE DUMONT** Intimate of Gallatin; worldwide promoter and translator of Bentham; tutor of Lord Shelburne's sons

**JACQUES MALLET DU PAN** British spymaster in continental Europe; cousin of Prevost, Necker, Gallatin

**ADAM SMITH** East India Company operative; toured France and Switzerland in 1760 arranging Swiss contacts for war against France

#### French-Based

**JACQUES NECKER** French controller of finances who conducted austerity drive to wreck government; cousin of Gallatin, Mallet-Prevosts; father of Madame de Stael

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## PART II

# The True History of the Civil War

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## How Boston's Brahmins Sought to Destroy the United States

In the spring of 1808, the future President of the United States, Senator John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, held an urgent and confidential meeting with President Thomas Jefferson. Adams's message was that members of his own party, the New England Federalists, were engaged in a plot to bring about a secession of the states of New England from the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Reduced to the most essential points, what Senator Adams revealed to President Jefferson was the following: A group of leading merchant and banking families of the Federalist Party in New England, called the Essex Junto, was working in close collaboration with agents of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) operating out of Boston. In their effort to bring about an early secession, these treasonous plotters were playing upon the discontent caused by the President's total embargo against all foreign trade.

Adams advised the President to change the terms of the foreign-trade embargo, to limit the prohibition on foreign trade only to trade with Britain and France. It had been the naval forces of Britain and France which had been preying among U. S.

1. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*. See also Young, Andrew M., *The American Statesman: A Political History . . .*, published by N.C. Miller, New York, 1862; pp. 431-458. Young demonstrates (p. 431-439) that a forgery of Thomas Jefferson's views was produced after his death, to injure John Quincy Adams' reputation, to protect the Boston traitors, and perhaps most important, to falsely impute to Jefferson anti-Union views.

shipping. Jefferson accepted Adams's advice. The advice successfully weakened the secessionists' organizing efforts for the moment.

This incident leads us directly to the true causes of the great civil war which destroyed a half-million American lives during 1861-1865, equal to the combined total U.S. deaths in World Wars I and II.

In the series of chapters composing the present, second section of our report on *Treason in America*, we focus our attention on those leading New England families which gave us such institutions as the Bank of Boston and such notable figures as William and McGeorge Bundy today. We document the leading features of their plot to destroy the United States, a plot which we trace here from their effort to elect the traitor Aaron Burr President of the United States, in 1800, into their role in creating the Confederacy from the inside during the 1850s, in close collaboration with Britain's Lord Palmerston and the British Secret Intelligence Service.

The general flavor of the New England plotters' outlook is shown by examining sections of the correspondence among some of the leading members of the plot during the years 1803-1804, four years before Senator Adams's report to President Jefferson.

At the time Senator Adams delivered that report, leading members of the Essex Junto were known to have included the following prominent personalities: Massachusetts Senator George Cabot; the recently deceased Judge John Lowell (ancestor of the Bundys) and his son, John ("The Rebel") Lowell; former Secretary of State Timothy Pickering; merchant Stephen Higginson; Massachusetts Supreme Court Justice Theophilus Parsons; and Aaron Burr's brother-in-law, Judge Tapping Reeve of Litchfield, Connecticut. The name "Essex Junto" was derived from the fact that all of the leading plotters, except Judge Reeve, were born north of Boston, in Essex County, Massachusetts. It is from the correspondence of George Cabot, Timothy Pickering, and Judge Reeve, that the following self-damning statements of the plotters are taken.

George Cabot to Timothy Pickering, February 14, 1804:

At the same time that I do not desire a separation at this moment, I add that it is not practicable without intervention of some cause which should be very generally felt and distinctly understood as chargeable to the misconduct of our southern masters . . . the essential alteration which may in the future be made to amend our form of government will be the consequences of only a great suffering, or the immediate effects of violence. . . . Separation will be unavoidable, when our loyalty to the union is generally perceived to be the instrument of debasement and impoverishment. If a separation should, by and by, be produced by suffering, I think it might be accompanied by important ameliorations of our theories.<sup>2</sup>

A picture of the fellow-plotter to whom George Cabot wrote those observations is provided by excerpts from two items of Timothy Pickering's correspondence. The first is addressed to one Richard Peters, and is dated December 24, 1803:

Although the end of all our Revolutionary labors and expectations is disappointment, and all our fond hopes of republican happiness are vanity, and the real patriots of '76 are overwhelmed by modern pretenders to that character, I will not yet despair: I would rather anticipate a new confederacy, exempt from the corrupt and corrupting influence of the aristocratic Democrats of the South. There will be—and our children at farthest will see it—a separation. The white and the black population will mark the boundary. The British Provinces, even with the assent of Britain, will become members of the Northern confederacy. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

and, the second, to George Cabot, dated January 29, 1804:

2. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, pp. 346-349.  
3. *ibid*, p. 338.

I do not believe in the practicability of a long-continued union. A Northern confederacy would unite congenial characters, and present a fairer prospect of public happiness; while the Southern States, having similarity of habits, might be left "to manage their affairs in their own way." . . . I greatly doubt whether prudence should suffer the connection to continue much longer. . . . But *when* and *how* is a separation to be effected? . . . If . . . Federalism is crumbling away in New England, there is not time to be lost . . . Its last refuge is New England; and immediate exertion, perhaps, its only hope. It must begin in Massachusetts. The proposition would be welcomed in Connecticut; and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated; and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be made the centre of the confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow of course, and Rhode Island of necessity. Who can be consulted, and who will take the lead?<sup>4</sup>

From the correspondence of plotter Tapping Reeve, to Connecticut Senator Uriah Tracy, on February 7, 1804:

I have seen many of our friends; and all that I have seen, and most that I have heard from, believe that we must separate, and that this is the most favorable moment. The difficulty is, How is this to be accomplished?<sup>5</sup>

The immediate origin of this conspiracy, the Essex Junto, had been the organizing activities of a topmost British SIS intelligence operative, Sir John Robison, during the years 1796-1797. Robison, long a British spy and diplomat in the Russian part of SIS's service, had been promoted to high rank at the Edinburgh office of SIS, from whence he had been deployed to conduct

4. *ibid.*, pp. 338-342.

5. *ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

operations on the ground inside the United States. Although, as we shall see, the kernel of the conspiracy had been New England partners of the Aaron Burr network dating from the outbreak of the War of 1776-1783—New England families closely tied to the pro-British Tories during that war—it was Robison's activities which aided most in crystallizing such treasonous potentialities into the plot concocted during 1796-1797. From then, to the present day, the family traditions and financial connections of those circles have been intimately associated with the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), and to the British East India Company and its spin-offs. Every step taken by the traitors was taken in concert with Britain, and frequently also in collaboration with powerful financier families of Venice, as well as such Swiss families as the Mallet, de Neufize, and Schlumberger.

### The Eastern Establishment

Apart from these families whose names are still well-known today, the terrible war of 1861-1865 was brought into being by other traitors, whose names are generally unknown today, but who include nonetheless prominent national figures of the United States in their time. These included men such as John Slidell, the political boss of Louisiana, who was an important but clandestine architect of the war.

Although this report is based on primary documents from the pens of the principal figures of each part of the period covered, the truth of this matter is systematically avoided in popular and university accounts of our nation's history. What we are reporting is the actual history of the United States during these periods, not the forgeries bought and paid for after the fact by later generations of the guilty families, nor the fraudulent history of the United States manufactured by such as Charles A. Beard, Walter Lippmann, and Arthur Schlesinger.

We wish to stress once again, at this point, that what we are reporting is not merely the truth about decisive aspects of the past history of our nation. The same general philosophical world-outlook expressed by the traitorous plotters of the 1776-1861

period, is the ruling philosophy of such institutions as the famous New York Council on Foreign Relations today. The plottings and projects today may be different than those of more than a hundred years ago, but the philosophy governing the choice of such policies and objectives remains, in all essentials, the same. The important fact is not purely and simply that the families of those traitors of then are dominant in the ranks of ruling families of our Eastern Establishment today. The connection is not merely biological; in the greater part, these families have transmitted the philosophical outlook under the treasonous projects of the past into the mental life of their heirs of the present.

Not only is our Eastern Establishment of today a continuation of the philosophical outlook of the traitors Burr and the "Essex Junto" of then, by and large. These families and the new families, such as the Morgans and Harrimans, recruited to enlarge their ranks since, have had a persistently erosive influence upon our national institutions over the entire period since the War of 1776-1783. Our government, our political parties, prevailing policies in matters of law, our educational system, our news-media, our public entertainments, and in general prevailing currents of popular opinion, have all been cumulatively influenced by such erosive influence of this powerful grouping within our national life. To understand what we as a nation so often do to damage ourselves, we must understand this powerful grouping, its origins, its philosophical outlook, its traditions, and its history.

The account we give is therefore shocking, but true, and also necessary and long overdue.

We resume the account, picking up the thread in Boston, in the year 1800. In the presidential election of that year, the Essex Junto, as part of the British plots centered around Aaron Burr, had witnessed near-success of the effort to make Aaron Burr President of the United States. Although Burr was the vice-presidential running-mate of the Republican (Democratic-Republican predecessor of the Democratic Party) Thomas Jefferson, the plotters had rigged the election to the purpose of making Burr, not Jefferson, the elected President. The plot had

been foiled almost singlehandedly by Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton deplored Jefferson's policies, but regarded him as no traitor, and vowed it a matter of the national security of the republic that Jefferson, not Burr, be awarded the victory.

This defeat of Burr's ambition led into the events of 1803-1804, concerning which John Quincy Adams wrote of "the design of certain leaders of the Federal Party to effect a dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a Northern confederacy. This design had been formed in the winter of 1803-1804. . . . That project . . . had gone to the length of fixing upon a military leader for its execution. . . ." <sup>6</sup> The central feature of the plotting referenced in cited correspondence of the plotters themselves, was to secure Burr's election as the Governor of the State of New York. Burr would then set up a breakaway Northern confederacy of New York, New Jersey, the New England states, and, if possible, also Pennsylvania. Hamilton again intervened, by wrecking Burr's reputation, and pamphleteering to expose the threat to the Union. When Burr lost the election, he challenged Hamilton to the famous duel, and killed him.

The new plottings of the Essex Junto in 1807-1808 were dampened when John Quincy Adams exposed his fellow-Federalists to President Jefferson. It was only a delay. More treason was soon to come.

Britain escalated its war on U.S. commerce, seizing U.S. ships and taking thousands of U.S. sailors as virtual British slaves. The election of the "warhawks," Kentucky's Henry Clay and South Carolina's John Calhoun, in 1812, enabled the patriots of the nation to force a war against Britain upon the most-reluctant administration of President Madison. The powerful, Jacobin figure of the Swiss, Albert Gallatin, within the administration, was de facto a British Secret Intelligence agent, as he showed himself at many points during the war itself. President Madison's wife, Dolly, had been a hand-picked selection of Aaron Burr, himself. It was the newly elected Henry Clay, promptly

6. *ibid*, pp. 52, 56.

made Speaker of the House of Representatives, who forced the prosecution of the war on a most-reluctant administration, and the small, but able U.S. Navy which swept the mammoth British sea power from much of the Atlantic Ocean, securing the Malvinas Islands to the future nation of Argentina, and forcing the British to make peace in 1815.

For about two years, beginning with the Declaration of War on June 12, 1812, the Essex Junto shamelessly, publicly sabotaged the war-effort of the United States. They blocked recruitment and deployment of troops, they threatened those who purchased U.S. government bonds, while raising funds for, and smuggling money and war-materiel to the enemy forces operating in Canada. President Madison alluded to the treasonous antics of the Boston gang in his Second Inaugural Address of March 4, 1813. In this address, he attacked the intrigues of "British commanders": "Now we find them, in further contempt of the modes of honorable warfare, supplying the place of a conquering force by attempts to disorganize our political society, to dismember our confederated Republic."<sup>7</sup>

The Essex Junto was busily engaged with its British masters once again. They corroborated the President's cautious allusion during the course of 1814. The Junto called for a convention to be held at Hartford, Connecticut, where the "grievances" of the New England states might be crystallized into forceful anti-government acts on a regionwide, or "sectional" basis.

Before this Hartford Convention could be convened, Philadelphia's Mathew Carey dropped a political bomb on the Junto, with the first publication of a book entitled *The Olive Branch*. Carey was a leading figure of the early history of our republic. An Irish republican fleeing British dogs, he arrived in Paris during the War of 1776-1783 to enter into a close collaboration with Dr. Benjamin Franklin. He settled in Philadelphia, promoting Franklin's scientific and technological projects there, and becoming a leading figure of the U.S. secret-intelligence service,

7. *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States*, House Document 91-142; United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1969, p. 27.

as well as the leading U.S. economist of the post-1815 period. Carey's *The Olive Branch* proposed bipartisan action by the patriots of both parties, and detailed with cruel and elaborated accuracy the treasonous activities of the Boston crowd, among others.

For the moment, Carey's book sent the traitors scuttling into quiet corners. The Hartford Convention occurred, in December 1814, but the northern secessionist movement was thoroughly discredited. The Convention, chaired by George Cabot, held only secret sessions. The inconsequential resolutions published by the Convention were disregarded, as the war ended weeks later. Thereafter, popular opinion of the United States everywhere equated the Hartford Convention with treason, until the 1830s Nullification Movement in South Carolina revived the Hartford Convention as a source of precedent for new efforts to destroy the Union.

The letters referenced above were later published by John Quincy Adams's grandson, Henry Adams, during the 1870s, in his *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*. Although this collection was edited by a Henry Adams who was himself a notorious anglophile, at political odds with his famous grandfather, that editing does not conceal what is most essential. The documentation shows the persistence of the disunion project, over the span of a decade. It shows also that this treason was not caused by any sectional special interest of some part of the nation, nor for any reason of domestic issues at all. The inspiration and guidance of the plot was not American in origin. The plotters were determined to stop the American experiment in constitutional federal government.

What were the plotters' motives? Why did they commit themselves to so blatantly treasonous an enterprise? We shall come to that matter in due course within the report. George Cabot provides a hint in his cited letter to Timothy Pickering of February 14, 1804:

All the evils you describe and many more are to be apprehended; but I greatly fear that a separation would be



no remedy, because *the source of them is in the political theories of our country and in ourselves. . . . We are democratic altogether*; and I hold democracy, in its natural operation, to be *the government of the worst. . . .* At the same time that I do not desire a separation at this moment, I add that *it is not practicable* without intervention of some cause which should be very generally felt and distinctly understood as chargeable to the misconduct of our southern masters. . . . If no man in New England could vote for legislators who was not possessed in his own right of two thousand dollars *value in land*, we could do something better; but neither this nor other material improvement can be made by fair consent of the people. I incline to the opinion that the essential alterations which may in future be made to amend our form of government will be the consequences only of great suffering, or the immediate effects of violence. . . .<sup>8</sup> [Emphasis in original.]

To round out the state of mind of the plotters of 1803-1804, the following passage of a letter from Stephen Higginson to Timothy Pickering on March 17, 1804 suffices:

It would be imprudent even to discuss the question, we must wait the effects of still greater outrage and insult from those in power before we prepare for the only measure which can save the New England States from the snares of Virginia . . . without some favorable events, the democrats will succeed another year, and we shall be revolutionized, and the other States will follow.<sup>9</sup>

The state of mind reflected in this correspondence, most notably the features of the George Cabot item whose key passages are noted above, for that reason, is best appreciated by

8. See footnote 2.

9. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, p. 361.

reference to Sir John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, 1797, later republished with enthusiastic endorsement by the John Birch Society<sup>10</sup> in the 1960s. In modern language, Robison "brainwashed" President John Adams and many others, into believing that the French government of Lazare Carnot, which had crushed the Jacobins, was complicit in conducting the Jacobin insurrections of Albert Gallatin et al. into the United States. In fact, the British, together with the suppressed Jesuits and the Swiss bankers allied to London, had created and directed the Jacobins. By aid of the lying information as to the foreign source of the Jacobin insurrections inside the U.S.A., Robison et al. were able to crystallize the anti-democratic tendencies among the New England crowd, to the effect which Cabot's letter above echoes most clearly. In consequence, the Essex Junto became the foremost backers of the same Gallatin as a member of the Jefferson and Madison cabinets! *Sic transit gloria Boston.*

Over the interval between those letters of 1804 and the 1813-1814 period, the process leading toward the Newburyport plotting of the 1861 breakup of the Union took clearer form in the

10. Robison, John, *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, 1798 edition printed by George Forman, New York, reprinted by Western Islands, Belmont Massachusetts. Thomas Jefferson, in his retirement, roundly contradicted the Robison thesis by saying that the *British* ran the ("left-wing") anarchists in the French Revolution, and were running the Boston ("right-wing") insurrectionists in the period of the War of 1812:

"The foreigner gained time to anarchise by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms, to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans, by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and hired pretenders, and to turn the machine of Jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order; and in the end, the limited monarchy [the republicans] had secured was exchanged for the unprincipled and bloody tyranny of Robespierre. . . ."

The British have hoped more in their Hartford Convention. Their fears of republican France being now done away, they are directed to republican America, and they are playing the same game for disorganization here which they played in your country. The Marats, the Dantons, and Robespierres of Massachusetts are in the same pay, under the same orders, and making the same efforts to anarchise us, that their prototypes in France did there."—Jefferson to the Marquis de Lafayette, Feb. 14, 1815, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. XIV, pp. 246-251.

correspondence of the plotters. The plan which was to emerge during the 1840s and 1850s was only a hint by 1813-1814, but the hint is there. Consider these passages from a letter of Timothy Pickering, dated July 4, 1813, to George Logan:

If the Southern States should ever open their eyes to see that their real interest is closely connected with that of the other Atlantic States, and, by a union with them in apportioning the public burdens, lay an equitable share of them on the Western States, that moment the latter will declare off, take to themselves the Western lands, and leave the enormous war debt they have occasioned on the shoulders of the Atlantic States. . . . if I should reach four-score years, I may survive the present Union. Entertaining that opinion, I cannot think, of course, that a separation at this time would be an evil. On the contrary, I believe an immediate separation would be a real blessing to the "good old thirteen states." . . . I throw out this idea for the consideration of yourself and [name edited out], to whom I request you to mention it.<sup>11</sup>

The idea of conspiring with elements of the "Southern States" to arrange a dissolution of the Union out of common, if skewed self-interests in such an outcome, was beginning to emerge in the thinking of the plotters at this point in their search for a dissolution of the republic. It would not be until the Scottish Rite Freemasonry, which had taken over Boston, in opposition to Franklin's Free and Accepted Freemasonry, spread deeply throughout the southern states, that the working basis for such a plot could emerge as a well-defined proposition. The impulse in that direction was, however, already there.

The last in this sampling of treasonous plotters' correspondence is something shaken out of McGeorge Bundy's family tree. It is a passage from a letter, dated December 3, 1814, from

11. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, p. 391.

John Lowell, nicknamed "The Rebel," to Timothy Pickering. The writer of the following passage was the son of Judge John Lowell, and the chief public spokesman of the Essex Junto's anti-war movement of the 1812-1814 war with Britain, the "Peace Party," and the author of the pamphlets issued on behalf of that "Peace Party"—the Tom Hayden of 1814, so to speak. He was also the leading spokesman for disunion ideology at Harvard University, and performed the same specialized role in that curious Boston concoction called the Unitarian Church:

. . . On the subject of the Convention at Hartford . . . my feelings . . . I perceive, are very similar to yours. . . . I gave great offense during the sitting of our legislature by openly opposing the calling [of] a convention . . . until I explained my reasons, which were that I was convinced that the convention would not go far enough, and that the first measure ought to be to recommend to the States to pass laws to prevent our resources in men and money to be withdrawn.

In short, to prohibit support from the States for conduct of an openly declared war of the United States against a mortal adversary! The letter-writer continues:

. . . The people en masse will act in six or twelve months more. . . .

People . . . pretend to fear a civil war, if we assert our rights. . . . The wrath of the Southern States . . . is too ludicrous to require an answer. Under the best circumstances, it would be a pretty arduous undertaking for all the Southern states to attempt the conquest of New England; but reduced as they now are to indigence, it would be more than Quixotic.

What a satire it is that the moment the British take possession of any part of our country, and relieve it from the yoke of its own government, its inhabitants are happy

and grow rich! Its lands rise in value, every species of property is enhanced in price, and the people deprecate the prospect of being relieved by their own government. Yet such is the fact in the two lower counties of this State.

Let no man fear the discontents of our own people. They will hail such events as blessings.<sup>12</sup>

Before tracing the relevant events which were to follow the abortive Hartford Convention, we review some of the principal characters of the treasonous circle we have now broadly defined. We shall review summarily the matter of the curiously gothic community called Newburyport and the quality of that fabled species known around the world as the "Boston Brahmins."

12. *ibid.*, p. 410 ff.

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## Those Lovable Boston Brahmins

. . . Boston,  
The land of the bean and the cod,  
Where the Lowells speak only to the Cabots,  
And the Cabots speak only to God.

—Boston epigram

In and around Boston of today, the names of the leading traitors of the indicated period—such as Cabot, Lowell, and Higginson—constitute the heart of what passes for a local aristocracy, the uppermost rank of that legendary species known far and wide as the "Boston Brahmins." These are the region's financial elite, the "very old money." How they acquired their fortunes is left politely to the imagination of the admiring credulous. This is the heart of the Eastern Establishment of today.

As to the matter of what degree the crimes of the ancestors are visited upon the consciences of the descendants today, we leave for the moment to the imagination. There is no need for imagination concerning the morals of sources of wealth of the ancestors. The documented evidence was too vast to be entirely suppressed from surviving records, and that evidence too luridly indisputable, to require guesswork on these matters even today.

There are two simple facts about the families of the Essex Junto which account more or less fully for their leading role in the treasonous undertakings of the period from 1800 into 1861.

First, they were not turned against the cause of the American Revolution; they never adhered to that cause. These families

had opposed the project of American independence, and were partners and agents of those expelled from the United States as British loyalists during the close of the war.

Second, their principal sources of wealth and power were provided to them by the British, chiefly the British East India Company, most notably profits of piracy, and of massive accumulations gained from both the African slave trade and the Far East opium traffic.

We examine the cases of these families on account of those two points in common.

### The Lowells

The first prominent political leader among the Junto grouping was Judge John Lowell (1743-1802). His ancestors are reported<sup>1</sup> to have invaded England with William the Conqueror in 1066, with the name *Lowle*. They made their home as merchants in the slave-trading port of Bristol, England, and enjoyed the title of Sheriffs, or private guards, for the Barons Berkley, the sometimes overlords of Bristol.

The Lowells arrived in Massachusetts in 1639, settling in Newburyport, near the New Hampshire border. Apparently, the family did not relish the Puritan way of life—one Lowell moved back to England in 1690, avowing that he preferred “monarchy to theocracy.” Judge John Lowell himself was politically a Church of England man, but a son of a liberal minister, and theologically a “closet Unitarian.” The Lowells were to lead

1. Greenslet, Ferris, *The Lowells and their Seven Worlds*, Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1946. In his preface, Greenslet calls his book “a chronicle play of New England history for three centuries, seen through the family’s eyes. . . . [T]he most important source has been a beautifully ample and revealing mass of correspondence, diaries, financial accounts . . . still in the possession of members of the family and by them placed in my hands for this work.”

Since the Lowell family appointed Mr. Greenslet their authorized chronicler, and since their correspondence is not similarly available to all and sundry, it is thus fair to take from his book the major points touching on the Lowells’ loyalties, etc., as if they were admitted by the family to be true.

the formal migration of future “Brahmins” from Anglican to Unitarian churches.

As a young man, Judge Lowell professed himself a man impassioned with deep loyalties for King George III. He was to prove his words with consistent deeds.

When Boston rebelled against the Stamp Act, in 1765, and against Townshend Act taxes in 1767, the Boston citizens registered their objections by agreeing to non-importation of British goods. John Lowell led the town of Newburyport to oppose Boston’s actions. He co-authored a counter-protest adopted by the town meeting, criticizing the Boston measures for violating the rule of “respectful affection of a Child to its Parent.”<sup>2</sup>

When the hated Royal Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, was recalled to London in May, 1774, Judge John Lowell was one of 22 lawyers who signed a farewell address, praising Hutchinson for his “wise, zealous and faithful administration,” a brutal occupation which Lowell et al. praised for its “amiable character” and as a glorious “fresh instance of the paternal goodness of Our Most Gracious Sovereign.”<sup>3</sup>

When the British general, Thomas Gage, arrived to impose a military dictatorship over the defiant Bostonians, Judge John Lowell was one of twenty-eight persons to sign an address welcoming the arrival of this apostle of liberty.<sup>4</sup>

Judge Lowell’s actions introduce us to that propensity for inbreeding which is sometimes rumored to account for certain tendencies of the Boston Brahmins to set themselves apart as a distinct species. During the same year, Judge Lowell married Susanna Cabot, who was also the niece of the same Richard Clarke<sup>5</sup> who had imported the tea dumped into the Boston harbor. Clarke was an agent for the British East India Company. This connection gave Judge Lowell a brush with serious political

2. *ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

3. *ibid.*, p. 56.

4. *ibid.*, p. 56.

5. *ibid.*, p. 52.

embarrassment. Clarke and his sons were soon banished from the United States, and their property confiscated.

On December 26, 1774, Judge Lowell issued the following letter to the *Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet*, a weekly of the period:

To the Inhabitants of Newburyport:

As I find on your minds an ill impression of me on account of my having signed an address to Governor Hutchinson, which I am desirous of removing, I can truly say, that when I did this, I flattered myself, I was serving the interest of my country, and that it would have a tendency to your relief; I never wished to have any of your liberties abridged, or any unconstitutional power submitted to, but on the contrary, am ever ready to join in preventing such mischief. I was far from being aware that this step would have given the uneasiness I am sensible it has, or could be made use of to injure the country—; if I had I never would have taken it, and am heartily sorry I ever did.<sup>6</sup>

—John Lowell.

Apparently, Lowell's public apology was accepted, for he briefly reentered local Newburyport politics.

Later, when the British were forced to abandon their occupation of Boston, taking 1,100 Tory emigrés with them to Nova Scotia, Lowell moved to Boston.

It was a profitable move. This bright star shining in McGeorge Bundy's family tree made a considerable fortune by lawyering the trade in the property of British loyalists and British merchants. At first, he was legal advisor to the commission engaged in auctioning the confiscated Tory estates. In the course of the war, some 1,100 vessels seized by privateers were sold as prizes, after their capture was certified as legitimate by the Boston court. According to his son, John Lowell, "The Old

Judge" filed 700 of these cases, and was assistant attorney for approximately 200 other cases. Many of these privateer cases were filed on behalf of his cousins and on behalf of his brothers-in-law, the privateers Sam and George Cabot.<sup>7</sup>

Apparently, memories of Lowell's antics of the 1763-1774 period faded. He edged his way back into the mainstream of Massachusetts politics, gaining election both to the state legislature and the state constitutional convention. There were signs that Judge Lowell had not forgotten older loyalties to King George III. A hint appears in a matter which came up in the course of 1782.

That year, the records show that John Lowell, Esq. represented residents of Martha's Vineyard, who, during 1778, had supplied the enemy with cattle, sheep, and hay, for use of the British Navy. The island residents wished to be paid on this account, and employed Judge Lowell to assist them. Lowell put the matter to the British governor of occupied New York City, Sir Guy Carleton; Carleton settled for £3,000 cash, apparently quite happily. The matter did not end there. The following year, when the fighting had all but ended between the two nations, Lowell travelled to this enemy-occupied center, accompanied by his legal assistant, Harrison Gray Otis. The Lowell family biography, *The Lowells and their Seven Worlds* (Ferris Green-slet), quotes Otis: "The whole journey was a continued scene of pleasant and instructive conversation, sparkling anecdotes and poetical quotations.' In New York he was entertained by Sir Guy Carleton at a dinner, 'as brilliant,' says Otis, 'as Alexander's feast.' In his companion's opinion the Old Judge was the life of the party."<sup>8</sup> If there is a hint of something in that instance, the way in which the emerging Lowell fortune was growing toward the close of the war represents much more than a bit of suspicious flavor.

Lowell became very deeply involved with the affairs of the

6. *ibid.*, p. 57.

7. *ibid.*, p. 64.

8. *ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

leading British-loyalist émigrés, through his position as legal advisor to the Tory-property commission. His practice was to acquire the émigrés' property on his own account, and to either parcel it out at bargain rates among his friends and relatives, or arrange for the agents of the émigrés to re-purchase what they had lost. *By the close of the war, the Old Judge had become the lawyer and personal agent for all of the richest and most powerful of the banished Tory émigrés.*<sup>9</sup>

His clients included the Hutchinsons, the family of the Royal Governor whose notorious reign Lowell had praised so effusively. Thomas Hutchinson spent the war-years in England in the service of Lord Shelburne and the British military command. Like Shelburne, Hutchinson's concern was the deployment of the Loyalist soldiers serving the King against their American brothers, and of the embittered émigrés in general. It was hoped, that after the war, those dislocated persons might resume their property and positions within the temporarily wayward colonies.

Among Judge Lowell's other émigré clients were the Coffins, the Lechmeres, the Lorings, and the Vassals. The case of the Lorings is notable.

The refugee Lorings had achieved a special kind of fame in their service to the British cause during the war. Paterfamilias Joshua Loring had been appointed commissary of British prisons, after fleeing Boston. He was responsible for the feeding of the United States' nationals held prisoner by the British in New York. *He starved at least 3,000 American patriots to death by selling their food to his own profit,*<sup>10</sup> in provision-short, occupied New York City.

9. *ibid.*, p. 64: "Profitable, too, after the war, was his agency for numerous rich Tory emigres. He was attorney and business advisor for the Hutchinsons, Coffins, Lorings, Lechmeres, Vassals, and many others living in London, or . . . Bristol."

10. Bowman, Larry G., *Captive Americans: Prisoners During the American Revolution*, Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 1976, p. 17:  
". . . in early 1777 Joshua Loring was appointed to the post of Com-

The remittances which Judge Lowell sent to his Tory employers in England grew progressively larger as time passed. His own fortune grew apace. At the close of 1783, in his position as co-founder and designer of the Massachusetts Bank (later, the First National Bank of Boston), he was sufficiently well-

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missary General for prisoners to supervise the prisons in New York and to watch over the well-being of all captives of the British Army in America. As Commissary for Prisoners, Loring reported directly to the Commander-in-Chief who, at that point, was General William Howe. Final authority on all matters concerning the prisoners resided with the Commander in Chief, but the day-to-day administration of the prisons and the prisoner' lives was the duty of Loring. . . .

"Joshua Loring was an American Loyalist who was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1744. He and his wife left Boston with the British Army when it repaired to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1776. Loring and his wife attracted Howe's attention and eventually his friendship. Their friendship rewarded Loring in the form of his commission. . . . Under Loring's direction, with General Howe's knowledge and consent, the basic policies for the care and provisioning of the American prisoners were devised."

Lindsey, William R., *Treatment of American Prisoners of War During the Revolution*, Emporia State Research Studies, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, Vol. XXII, Summer, 1973, p. 15:

"Great as the sufferings of the men incarcerated within the city prisons, their lot was, indeed, exceeded by the agonies of the unfortunate naval prisoners who languished in the prison ships. . . . The first prison ships were transports in which cattle and other stores were carried. . . . [After] the British took New York City, they . . . were moved to the Hudson and East Rivers. In 1778, these ships were moved to Wallabout Bay on Long Island [Brooklyn] where they remained until the conclusion of the war.

"The first prison ship used by the British was the *Whitby*. The precedents established for this vessel were followed by the other prison ships. The prisoners aboard were allowed to keep any clothing and bedding, but received no more of such commodities while on the ship. They were accorded no medical attention, regardless of their health. Inferior provisions and bad water added to the misery of the condemned men. As a result of such neglect, disease was unrelieved, and hundreds died from pestilence or, worse, starvation, because the British commissaries aboard ship cut down rations or substituted bad for wholesome food. The commissaries thus amassed venal profits at the cost of human distress.

"By May, 1777, sandy beaches along the bay were filled with the graves of the dead. The prisoners aboard the *Whitby* were transferred to two other vessels. Seeing no hope for an exchange, they set fire to one of the vessels, choosing death in the flames to the lingering sufferings of

supported, and connected, to create a financial empire for himself, by speculating against the currency of the United States.<sup>11</sup>

The Old Judge's death, in 1802, brought no perceptible improvement in the family's quality of patriotism. The son, John, "The Rebel," promptly assumed his father's business as Tory

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disease and starvation. In the month of February, 1778, while the prisoners were being transferred to other winter quarters in Wallabout Bay, the other prison ship was burned.

"Nevertheless . . . more [ships] were sent. The most infamous of the prison ships was the *Jersey*, which, until the final exchange of American prisoners, was known more often as 'Hell' or 'Hell Afloat.' . . . [The] rations, insufficient and miserable, frequently were not given to the prisoners in time for boiling on the same day, and thus, they were forced to fast for another twenty-four hours or to consume the food in its raw state. Since there were no provisions for fresh vegetables, scurvy was naturally one of the diseases which afflicted the prisoners. The bread was also bad and full of living vermin, but they were reduced to eating it, worms and all, or starve."

Dandridge, Danske, *American Prisoners of the Revolution*, The Michie Company, Charlottesville, Va., 1911, p. 492-493:

"The men were crowded in these small vessels under conditions which pass belief. They suffered untold misery and died by hundreds from lack of food, from exposure, smallpox and other dreadful diseases, and from the cruelty of their captors. The average death rate on the *Jersey* alone was ten per night. A conservative estimate places the total number of victims at 11,500. The dead were carried ashore and thrown into shallow graves or trenches of sand. . . . A very large proportion of the total number of these prisoners perished. Of the survivors, many never fully recovered from their sufferings."

Jones, Thomas, Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, *History of New York During the Revolutionary War, and of the Leading Events in the Other Colonies at the Period*, Edited by Edward Floyd de Lancey, New-York Historical Society, New York, 1879. The author was a Tory—a British Loyalist—who had been a high official of the colonial New York government before the Revolution; p. 351-352: "Upon the close of the campaign, in 1776, there were not less than 10,000 prisoners, (sailors included) within the British lines at New York. A Commissary of Prisoners was therefore appointed, and one Joshua Loring, a Bostonian, was commissioned to the office. . . . In this appointment there was reciprocity. Joshua had a handsome wife. The General, Sir William Howe, was fond of her. Joshua made no objections. He fingered the cash, the General enjoyed Madam. Everybody supposing the next campaign (should the rebels even risk another) would put a final period to the rebellion, Loring was determined to make the most of his commission, and by appropriating

agent, and the post of Director of the Massachusetts Bank. The following year, the heir travelled to England, ostensibly to meet his clients. After about six months of mixing with London's aristocracy, he went for a time to live in the company of that circle of Scottish "philosophers and reviewers" scathingly attacked by Lord Byron, the crowd which served as operations chiefs for nastiness of the British Secret Intelligence Service.

This circle had included David Hume and Adam Smith, in operations against France and the United States over the period 1763-1783. It had been Smith, in 1763, who had received detailed instructions from Lord Shelburne on conduct of operations to break the economies and institutions of local self-government of the English colonies in North America. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a plagiarism of A. Turgot's *Reflections*, outlined Shel-

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to his own use nearly two-thirds of the rations allowed to the prisoners, he actually starved to death about 300 of the poor wretches before an exchange took place. . . . And hundreds that were alive at the time were so emaciated, and enfeebled, for the want of provisions, that numbers died on their way home, and many lived but a few days after reaching their habitations. The war continuing, the Commissaryship of Prisoners grew so lucrative that [commissaries were appointed for French, Spanish and Dutch prisoners]. . . . the prisoners were half starved, as the Commissaries filched their provisions and disposed of them for their own use. . . . whenever an exchange was to take place, the preference was always given to those who had, or could procure, the most money to present to the Commissaries who conducted the exchange; by which means large sums were unjustly extorted, and demanded, from the prisoners upon every exchange, to the scandal and disgrace of Britons. . . . [these] blood-sucking harpies did not swallow up less than twenty millions sterling of the money raised by Great Britain for the support of the American War."

Joshua Loring died in England in 1789. His son, Henry Lloyd Loring, died in 1832, Archdeacon of the Church of England in Calcutta, India.

The ugly bargain between Loring and British Commander William Howe was referenced in a popular ditty in Revolutionary America, the poem in British Commander Sir William Howe:

"Sir William he, snug as a flea, lay all this time a snoring,  
Nor dreamed of harm as he lay warm, in bed with Mrs. Loring."

(from Griffith, Samuel B., II, *In Defense of the Public Liberty*, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1976, p. 459).

11. Greenslet, *The Lowells*, pp. 74-75.

burne's instructions to Smith, of the policies by which the economy of North America was to be ruined. This was also the center from which Sir Walter Scott was deployed on behalf of the British SIS.

The same Edinburgh SIS operation, operating behind the front of a literary periodical called the *Edinburgh Review*, was treated as a major enemy counterintelligence problem of the United States, into at least the late 1840s, and was discovered to be linked directly with another main center of enemy operations against the United States, by Venice and Prince Metternich, the Jesuit order based in the Baltimore, Maryland area. The U.S. counterintelligence operative, Edgar Allan Poe, died of poisoning while investigating these Jesuit connections in the Baltimore area, and the myth of Poe's alleged "madness" was created by British SIS in the effort to discredit Poe's counterintelligence findings.<sup>12</sup>

One of these *Edinburgh Review* gentlemen of John Lowell's circle of acquaintances, was Francis Jeffrey, who, later, in 1813, during the height of the war between Britain and the U.S.A., paid what is perhaps aptly described as "a quiet visit to Massachusetts." Jeffrey was the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, and a key link to the treasonous circle of Young America which sprouted up around Thoreau, Emerson, Longfellow, et al., around Concord and Harvard University in Massachusetts. This Jeffrey was manager of the stable of British literary circles who hosted Aaron Burr in Britain, during Burr's exile from the United States. While in Massachusetts, Jeffrey was a guest at the Lowell castle in Roxbury.

It had been this same heir of the Old Judge, John Lowell, who had defended publicly his family's ancestral lord, Admiral George Berkeley, commander of the British Atlantic Fleet based in Halifax, Nova Scotia, when this admiral increased the severity

12. Salisbury, Allen, "Edgar Allan Poe, The Lost Soul of America," *Campaigner*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, June, 1981, pp. 16-39. Poe has been the subject of possibly the wildest, most hate-filled slander campaign in American history, which Salisbury amply refutes.

of his attacks against U.S. shipping. The nickname, "The Rebel," came from his signature on one of his many pamphlets vilifying the United States' counteractions against these naval attacks on our republic's shipping.

We may now descend from inspecting the Bundys' family-tree, and turn to the next of the notable Brahmin families involved in the Essex Junto.

### The Cabots

The British port of Bristol was called the "Venice of the West," when the Venice-born John Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed off to explore North America in 1497. In due course, Bristol would live up to that nickname by taking up the Venetian practice of trafficking in human slaves, becoming the chief English port occupied with that sort of revenue.

This was the English city which gave the United States the Lowells. Is it also the city which gave us our Cabots? Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., writing toward the close of the last century says flatly no. However, as that gentleman's biography of Alexander Hamilton attests, he had a propensity to prefer the useful myth to the truth, whenever the two might conflict. Another member of the Cabot family, John Lowell, writing in 1823, says, matter-of-factly, that the Cabots were descendants of the same Venetian Caboti family as the famous explorers. What American patriots thought of Venice during the period John Lowell made that report is best identified by James Fenimore Cooper's *The Bravo*.<sup>13</sup>

13. Cooper, James Fenimore, *The Bravo*, [originally published 1831 by Carey and Lea], College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963. Everyone who thinks himself an American, or in sympathy with American principles, must read Cooper's *Bravo*. Here is a tale told with passion, with a sense of outrage by one who directly and personally combatted the oligarchical system, at home and in Europe. Here is described, in the setting of its source, the system of powerful families who manage governmental affairs "from backstage"; of managed rumor used to steer credulous public opinion against the enemies of the oligarchs; of assassinations and other crimes whose witnesses are made to disappear; of



What is not disputed is the fact that the American branch of the family, wherever it may have originated, arrived in Salem, Massachusetts about 1700, arriving from the island of Jersey, near the coast of Normandy. Some Cabots have traced the family ancestry to the French nobleman Rohan Chabot. One biographer, Leon Harris, reports the story,<sup>14</sup> that certain Cabots had hired a historian to establish a noble lineage for them, but paid him to forget the whole matter when he produced a lineage traced back to a tenth-century Jewish family in Lombardy.

It is more clearly established, that the Cabots established their fortunes during the war of 1776-1783 as eminently successful privateers. This was simply legalized piracy, licensed by state legislatures. According to Leon Harris, in his *Only To God*, "The Cabots provided America with more privateers than any other family."<sup>15</sup> The Cabot fleet attacked and captured British, Spanish, Portuguese, and other ships, selling the spoils of legalized piracy as booty.

Like the Lowells, the Cabot family attitude toward British property is fairly described by the detached observer: their attitude varied according to whether it appeared more profitable to seize it or worship it.

George Cabot's brother, Andrew, purchased the estate confiscated from the royal governor of New Hampshire, John Wentworth. Wentworth was a cousin of the Cabots and Higginsons, and later became the governor of Nova Scotia.

George Cabot's uncle Francis married the sister of Richard Clarke,<sup>16</sup> the Clarke of Clarke and Sons, the British East India Company agents whose tea was dumped in Boston harbor.

After 1783, George Cabot's brother, Samuel, went to England

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organized criminals who rule while "the million existed in that vacant enjoyment which distinguishes the pleasures of the thoughtless and the idle."

14. Harris, Leon, *Only to God: The Extraordinary Life of Godfrey Lowell Cabot*, Atheneum, New York, 1967, p. 4.

15. *ibid*, p. 6.

16. Briggs, Vernon L., *History and Geneology of the Cabot Family, 1475-1927*, privately printed, Boston, 1927, Vol I, p. 196.

as secretary to the United States Commissioners who were settling the claims of Americans against the British Crown. In this setting, an interesting development ensued.

In England, Samuel Cabot became the friend and personal agent of his cousins, Richard Clarke and Sons. He was in charge of the management and disposal of the Clarke's property in the United States, and also managed new investments on behalf of the Clarke family. He also married Richard Clarke's granddaughter,<sup>17</sup> Sarah Barret, consistent with the tendency for inbreeding noted among the Boston Brahmins. The Clarke family property on Beacon Hill was parceled out cheaply to Cabot's friends, who profited handsomely when the new State House was built on that site.

The bulk of the Cabot family's fortune was assembled by Samuel Cabot's son, Richard Clarke's great-grandson, through a profitable alliance with one of the worst monsters of modern history, Thomas Handasyd Perkins. This partnership between the son and Perkins had stemmed from a partnership between the father and Perkins, in the West Indies slave-trade. The Perkins syndicate will be examined below.

### The Higginsons

With the case of the Higginson family, the incestuous habits of the Boston Brahmins, and the political significance of those practices, comes into prominent focus. The process by which this family rose to power in Boston banking is to the point.

Stephen Higginson's daughter, Sarah, was the wife of Judge John Lowell and the mother of John Lowell ("The Rebel"). George Cabot married his double-first-cousin, Elizabeth Higginson. George Cabot's Uncle Francis married the sister of East India Company agent Richard Clarke, and Francis's daughter by an earlier marriage, married Judge John Lowell. This was a most extraordinary effort to keep the money and the power within the family.

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17. Crawford, Mary Caroline, *Famous Families of Massachusetts*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1930, Vol I, p. 171.

There was a British army captain named Thomas Storrow, whose occupation during the war of 1776-1783 was politely described by his family as "soldier of fortune." This Storrow was captured by the Americans, who forwent hanging the fellow, in order to exchange him for Americans held prisoner by the British. To this purpose, they released the fortunate captain in the Tory stronghold of New Hampshire. There, the captain married<sup>18</sup> one Anne Appleton, the great-granddaughter of the first British royal governor of the province, and the couple forthwith journeyed to England, where the captain received a new assignment.

Back across the Atlantic they went, to a Nova Scotia now crammed with thousands of bitter, vengeful British loyalist émigrés. This was the base used by Britain's Lord Shelburne for his war of subversion against the new republic. During this passage of events, John Wentworth, who happened also to be the cousin of the Mrs. Storrow in the affair, had risen to the post of royal governor of Nova Scotia, an appointment gained by the not unusual means of permitting his wife to enjoy the bed of King George III's son, according to surviving accounts in the matter.

These Storrows came into ownership of the strategically placed island of Campobello, a convenient, stealthy boat-ride's distance from Massachusetts. It must be presumed that the Storrows' connection to the Essex Junto's circles was more than casual. When the Captain and Mrs. Storrow were both deceased, their daughter, Laura, was adopted by Stephen Higginson. When this child, Laura Wentworth Storrow, matured, she married her step-brother, Stephen Higginson, Jr. It was the son of this couple, Thomas Wentworth Storrow Higginson, who later played an important role in the Radical Abolitionist movement. This later gentleman conduited money from British radical movements to any abolitionists in Massachusetts who agreed with his program for the dissolution of the Union and the repeal of

18. Crawford, *Famous Families of Massachusetts*, Vol. I, pp. 257-258.

the Constitution. As a financial and foreign-intelligence conduit, this Thomas W. S. Higginson was equally important in his role as the patron of the family of Richard Spofford, Jr., who was the private secretary to the master-architect of the Civil War, Caleb Cushing.<sup>19</sup>

With this glimpse at the Higginson family, we turn next to the crucial matter of the Perkins Syndicate.

19. Information on Higginson's patronage of Mrs. Richard Spofford, Jr., from a private interview with Newburyport, Massachusetts local historian, D'Arcy G. Van Bokkelen.

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## The Organization of Dope, Incorporated

On July 4, 1821, U.S. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams delivered an address in Washington, D.C., a speech which was designed to prepare the public for the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine, of which Adams was the author. Adams identified the role of the United States as the model for the world's republican movements, and as the scourge of the European oligarchy:

If the wise and learned philosophers of the elder world—should . . . enquire what has America done for the benefit of mankind? Let our answer be this: America, with the same voice which spoke herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably . . . held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity.<sup>1</sup>

After reciting the Declaration of Independence, in this setting, he called it:

1. Adams, John Quincy, *An Address Delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington: on the Occasion of the Reading of the Declaration of Independence, on the Fourth of July, 1821*, printed by Davis and Force, Washington, D. C., 1821, p. 28.

the first solemn declaration by a nation of the only legitimate foundation of civil government. It was the cornerstone of a new fabric, destined to cover the surface of the globe. It demolished at a stroke the lawfulness of all governments founded upon conquest. It swept away all the rubbish of accumulated centuries of servitude. . . . From the day of this Declaration, the people of North America were no longer the fragment of a distant hemisphere, imploring justice and mercy from an inexorable master in another hemisphere. . . . They were a nation, asserting as of right, and maintaining by war, its own existence. A nation was born in a day. . . . It stands . . . a beacon on the summit of the mountain, to which all the inhabitants of the earth may turn their eyes for a genial and saving light . . . a light of salvation and redemption of the oppressed.<sup>2</sup>

When the New England Federalist critics of Adams labeled this address of his "tasteless," Adams rebuked them in a letter addressed to Edward Everett:

I demonstrated . . . from the moral and physical nature of man that colonial establishments cannot fulfill the great objects of civil society. . . .

[This] demonstration . . . settles the justice of the present struggle of South America for independence. . . .

It looks forward prospectively to the downfall of the British Empire in India as an event which must necessarily ensue at no very distant period of time.

It anticipates a great question in the national policy of this Union which may be nearer at hand than most of our countrymen are aware of: whether we too shall annex to our federative government a great system of colonial establishments. It points to a principle proving that such establishments are but mighty engines of wrong, and that in

2. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

the progress of social improvement it will be the duty of the human family to abolish them, as they are now endeavoring to abolish the slave-trade.<sup>3</sup>

The powerful financier-networks of the Venetian oligarchy, together with their Anglo-Swiss junior partners, were determined to destroy the United States from within, since this destruction could not be accomplished solely by means of armed assault from without. The question was posed by this, chiefly British, subversive effort: would the United States adhere to the principles on which it had been established a constitutional republic? Would this republic continue to be the champion of and model for the creation of powerful alliances among sovereign republics in Asia, Africa, and Ibero-America? Or, could the Venetian, Swiss, and British oligarchies' combined efforts recapture control of the states of the Union, and make the republic too an instrument of colonial oppression, a creature controlled by the European oligarchy?

The leading edge of this issue in both foreign and domestic policy was the issue of human chattel-slavery. In the history of our republic, the rise of cotton-picking chattel-slavery in the southern states, the profitable combination of cheap southern slaves by the textile industry of Britain, British dumping of cheap textiles upon India, and India's paying the British for these textiles through exporting opium for the China opium-trade, are all of one interconnected, indivisible piece. At the center of this squatted Thomas Handasyd Perkins and the Perkins slave-trading company. The Boston Brahmins were the kernel of that early slave-trading company.

The syndicate began during the war of 1776-1783, when three members of T. H. Perkins's family fled the United States as British loyalists. The continuation of the political and business connections to the rulers of the British Empire, enlarged by

3. John Quincy Adams to Edward Everett, Jan. 31, 1822, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, Greenwood Press, New York, 1968, Vol VII, pp. 197-201.

this emigration, gave the young merchant, T. H. Perkins, a great advantage in his efforts to amass a personal fortune in the West Indies trade. The principal commodity sold into the West Indies by Perkins, until 1792 was black slaves from Africa.

From the letter-book of the firm of J. and T. H. Perkins and Company, there is the following copy of a letter, dated 1792, giving instructions to the captain of a ship, the *Willing Quaker*, then bound for the African coast for slaves.

. . . take care that they are young & healthy, without any defects in their Limbs, Teeth & Eyes, & as few females as possible. Every attention is to be paid them that they are well fed, well used, kept clean & dry. For if they once get disheartened they will die like sheep. Suffer no person to strike them on any account, & always keep your men Slaves in Irons, & see the gratings locked at Sunset. . . . Proceed to Surinam & there dispose of your Women Slaves . . . if you can get \$50 a head you may dispose of the whole. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The slave trade was conducted by the predecessor firm, of Perkins, Burling and Company. Of the Boston Brahmins who later participated with T. H. Perkins as well in his Asian adventures, the names of at least "Cabot" and "Forbes" are supplied by the J. and T. H. Perkins and Company letter-book, as early participants with him in the slave trade up until 1782. This letter-book supplies 147 letters to slave-traders for different numbers of slaves.

The slaves' revolt of 1792 in Santa Domingo wiped out his brother's plantation and merchant's business in Santo Domingo; therefore, the shift in composition of the family's business during that year. T. H. Perkins was already on to a much greater source of fortune by that time, the greatest source of the wealth of the Boston Brahmins: China.

4. Perkins letterbook quoted in Briggs, *Cabot Family*, Vol. I, p. 391.

The real story of the wealth of the respectable families of New England began in 1787, as British Secretary of State Henry Dundas composed his master-plan for expansion of the opium-trade into China. In 1789, the first New England merchant engaged in the China opium-trade, Elias Hasket Derby, took T. H. Perkins with him on a voyage. At his return, T. H. Perkins organized his opium-trade syndicate. James and T. H. Perkins and Company went into the China trade, together with those who would become partners with that Company in this traffic.

The following highlights of the history of the Company are sufficient to identify the forces later to assemble around Caleb Cushing's orchestration of both sides of the conflict leading into the war of 1861-1865.

The core of the Perkins syndicate was assembled as follows. One among the Perkins family who fled the United States during 1776-1783 was George Perkins, who set himself up as a British Empire merchant in Smyrna, Turkey. It was through George that James and Thomas Perkins were able to make the connection to supplies of Turkish opium, bypassing the monopoly over Indian opium controlled by the British East India Company.

Again, the incestuous begotting among the Boston Brahmins plays a decisive role in affairs. Thomas Perkins's brother, James, married Sarah Paine.<sup>5</sup> Sarah Paine's brother, Dr. William Paine, was a British loyalist émigré from 1776-1783, who had been appointed apothecary to the British forces in America, and was then chosen by Sir Guy Carleton to become surgeon-general of the British Army—the same Sir Guy who put on the "Alexander's feast" for Old Judge John Lowell in New York City in 1783. When the Massachusetts act banning British loyalists was repealed, in 1787, Dr. William Paine returned to Salem, Mas-

5. James Perkins' previous business is exemplified by his letter in July, 1786, to a Boston client of Perkins, Burling and Company: "agreeable to your desire we have already made some advances in establishing such a place for the disposition of Slaves in this quarter as will be attended with safety and advantage to the proprietor."—quoted in Adams, Russell B. Jr., *The Boston Money Tree*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1977, p. 47.

sachusetts, where he continued to receive half-pay as a British officer. His son, Frederick Paine, joined the Perkins's China enterprise. Dr. Paine's daughter, Esther, her first-cousin and husband, Joseph Cabot, with other partners of the firm, all resided together in T. H. Perkins's Salem mansion.

### From the Cabots to Bell Telephone

Samuel Cabot's son, Samuel, the great-grandson of the Boston East India Company agent Richard Clarke, married T. H. Perkins's daughter, Eliza, and joined the J. and T. H. Perkins firm. It was through this Salem connection that the vast Cabot fortune in America was assembled.

Robert Cushing, the sixth generation of that family in America, married T. H. Perkins's sister, Ann Maynard Perkins.<sup>6</sup> Their son, John Perkins, was adopted by his uncle, T. H. Perkins, and was brought into the firm. According to all accounts, John Perkins Cushing made a fortune in China of at least 7 million dollars. Living in China for 30 years, he retired to his home in Watertown, Massachusetts, where he dressed his Chinese servants in native costumes, and maintained a constant carnival atmosphere amid his loot. This Cushing's sister, Ann, married Henry Higginson. His cousin was the Caleb Cushing of whom we shall come to learn a great deal.

Ralph Bennett Forbes married T. H. Perkins's sister, Margaret.<sup>7</sup> Their son, Robert Bennett Forbes, joined the Perkins firm at an early age. In China, this son became the foreign affairs manager for a merchant named Houqua, who had himself been made responsible for all of China's foreign relations with the West by the Chinese Emperor. Robert B. Forbes's brother, John Murray Forbes, took over managing Houqua and China's foreign relations, after Robert's death, and amassed a great fortune. Perkins's money bought out the work of Alexander Graham Bell, and John Murray Forbes's son, William, became

6. Crawford, *Famous Families of Massachusetts*, p. 201.

7. *ibid.*, p. 202.

president of the American Bell Telephone Company and married the daughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Russell Sturgis married T. H. Perkins's sister, Elizabeth,<sup>8</sup> and joined the firm. His grandson, by the same name, moved to England and became chairman of the Baring Bank, the bank of the same Lord Shelburne who had organized the massive subversion of the United States, the bank which was the bank of the British East India Company.

Although the word "opium" is curiously, but not surprisingly, omitted from references to these family fortunes in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the letter-book of J. & T.H. Perkins corrects that omission.

- Item: To Wm. Lorman & Sons, Jan. 16, 1817:  
"Our Brig. Bocca Tigris was at Leghorn 14' Nov. & sl'd 18'. She takes out 40,000 pounds of Opium and 250,000 lb. Quick Silver. . . . Mr. Wm. Paine, at the Ilse of France, has been long expected in this country. . . ."<sup>9</sup>
- Item: To Gambreleng & Pearson, Jan. 16, 1817:  
The Chinese have issued a strong edict against the introduction of Opium, & the getting of it will be dangerous.<sup>10</sup>
- Item: To F. W. Paine, Gibraltar, March 21, 1817:  
We learn from a supercargo just arrd from Smyrna that the cost of Opium is about \$2.66 pr. Engl. pound. Best time for purchasing. June & July. . . . We have nothing new but a President [Monroe]. Business dull & likely to be more so.<sup>11</sup>
- Item: To S. Williams, sometimes during 1817:  
Our friends Houqua & Perkins & Co. have addressed us on the subject of purchasing Bengal Opium in England. . . . They request that you will purchase say 15,000 lb. of this Opium,

8. *ibid.*, p. 201.

9. Briggs, *Cabot Family*, Vol. II, p. 558.

10. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 558.

11. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 558.

at not more than 20 sh. on board, & ship them to us. . . . We understand that Baring Bros. have the control by contract for all the Quicksilver taken from the mines of Austria. . . . We wish you to write to Messr. Perkins Brothers at Smyrna, authorizing them to draw on you for £10,000 to be invested in Opium. Mr. Geo. Perkins, at Smyrna, did the business of the Harve packet. . . . we are fearful that there will be so many in pursuit of Opium that it will rise in price in Smyrna.<sup>12</sup>

- Item: To F. W. Paine, 1817:  
The last quotations of Opium at Canton were \$5.43 per lb. The article is a prohibited one, & transient adventurers cannot deal in it so advantageously as we can.<sup>13</sup>
- Item: To E. E. Newton, sometime during 1817:  
We wish you to give us or Mr. Cushing all the information you can about a certain kind of Opium sh. is produced by the Gulph of Persia. We think it costs little more than \$1 a pound.<sup>14</sup>
- Item: To F. W. Paine, Leghorn, March 24, 1818:  
From the intention of the Chinese to be very strict about Opium, the competition you fear we think will not exist. We know no one but [John Jacob] Astor we fear. . . .<sup>15</sup>

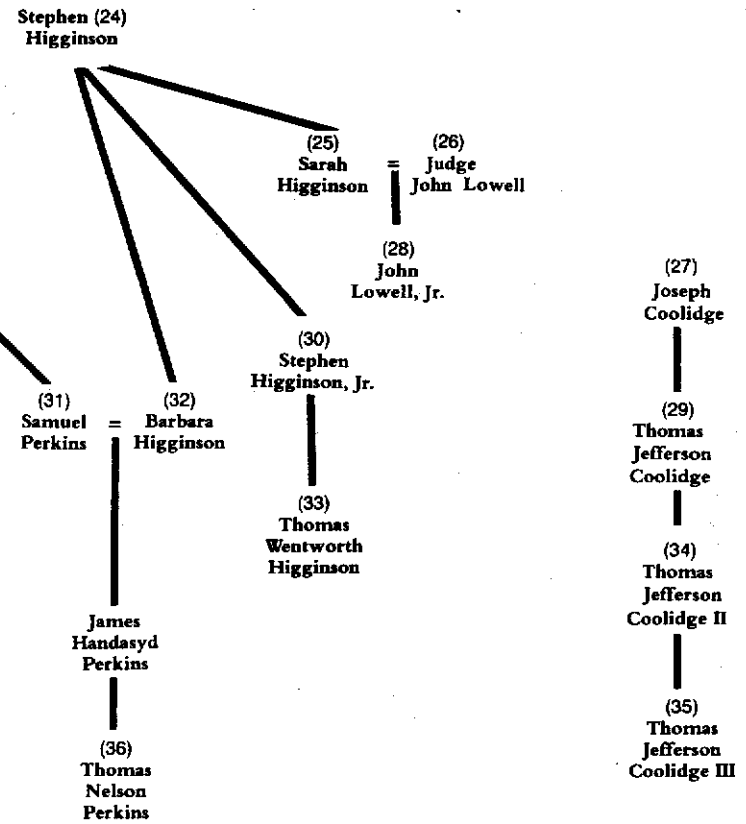
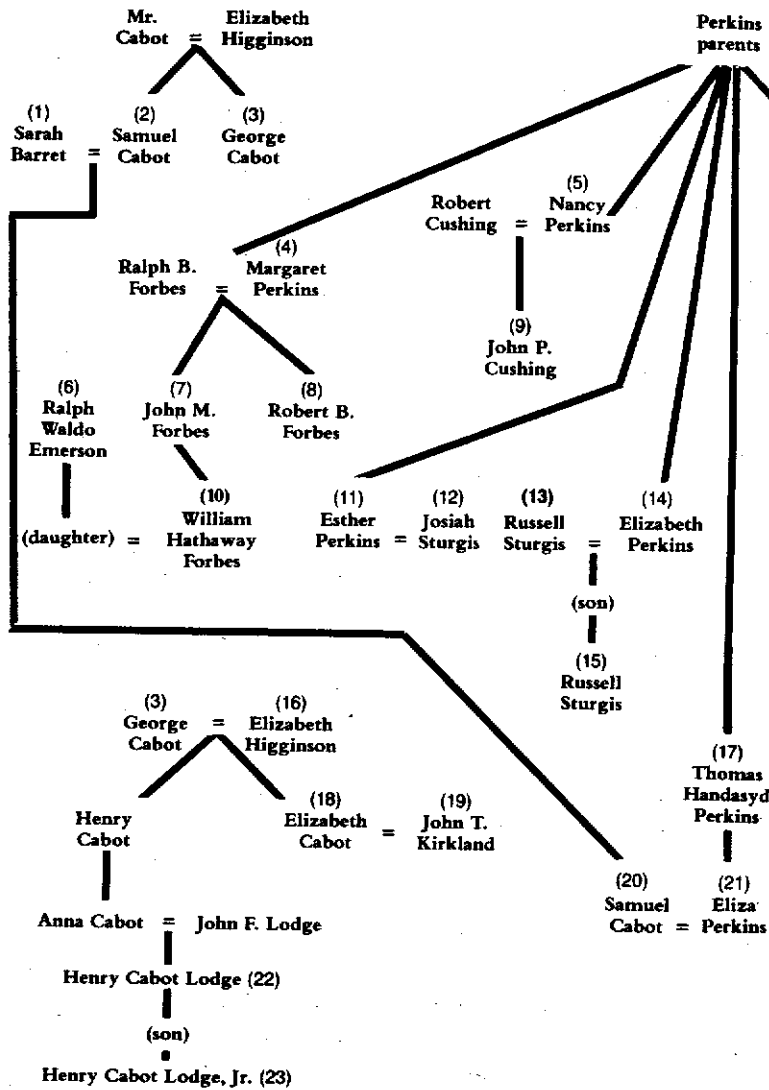
Astor was, in point of fact, the pioneer among American-based opium traffickers, but the syndicate Perkins had assembled was far outdistancing Astor's efforts at the time those items were recorded. Entries in Perkins's memorandum-books show shipments of opium by his firm amounting to 177,837 pounds, from January 1824 to July 1825. In 1827, T. H. Perkins's opium operations were so large that he wrote: "We know of none in the United States except what we hold." Referring to a single

12. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 558-559.

13. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 559.

14. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 559.

15. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 559.



**Boston's "First Families":  
 ESSEX JUNTO AND OPIUM  
 SYNDICATE**

## Textual Guide to the Essex Junto and Opium Syndicate Chart

Names are listed alphabetically and are located on the chart by place numbers.

- Sarah Barret** (1), granddaughter of Richard Clarke; see Samuel Cabot (2).
- Elizabeth Cabot** (18), daughter of Essex Junto leader George Cabot (3); wife of Harvard President John T. Kirkland (19).
- George Cabot** (3), Essex Junto leader, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts. His family and Forbes and Perkins families were partners in the African slave trade, later in opium smuggling. Due to visual representation requirements, George Cabot appears twice on the chart, once beside his brother Samuel (2), once beside his wife Elizabeth (16) and their children and descendants. Note: his mother and his wife have the same name.
- Samuel Cabot** (2), business representative of Richard Clarke, exiled East India Co. agent whose notorious tea was thrown in Boston harbor. Cabot married Clarke's granddaughter Sarah Barret (1). Their son was Samuel Cabot (20).
- Samuel Cabot** (20). Married Eliza Perkins, joined the opium syndicate of her father, Thomas H. Perkins (17). Established the bulk of the Cabot fortune.
- Joseph Coolidge** (27), India opium runner for Perkins' organization. Created Augustine Heard agency for Jardine Matheson. Married granddaughter of President Thomas Jefferson, a personal friend of Jefferson's Treasury Secy. Albert Gallatin. Father of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
- Thomas Jefferson Coolidge** (29), messenger for Albert Gallatin; educated Geneva, Switzerland. Organized United Fruit Company, merging Boston syndicate with New Orleans mafia. With his son set up Old Colony Trust.
- Thomas Jefferson Coolidge II** (34), with his father, set up Old Colony Trust.
- Thomas Jefferson Coolidge III** (35), Chairman of United Fruit Co., director and Vice President of Bank of Boston, into which he merged his family's financial operation called Old Colony Trust; United Fruit and Bank of Boston boards interlocked. Undersecretary of U. S. Treasury with Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr.; responsibilities included international exchange.
- John Perkins Cushing** (9), opium smuggler for Perkins syndicate. The richest American in China. Cousin of "Mephistopheles" Caleb Cushing.
- Ralph Waldo Emerson** (6), poet, member Cobden Club of London, transcendentalist leader, financially supported by John M. Forbes (7). His daughter married Forbes' son William Hathaway Forbes (10).
- John M. Forbes** (7), opium smuggler and security manager for Perkins China crime syndicate and his own clippers. Backed by Baring Brothers. Prime sponsor of Ralph Waldo Emerson (6). Prime organizer for Specie Resumption Act. Financed Immigration Restriction League.
- Robert B. Forbes** (8), opium smuggler for Perkins syndicate.
- William Hathaway Forbes** (10), son of opium racketeer John M. Forbes (7). Married the daughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson (6); first president of American Bell Telephone Company, financed by his father.
- Barbara Higginson** (32), daughter of Essex Junto member Stephen Higginson (24); married to Samuel Perkins (31); brother of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17).
- Elizabeth Higginson** (16), cousin and wife of Essex Junto leader George Cabot (3).
- Sarah Higginson** (25), daughter of Essex Junto member Stephen Higginson (24), married to Essex Junto member Judge John Lowell (26).
- Stephen Higginson** (24), Essex Junto member, worked closely with British military intelligence. Father of Sarah (25), Stephen, Jr. (30), and Barbara (32). His family bank, Lee, Higginson, financed the Psychic Research Society the "race purification" movement (Eugenics), and the Immigration Restriction League. The Higginson family opium smuggling business was headquartered in England and India.
- Stephen Higginson, Jr.** (30), Treasurer of Harvard College.
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson** (33), controller of John Brown and prime organizer of his raid on Harpers Ferry. Sponsor of Society for Psychic Research.
- John T. Kirkland** (19), President of Harvard College, supervised the education of an elite core of anti-American leaders in a riotous atmosphere; personal favorites included Caleb Cushing and Ralph W. Emerson (6). Married Elizabeth Cabot (18), daughter of Essex Junto leader George Cabot (3).
- Josiah Sturgis** (12), brother of Russell Sturgis (13); married to Esther Perkins (11), sister of opium syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17).
- Russell Sturgis** (13), brother of Josiah Sturgis (12); married to Elizabeth Perkins (14), sister of opium syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17).
- Russell Sturgis** (15), grandson of Russell Sturgis (13) and Elizabeth Perkins Sturgis (14). Family in the criminal opium smuggling racket. Moved to England, became an Englishman; he was chosen chairman of the Baring Brothers bank, financiers of the entire criminal opium traffic in the far east, and financiers for the East India Company.
- Henry Cabot Lodge** (22), great grandson of Essex Junto leader George Cabot (3). U. S. Senator from Massachusetts. Created Theodore Roosevelt's political career. Prime organizer of the Spanish American War. Promoted U.S. role as British Empire military agency, immigration restriction, U. S. entry into WW I.
- Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.** (23), grandson of Henry Cabot Lodge (22). U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam; organized coup that led to assassination of U.S. ally President Diem.
- Judge John Lowell** (26), Essex Junto member. Represented Tory exiles. Created Massachusetts Bank, the bank of the Boston opium syndicate, later known as Bank of Boston.
- Eliza Perkins** (21), daughter of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17); wife of syndicate partner Samuel Cabot (20).
- John Lowell, Jr.** (28), "The Rebel," pamphleteer for disunion in War of 1812. Director of Harvard and Mass. Bank (Bank of Boston).
- Elizabeth Perkins** (14), sister of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17). Married to Russell Sturgis, bringing the Sturgises into the opium smuggling racket. Their grandson Russell Sturgis (15) moved to England and became Chairman of Baring Brothers bank.
- Esther Perkins** (11), sister of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17). Married to Josiah Sturgis (12), the brother of Russell Sturgis (13).
- Margaret Perkins** (4), sister of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17). Mother of syndicate partners John M. Forbes (7) and Robert B. Forbes (8).
- Nancy Perkins** (5), sister of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17). Mother of syndicate partner John P. Cushing (9).
- Samuel Perkins** (31), brother of syndicate boss Thomas H. Perkins (17); son-in-law of Essex Junto member Stephen Higginson (24).
- Thomas Handasyd Perkins** (17), creator of the Boston criminal opium syndicate known as The Boston Concern. Constructed organization through marriages of his sisters and daughter.
- Thomas Nelson Perkins** (36), grandson of Samuel Perkins (31) and Barbara Higginson (32). New York financial executive, National City Bank.



ship carrying 1,000 chests of opium, a letter dated December 10, 1829 reports: "The Cargo of the Bانشaw will amount to something like 570,000 to 600,000 dollars. . . . It cannot fail to give a gain of 150,000 to 250,000 dollars."<sup>16</sup>

A few facts show the breadth of impact of the China opium-trade on the internal political affairs and destiny of the United States.

The China trade was financed almost entirely by the Baring Brothers Bank in England. From the earliest days of our republic, the question of who would provide credit to American merchants was of strategic importance. Even after Hamilton established the Bank of the United States, which made us potentially independent of foreign sources for domestic production and commerce, our nation's foreign trade required a significant margin of sources of foreign credit, especially for the net-import-values of capital goods. When the "free trade" movement, led by spokesmen who were themselves employed by the opium-traffickers, succeeded in closing that bank, the Barings and allied foreign oligarchists gained a great power over America's foreign trade. The Perkins syndicate did business in China entirely in the company of British Empire merchants and military officials, among the operations centered in the tiny Canton river-area reserved for foreigners. The Perkins syndicate lived with the British, smuggled and bribed with them, and poisoned and murdered a generation of Chinese for a fabulous profit. This fabulous profit was the payment they gained for attaching themselves to the rump of the British Indian Empire.<sup>17</sup>

16. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 578. For Boston Brahmin opium traffickers see also Adams, *The Boston Money Tree*, pp. 106-111, 125-131.

17. Barbara Higginson, daughter of Essex Junto member Stephen Higginson, sister-in-law of Essex Junto member Judge John Lowell, and aunt of the future Civil War conspirator Thomas W. Higginson, married Samuel G. Perkins, brother of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. The Higginsons supported the opium traffic with their large banking and shipping resources.

"J. B. Higginson, an American merchant in Calcutta, wrote [Augustine] Heard in January, 1834, that he had a large order from the Boston Perkinses for the purchase of Bengal opium. In June, he sent to Russell &

The opium-traders became "the boss" in Salem and Newburyport, in Essex County, Massachusetts. In Salem, they formed the East India Society, which held a "jollification" each

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Company's consignment some one hundred chests of Bengal drug by the British vessel *Isabella Robertson* and, later, another 175 chests by the British opium clipper *Falcon*."—Stelle, Charles Clarkson, *Americans and the China Opium Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938, p. 57-58; this is the most comprehensive piece ever written on the subject.

In 1826 a Perkins syndicate employee named Joseph Coolidge was sent to Bombay to arrange for shipments to China of higher-grade Indian opium, to take the place of the Turkish drug with which the syndicate had started doing business (Adams, *Boston Money Tree*, p. 126-127). Joseph Coolidge married one of President Thomas Jefferson's granddaughters (she was close friends with the aged Swiss banker Albert Gallatin, who had been Jefferson's treacherous Treasury Secretary). Their son, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, once carried a private message into Switzerland, where he went to school, for Albert Gallatin.

On Dec. 6, 1839, China's opium-fighting Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu banned all trade with Britain (Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, p. 104). The following month, on January 1, 1840, Joseph Coolidge, with heavy personal contacts in England and India, formed a new firm, Augustine Heard & Company. Coolidge's company was given the agency to carry the China business of *Jardine Matheson*, Britain's greatest criminal opium organization after the East India Company. During the period that the Chinese successfully banned direct British trade, the Jardine Matheson agency netted Coolidge's organization "much over \$10,000,000 a year" (Stelle, *Americans and the China Opium Trade*, p. 97-98). Thus, the Boston Coolidges, originally part of the Boston syndicate, made their way in the world as a branch of the murderous Jardine Matheson Co.

In 1899, Joseph's son Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, and grandson TJC II, founded the *United Fruit Company*, using New Orleans-based Mafia muscle with Boston syndicate money to set up plantations in tropical countries. In 1929 the Coolidges merged their Old Colony Trust Company, an extension of their United Fruit, with the First National Bank of Boston. The boards of the United Fruit Company and the Bank of Boston were completely interlocked—they were the same organization. The Bank of Boston had been founded in 1784 by John Lowell with funds from the escaped British Tory faction in Britain. The bank had served as the Boston syndicate's financial center since the founding; now, in the "roaring 20's" (ex-President Calvin Coolidge was a distant relative), the syndicate had emerged into the financial limelight in its own name (Thomas Jefferson Coolidge III was Vice-President of the Bank of Boston and a director until his death in 1959).

year, parading through the streets in Chinese costumes and artifacts,<sup>18</sup> to remind the local folks where the money was coming from. The cult of the irrational, and the search for expressions of feudalism and anti-industrialism in culture and politics, was a product of this treasonous combination in Essex County.

Among the personalities originating within the womb of this treasonous clique, from the city of Newburyport alone, were: Caleb Cushing; Cushing's protégé, Albert Pike; William Lloyd Garrison; Caleb Huse; and George Peabody. The last-named was the founder of a gigantic banking firm in England, to whose service he hired Junius and J. P. Morgan. When Peabody died, the firm became the House of Morgan, and later moved to the U.S.A. The other Newburyporters named, were all, each in their own particular role, architects of the American Civil War. It is their story we are telling in these chapters on the history of treason in America.

Harvard College's relationship to these "bluebloods" has been, since the American Revolution, quite straightforward. A small board ran the Harvard Corporation, and the board itself chose new members to replace retirees. In the period after the Revolution, Harvard came entirely under the control of the Essex Junto, and was used as an instrument for their political ends.

Judge John Lowell was selected to Harvard's Board, and he immediately saw to it that a great deal of money was pumped into the school. From that time until 1943, there was only one decade in which a Lowell was not among the half-dozen or so board members. The Cabot name has had nearly as tight an association with control of the school.

John Lowell ("The Rebel") attended his first meeting of the Harvard board April 17, 1810, at the home of the board chairman, Essex Junto member Theophilus Parsons.<sup>19</sup> Judge Parsons was aptly characterized by a republican faculty member: "Our college . . . is under the absolute direction of the Essex Junto, at the

18. Remnants of these celebrations are displayed at the Peabody Museum, East India Square, Salem, Massachusetts.

19. Greenslet, *The Lowells*, pp. 75-76.

head of which stands Chief Justice Parsons, . . . a man as cunning as Lucifer and about half as good. This man is at the head of the Corporation."<sup>20</sup> Other participants that day were the corporation treasurer, Newburyport merchant Jonathan Jackson, who had served under John Lowell on the town committee to counter-organize against Boston in the Stamp Act days; Oliver Wendell, grandfather of Oliver Wendell Holmes; and two ministers. Three weeks later, the Board installed a new president of the college, John Thornton Kirkland.

It was President Kirkland who greeted Aaron Burr in May 1812, when the fugitive from justice arrived in disguise at Harvard, just off the boat from England. Kirkland gave him a check drawn on the College, and Burr was on his way to New York—days before the declaration of war.

Under John Kirkland's direction, Harvard grew into a university, and at the same time developed into a nursery for a variety of radical movements. From the historical record, there is a striking resemblance between Harvard under Kirkland, and Columbia University in the late 1960s. For the 18 years of his tenure, Harvard students repeatedly rioted and rampaged through the campus and the town; they invented cruel rituals; they destroyed buildings and each other's property. The major student uprisings in 1823 were known as the Great Rebellion.

The people of Boston became thoroughly disgusted with Kirkland's reign of Atheism, Anarchy, and Aristocracy. In 1828, the president resigned his post under considerable pressure.<sup>21</sup> During the same year he married the daughter of George Cabot.

During the War of 1812, Caleb Cushing<sup>22</sup> of Newburyport

20. Quoted in Chafee, Zechariah, Jr., "Theophilus Parsons," *Dictionary of American Biography*.

21. Morison, Samuel Eliot, "The Great Rebellion in Harvard College, and the Resignation of President Kirkland," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XXVII, April, 1928, pp. 54-112.

22. Fuess, Claude M., *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923. Fuess's efforts to portray Cushing's boldly criminal adventures as normal or even moral activities, make this one of the funniest pieces of apologetic biography.

entered Harvard College. His father was a wealthy ship owner; his cousin<sup>23</sup> John Perkins Cushing, was engaged in the illicit opium traffic in China, and was on his way to becoming one of the wealthiest men in the world. As an undergraduate, Caleb Cushing spent nearly every Sunday evening at the home of President Kirkland, and he was particularly close to a young nephew of John Lowell's at the college. His worship of the powerful, and his dogged ambition to be one of them, was early noticed and rewarded by the Essex Junto group. A local Newburyport wit wrote a famous epitaph for Caleb Cushing:

Lay aside all ye dead, for in the next bed, reposes the body of Cushing:

He has crowded his way through the world, as they say, and even though dead will keep pushing.

After graduation Cushing spent a year at Harvard Law School, and had a short internship at a law office. President Kirkland hired him in 1820, at age 20, as a mathematics teacher. His relations with the College remained extremely close throughout the Kirkland era.

In 1822, Cushing began writing editorials for the *Newburyport Herald*, the local organ of the Essex Junto. The type for these editorials was set by an 18-year-old *Herald* employee, William Lloyd Garrison.<sup>24</sup> When Cushing took over editorship of the

23. Cushing, Lemuel, *The Genealogy of the Cushing Family*, Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, Montreal, 1877. Caleb Cushing and John Perkins Cushing had approximately the same degree of blood relationship as did Theodore and Franklin Delano Roosevelt; their great-great-grandfathers were brothers. But their circle of acquaintances was extremely tight, and *their own* perception of the value of family connections was overpowering.

24. Garrison's Tory family origins are interesting: On the outbreak of the American Revolution, a vote was held in a Nova Scotia town: all but Garrison's grandfather and a very few others voted to join the American patriots. British troops soon marched in and enforced loyalty to the crown by deporting American patriots and destroying their houses. Garrison's Tory parents came to Massachusetts from the British province of New Brunswick.

paper during the summer, he took the young man under his wing, and by careful and persistent cultivation, launched Garrison on his strange political career.

Biographer John L. Thomas records this crucial moment in his hero's life:

It was Cushing who first called young Garrison's attention to slavery. . . . [H]e did not regard slavery as a serious problem until Cushing opened his eyes. . . . Slavery was not the only topic which Lloyd discussed with his new friend. Cushing lent him books and urged him to undertake other challenging subjects. Revolutions in South America, rebellions in Greece, uprisings in Verona and Naples all seemed to forecast the eventual triumph of the people over the forces of reaction and repression. Lloyd's investigation of the South American revolts led him to denounce American foreign policy in ringing tones. If the new republics could not rid themselves of the "dross of superstition and tyranny" on their own, they must be taught to endorse justice and pay due respect to the American flag. Coercion held the answer. "The only expedient to command respect and protect our citizens will be to finish with cannon what cannot be done in a conciliatory manner."<sup>25</sup>

William Lloyd Garrison had up to that point received a thorough indoctrination in the Essex Junto theories of disunion; his teenage heroes were the royalist leaders of the Hartford Convention. Garrison's "conservatism" now became "radicalized" around three points stressed by Caleb Cushing:

- Negro slavery was evil, and was caused by the prejudices of white people;
- Latin American republics deserved to be destroyed if they were not more respectful to foreigners;

25. Thomas, John L., *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison, a Biography*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1963, p. 37.

• Revolution . . . overturn . . . violence are the answer to man's problems.

Historians have shown a strange lack of curiosity regarding the Cushing-Garrison relationship: William Lloyd Garrison became *the leader of the most extreme and provocative elements of Abolitionism*, while Caleb Cushing became *the main pro-slavery spokesman and strategist in the North*.

### Cushing's Commission from Lowell

In 1823 a Boston newspaper editor got up the gumption to call John Lowell ("The Rebel"), and his late father, traitors, and to suggest that it all started when Judge John Lowell had run away to the British side during the Revolution.<sup>26</sup> Caleb Cushing proposed to Lowell that he would write a biography defending the Old Judge's reputation.<sup>27</sup>

Lowell responded to Cushing's proposition in a series of letters which, remaining unpublished in the Library of Congress, bear silent testimony to the shameless corruption in the motives of both men.

Lowell requested that Cushing write instead a full-scale defense of the Essex Junto, that Cushing should portray them all as "patriots."<sup>28</sup>

Caleb Cushing accepted this assignment in fawning terms, as a "great opportunity" for service, and promised to write a book exactly to Lowell's specifications, and to turn it over to Lowell for his approval and any minor changes he might make.

26. The *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot* is named by Greenslet as the source of the attack against Judge Lowell's loyalty; so as to prevent researchers from easily viewing the probably interesting editorial, Greenslet mentions only the year, 1823, but no specific date for the issue. In the bound volume of that year's issues of the newspaper in the Library of Congress, it will be observed that the editor carried on a long campaign of exposure of the treason by the Boston Brahmins, from their plot with Aaron Burr in the 1800 elections, through the secession attempts and sabotage during the war of 1812.

27. Cushing to Lowell, Oct. 20, 1823, Cushing Papers, Library of Congress.

28. Lowell to Cushing, Oct. 22, 1823, *ibid*.

John Lowell now sent Cushing dozens of letters and turned over to him mounds of legal papers and family documents. The method Cushing was to employ was put bluntly: The source materials "are but food for your mind to be digested by unknown processes and reproduced under new and more beautiful forms, as we see the odious caterpillar reproduced with the most gorgeous and delightful color and proportions."

Money and the total cooperation of the Lowell circle, "forever," was placed at the disposal of Caleb Cushing. In one letter Lowell passed the torch to the eager young man: "I accept you as my champion and that of my race."

Cushing never wrote more than a single chapter, in which he tried to justify Judge Lowell's farewell address to the royal Governor Hutchinson. But in his long and bizarre career as a "Mephistopheles" of American politics, Caleb Cushing carried out his more profound commission from the Essex Junto: to break up the American republic. We will follow him closely as we trace out the buildup to the Insurrection of 1861.

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## Franklin's Freemasons Versus Boston's Scottish Rite

In 1766, ten years before the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Dr. Benjamin Franklin traveled to the continent of Europe, to begin assembling a vast, transatlantic conspiracy, intended to provide the strategic correlation of forces indispensable to American victory over its oppressor and adversary, Lord Shelburne's Britain. This vast conspiracy brought together, under Franklin's leadership, the surviving networks earlier associated with John Milton of England, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert of France, and of Gottfried Leibniz. The network of Franklin's conspiracy extended, outside the future United States itself, from Leibniz's Petrograd Academy in Russia, through the court of Spain's King Charles III, into the republican circles of the Spanish colonies in America.

The central feature of the conspiratorial form of Franklin's transatlantic network was Franklin's position as international leader, and Grand Master of one of the two contending forms of freemasonry in France, ally of Franklin's own Free and Accepted Masons in the U.S.A. The British-allied opposition to Franklin on the continent of Europe was centered in a circle of Jesuit, Swiss-banking, and British SIS forces and assets, assembled in the Nine Sisters' Scottish Rite freemasonic lodge in Paris, under that Lodge's Grand Master for France, and Franklin's chief adversary in France, the Duke of Orleans.

The leading edge of British subversion within the North Amer-

ican colonies and, later, the United States, was the build-up of a network of Scottish Rite lodges in direct opposition to Franklin's own freemasonic conspiracy. An outstanding feature of this spread of the Scottish Rite conspiracy against the United States was the role of the medical school at Edinburgh, Scotland (and other medical centers controlled by the Scottish Rite in Europe).

The pace at which the families of the Essex Junto could realize their treasonous objectives was limited, perforce, to the rate at which they could embed their conspiratorial network into controlling positions of public and private institutions around the nation as a whole. Exemplary was the degree of control they achieved over the chairmanships of the state medical associations by the 1840s, and the circumstantially conclusive evidence of a physician's role in assuring the death of President William Henry Harrison. It was this Scottish Rite freemasonic conspiracy, centered around close collaboration between Newburyport and Charleston, South Carolina, through which the traitorous, slave-trading, and opium-trading freemasonic families of Essex County deliberately organized the Confederacy, and the same secession of which George Cabot wrote on January 29, 1804, and Timothy Pickering on July 4, 1813.

It is therefore the transatlantic "freemasonic war" erupting during the eighteenth century, and continued in the United States into the 1980s, which is the main thread of conspiracy which must be uncovered and traced to discover how the Essex Junto of Jefferson's and Madison's presidencies nearly succeeded in destroying the nation, until the Battle of Gettysburg settled the matter in 1863. It is to that connection that we turn our attention in these chapters of our report.

However, we would be guilty of fallacy of composition of the evidence, if we restricted ourselves merely to the British elements of this treason. Just as we have shown, in the case of Aaron Burr's treasonous activities, that the war against the United States during 1776-1783 was prosecuted as much by the Swiss families centered around Mallet, de Neufize, Schlum-

berger, and Necker, as by the British themselves, so the same nominally Protestant, French-speaking financier families of Switzerland were integral to the outrages against our republic leading into the Civil War.

### The Swiss and Jesuits

Since the evidence we report focuses almost exclusively on the British connection to the treason, we preface those features of our report with a summary description of the characteristic features of the Swiss and Jesuit participation in these events.

The afflictions which have beset Western European civilization since the accession of Charlemagne, have been chiefly productions of a force determined to destroy the direction of development of Western Christian civilization set into motion by the writings of St. Augustine, and given powerful force with the rise of Charlemagne. The adversary, at the beginning, was based in Byzantium, in the powerful banking and mercantile families of the Levant, called "Phanariots" because of the wealthy district of Constantinople, together with a powerful, Gnostic faction of pseudo-Christians within the Eastern Church, centered around the hesychastic cults of the so-called Holy Mountain of Mount Athos. The most significant among the colonies of Byzantium through which destructive operations were deployed against the West from the ninth century A.D. onwards, has been Venice, the same city which was the principal target of the United States' foreign counter-intelligence operations during the period from 1815 into 1861.

During the period beginning A.D. 1230-1250, Venice and its allied competitor, Genoa, nearly succeeded in destroying Western civilization by methods not dissimilar to the effects of international debt-usury and promotion of charismatic religious cults today. Over the period from the fall of the Hohenstaufen in Germany, Italy, and Spain, during the period A.D. 1250-1268, until the last quarter of the following century, half of the parishes of Europe existing in A.D. 1250 vanished. The Black Death pandemic, which killed half of the population of Europe living at

the time of its onset, was merely the concluding phase of a general collapse of European culture.

The central feature of this destruction of European civilization over that period of approximately 100 years, was an institution of banking called "Lombard banking," typified by the families of the Peruzzi and Bardi. It was the "conditionalities" imposed upon debtor governments by these Lombard usurers, much like International Monetary Fund "conditionalities" today, which caused a collapse of agricultural production—the activity of about 95 percent of the households living at that time, with a resulting collapse of towns, and forcing both urban and rural populations into vagabondage and banditry. As "Khomeini-like" charismatic cults destroyed the rationality of populations, no rational opposition to the Lombards' practice was successfully mustered until after the conclusion of the Black Death pandemic.

Then, when England repudiated its debts to the Bardi, the chain-letter of usury collapsed, wiping out, in chain-reaction, most of the Lombard financial institutions of Europe, and weakening their political power to the point that the conspiracy earlier set into motion by Dante Alighieri could establish the beginnings of the fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance.

The Golden Renaissance, brought together as a force by the fifteenth-century Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, and continued by Leonardo da Vinci, France's King Louis XI, and the Erasmian reformers of England, reestablished government and society ordered according to the principles of St. Augustine and Charlemagne, but also with the addition of several new features of utmost importance.

Dante Alighieri had proposed, through such influential writings as his *De Monarchia*, a system of nation-states, each based on the speakers of a common, literate form of language, as a replacement for the Holy Roman Empire form of government of Christendom. The possibility of such a new order in society was provided by the work of Cusa, beginning his 1431 *Concordantia Catholica*, which provided for the existence of sovereign nation-state republics, all bound together by share of a common body

of natural law based on Augustinian Neoplatonic principles. Cusa also set into motion, through his writings on geometry and physics, the entirety of modern European mathematical science, chiefly through his influence upon Leonardo da Vinci, and through his own and da Vinci's influence, directly and indirectly, upon such figures as England's William Gilbert, Germany's Johannes Kepler, and France's Gaspard Desargues, all the latter at the turn of the seventeenth century.

So, emerged, as Italian thought, and as the practice of France's Louis XI and the English Erasmians, a new form of civil society, based on the sovereign nation-state republic and the promotion of increase of the productive powers of labor through scientific progress. Forces such as *Les Politiques* in France (Henry IV, Pere Tremblay, Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert), the Commonwealth Party of John Milton in England, and the networks of Gottfried Leibniz, were the leading bearers of this advancement in the human condition into the time, 1766, Benjamin Franklin began assembling his vast, transatlantic conspiracy.

The opposition to this was by no means destroyed by the financial bankruptcies of the fourteenth-century Lombard houses. They had been greatly weakened, but a powerful kernel, centered in Venice, survived. Their come-back to power was established with the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, in A. D. 1453.

Briefly, the opposition to Mount Athos and the Phanariots in Byzantium had seized power there with the rise of the Paleologues, a Greek branch of the Italian family of Viterbo. Through the masterstatesman of the Paleologues, George Gemisthos (Plethon), an alliance was struck between the Paleologues and Cosimo de Medici of Florence, leading into the ecumenical Council of Florence of A. D. 1439, where the Paleologues attempted to outflank the hesychasts of the Eastern Rite by unifying the Eastern Rite and Roman Catholic Confession through adoption of the Augustinian *filiolique* doctrine by the Eastern Rite.

Venice, Genoa, Mount Athos, and complicit, nominally Catholic wealthy families in Rome itself, struck back, determined to

destroy the insurgence of Augustinianism accomplished by the Council of Florence. These parties, including Mount Athos's spokesman, Gennadios, entered into a plot with the Ottoman ruler for the conquest of Constantinople. Mount Athos (Gennadios) prohibited Greeks from defending Constantinople. The Venetians and Romans supplied Muhammed the Conqueror with artillery and gunners. Four thousand mercenaries, hired to defend the city, opened the city's gates by night. So, Constantinople fell in A. D. 1453.

As payment for these services, Muhammed the Conqueror passed only long-lasting concessions to his accomplices. Venice was given large portions of the subjugated Byzantine domains in Greece, and Venice was given control of the Ottoman intelligence and diplomatic services: the *dragoman's* positions. Gennadios was made Patriarch of the Eastern Rite, and given authority over the affairs of all non-Islamic peoples of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire so created was modeled upon the ancient Persian, Roman, and Byzantine empires—a system of captive nations, each defined by ethnic or ethnic-plus-religious particularism, or what we would term "world federalism" today.

At the same time, Venice transformed its clients, the Hapsburgs, into rulers of an Austro-Hungarian empire in the making, and thereafter controlled the Middle East, and most of Eastern Europe through playing the two empires, the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian, against one another, and also largely controlled the emerging Russian Empire.

Venice acted in concert with Genoa, which controlled Burgundy (i. e., French-speaking Switzerland, and adjoining portions of France). The Genoese began to take control of Spain as well as Portugal, through Queen Isabella. The houses of Burgundy and Hapsburg were unified, Essex Junto-style. With the death of the obstacle, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Hapsburg sack of Rome in A. D. 1527, the rule of Venice through the Hapsburgs was uncontested throughout Europe (and the New World) except by France and Tudor England. Venice organized the Reformation in Germany, Genoa in Switzerland, and Venice, which

had just created the Protestant Reformation, organized the Counterreformation, too. The Venetian house of Contarini detained Ignatius Loyola, and obliged him to head up a new worldwide secret intelligence service to serve the Venetian interests, the Jesuits.

Among the believers, the religious issues of the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were real and bitter, and often enough not without reason. At the time, with a few exceptions, Venice controlled both sides of the conflict, and profited in wealth and power whichever won.

The downfall of Tudor England began with Henry VIII's Reformation. It is probably the case that Henry VIII was clinically insane, but no less manipulable on this account. His curious matrimonial practices are much noted, and were perhaps a leading consideration in the poor, twisted mind of that monarch. Less noted, but of lasting importance, Henry VIII was bribed massively, by Genoa. Henry's wealth came from sale of titles and confiscated Church properties. The means to purchase those estates and titles came chiefly through loans extended to the purchasers by Genoese families such as the Pallavicini. Old Judge Lowell would have understood the point perfectly.

Henry VIII did not touch the theology of the English Church in any formal way. Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* may be noted on this point. The decisive act was the legal murder of the great English Erasmian, Sir Thomas More; Henry VIII destroyed the Erasmian faction which had brought his father to the throne, the political forces within England representing the new institution of the technologically progressive sovereign nation-state. Thereafter, the Catholics in Britain were divided chiefly into two groups, the crypto-Catholic Erasmians, typified by the Dudleys and the family of William Shakespeare, and the Jesuitical tribes associated with the Genoese colony known as Scotland. It is in the latter that the origins of Scottish Rite freemasonry are to be found.

Following the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada, the Gen-

oese faction in England struck, launching a bloody de facto coup d'etat to secure the succession to the Stuart James VI of Scotland. The Cecil family, including Francis Bacon, were prominent, among others, in this plot. When their Stuart candidate ascended the throne of England as James I, in 1603, he gave his foreign financial backers a monopoly over the collection of taxes and public debt of Britain. The Venetian-Genoese Levant Company took over the commerce of Britain much as the Essex Junto did through operations centered in the China opium trade. This foreign monopoly, reconsolidated from the 1660 Restoration of the Stuarts onward, is the Bank of England today, and was the British (and Dutch) East India Company of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of Baring Brothers bank.

The Scottish Rite was created in the following way.

During the period of the Stuart household's exile, the most influential intellectual figures were Bacon's personal secretary, Thomas Hobbes, and one Robert Fludd, a Jesuit better known as the leading spokesman for a synthetic cult created by the Jesuits, the Rosicrucians. This was an oriental cult, identified as "hermeticist," which was used as a "secret society" by the Stuarts, a conspiratorial freemasonic sort of network deployed to assist their return to power. When the Stuarts returned to power, this secret-society cult was first organized in the open form of the London Royal Society, under the direction of a crypto-Jesuit, *Sir William Petty, the grandfather of the Second Earl of Shelburne controlling the Essex Junto.*

However, the London Royal Society of Petty, Locke, Hooke, Newton, Boyle, et al., was merely the "above-ground" form of the cult—as the chest of Newton's private laboratory papers illustrates the point. Steps were taken under Petty's overall direction to recodify and reorganize the secret networks. A protégé of Petty's, Elias Ashmole, was employed to piece together the old Templar cults of Scotland and Fludd's Rosicrucianism. (Robert Bruce, the founder of the modern Scottish royal bloodline, had been a fourteenth-century Genoese mer-



cenary, who had conquered Scotland with aid of a force of Templars fleeing the Inquisition and Philip le Bel of France.) The result was the Scottish Rite of speculative freemasonry, as distinguished from craft, or Free and Accepted Freemasonry.

### Benjamin Franklin's Initiative

From this standpoint of historical reference, the general character and form of secret organization of Franklin's opponents in France is easily documented. Franklin organized a network of Free and Accepted Masons, tied historically to the Grand Orient Lodge of himself and the Marquis de Lafayette. The Prince Hall freemasons, in the United States, for example, were chartered by Lafayette, as were the liberal freemasons of Benito Juarez's circles in Mexico. The Society of Cincinnatus, which George Washington and Lafayette co-founded in 1783, was a freemasonic organization attached to the Free and Accepted Freemasonry associated with the Grand Orient of France. This freemasonic network was the basis for the secret-intelligence organization of the patriots of the United States into the 1860s, with echoes of those old associations existing around the world today.

Although Burgundian-Swiss tribes such as the Mallet, entered England with William the Conqueror in A.D. 1066, since Robert Bruce, a special connection has existed between Edinburgh and Geneva, to such families as Mallet, de Neufize, and, since about 1770, Schlumberger. These tribes show up in history as early as the campaigns of Julius Caesar, a history we do not propose to elaborate here. The crux of the matter is that in eighteenth-century France, as in France today, Scottish Rite freemasonry, Swiss banking families of Geneva, Lausanne, and Berne, and the Jesuits, are so tightly intermeshed in joint projects that their occasional squabbles among themselves are merely intramural, if sometimes bloodily so.

It was this combination, coordinated around the figure of the Duke of Orleans, which was Franklin's deadly opponent during the 1776-1788 period, and the tightly intermeshed forces de-

ployed in coordinated use of treasonous circles such as the families of the Essex Junto.

The important thing which the reader must bear in mind, as we trace through the incestuous begatting of the freemasonic and Jesuit networks deployed to organize the secession, is that a conspiracy of this sort, spun out over successive generations, does not operate in the fashion most persons today would assume a conspiracy to work. One must not imagine that the essence of such conspiracies are secret meetings in obscure places, and so forth. The covert features of conspiracies are merely the necessary (usually) auxiliary means to the end in view. The essential thing about the great conspiracies which have, in fact, shaped most of human history, is not the dark plottings, and the begattings. The essential feature of any great conspiracy of this sort is the motivation which causes the leaders of a conspiracy to conspire together.

The mere desire for power and wealth cannot sustain a great conspiracy over successive generations. The mere appearance of better opportunities to reach the same goals would tear apart any conspiracy based on mere greed as such. *All great conspiracies are glued together and energized by some very special and powerful sort of ideological motive.*

In the case of the Essex Junto and its outgrowths, the ideological motive is a hatred against the distinctive form of Augustinian principles identified with the fifteenth-century Golden Renaissance. This hatred of the institutions of the sovereign nation-state, of the checks of principles of natural law on the behavior of individuals and associations, and of technological progress, is complemented by a desire for the kind of world-order and ethics typified by the case of the Roman Empire, in which syndicates of wealthy families, organized as the Italian black nobility's *fondi*, rule over a world-empire.

In the early correspondence of the Essex Junto, their treason has the form of a search for quick projects for destruction of an American federal republic, whose very existence is repugnant to their adopted British-imperialist world-outlook, a British ide-

ological version of the philosophical outlook of the Roman Empire. What is clear from that earlier correspondence is a consistent mass of prejudices; they know what they hate, but are less certain of what they desire in its place. They are guided only by the ideology of the prejudices. As the conspiracy ages in experience, numbers, and resources, the nebulously defined ideology of the early period gives way to a highly organized set of long-range projects and goals. The conspiratorial world of freemasonic plotting serves as the medium through which this development of their ideological prejudices assumes an elaborated form.

### Creating a Spy Ring: The Scottish Rite in America

There is a vicious game associated with the story told by the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite" about its own history in the United States. According to the Rite's historians,<sup>1</sup> it was primarily Jewish merchants and rabbis who established the organization in North America.

The game works as follows. First, it is alleged that certain Jews brought the "patents" for this freemasonic system from France in the 1760s, and that these and other Jews set up a system of rituals in Philadelphia, Charleston, and elsewhere. No

1. The three main sources of Scottish Rite history consulted in preparation of this chapter were:

Harris, Ray Baker, *Eleven Gentlemen of Charleston: Founders of the Supreme Council, Mother Council of the World*; published by the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, Washington, D. C., 1959;

Harris, Ray Baker, *History of the Supreme Council . . . Southern Jurisdiction, 1801-1861*, published by the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction, Washington, D. C., 1964 (hereinafter "Southern Supreme Council");

Baynard, Samuel Harrison, Jr., *History of the Supreme Council, 33° . . . Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States and its Antecedents*; Published by the Supreme Council, Northern Jurisdiction, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Boston, 1938 (hereinafter "Northern Supreme Council").

biographical information is furnished about these individuals, that would in any way explain how they are tied to the French, English, and Scottish noblemen who originated the order; no motives are suggested for actions of these obscure "founders."

Then, spurious "attacks" appear against the misdeeds of the Scottish Rite and other secret societies, which ascribe the problem to a "Jewish Conspiracy"! One such piece of lying garbage is the *Occult Theocracy*<sup>2</sup> by a Lady Queenborough. Its author uses the source material *provided by the Scottish Rite*, and denounces a long list of Jews as conspirators, who had no other supposed object in mind than Jewish control of the world.

By promoting this fakery, the Scottish Rite— which strictly prohibits Jews from its leadership— has succeeded in doubly obscuring the actual nature of its origins in this country, and in the bargain has helped to promote the Anglo-Saxon racism that has always been central to its aims.

Among the many names provided by the Rite as its American pioneers and progenitors, all but one have such obscure, elusive historical identities that, if they existed at all, they appear to have played the role of messengers or go-betweens for the principal world-historical figures involved in this business:

*The one exception* is a man whose historical existence was all too palpable for the hundreds of American and allied patriots who died at his hands. British Major General Augustine Prevost is still remembered today in South Carolina as the "filthy" enemy commander during the American Revolution, whose largely Loyalist troops looted and maliciously destroyed the homes and farms of residents in wide areas of that state.<sup>3</sup> Augustine Prevost

2. Miller, Edith Starr ("Lady Queenborough"), *Occult Theocracy*, (first published 1933, reprinted by "The Christian Book Club of America," Hawthorne, California, 1980.

3. See, among many sources, Fraser, Walter J., Jr., *Patriots Pistols and Petticoats*, Charleston County Bicentennial Committee, Charleston, South Carolina, 1976, p. 112: "Prevost's . . . marauders devastated the countryside . . . rum and wine cellar pillaged . . . Library scattered and mostly carried away . . . took all the best horses, burnt the dwelling house and

and his brother, Colonel James Marcus Prevost, were responsible for the recruitment of the largest force of Crown Loyalists used in the British war effort. Indeed, the struggle in South Carolina has the character of a Patriot-versus-Tory civil war.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, these Prevosts of Geneva represented the very highest levels of the British-Swiss alliance forming the British Secret Intelligence Service. When Colonel James Prevost died, Aaron Burr married his widow, adopted his children, and took his place in the family and the British Secret Service. The substantial Tory element in South Carolina would serve Burr and the Prevosts as a fertile recruiting ground for political-conspiratorial activities after the Revolution, under the overall coordination of the supervisor of Loyalist affairs, Secret Intelligence chief Lord Shelburne.

*The History of the Supreme Council, 33°, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States of America, and Its Antecedents*, by Samuel H. Baynard, Jr., states that Augustine Prevost was Grand Steward of the Lodge of Perfection set up in Albany, New York, in 1768.<sup>4</sup> This lodge was said to have been established by one of the traveling "patent" bearers named Henry Francken. The lodge was "abruptly terminated" as the troubles with the British came to a head in 1774, but not before responsibility for the "Ancient" system was passed on:

In February 1774, Francken appointed Augustin[e] Prevost a deputy Inspector General at Kingston, Jamaica, and thereafter, so far as previous writers have recorded, Francken passed out of our picture. The official Rite historian states further that Prevost, in 1776, commissioned a fellow British army officer "to establish the Rite of Perfection in Scotland, [this commission] was afterwards to form the basis of its constitution."

General Augustine Prevost had two sons who were important to American history. One of them, Sir George Prevost, gained

books, destroyed all the furniture, china, etc. killed the sheep and poultry, and drank the liquors. . . ."

4. Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council*, Vol. I, p. 67.

notoriety because, as Governor General of Canada and Commander of British Forces in North America, he invaded the United States in the War of 1812.

The other son, named Augustine like his father, is a most elusive quarry for the historical hunter. It is known that he was a major in the British Army, who died in 1824. The initial information available to us came from his correspondence with his uncle and lawyer, Aaron Burr. The Canadian Government Archives were requested to search for traces of the major.

No record of his existence as a *Canadian* was returned, but the Archivist sent us copies of letters which indicate that Major Prevost was stationed within the new United States, rather than in Canada.

He is first encountered in a 1785 letter written to Sir Frederick Haldimand, a native Swiss who had just returned to England after serving as governor general and commander in chief in Canada during the Revolution. Haldimand had overall responsibility for settling the hordes of embittered, revenge-seeking Tory refugees who came up to Canada during and after the war.

Major Prevost writes to accept Haldimand's request that he serve as Haldimand's agent, supposedly to be concerned with managing Haldimand's lands in western Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup> In later correspondence, Prevost discusses his plans to establish a Swiss settlement<sup>6</sup>—not far from where the Genevan immigrant Albert Gallatin did indeed establish the base from which he launched the Whiskey Insurrection in the 1790s.

5. Augustine Prevost and Thomas Hutchins (in New York) to General Haldimand, March 12, 1785, Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Group 21, Haldimand Papers, Additional Manuscript 21736, p. 36.

6. Major Augustine Prevost (in Montgomery [County], Pennsylvania) to General Sir Frederick Haldimand, K.B. (in London), Aug. 18, 1788, *ibid.*, Additional Manuscript 21737, p. 67-71. Prevost comments without much pleasure on America's new strong Constitution: "The General adoption of the new Federal Government appears to rise the expectation of the people to the highest pitch, their Political Salvation seems to hinge on the Event, how far their hope will be realised time must unfold, for it will require *time* to Organize such an Unwieldy a [sic] Machine."

Prevost tells Haldimand that Pennsylvania will be strategically important because Philadelphia has been chosen as the site for the first capital of the new U.S. government.<sup>7</sup>

The Scottish Rite *History* by Baynard tells us: "The old Minute Book of the Lodge of Perfection in Philadelphia, shows that on Oct. 5, 1785. 'Bro. Augustin Prevost, a Prince of the Royal Secret . . . [was] admitted as visitor . . . a Patent [was] issued by Deputy Inspector General Prevost, Aug. 19, 1789, to William Moore Smith, at Philadelphia, and . . . February 1, 1790, to Pierre Le Barbier Duplessis . . . whereby each of the recipients was appointed a Deputy Inspector General."<sup>8</sup>

The William Moore Smith "appointed" by Prevost advertised in 1797 that he was the general agent for the Tory refugees, for the prosecution of their claims, and those of other British creditors, against the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Prevost's other appointee, Pierre Duplessis, traveled to Massachusetts, and in 1790 he established the Knights Templars organization in *Newburyport*.<sup>10</sup> The commander of that organization from 1823 to 1866 was Richard Spofford, father of Caleb Cushing's private secretary.

It should be noted that while establishing these Lodge networks, Major Prevost was in constant contact with his lawyer, uncle, and advisor, Aaron Burr, who came to Philadelphia in 1791 as the U.S. Senator from New York. Burr represented Prevost in his long feud with the pioneer father of novelist James Fenimore Cooper over the title to the Cooper lands in upstate New York—a conflict which ended when William Cooper was assassinated in 1809 by a blow on the head from behind.

7. Major Augustine Prevost (in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) to General Sir Frederick Haldimand, K.B. (in London), Nov. 28, 1789, *ibid.*, Additional Manuscript 21737, pp. 129-130.

8. Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

9. *ibid.*, p. 83.

10. Masonic clippings file, Public Library, Newburyport, Massachusetts.

### The Charleston Founders

With these antecedents, the Scottish Rite organization in Charleston, South Carolina—later to be called the Mother Lodge of the World—was officially founded in 1801. Of the 11 gentlemen mentioned<sup>11</sup> as founders, seven have the shadowy identity of messenger boys or even fictitious characters; the other four were definite historical personalities, though the surviving record of their lives are full of gaps and shrouded in mystery.

*John Mitchell* (1741-1816) was an Irish immigrant trading in the West Indies in the 1760s. Living in Philadelphia during the Revolution, Mitchell got himself assigned Deputy Quartermaster for the American army. He seems to have remained in the city under British occupation, and to have nonchalantly resumed his quartermaster role after the city was liberated in 1778.

When Benedict Arnold was court-martialed in Philadelphia in 1779, on corruption charges relating to the use of supplies from the Quartermaster, Commander Washington wrote Mitchell to inform him that Arnold had requested Mitchell to be a witness on his behalf. It was in this period that Benedict Arnold's wife Peggy, Aaron Burr's step-sister, was intensifying her campaign of persuasion, which coupled with financial corruption by the British, led to Arnold's treason the following year at West Point.

Whether John Mitchell testified at the Arnold trial is not known. Later the Continental Congress held a trial to determine if Mitch-

11. Harris, *Eleven Gentlemen*. One not regarded as a founder of the Charleston Mother Lodge, but an early Scottish Rite activist, Moses Michael Hayes, was a Jewish businessman, who went back and forth between Rhode Island, Philadelphia and Boston on Masonic business. He refused to affirm his allegiance to the American cause during the Revolution, when asked to do so by a Rhode Island tribunal which believed him to be a Tory. He was one of the founders of the Bank of Massachusetts (later First National Bank of Boston) with John Lowell, and Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the New York Times was a collateral descendant of his. Rather more definite biographical data about him, than is now available, would have to be found to show him to have been more than a messenger boy for the Tory faction of New England.

ell was guilty of falsifying<sup>12</sup> his quartermaster's books. Mitchell and Arnold were both acquitted. But for some reason the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania sequestered Mitchell's records for investigation, and they are still kept as such, on file in the state archives.<sup>13</sup>

In one of Aaron Burr's postwar letters to Augustine Prevost,<sup>14</sup> Burr mentions that he has sent "John Mitch" as a messenger to Prevost. Mitchell moved to Charleston either in 1787 or 1790.

*Count Alexandre François Auguste de Grasse* (1865-1845) played no significant role in Charleston after co-founding the Scottish Rite there in 1801, but he later served as a crucial intermediary between the American conspirators and their European aristocratic wire-pullers. De Grasse was the son of the French Admiral de Grasse, whose fleet helped George Washington defeat the British in the decisive battle of Yorktown. The Admiral seemed unenthusiastic about remaining in place to fight the British—the Marquis de Lafayette had to convince him to stay for the action. Whatever his father's real loyalties, the younger de Grasse's most prominent military activity was in fighting to save his own and other plantations from the San Domingo slave insurrection in the 1790s.

De Grasse set up Scottish Rite Supreme Councils in France (1804), Milan (1805), Spain (1809) and Belgium (1817). Following the British conquest of France in 1815, de Grasse became Scottish Rite Supreme Commander in France, coordinating with

12. *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 19, I, Folio 127, p. 345, March 20, 1779. William Paca gives the report of "The Committee, to whom was referred the Information respecting Col. Mitchell's obliterating and expunging certain entries contained in one of his office books."

13. See Pennsylvania State Archives, MG 92, John Mitchell Papers. The Archives' Notes to the Mitchell papers quotes from "American Generals and Staff Officers" in *Pa. Magazine*, VI, 126, "Notes and Queries" series: "John Mitchell, QM General, was a merchant, had been bankrupt at divers times, and for having taken a false oath, had been committed to the Common Jail."

14. Aaron Burr, New York, to Augustine Prevost, Mill Grove, Montgomery [County], Pennsylvania, Oct. 16, 1789, *Burr Papers*.

the Americans throughout the creation of the insurrectionary machine in South Carolina in the 1820s and 1830s.

*Frederick Dalcho* (1770-1836), born in London, came to America with his uncle after the Revolution. A medical doctor in Charleston, Dalcho became editor of the Tory-Federalist newspaper *The Courier* in 1806, when the British were stepping up their piracy against American shipping. Federalist attacks against U.S. defensive efforts became very unpopular in South Carolina during the War of 1812, and Dalcho resigned from *The Courier* in 1813.

Dalcho was ordained a deacon of the Episcopal Church in 1814, and from 1819 until 1833 he was the effective head of St. Michael's Church and the leader of Charleston's Episcopalians. This Scottish Rite Founder was therefore spiritual leader of South Carolina's "English Party" during the Nullification Crisis of the 1820s and 1830s.

*James Moultrie* (1766-1836) has a very famous name in South Carolina—his last name. James's uncle, William Moultrie, was a great Revolutionary War hero *who fought General Augustine Prevost*, and later became governor of South Carolina.

But James Moultrie was the son of William's brother John, who was a leading British official in the South during the Revolution, the British lieutenant governor of Florida and the head of the Royalist party of that province. It was from his base in Moultrie's Florida that General Augustine Prevost launched his invasion of Georgia and South Carolina. James Moultrie would not feel ill-at-ease joining a secret, conspiratorial organization set up by General Prevost and his son, because James Moultrie's father had played so prominent a part in Prevost's military attack on America, and had lost all the family's hopes for empire in this country.

The British ceded Florida to Spain in 1783, so John Moultrie and his son James went to live in England. James was trained in medicine at Edinburgh University, and emigrated to Charleston. Since he had been born there a year before his family moved

to Florida, James Moultrie is proudly referred to by the Scottish Rite as their one "native Carolinian" among the 1801 founders.

He married a Charleston Moultrie cousin and quietly set about acquiring power through local social contacts. He was elected president of the South Carolina Medical Society in 1804, and his son, also named James Moultrie and also trained in Edinburgh, was president of the American Medical Association in 1851, four years after its founding.

During the Nullification Crisis of the 1820s and 1830s, James Moultrie was Grand Secretary General and effectively the chief of the Scottish Rite in the American South.

### The Swiss Master Takes Charge

*John James Joseph Gourgas DuPan de Rengers* (1777-1865) arrived on the scene soon after the Charleston founding. He was to consolidate the Scottish Rite organization in the North, and ran most of the Rite's affairs in the United States from 1813 until his death at the end of the Civil War. Gourgas's mother, *Ulbiania Nicasia DuPan*,<sup>15</sup> was the daughter of a captain of the Geneva Garrison who held a hereditary seat on the Geneva Council of 200, along with his cousins the Gallatins, the Mallets, the Prevosts, and the DeSaussures.

The Gourgas family, according to their tradition, had been French Protestants who were threatened with the stake and fire if they would not return to the detested Roman Catholic faith. Coming to Geneva in the late 1600s, they emigrated to England during the French Revolution, and young John James Joseph became "well known as a merchant on the Royal exchange."

The family sailed from England to Boston in 1803, finally settling in Weston, Massachusetts. J. J. J. Gourgas went to New

15. For Gourgas Family history see Tatsch, J. Hugo, *John James Joseph Gourgas, 1777-1865, Conservator of Scottish Rite Freemasonry*, privately printed by the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction, Boston, 1938; data also from private interviews of the present author with the Gourgas family.

York around 1806, quickly taking control of the Scottish Rite organization there (the headquarters was later moved to Boston). In 1813, Gourgas worked out a national territorial arrangement with the Southern Supreme Council, and began to put his Swiss imprint on American freemasonry, against the heirs of Franklin and Lafayette.

British oligarchs had sent the Swiss Jean Paul Marat and others of his ilk into France during the revolution, to destroy that nation with bloody anarchy. But the slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity"—insincere on their lips—was no longer needed. France had been crushed by the armies of Britain and a Dark Ages combination of continental monarchs. Now such ideas as the French-American alliance for republicanism were merely dangerous relics to be swept aside.

As Gourgas put it, "Grand Lodges in the United States, if wise, ought to follow in the footsteps of the Grand Symbolic Lodge of England and beware that with all their foreign intercourse and corresponding that they do not become sooner or later Frenchified."<sup>16</sup>

Gourgas's nephew, Francis R. Gourgas (1811-1853) moved to Concord, Massachusetts, bought the local newspaper, the *Freeman*, and became a state senator, member of the Governor's Council, and the Democratic political boss of Concord. Francis Gourgas was a member of the tiny, select Social Circle of Concord, the cultural "Politburo" of transcendentalists Emerson, Thoreau, and their friends. Ralph Waldo Emerson was a Gourgas family intimate from 1839 through at least 1853. Henry David Thoreau worked for the Gourgas family as a surveyor. And in 1851, Francis joined fellow member Caleb Cushing on the speakers' platform at a meeting of their elite Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

### Cleaning Out the Americans

In September 1826, William Morgan of Batavia, New York, was kidnapped, terrorized, and murdered. It was said that he was

16. Tatsch, *Gourgas*, pp. 25-26.

about to publish certain secrets of freemasonry, and that Masons conspired together to shut him up. A national furor arose, and the short-lived Anti-Masonic Party was organized. Working on this single issue, the party's efforts brought about only two lasting results:

1) Votes were drawn away to a third candidate from Henry Clay in the 1832 presidential election, on the grounds that he refused to quit the Masons; Clay's opponent, President Andrew Jackson—himself a Mason—was narrowly re-elected.

2) Freemasonry was discredited, and membership declined—for a time. In Massachusetts, Caleb Cushing advised all the Masonic Lodges to dissolve themselves for the time being. Cushing's own lodge was dissolved as were more than 3,000 other lodges throughout the country. From that time on, there was only sporadic interference by American-tradition Masons in the hegemony of the Swiss over the Masonic movement. The Americans had been, in effect, cleaned out.

To quote the Scottish Rite's own biography of J. J. J. Gourgas:

"It was not until after the revitalization of Freemasonry, following the anti-Masonic excitement of 1826-1840, that many of the methods prevailing today were inaugurated."<sup>17</sup> One could drop out of a regular Symbolic—i. e., lower—masonic lodge, and still be part of the Scottish Rite, which no longer pretended to be attached to the structure of American Masonry, but exercised a veto power *over* it. Put in twentieth-century language, "The Scottish Rite has definitely relinquished its control of the Symbolic degrees wherever a regular and legitimate Grand Lodge controls them."<sup>18</sup>

17. *ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

18. *ibid.*, p. 25.

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## 'Operation South Carolina' and the Career of Caleb Cushing

They call the yoke they put upon our necks the "American System!" The question, however, is fast approaching the alternative of submission or separation.

—Thomas Cooper, South Carolina, 1827

We have made the proud flag of the stars and stripes, that never was lowered before to any people on this earth—we have lowered it!

—Governor Francis W. Pickens, pupil of the above, 1861

Following the defeat of the British in the War of 1812, America showed great national pride and unity of purpose. The Essex Junto disunionists in Boston had been discredited, and their movement driven underground, by the exposures of Mathew Carey—and the success of American arms.

The "War Hawks" who had demanded a war for America's defense in 1812, now began pushing for a revival of the founding, Hamiltonian system of national development, abandoned under the 12-year reign of the Swiss Albert Gallatin, at the U.S. Treasury.

Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun, and the brilliant William Lowndes of South Carolina, fought in Congress for the rechartering of the Second Bank of the United States, the enactment of tariffs that would protect new American industries, and a great system of canals and roads to unify different sections and restore commercial prosperity to the prostrated economy.

Mathew Carey launched a broad *American* school of political economy with his attacks on Adam Smith.<sup>1</sup> Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's protégé and minister at the Court of the Netherlands, Alexander Everett, published an attack on the anti-population doctrine of East India Company instructor Thomas Malthus,<sup>2</sup> whose views were then wholly unacceptable in American society.

By 1823, the American System was back in business. In that year Mathew Carey's ally, Greek scholar Nicholas Biddle,<sup>3</sup> became president of the rechartered Bank of the United States; and President Monroe announced to Congress that European colonial adventures in our hemisphere, or interference with the free nations here, "for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny," would no longer be tolerated.<sup>4</sup>

During the next year Congress passed the most protective tariff system yet; John Marshall's Supreme Court informed the New York Livingston family that their attempted monopoly restrictions of steam shipping were illegal, that Congress had full Constitutional power over interstate commerce; and the Marquis de Lafayette returned for a triumphal two-year tour, that

1. See Carey, Mathew, *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry*, Philadelphia, 1819; and Carey, Mathew, *The New Olive Branch, Or, An Attempt to Establish An Identity of Interest between Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce*, Philadelphia, 1820; and Carey, Mathew, *Essays on Political Economy, Or the Most Certain Means of Promoting the Wealth, Power, Resources and Happiness of Nations*, Philadelphia, 1822.
2. Everett, Alexander H., *New Ideas on Population, with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus and Godwin*, published in London and Boston; reviewed and partially reproduced in the *North American Review*, No. XLI, New Series No. XVI, Boston, October, 1823, p. 288-310.
3. See the excellent biography: Govan, Thomas P., *Nicholas Biddle: Nationalist and Public Banker, 1786-1844*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959.
4. The Monroe Doctrine is contained in the Annual Message of President James Monroe to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823; see Richardson, James D. ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1896-1899, Vol II, p. 218.

set the mood for the election of John Quincy Adams to the presidency.

In 1825, the year the Erie Canal was completed, the United States was, indeed, at the height of its creative powers. President Adams set the tone in his inaugural address:

Since the first formation of our Union . . . the dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. . . . With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time no difference of principle . . . has existed or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate. . . .

If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds; if there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion.<sup>5</sup>

In the view of President Adams, as it had been for his childhood teacher Benjamin Franklin, the United States was the great instrument of world civilization. With the champion of Latin American independence, Henry Clay, as his Secretary of State; and South Carolina's Joel Poinsett as his minister to Mexico, protecting her precarious independence from royalist intrigues, Adams proposed to send U.S. delegates to the fraternal meeting of all the American republics at the Congress of Panama.

President Adams showed the new nations the practical mean-

5. *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*, pp. 48-50.



ing of national independence, by pushing for the fastest possible domestic economic growth, backed by the "great system of internal improvements [up to] the limits of the constitutional power of the Union."<sup>6</sup> Federal and state partnership resulted in a surge of canal and road building; South Carolina chartered the first railroad in 1827.

It was by means of transforming the country into a great industrial power, *and in doing so, bringing to the South a system of new factories and mines, and an urban culture, by which the American System proposed to end black slavery in this country.* The Founding Fathers had universally advocated an end to slavery. But the only practical path to that end was the *nationalist* program of Hamiltonian economics, the Clay-Calhoun American System, with full partnership in technological progress for the South, wherein the relatively unproductive, inefficient, and unprofitable slave system would be undermined and abandoned by a *developing* Southern population. Even after this plan was sabotaged, and the 1861 insurrection was launched and defeated, the victorious Abraham Lincoln proposed just this program for the reconstruction of the South. But when Lincoln died, the South died with him.

America's government-backed progress now threatened the future of the new Dark Ages system that Britain, the Hapsburgs and other feudalists of Europe had concerted at Vienna to impose on the world, back in 1815.

The enemy responded to the threat by creating a "popular uprising," entirely stage-managed by the British Secret Intelligence Service, which posed "Southern" interests against the North, and threatened to dissolve the Union. To avoid a civil war, Congress passed the Compromise Tariff of 1833, eliminating protection for American manufactures. By 1837 the Free Trade movement, which had emerged from this Nullification Crisis, had achieved nearly all its objectives. The Bank of the United States was permanently closed, and American industry

6. *ibid.*, p. 51.

was left completely unprotected from the worldwide credit collapse initiated by Bank of England credit restrictions.

The "popular uprising" which set the stage for this American defeat took place entirely within the state of South Carolina, whose people were armed and trained and rehearsed for a war against the United States. The war was postponed, but it was to begin again in deadly earnest in 1861, the script only slightly altered.

That untiring scrapper, Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, published a series of pamphlets<sup>7</sup> in the 1830s, calling for American patriots to help him fight what he termed "the British Secret Service" in their South Carolina disunion project.

Now, for the first time since these events occurred 150 years ago, we shall make available to the public the background of the project which Carey confronted. To understand "Operation South Carolina," one must become familiarized with the individuals who initiated the Nullification Movement, and the key *families* within the state with whom these individuals were connected. What follows is their story, told for the first time.

From at least 1687, the social and political life of South Carolina was dominated by men who, by deeply ingrained family tradition, were hostile in the extreme to concepts of human liberty. For in the year 1687, Elias Prioleau and his family arrived in South Carolina, accompanied by a group of refugee followers.

Under the name Priuli, the family had for seven centuries been ranked among the upper nobility of the slave-kingdom of Venice, in Italy.<sup>8</sup> While they maintained an system of absolute tyranny over their own terrorized subjects, the Venetian nobility manned their galleys, shops, and colonies with white slaves

7. Carey, Mathew, *The Crisis, An Appeal to the good sense of the nation, against the spirit of resistance and dissolution of the Union*, Philadelphia, 1832.

8. Huguenot Society of South Carolina, "Historical Sketch of the Prioleau Family in Europe and America," first printed 1899, reprinted in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 71, Charleston, 1966, pp. 80-101; the president of the South Carolina Huguenot Society for 1966-67 was Horry Frost Prioleau.

captured from European countries, and sold Christian children for slaves to Muslim chieftains. It was Venice and its sister-state Genoa which began the European practice of trafficking in African slaves. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Venetian financiers moved northward and took control over the merchant economies of England and Holland—bringing the slave trade with them.

In this crucial period, the merchant-banker Priuli family provided three of the ruling Doges of Venice and one of the Patriarchs of the Venetian church. A branch of the family living in France and Switzerland—the Prioleaus—served as Venetian State Intelligence agents, one of them being knighted for this service in 1660. The Jesuit order and other Venetian agents were chiefly responsible for whipping Protestant and Catholic against each other in the terrible religious wars over two centuries.

When the wealthy Elias Prioleau got to Charleston, South Carolina, he organized the French and Swiss Protestants, from among those “Huguenots” already arrived, into a congregation, and became the first pastor and the patriarchal community leader of the French Huguenot Church in South Carolina.

Later immigrants swelled the Prioleau congregation; and while the French bluebloods—known as Cavaliers or the Chivalry—became the backbone of South Carolina’s aristocracy, the Prioleau family naturally took on the character of great patrons and lords among the aristocratic plantation owners. They had, after all, been in the slavery business for seven hundred years.

As the Venetian Prioleaus gained power and social connections in the colony’s political and military life, the DeSaussure family<sup>9</sup>

9. The history and genealogy of the DeSaussures was provided to the present author in lavish detail by a retired U. S. Army colonel living in Charleston, a member of the DeSaussure family. This gentleman kindly allowed inspection of his computerized family genealogy, and of his collection of memorabilia including masonic and other family heirlooms. The colonel’s data was cross-checked against the DeSaussure genealogical information in the files of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

arrived in South Carolina, joining the 600 Swiss and French settlers at Purrysburg near the Savannah River.

Mongin de Saussure had been created Lord of Monteuil in 1440 by the Duke of Lorraine, and the DeSaussure family served the Dukes of Lorraine as agents and advisors, as the House of Lorraine fanned the flames of religious war in France. In 1556, Antoine de Saussure escaped the religious conflagration, migrating to Lausanne, Switzerland. His grandson Jean Baptiste de Saussure, Lord of Morrens and a Knight of Lausanne, moved to Geneva, where the de Saussures joined the Prevosts, the Gallatins, and the du Pans on the Council of 200—the “Committee of Europe’s Spymasters.”

Henri de Saussure of Lausanne, Switzerland, moved to South Carolina in 1730, receiving a British Royal grant of land. His son Daniel became a rich merchant in the Beaufort district. In 1777, while South Carolina’s patriots dug in and prepared for assault by the British forces, Daniel DeSaussure traveled to Switzerland and met with his cousins.

On this visit, the American-born DeSaussure registered his children as Swiss citizens, a legal designation which the family retained throughout the nineteenth century. He also received a silver medal from the Geneva de Saussures, whose inscription admonished the entire DeSaussure family to stick closely together; it is retained to this day by the DeSaussure heirs.

The son of Swiss traveler Daniel DeSaussure, Henry William DeSaussure, was the leader of the South Carolina Federalist Party, which in 1800 ordered its congressional delegation to vote for Aaron Burr for President. DeSaussure was the Southern collaborator for the treasonous Essex Junto; his correspondence with these gentlemen may be viewed at Harvard among the papers of Timothy Pickering.

In 1801, Henry DeSaussure brought a Boston editor, Loring Andrews, down to South Carolina to commence publishing the Charleston *Courier*, through which Federalist newspaper Mr. DeSaussure’s party could attack the “radical democrat” presidents, Jefferson and Madison. The following year, the *Courier*

published a plan for the armed seizure of Spanish territories in the Western Hemisphere; the author was James Workman, who had written the proposal for the British War Minister Henry Dundas. Workman was now in South Carolina, and would soon proceed to Louisiana where he would guide Aaron Burr's steps in his planned seizure of Mexico and the western United States. From 1806 to 1813, the *Courier* was edited by Scottish Rite leader Fredrick Dalcho.<sup>10</sup>

We complete this pre-history of the Nullification stage-show of the 1820s and 1830s, by adverting to the unfortunate anticlimax suffered by South Carolina after the American Revolution. Like Boston, Charleston saw the return of unrepentant Loyalists at the war's end, many of them regaining wealth and influence in the nineteenth century.

Patrick and Robert Cunningham, for instance, had been Tory commanders in the fiercest fighting,<sup>11</sup> but Robert Cunningham somehow eased back into postwar life and became a state legislator; his son was the uncle and political tutor of William L. Yancey, who went on to lead Alabama out of the Union in 1860-1861.

Politically, the most important Loyalist family to slip back into South Carolina were the Trenholmes.<sup>12</sup> London-born William Trenholme came to America in 1754, setting up as a merchant in Charleston. He fled the country on the outbreak of the Revolution, moving first to Holland, then to San Domingo. In 1787, he quietly returned with his family to Charleston.

10. Harris, Ray Baker, *Eleven Gentlemen*, p. 25.

11. For a detailed account of the Tory military exploits of Captain Robert Cunningham, see Jones, Lewis Pinckney, *The South Carolina Civil War of 1775*, The Sandlapper Store, Inc., P. O. Box. 841, Lexington, S.C. 29072 (also distributed through South Carolina state historical site facilities). Cunningham's son was married to the sister of Yancey's mother Caroline Bird Yancey. William L. Yancey's father died when the boy was three years old, and the uncle, with his Tory background and tales of "loyalism," was an important early influence.

12. See Nepveux, Ethel Trenholm Seabrook, *George Alfred Trenholm: The Company That Went to War, 1861-1865*, Comprint, Charleston, South Carolina, 1973.

Trenholme was re-established in business with the help of Robert James Turnbull, who then married Trenholme's cousin and joined the Trenholmes as a partner. Robert James Turnbull's father, Andrew Turnbull, had been an official of the British colonial government of Florida during the war, and was one of the founders of the British outpost at Smyrna in Turkey. Andrew Turnbull moved to Charleston, South Carolina when the British Army occupied that town. When the war ended adversely for the British, he refused outright to become an American citizen. His son, Robert James Turnbull, tied so closely to the Loyalist Trenholmes, would be one of the instigators of the Nullification Crisis.

Swiss citizen Henry William DeSaussure played the leading role in the founding of South Carolina College in 1801. He made the new state school his personal project for the next three decades, never missing an important meeting of the board of trustees, of which he was the most prominent and powerful member.

In 1820, the Board appointed the College's second president, a newly hired chemistry teacher named Thomas Cooper. Dr. Cooper was to unleash in South Carolina the full fury of sectarian violence, similar in many ways to the European religious wars so familiar to his Swiss sponsors.<sup>13</sup>

Cooper was well qualified for this mission.<sup>14</sup> An Englishman

13. The *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College*, on microfilm at the library of the University of South Carolina, were consulted for the period beginning in 1819. Cooper was DeSaussure's special project; DeSaussure was on each Board committee dealing with Cooper so that he could personally deal with Cooper's selection and hiring as a teacher and rapid advancement to president of the college. See the *Minutes* for Dec. 3, 1819, April 28, 1820, May 1, 1820, Dec. 15, 1820.

14. The fullest extant accounts of Cooper's amazing career are in Malone, Dumas, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1926; and Hollis, Daniel Walker, *University of South Carolina*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S. C., 1951-1956, Vol. I, p. 74-118. Malone is one of the most entrenched of "establishment" historians, the general editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. His life of Cooper is an example of that expertise, which

born in 1759, Thomas Cooper had been elected to the British Parliament as a leader of England's radical anti-slavery abolitionists. As a devoted follower of Satanist Jeremy Bentham, he stressed the righteousness of revolution to cure the oppression of women and of religious minorities. Britain's Jacobin Clubs, under the control of Lord Shelburne's Secret Intelligence Service, sent Cooper to France as their official "delegate" to the French Revolution.

After what he described as "the most thrilling time in my life," the revolutionist moved to America, accompanying his fellow chemist Joseph Priestley. They settled in Pennsylvania, and before very long Thomas Cooper was serving a six-month sentence for sedition—the only person jailed by President John Adams under the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Cooper became a Pennsylvania judge, but was impeached for "arbitrary conduct" on the bench. Using the name of former President Thomas Jefferson, who admired Cooper's revolutionary reputation, he tried to get a teaching job at the University of Virginia, but was rejected by the Virginia trustees because he was a self-avowed atheist.

When he was quietly hired by Henry W. DeSaussure's South Carolina College, the revolutionary abolitionist's first act in his new home was to purchase two families of black slaves. If he was to lead a revolt of "outraged Southerners," the strange little (4'11") Briton must try to look the part.

Operation South Carolina may be said to have begun with the "Vesey Conspiracy," in 1822, shortly after Thomas Cooper's installation as President of South Carolina College. A former slave, Denmark Vesey, was allegedly caught planning a fiendish uprising among Charleston's slave population—caught before any acts were committed.

At this time, Chancellor Henry W. DeSaussure was president

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starts with violently contradictory story elements, dampens those ironies which might lead the reader to infer that the subject's life is a career of deception, and blandly presents the whole as a series of events connected only by the driving force of the hero's unpredictable emotional makeup.

of the South Carolina State Court of Appeals. Samuel Prioleau was chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the state legislature. Prioleau's double brother-in-law and business partner, James Hamilton, was Intendant (mayor) of the city of Charleston. Under Hamilton's guidance, with the judicial sanction of Prioleau and DeSaussure, a spectacular inquiry and trial was held.

After the citizenry had been thoroughly terrorized by stories of intended mass murder in the night, *Vesey and 34 slaves were executed*. The African (Christian) Church of Charleston, to which Vesey belonged, was burned to the ground. In an atmosphere of paranoia, laws were passed setting up an armed fortress in the city and a substantial "white" military force to guard against further menaces of the same variety. In 1824, Samuel Prioleau took over as Intendant of Charleston.

### Cooper on Stage: The Tariff and Religion

In 1823, as the U.S. Congress began gearing up for the passage of the nation's first effective protective tariff act, South Carolina College President Cooper suddenly took the field with a stinging pamphlet attacking the "oppression" of the South by Northern manufacturers.<sup>15</sup> Cooper's diatribe took advantage of a depression in Charleston, due to the temporary drop in cotton prices and the obsolete status of the city relative to the bustling steamboat ports of the Gulf South, which Cooper knew was no "sectional" phenomenon.

This tract was immediately circulated through the North by the—as yet—still very cautious and very unpopular agents and heirs of the Essex Junto, who wished to promote a Free Trade movement.

15. Cooper, Thomas, *A Tract on the Proposed Alteration of the Tariff, Submitted to the Consideration of its Members from South Carolina, in the Ensuing Congress of 1823-4*, Charleston, 1823; an interesting edition of the Cooper Tract is that in which it is appended to Carey, Mathew, *Examination of A Tract on the Proposed Alteration of the Tariff*, printed by R.A. Skerrett for H.C. Carey & I. Lea, Philadelphia, 1824, in which Carey refutes "Judge Cooper's" anti-nationalist arguments.

At the same time, Dr. Cooper launched an all-out war against organized religion in South Carolina. Haranguing meetings and issuing printed broadsides, Cooper charged that the clergymen were attempting to enforce morality upon his, and all other students, in the state. He gave a special lecture series devoted to the proposition that the Bible was a fake. He told his students that man has no such thing as a "soul"—and he began teaching what was certainly the first official political economy class in the United States, bringing to social philosophy the practical expression of his chilling Benthamite doctrine.

A traveling observer of that time would have been able to notice a remarkable similarity of circumstances between South Carolina College and Harvard. In the Northern School, a generation of anti-industrial mystics and anarchists was turned out by the Essex Junto trustees in an atmosphere of rioting and cruelty. In Cooper's college there were repeated riots, strikes, theft, and brigandage off-campus at a cost of thousands of dollars to the townspeople; the atmosphere was best summed up by a famous campus duel, in which two high-living aristocratic students killed each other over which of them had first touched a piece of bread at dinner.

The state's Presbyterians, based mostly in the non-slaveholding upcountry areas, procured two well-documented grand jury presentments calling on the state legislature to investigate the college. One of their friends addressed the legislature: "Mr. Speaker! Would I commit the care of my son to a man who believes he has no more soul than an Opossum?" By 1834 the resentment of the nationalists and churchgoers would finally force the dismissal of Cooper and the entire faculty of the College. But in the 1820s the legislature, the courts, the Episcopal Church, the "Cavaliers" of the coastal plantations, answered like the *single, little well-organized family that they were*: "Dr. Cooper is doing a fine job." And to prove it, they sent their own sons to be personally taught by the now-controversial revolutionist.

Thomas Cooper's political economy classes, given in the state capital of Columbia, produced the equivalent of a British battalion within American society; all his students were expected to transfer immediately into an internship in the political arena. In Cooper's class of 1825, the valedictorian was Thomas Jefferson Withers, the great grandfather of today's AFL-CIO president, Lane Kirkland. Withers and his brother-in-law James Chesnut would later play important roles in starting the Civil War. Cooper's reputed favorite pupil that year was John Floyd of Virginia, later to be notorious for treason as President Buchanan's Secretary of War. In fact, all four of the men who would be governors of South Carolina during the secession and Civil War period, 24 of those who were to be delegates to the state's Secession Convention, and many of the leaders of the secession movement in the South generally, were pupils of this tiny British atheist.

To the startled American public, Thomas Cooper became the father of the Southern secession movement when, at an 1827 anti-tariff meeting, he declared that "a drilled and managed majority" in the U.S. House of Representatives had determined "at all hazards to support the claims of the Northern manufacturers, and to offer up the planting interest on the altar of monopoly." The system, which after all had been designed to give farmers adequate domestic markets and to industrialize the South, he termed "a system by which the earnings of the South are to be transferred to the North. . . . the planter and the farmer under this system are to be considered as inferior beings to the spinner, the bleacher and the dyer . . . serfs and operatives of the North . . . of the masterminds of Massachusetts, the lords of the spinning jenny and peers of the power loom, who . . . tax our earnings . . . to swell their riches. . . . a system of fraud, robbery and usurpation."

Then, in phrases which were burned into the national

16. DeLeon, Edwin, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents*, Ward and Downey, London, 1890, p. 5.

memory—which would be repeated and denounced by Daniel Webster in the Senate debates on Nullification—the Englishman said:

We shall 'ere long be compelled to calculate the value of our Union; and to enquire of what use to us is this most unequal alliance, by which the South has always been the loser and the North always the gainer. Is it worth our while to continue this union of States, where the North demands to be our masters and we are required to be their tributaries? who with the most insulting mockery call the yoke they put upon our necks the "American System!" The question, however, is fast approaching the alternative of submission or separation.<sup>17</sup>

This sensational speech stunned the nation. *No public figure in the South had ever publicly advocated disunion*, since Aaron Burr's friend Senator Pierce Butler had blustered about civil war in 1789. Cooper was called a "traitor," a "disunionist," a "revolutionary." A storm of protest broke over his head. But within several months a new political movement was formed in South Carolina, based entirely on Thomas Cooper's radical states-rights, extreme pro-slavery, anti-government, anti-industry doctrines—which became known as the South Carolina Doctrines.

The movement was immediately given direction by the publication of *The Crisis; or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government*,<sup>18</sup> by Robert J. Turnbull. The author was the son of the Royalist diehard, Andrew Turnbull, who had been in regular communication with the chief of British Intelligence, Lord Shelburne, after the Revolution. Andrew Turnbull had been a Royal official in Florida under Lt. Governor John Moultrie, and

17. *Charleston Mercury*, July 18, 1827.

18. Turnbull, Robert James, *The Crisis; or Essays on the Usurpation of the Federal Government*, by Brutus [pseudonym], printed by A. E. Miller, Charleston, South Carolina, 1827.

Moultrie's son James was now, in 1828, the leader of the Scottish Rite in the Southern United States, and the official American liaison agent for the European Scottish Rite.

Andrew's son Robert James Turnbull, the author of *The Crisis*, was now a business partner and family member of the Loyalist Trenholmes, who would play the central role of financiers of the Confederacy (George Trenholme, the final Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, would be business partner of Samuel Prioleau's son Charles Kuhn Prioleau, Confederate Financial Agent in England).

President John Quincy Adams counterattacked *The Crisis* in his 1828 State-of-the-Union address to Congress,<sup>19</sup> and the national controversy was on.

Samuel Prioleau's partner and double brother-in-law, James Hamilton, now actively organized a statewide political movement based on Cooper and Turnbull's initiative. In 1830 Hamilton became Governor of South Carolina, and began arming the militants for war against the United States government. It was James Hamilton who finally convinced South Carolina's John C. Calhoun, the former co-sponsor of Henry Clay's nationalist program, that it would be the politically wise thing to do to put himself at the head of this "popular movement." It was really all in the family: Calhoun had finished his law training in the office of Henry W. DeSaussure.

And that was the nature of things in South Carolina. The Venetian Prioleau now was Judge of Charleston's City Court. Cooper's employer and backer, the Swiss Henry W. DeSaussure, was Chief Justice of the state. His son Henry Alexander DeSaussure was Grand Master of the Masons of South Carolina as the crisis exploded in 1832 and 1833.

The DeSaussure family relates that following Daniel DeSaussure's reunion with the Swiss during the American Revolution, the family maintained a strong, steady contact with their headquarters-castle, Frontenex, two miles east of Geneva. This

19. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol III, p. 981.

was a beehive of activity for visiting English noblemen; and the DeSaussure's were "intimates" of the aggressively anti-American intriguer, Lord Palmerston, who became Britain's Foreign Minister in 1830, and would be Prime Minister of Britain from 1859 to 1865, all through the Southern secession and the American Civil War.

Mathew Carey reacted bitterly as he watched the South Carolina legislature set up the 1832 convention which declared the United States laws on tariffs to be null and void, and provided heavy penalties for citizens who might try to obey the U.S. laws. Carey said that "the British Secret Service" was behind the Nullifiers, and that pro-industrial forces had stood by in silence despite Carey's warning that the enemy was rehearsing an American Civil War. Was Carey correct, dear reader?

### The Ugly Inheritance of Milton Friedman

With South Carolina's threats to secede if the American tariff laws were not repealed, Aaron Burr's friends in the North—the Boston Brahmins, Astor and Gallatin in New York—came onto the stage again with the Free Trade movement. The Brahmins' pride was Bostonian Theodore Sedgwick, who had married a member of the Loyalist Vassal family, John Lowell's clients. Sedgwick's in-laws ran Holland House in England, the political center for Lord Shelburne's Whigs.

Sedgwick arranged for William Cullen Bryant to be editor of the *New York Post*, which then served as the primary Free Trade organ in the country; Sedgwick and Bryant eagerly reprinted everything Thomas Cooper put out in South Carolina.

Theodore Sedgwick organized a national Free Trade Convention in 1831, in Philadelphia.<sup>20</sup> At this conference the sedi-

20. *The Journal of the Free Trade Convention, Held in Philadelphia, From September 30 to October 7, 1831, and their Address to the People of the United States, to which is added A Sketch of the Debates in the Convention*; printed by T.W. Ustick, Philadelphia, 1831; in the New York Society Library. The convention's Address to the People of the United States denounces the "tyranny" of the American government, and suggests that

tious *South Carolina Doctrines* were given a respectable veneer, portrayed as honest expressions of respectable Southerners, backed by respectable men of the North. The leader, in fact the dictator of this convention, was the Swiss Albert Gallatin, who had virtually dissolved the American armed forces under his budget-cutting regime prior to the War of 1812.

Gallatin arrived at the Convention as a bank president; John Jacob Astor, financier of Aaron Burr's two escapes from justice, had set up the National Bank of New York expressly as a vehicle for Gallatin's objectives. Gallatin was made chairman of the Convention's committee to lobby the Congress. Gallatin, the Brahmins, and the Carolina Cavaliers won the day—the American System was repealed. Later attempts to restore the Hamiltonian economic policy were murderously sabotaged, as we shall see—until it was too late. Thomas Cooper's *Doctrines* were to be rewarmed for the insurrectionists in 1861, and were put down by the armed power of the United States in a terrible war.

Today, historians friendly to Milton Friedman's extreme laissez-faire economic theories refer uncritically to the nineteenth-century fight over the "constitutionality" of government backing for industrial growth. Theodore Sedgwick, organizer of the 1831 Free Trade Convention, was very candid on this question.

The Hamiltonian system was "unjust, oppressive . . . an abuse of power." But if you "tell the people, that what the Government has been doing, ever since its foundation, it has had no power to do! The people . . . will not understand you. Fifty years ago," said Sedgwick, "the principle of Free Trade was unknown. Adam Smith then rose as a sun to illuminate the world. When [the Constitution] was formed, all was monopoly. Many gentlemen found it impossible to get over the arguments in Mr. Madison's speech, in defense of the constitutional power of Congress to

the high tariff policy must inevitably lead to civil war. Boston Brahmins in attendance, aside from Theodore Sedgwick, included George Peabody, Henry Lee, Frederick Cabot and Joseph Ropes, along with their allies from, primarily, South Carolina and Virginia.

protect manufactures. One of the first acts of the General Government, was for the protection of manufactures."<sup>21</sup>

In our time, economist Milton Friedman has brought Thomas Cooper's doctrines, the rallying slogans for the terrible 1861 insurrection against the United States, to Chile's General Pinochet; he claims that they are "American" principles.

Friedman must be more of a vassal to the British Lords than even Theodore Sedgwick was.

### Caleb Cushing:

#### The 'Young America' Insurrectionist

If we trace back any great civil convulsion, we will find its source originating in some quarter equally unsuspected and obscure.<sup>22</sup>

—Edwin DeLeon, father of the Young America movement

One of the most glaring gaps in the heretofore published version of American history is the utter omission of the career of Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts. Cushing was probably the single most important U.S. government official in the development and staging of the insurrectionary Southern secession movement throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Those original republican foreign policies with which the Founding Fathers had challenged the worldwide rule of the old European oligarchy.

In correcting this omission, we shall follow Cushing's astonishingly evil career in sabotaging the U.S. national economy, threatening war against China and unleashing it against Mexico, terrorizing Kansas, and coordinating with the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry the step-by-step buildup of an enemy army within and against the United States.

As we have seen, John Lowell ("The Rebel"), Boston agent of the chief Tory émigrés and principal publicist for the Essex

21. *ibid.*, p. 69.

22. De Leon, Edwin, *The Position and Duties of "Young America," An Address Delivered Before The Two Literary Societies of the South Carolina College, December, 1845*, A.S. Johnston, Columbia, South Carolina, 1846, p. 13.

Junto disunionists, commissioned young Caleb Cushing to be "my champion and that of my race." Cushing was well qualified for the assignment. He was a cousin of John Perkins Cushing, the richest American in the business of selling illegal opium to the Chinese, and he was the son of a Tory-Federalist China trader.

In 1824, a year after receiving his commission and first remuneration from Lowell, Cushing married the daughter of arch-Tory Maine Chief Justice Samuel S. Wilde, who had been a leading member of the secret Hartford Convention in 1814.

Caleb Cushing's first attempts to break into national politics were abortive. Seeking election to Congress from Essex County in 1826, Cushing quickly developed his talent for representing "odious" objects in "more gorgeous colors," as instructed by Lowell. His opponent was accused of having "shady dealings with the Essex Junto"!

During the campaign, William Lloyd Garrison, whom Cushing had trained in politics and philosophy, sold to a friend of Cushing's a prominent local newspaper he had just acquired, and it was immediately pressed into service as the Cushing campaign organ. By this time Garrison had started on his career as an *anti-Union* slavery-abolitionist, and Cushing's opponent accused Cushing of having made a secret deal with Garrison.

To demonstrate that the "leftist" Garrison was not in league with his "conservative" trainer Cushing, Garrison wrote a letter to the opponent's newspaper defending himself, and charged into a Cushing campaign rally shouting tirades against Cushing. In the future they were more careful; Garrison biographer John L. Thomas notes that "Garrison, once he became an abolitionist, denounced Cushing for every sin he could think of."<sup>23</sup>

Though Cushing lost that and other elections, his Brahmin connections finally elevated him to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1839, William Lloyd Garrison quietly asked Congressman Cushing, who did not represent Garrison's district,

23. Thomas, *The Liberator*, p. 53.



to get Garrison's brother out of the Navy. Cushing used his connections to fulfill the request within a few days.

Cushing's opportunity for power came just after the 1840 elections. Still reeling from the 1837 crash and the consequent unemployment and starvation, the voters had thrown out the "Free Traders" and put the Whig Party into power with a program for a new national bank, high tariffs and public works.

Cushing, meanwhile, had presented himself to the voters as a Henry Clay Whig; he had published a small anti-Free Trade book; he had regularly presented anti-slavery petitions from his constituents; he had even written a campaign biography for the Whig presidential candidate, General William Henry Harrison.

Harrison was elected president in November 1840, and assumed office on March 4, 1841. One month later he died. No autopsy was performed on the previously robust hero of the War of 1812. His death was first attributed to acute intestinal distress, and then, variously, to "bilious pleurisy" and "pneumonia."

One of the two attending physicians, Frederick May, has an interesting background. He was trained at Harvard by Dr. John Warren, brother of the celebrated patriot Joseph Warren who died on Bunker Hill. Though John Warren inherited his brother's high offices in Massachusetts freemasonry, he does not seem to have inherited his political outlook. John's son was sent on an extended tour of England after the Revolution, where he became scandalously intimate with the exiled traitor Benedict Arnold and the emigrant Tory community.

(Besides Frederick May, who attended the unfortunate Harrison, John Warren also trained Dr. William Eustis, who was coincidentally a physician for the West Point garrison and "often frequented the house" of Benedict Arnold, the West Point commander, in the period of his famous treason.<sup>24</sup> Later Eustis was protégé and personal physician to Aaron Burr and the Prevost family; he was Secretary of War until fired by President Madison

24. Koke, *Accomplice in Treason*, p. 65.

for nearly losing our national independence in the War of 1812; his family then moved south, and a grand nephew was private secretary to Confederate Commissioner John Slidell.)

While little positive knowledge exists as to the cause of the sudden death of President Harrison, the events which followed it throw a lurid light on that national tragedy. The economic policy of the nation was forcibly returned to the British System, and the foreign policy veered wildly toward a repudiation of the founding republican concepts.

The Vice-President, John Tyler of Virginia, immediately took over the presidency; he was the first to succeed to the office in this manner. Tyler soon made it clear that he had no intention of carrying out the program of the Whigs or of the dead President. When Congress passed the long-awaited bill restoring the Bank of the United States, Tyler vetoed it. A battle soon raged between Henry Clay and Tyler all along the lines of the American System policy. The entire cabinet, save Secretary of State Daniel Webster, resigned rather than lend support to the presidential mole.

The crucial question was, would the Congress be able to rally itself to carry out the Whig program, on a two-thirds vote sufficient to overcome Tyler's vetoes?

At this juncture, the "Whig" Caleb Cushing stood up in Congress with a series of astonishing speeches and maneuvers which decided the issue: "I appeal to the Whig Party, to the friends of the Administration—and I recognize but one, and that is the Administration of John Tyler . . . to be friends of the administration of John Tyler, that at this hour they come to the rescue of their country, and organize the House, under whatever rules. . . ." <sup>25</sup>

On the recommendation of Webster, who had owed Cushing a great deal of money for five years and would be increasingly, pathetically in debt to him for the rest of his life, Cushing was appointed chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee,

25. Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, Vol. I, p. 298.

defeating Congressman (former President) John Q. Adams for that post.

Caleb Cushing, now wielding the balance of power in Washington, proceeded to organize the Congress to sustain the President. The anti-slavery Massachusetts Whig, the friend of American System economics, suddenly appeared in opposite colors as the intimate friend and advisor of the Virginian Tyler, who had just as suddenly become the President.

Responding to the national bank veto, Henry Clay told Congress, "There is a rumor abroad that a cabal exists—a new sort of kitchen cabinet—whose object is the dissolution of the regular cabinet, the dissolution of the Whig Party, the dispersion of the Congress without accomplishing any of the great purposes of the extra session, and a total change, in fact, in the whole face of our political affairs."<sup>26</sup>

The "accidental" President's veto was sustained, and consequently the United States has never again, to this day, had a national bank under public control.

From this period of Caleb Cushing's emergence as a feudalist political gamemaster in Washington, we have evidence—never before published—of a political alliance that would prove to be crucial in creating the anti-Union insurrection of the coming decades. Cushing arranged for his Newburyport, Massachusetts colleague and lifelong acquaintance, Albert Pike, to become a political power in the frontier state of Arkansas. Surviving letters from Pike to Cushing, in the huge unpublished Cushing Papers at the Library of Congress, show Pike thanking Cushing for making the patronage appointments from the national capital that Pike needed to rise to power.<sup>27</sup>

26. Clay's speech to the U. S. Senate, Aug. 19, 1841, in Colton, Calvin, *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*, A.S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1846, reprinted by Garland Publishing, Inc., New York and London, 1974, Vol. II, p. 370. Colton names (p. 371) Caleb Cushing as the first of the "corporal's guard" running President Tyler's Congressional affairs. An important Southern co-manager of the Tyler project, with Cushing, was Nathaniel Beverly Tucker—see Chapter 12.

27. See Albert Pike to Caleb Cushing March 2, March 14, and May 25, 1843,

### The American Foreign Policy Disaster

The sudden death of President Harrison, his replacement by the mole Tyler, and the Boston Brahmins' control over foreign policy, through the intriguer Caleb Cushing and the pathetic Daniel Webster, brought about a terrible shift in the foreign relations of the United States. The "Imperialists" now appeared in American public life. Their object was to make the United States "a new Britain," a looter and exploiter of the colonial world, for themselves and their senior partners in Europe.

The grandfather of the Southern secession movement, British faker Thomas Cooper, had told South Carolina's Senators in 1826 that they must "at all costs" frustrate President John Quincy Adams's attempt to get a U.S. delegation to the inter-American conference at Panama; and indeed, our delegation arrived after the close of the meeting. Now, in the 1840s, the British-Swiss game was to make *the United States itself*, through these new Imperialists, repudiate its leadership of the colonial and formerly colonial areas, and to thereby stifle the prospects for an Amer-

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manuscripts in the Cushing Papers, Library of Congress.

The March 2, 1843 letter, addressed "Dear Friend," says "As incompetent as I am to the Station your kindness thought me fit for, I feel more sensibly the friendship which prompted you to move in my behalf." Further on, Pike, who was to be built up as the great Arkansas secessionist leader, tells Cushing, "I congratulate you still more on this, that you are still a citizen of our own New England, where you enjoy that protection of the law and liberty of conscience, which none of us here even dream of. . . . I do not know whether or not I am tied here for life. I would fain hope not, and would, at almost any sacrifice, get into some more orderly and law-abiding part of the world." Pike enclosed with that letter a declaration of principles for a new political party-faction he is starting in Arkansas, for Cushing's approval.

The May 25, 1843 letter begins, "Soon after the accession of General Harrison to the Presidency, you were so kind, at my earnest solicitation and recommendation, as to interest yourself in procuring the appointment of Thomas W. Newton, Esq. to the office of Marshall of this district . . . I also solicited your influence, and you . . . exerted it, to procure for Absalom Fowler Esq., the appointment of District Attorney. . . ." The rest reports on the problems of the political machine that Cushing put into Pike's hands.

ican system of republican alliances that might check or destroy oligarchical world ambitions.

In 1840, British Foreign Minister Palmerston's new envoy to China, Charles Elliot, arrived in Canton. The Chinese government was trying once again to stop the import of illegal opium, the British business which had also enriched the family and political employers of Caleb Cushing.

British Plenipotentiary Elliot opened up hostilities by ordering the destruction of a number of Chinese war junks, and coordinated the ensuing "Opium War" with his cousin, the British admiral who was sent to carry out the planned conquest.

The outgunned Chinese succumbed to British massacres and town-burning, and gave Elliot a treaty which became the model for the humiliation of Britain's unwilling non-Western subjects. China was required to pay Britain for the value of the illegal opium which Chinese authorities had confiscated and burned; China was to pay Britain for the cost to Britain of sending its armed forces to conquer China; Five Chinese ports were opened to unrestricted British trade; British merchants trading in China were exempted from all Chinese laws, and were thus given almost unlimited economic power; and Britain was given the island of Hong Kong, which has been retained up to the present as a Crown Colony, engaged in the illegal narcotics trade.<sup>28</sup>

Having succeeded in starting and winning this war of conquest, Plenipotentiary Charles Elliot was redeployed to another area of colonial difficulties: he was sent as the British Ambassador to the newly independent Republic of Texas. Elliot's assignment in Texas would prove to be a disaster for the United States, as we shall see.

### The U.S. Is Disgraced in China

Back in 1839, the "godfather" of the Boston opium syndicate, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, had addressed to Congress a mem-

28. See Beeching, Jack, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, New York and London, 1975.

orial describing a British-Chinese clash as "inevitable" and asking for the dispatch of an American naval force to Chinese waters. Perhaps Perkins's earlier message to Congress, when he was a representative of the disunionist Hartford Convention, was remembered; the request for U.S. military involvement was ignored.

But the Boston Brahmins in China, with Franklin D. Roosevelt's grandfather Warren Delano as their consul in Canton, watched with glee as their British partners in crime invaded and burned Chinese cities. When the rape was consummated, Caleb Cushing wrote to President Tyler, on December 27, 1842:

The British Government has succeeded in forcing China to admit British vessels into five ports in the Chinese Empire and to cede to England in perpetual sovereignty a commercial depot and fortified port on the coast of China.

It does not appear that England contemplates attempting to exclude other nations from similar free access to China. But it does appear that she has made the arrangement for her own benefit only, and, if other nations wish for like advantages, they must apply to China to obtain them on their own account.

Is not the present, therefore, an urgent occasion for despatching an authorized agent of the United States to China, with instructions to make commercial arrangements in behalf of the United States?<sup>29</sup>

Three days later President Tyler sent a Special Message to Congress, proposing an appropriation of money for sending an American Commissioner to China, along the lines of Cushing's letter.

At this time Caleb Cushing was unemployed. About as popular as Benedict Arnold, he had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Tyler, but the Senate had rejected his nomination

29. Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, Vol. I, p. 407.

three times—first by 27 to 19, then by 27 to 10, and when Tyler came back with Cushing's name yet again, only three Senators voted for him. When President Tyler appointed Caleb Cushing America's first minister to the Chinese government, the choice was not rejected; Cushing, it was reasoned, would be leaving the country.

After purchasing for himself a fantastic Major General's uniform—an embroidered blue coat with white plume—the civilian Cushing left for China. He carried with him a letter to the Emperor from President Tyler, composed by Daniel Webster, which explained the mission: "It is proper, and according to the will of heaven, that [our two governments] should respect each other, and act wisely. I therefore send to you Count [sic] Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of this country . . . we doubt not that you will be pleased that our minister of peace . . . shall come to Peking . . . and that your great officers will, by your order, make a treaty with him to regulate affairs of trade, so that nothing may happen to disturb the peace between China and America."<sup>30</sup>

On his way to China, Caleb Cushing—who affected an "anti-British" political tone in his public speeches—was wined, dined, saluted, and celebrated by British Empire governors and military authorities in Malta, Bombay, and Colombo; took part in a tiger hunt; reviewed British troops; and sent back detailed accounts of how British communications tied together the distant ends of their empire.<sup>31</sup>

Preceded by several U.S. warships, Cushing arrived in China in February, 1843, landing in the Portuguese enclave of Macao. There he announced his intention of proceeding to the Chinese capital of Peking. But the Emperor was in no hurry to have another British-style treaty imposed on him, and he made no

30. Letter dated July 13, 1843, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 419-420.

31. There are still hanging, on the walls of his house in Newburyport, Massachusetts, several etchings of the imposing British Imperial buildings visited by Cushing during his visit to India.

move to permit the "Count" to enter into the interior of the country.

So Cushing sent a note to the Emperor's representative, stating that "it is neither the custom in China, nor consistent with the high character of its sovereign, to decline to receive the embassies of friendly states. To do so, indeed, would among western States be considered an act of national insult, and a just cause of war." A week later he wrote: "It is my duty, in the outset, not to omit any of the tokens of respect customary among western nations. If these demonstrations are not met in a correspondent manner, it will be the misfortune of China, but it will not be the fault of the United States."

Cushing then ordered an American frigate to sail up Canton Bay to Whampoa and fire off a few threatening rounds. When the Chinese still hesitated to be raped anew, Cushing sent the following message:

I can assure your excellency that this is not the way for China to cultivate good will and maintain peace. The late war with England was caused by the conduct of authorities at Canton, in disregarding the rights of public officers who represented the British Government.

If, in the face of the experience of the last five years, the Chinese government now reverts to antiquated customs, which have already brought such disaster upon her, it can be regarded in no other light than as evidence that she invites and desires war with the other great Western Powers.<sup>32</sup>

Cushing ultimately utilized the threat of the entire mobilized American squadron in obtaining his celebrated Chinese Treaty. This treaty, similar to the earlier one with Britain, included provisions exempting Cushing's relatives in the opium traffic

32. Date April 24, 1844, Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, Vol. I, p. 431.

from any possible punishment by Chinese authorities: Americans in China were not to be subject to Chinese laws.

This treaty did not merely extend to the United States the status of conqueror which the British had gained months before; the British and American treaties, in fact, required that any new concessions given to either of these countries were to be automatically extended to the other. America, under its unexpected President and its posturing "Count" Cushing, was being led back into its connection with the bloody Mother Country.

### The Monroe Doctrine Is Buried in Mexico

While he was in China, Cushing received word that the Tyler administration was attempting to annex Texas to the United States, a measure which the Mexican government had formally stated would bring about a war.

As we saw above, the British plenipotentiary who had started the Opium War in China, Charles Elliot, had been sent next as British ambassador to the Republic of Texas, a de facto independent state which had been part of Mexico before the Texan revolution.

Some historians, defending the concept of Manifest Destiny in American territorial expansion, claim that the Tyler administration had to annex Texas in order to stop "British intrigues" in Texas—Britain was, after all, making obvious moves to entangle Texas as a pseudo-colony. Abolitionists at the time, such as Caleb Cushing's student William Lloyd Garrison, called for the breaking up of the United States rather than that Texas should be annexed, and said that England should control Texas and act as an Abolition policeman on this continent. (The masthead of Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, had begun carrying this new motto in 1842: "A repeal of the union between Northern liberty and Southern slavery is essential to the abolition of the one and the preservation of the other.")

What did Britain, and its Ambassador Elliot, want in Texas? We shall leave a detailed study of the contest between British and American System parties in and about Latin America, to be

published in another location. What is clear at the outset is what Britain, and the Venetian-Swiss oligarchs of Europe, *did not want*: the continuation of the Henry Clay-John Quincy Adams policy of alliance with the emerging republics. Clay and Adams had both been favorable to U.S. acquisition of Texas—but *not at the cost of a war with Mexico*. Though Adams, like most conscientious Northerners, was concerned that the Negro slavery system not be extended into newly acquired territory, his lifelong premise, continuing the tradition of the Founding Fathers, was that the United States must be the model and guide for the new anti-colonial system, and certainly not itself sink into participation in colonialism.

Returning in autumn 1844, from his mission to China, Caleb Cushing landed on Mexico's west coast, letting the ship proceed on home without him. Cushing then undertook an "intelligence-gathering" tour of the Mexican interior. To assure the reader that what follows is not simply written out of malice for our subject, we will quote from the Cushing biography (to this day, the only one written) by his relative and defender, Claude M. Fuess: "Caleb Cushing left the [ship] *Perry* at San Blas, Mexico, and rode on horseback to Guadelajara, at which he took a diligence for Mexico City, his route lying directly between two hostile revolutionary armies. What he had learned from his correspondents about American politics convinced him that a knowledge of Mexican affairs would undoubtedly be an asset during the next few years, and he seized every favorable opportunity for gathering information. . . . While his coach was bowling along the national highway, between Puebla and Perote, a band of brigands suddenly appeared, wearing masks and armed with swords and pistols. In true bandit fashion, they halted the vehicle, and robbed Cushing of some of his most valuable possessions. . . . Incensed by this outrage in broad daylight, Cushing complained to the Alcalde [mayor] in the village of El Pinal, but that official merely shrugged his shoulders. . . . Cushing was by this time in a passion. After the American Commissioner [to China] said in his best Castilian—which was excellent—"You

may not care to listen to me now, but I shall some day return with an American Army at my back, and you may change your tune then. . . . "It was rather less than four years later that Cushing, a Brigadier General in the American forces invading Mexico, passed through the same village of El Pinal. . . . When he heard the familiar name, the incident of the robbery . . . came back to his memory. He sent a troop of guards to bring the Alcalde before him; and soon the the trembling Mexican appeared. . . . General Cushing, assuming his sternest mien, then reminded the Mayor of their former meeting, explaining, with grim humor, that the United States never left unavenged such insults to its representatives, and leaving it to be inferred that this powerful army was there to exact reparation for the indignity offered him in 1844. The Alcalde was abjectly, tearfully, tragically penitent, and cringed at his captor's feet in submission. . . . At last Cushing released him. . . .

"During this overland journey . . . Cushing acquired a considerable knowledge of Mexican character—a knowledge which, it may be added, led him to view war with that country with approbation and even elation. What he saw of Mexican sloth, procrastination, shiftlessness, bigotry, and treachery gave him an insuperable prejudice against that nation. . . . Cushing's report on Mexico, dated March 22, 1845, was exhaustive and authoritative, and was used extensively by the War Department two years later. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

Caleb Cushing and associated enemies of both North American republics succeeded in getting their war with Mexico, which dragged the United States well down the road to its own near-destruction in 1861. A brief study of the origins of the U.S.-Mexican War will provide valuable insights into the true nature of the insurrectionary combination on which was based the Southern Confederacy, and of the American foreign policy catastrophe of Theodore Roosevelt's day.

The Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations had stated bluntly

33. *ibid.*, p. 446-448.

in 1843 that Mexico "would consider equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic the passage of an act for the incorporation of Texas with the territory of the United States; the certainty of the fact being sufficient for the immediate proclamation of war."<sup>34</sup> With this in mind, the U.S. Senate—which included 26 Southern members, rejected the Tyler administration's annexation treaty, on June 8, 1844, by a vote of 35 to 16. Hostility to the presidential mole, and the good prospects for replacing him in the November elections, certainly helped swing the vote.

For the 1844 presidential contest, the Whigs nominated Henry Clay of Kentucky, and the Democrats chose the avid pro-annexationist James K. Polk of Tennessee, former Speaker of the House. Clay tried to keep the Texas issue in the background, running on a program of restoring the United States Bank and "internal improvements"—great national construction projects.

But Clay's campaign strategy was disrupted by one George Sanders, a Kentuckian, grandson of a co-conspirator<sup>35</sup> of disunionist General James Wilkinson, and an admitted paid political agent of the British Hudson's Bay Company. Sanders engineered a supposed community election meeting which "authorized" him to poll the candidates on the issues. With this cover, Sanders framed and submitted a question on Texas to Clay, and caused Clay's answer to be published nationally, in which it seemed that Clay weakly encouraged the annexation of Texas (we shall see more of Sanders's bizarre career shortly).

This Texas gaffe was then played in the Northeast against an appeal for "third party" anti-slavery votes, and a wildly false representation of Polk as a pro-tariff, pro-industrial development candidate. Polk narrowly won the election in Pennsylvania and New York, and took the national election by a popular vote margin of 40,000 out of about 3 million.

34. Bemis, Samuel Flagg, *The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1943, p. 88.

35. His mother's father, Col. George Nicholas, for whom Sanders was named.

The New York contest decided the issue. Polk received 237,588 New York State votes, to 232,482 for Clay and 15,814 to James Birney for the anti-slavery Liberty Party. If these Liberty votes had gone to Clay, the 36 New York electoral votes would have changed columns and given Clay the national election by 139 to 134 electoral votes.

The Liberty Party had been organized by Gerrit Smith, an upstate New York multi-millionaire. Smith and his father had been business partners with John Jacob Astor from the beginning of Astor's career in 1784. With land acquired in the Astor partnership, Smith's father had become one of the largest land-owners in the United States.

Gerrit Smith's coziness with the anti-American Astor is illustrated by a loan of \$250,000 which Astor extended to him in 1837, in the middle of the worst depression the country had ever had, with no contract and no collateral—and Astor was notorious as a tightwad.

According to an adoring biography,<sup>36</sup> Gerrit Smith donated at least \$8,000,000 to causes which included the revolutionary schemes of Giuseppe Mazzini in Europe and America and the activities of abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown. Would a philanthropist dedicated to such liberal causes *deliberately* throw the election to the "most reactionary" candidate, Polk? The answer will shortly become clear as we probe the nature of the Mazzini-allied movement known as "Young America."

James Polk's presidential candidacy was also boosted by the outlandish fraud perpetrated by John Slidell. A graduate of Aaron Burr's political machine in New York, Slidell had moved to New Orleans in 1819, and was personally trained by Burr's indicted collaborator in treason, Edward Livingston. In 1844, he was on his way to becoming political boss of Louisiana. Slidell's electioneering consisted of herding masses of Polk voters up and

36. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, James T. White & Co., New York, 1921, Vol II, pp. 322-323.

down the Mississippi on steamboats, voting in every parish they visited. This famous, audacious tactic, though illegal and insulting to the republic, was never successfully challenged.

Caleb Cushing, carrying his plans for war with Mexico, arrived back in New York on December 31, 1844. With the election of Polk accomplished, the outgoing mole President Tyler secured from the demoralized Congress the unanimous ratification of Cushing's China treaty, and the passage of a resolution annexing Texas.

The new President spent several months puffing various ancient American claims for damages against the Mexican government, and feinting towards hostilities with England over unsettled Anglo-American boundaries in the Oregon territory. American statesman and Texas Independence leader Sam Houston had fought for annexation to the United States. But now, as a U.S. Senator, Houston urged his countrymen *not* to make war on Mexico, but to secure Oregon from the British—even at the risk of a war with Britain.

In the autumn of 1845, Polk sent Burrish John Slidell of Louisiana to Mexico as a "peace commissioner," in the tradition of Cushing's mission to China. When the Mexican government flatly refused to receive him, *Slidell gave the word to start the war*, and Polk sent U.S. troops down to the Rio Grande—among the Mexican villages, far past the line of American settlement.<sup>37</sup> A Mexican army detachment finally managed to show minimal resistance, attacking a U.S. scouting party just north of the river.

37. Young, *The American Statesman*, p. 835: "The act of annexation was consummated on the 4th of July, 1845. . . . Immediately after this event, the president [Polk], aware that it would be considered by Mexico as an act of war on the part of the United States, ordered Gen. Taylor with his troops to some place on the Gulf of Mexico. . . . The place selected by Gen. Taylor was Corpus Christi, on the west side of the Nueces, the extreme western settlement made by the people of Texas. . . . The army, after having been at Corpus Christi from August to January, and no hostile act having been committed by the Mexicans, was ordered, in January, 1846, to take position on the left bank of the Rio Grande [i.e. far to the south of the Texans' settlements]."

President Polk then sent to Congress a message declaring that war already existed "by the act of Mexico herself . . . after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States . . . and shed American blood on American soil."<sup>38</sup> Congress voted for supplies and enlistments, and the war was on.

Among the American Army officers who took part in the subsequent invasion of Mexico were most of the military leaders of the American Civil War that would come in the 1860s, including Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, William T. Sherman, and Jefferson Davis; these American soldiers were performing their duties under the ugly circumstances they found their country in.

For the two leading American generals, Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott—both Whig enemies of Polk's ruinous policies—the problem was to win the war as quickly as possible, conclude peace with Mexico, and permanently withdraw U.S. forces. Much to the disgust of President Polk, they accomplished these aims, becoming heroes to the American public and causing a major political battle with the administration, which accused the generals of softness toward Mexico.

Besides the thousands of deaths and blasted lives left by the war, there was a deep and permanent wound on the face of the United States. The new republics of Latin America looked north and saw no reason to hope for support against European grasping, and they stood open and undefended as the British quickly moved in diplomatically and economically. Until the advent of Abraham Lincoln, and his special alliance with Benito Juárez, the Monroe Doctrine would lie shattered.

But there was yet another category of officers in the invasion of Mexico: individuals involved in a political movement whose leadership had in fact brought the war on, a movement whose

38. Message of James K. Polk, May 11, 1846, in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IV, p. 442. Sam Houston is said to have remarked, that the trouble with James Polk was that he drank too much water.

aims were quite foreign to the culture and thought patterns of American citizens. For later reference, we will now simply list some of these odd gentlemen: Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, Albert Pike of Massachusetts and Arkansas, John A. Quitman of New York and Mississippi, Dr. David Camden DeLeon of South Carolina, Grayson Mallet-Prevost of Switzerland and Pennsylvania, and Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire.

### Young America

The Young America movement was first brought before the public in 1845 upon the reprinting of a speech by Edwin DeLeon, delivered to the students of South Carolina College. DeLeon was the brother of the above-named officer. Their father was the physician and closest friend of British revolutionist Thomas Cooper, who had come to South Carolina and started the Nullification-Secession Crisis in the 1820s. Edwin DeLeon was later to be chief Confederate propagandist in Europe and the closest adviser to Confederate President Jefferson Davis; David DeLeon would later organize the medical department of the Confederate army and be its first Surgeon General; they had another brother, Thomas Cooper DeLeon, who was the most celebrated Confederate author.

In 1845, Edwin DeLeon was returning to his alma mater and to the scene of his tutelage by Cooper—in his memoirs he said: "The discussions which took place constantly between [Cooper] and my father on literary and scientific questions, did much to the development of my mind and character."<sup>39</sup> In his 1845 speech, entitled "The Positions and Duties of Young America," he praises Thomas Cooper's "broad philanthropy, and . . . untiring zeal for the honor, the interest and the intellectual elevation of South Carolina . . . an eminently practical man . . . an earnest and sincere disciple of the school of Bentham and Malthus. . . .

["Of his religious heresies I do not speak; save to remark" [on] . . . the purity of his life, the extent of his acquirements,

39. DeLeon, *Thirty Years of My Life*, p. 6.



and the unbounded philanthropy of his heart, whose kindly pulsations. . . .

"Thomas Cooper was one of the most zealous pioneers of science and literature in his adopted state."<sup>40</sup> This, of the man who first proposed that the South secede from the Union.

DeLeon then named his movement: "There is a 'Young Germany,' a 'Young France,' and a 'Young England'—and why not a 'Young America?'" His student auditors' generation is to be the material for this movement, and he urges them to work quietly and prepare thoroughly for the explosions they are to bring about:

If we trace back any great civil convulsion, we will find its source originating in some quarter equally unsuspected and obscure. Take as an example the trite one of the French Revolution; what agency had her pampered Priests and Nobles in kindling up that blaze which gleamed like a bale-fire over Europe? They were no more than the flax with which the flame was kindled. Those who first applied the spark were the squalid and obscure Savants, who in their garrets compiled the materials of the French Encyclopedie, that mighty arsenal of mischief; and the breath which fanned the flame was that of the wretched and frenzied enthusiast, whom all men then scorned and reviled—Jean-Jacques Rousseau. True, they had all passed away before the train which they had fired blazed fully forth, but on their heads should rest the glory or shame attaching to the deed, for the actors in that dead drama were its creatures, not its creators.<sup>41</sup>

Near the close of this maiden speech for Young America, DeLeon pronounces the motivating slogan: "Whatever extent of soil the desire of 'extending the area of freedom' may prompt

40. DeLeon, *Positions and Duties of Young America*, p. 9.

41. *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

our people to enclose within the walls of our national structure, let us ever stand prepared to guard its threshold against the profaning foot of any foreign foe."<sup>42</sup>

"Extending the area of freedom" was then to be used in two parallel meanings: conquering the Western Hemisphere, Spanish colonies and sovereign nations alike, to convert all the Americas into a slave plantation; and aiding the revolutionary anarchist Giuseppe Mazzini, the creator of Young Italy, Young France, Young England, and Young Europe organizations, in his designs to overthrow Europe's governments.

Observing how these two aims, revolution in Europe and slavery in America, may be complementary, as "left-wing" and "right-wing" versions of the same movement, should be very instructive in the twentieth century, confronted, for example, by the actually reactionary policy of the "revolutionary" Soviet state; and it is crucial to American history, because this movement created the insurrection of 1861 and the American Civil War.

Mazzini biographer Stringfellow Barr condenses Mazzini's aims in these words:

A new cycle of civilization, comparable to the Christian cycle. The Christian afflatus was exhausted. . . . Twice Rome had brought unity. Once the Roman Republic had developed the idea of justice, and Roman legions had carried law to three continents. Once again, this time under the then still vital papacy, Rome's Universal Church had united the West in a common purpose. Now a Third Rome in the name of God and democracy was destined . . . to unite the world he saw crumbling about him. It was Italy's mission to free herself, to free Rome [i.e. break the Catholic Church] and to bring to birth the religion of the future, of which the word "Association" was the key . . . and in his vision he

42. *ibid.*, p. 26.

[now quoting Mazzini] "saw Europe, weary of skepticism, egotism and anarchy, accept the new faith with acclamations."<sup>43</sup>

### The Philosophy of Universal Slavery

When some nineteenth-century Southern politicians began contending that black slavery was a *positive* thing, good for society and slave alike, perhaps they thought they were cleverly passing along a simple rationale for a threatened property institution, defying "traditional" morality in a tough political game.

But the origins of this new notion, which contradicted the eventual-abolition premises of both Northern and Southern Founding Fathers, are not to be found in any "regional," or in any *American* context. This was a revival of feudalism, issued from the same, undead European oligarchy which centuries before had enveloped the Old World in feudal tyranny—and had introduced black slavery to the New World.

Edwin DeLeon tells us, in his memoirs (written in 1890 in England), "The relations between the white and black races—master and slave—in the Southern states . . . were partly patriarchal and partly feudal, and the plantation negro was the revival in some respects of the English Serf . . . [conquered and enslaved by] the victorious Norman."<sup>44</sup>

And how did these two groups of slaves appreciate their condition? "The [black] agricultural laborer, or 'field-hand,' was of course ignorant and uneducated; but he was contented and happy, and enjoyed life far more than his more responsible old master, from whose cares and anxieties for the future he was entirely free. . . . They were, in fact, a noisy set of good-natured, rollicking, grown-up children . . . such was the 'field-hand,' a purely animal creature, whose ringing laugh resounded

43. Barr, Stringfellow, *Mazzini, Portrait of an Exile*, Octagon Books, New York, 1975, pp. 34-35.

44. DeLeon, *Thirty Years of My Life*, p. 19.

a quarter of a mile off, with a spaniel-like affection for 'the family.'"<sup>45</sup>

And the English? "The Saxon thrall was a White Slave, bound to the soil, but of the same blood and race as his master, the Feudal Lord—and to raise him to political equality with that master, was the work only of education and time. Given to him those opportunities, there was no insuperable natural barrier between them.

"In the stalwart peasantry of England we now see his descendants; and no dividing line of color, caste, or inborn diversity of character separates the descendants of Norman or Saxon, noblemen or gentlemen, from the freed tillers of the soil, their former serfs."<sup>46</sup>

England, then, by being enslaved under feudalism, has become a perfectly democratic society! Ah, but the black slave, says our Young American (in 1890), not being "of the same blood and race as his master," can never really advance his condition despite his master's graciousness, and this problem "may result in the peaceable or forcible expulsion of the surplus portion of the coloured race" from the United States.<sup>47</sup>

David Hume (in his *History of England*) in a similar spirit, describes the background of those Norman pirate chiefs, who, upon conquering England in 1066 and stealing the land, created themselves the Aristocracy of Britain to rule over the enslaved Englishmen. The "freedom" of which DeLeon and Hume speak is the freedom of the master from any restraints of morality or civilization, whether imposed by the Christian emperor Charlemagne or the U.S. Constitution.

"The Emperor Charlemagne, though naturally generous and humane, had been induced by bigotry to exercise great severities upon the pagan Saxons in Germany . . . and had obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a seeming compliance with the Christian doctrine. That religion which had easily made its

45. *ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

46. *ibid.*, p. 21.

47. *ibid.*, p. 22.

way among British Saxons . . . appeared shocking to their German brethren, when imposed on them by the violence of Charlemagne. . . . [many of them] fled northward into Jutland [Denmark], in order to escape the fury of his persecutions.

"Meeting there with people of similar manners, they were readily received among them, and they soon stimulated the natives to concur in enterprises which promised revenge on the haughty conqueror. . . . They invaded the provinces of France . . . being there known under the general name of Normans . . . from their northern situation, they became the terror of all the maritime, and even of the inland countries"<sup>48</sup>; and they used Normandy in France as a springboard to invade England.

It is from these untamed, pagan conquerors that the "Cavaliers" of the American South, and the Northern "bluebloods" such as Lowell, counted themselves as descended, and on this basis were encouraged to feel racially superior to the American and English white people. This is the wormy kernel inside the racist nut.

The feudalists in the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry would exploit this myth-based racialism in creating an insurrectionary machine in the 1850s; they still hyped the myth in their 1938 biography of J. J. J. Gourgas, by J. Hugo Tatsch:

"The conquest of England by the Normans during the eleventh century introduced artistic, scientific and religious activities to a region which up to that time had been one of the frontiers of Europe. The military overlords—the feudal barons who laid the foundations of a new form of government which finally blossomed into the democracy we know today. . . ."<sup>49</sup>

### Enter William Lloyd Garrison

But there was yet another side to the Young America movement—abolitionism! How, one might ask, could the same move-

48. Hume, David, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 in 7 Volumes*, Levis and Weaver, Philadelphia, 1810, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.

49. Tatsch, J. Hugo, *Gourgas*, p. 13.

ment encompass both the expansion of slavery and its abolition? Only if the movement's objective was the splitting of the United States and the overthrow of republican institutions. The leader of Young America's abolitionism was William Lloyd Garrison. We have seen that Garrison was trained in philosophy by Essex Junto agent Caleb Cushing, after having been raised a disciple of the Tory-Federalists and their disunion strategies in Newburyport, Massachusetts.

Garrison started *The Liberator*, his anti-slavery newspaper, in January 1831. He sent free subscriptions to blacks, and had, in the early years, few white subscribers. His most dramatic impact came from the 100 free subscriptions Garrison sent to Southern, pro-slavery newspapers. The Southerners would read *The Liberator*, publish an editorial denouncing Garrison and send him a copy of it; then he would reply, and so forth. Garrison's importance is not that he turned Northern opinion against slavery—every moral leader of the North prepared public thinking for abolition—but that he and his Young America collaborators consciously and openly bred the hatred and the tension which, he hoped, would produce the "irrepressible conflict" predicted by New York Senator William Seward, and the breakup of the United States.

In one Garrison speech, given in England and reprinted in the London *Patriot* in 1833, he called the U.S. Constitution "the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men for the continuance and protection of the most atrocious villainy ever exhibited on earth . . . it will be held in everlasting infamy by the friends of humanity and justice throughout the world. Who or what were the framers of the American government that they should dare confirm and authorize such high-handed villainy. . . . It was not valid then—it is not valid now."<sup>50</sup>

### Garrison on Mazzini

In his 1872 introduction to the autobiography of Giuseppe (Joseph) Mazzini, William Lloyd Garrison begins "My first interview

50. Quoted in Thomas, *The Liberator*, pp. 161-162.

with the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini, was in summer of 1846, at the charming residence of my honored friend, the late William H. Ashurst, Esq., an eminent solicitor of London. He impressed me very favorably . . . by the brilliancy of his mind . . . the modesty of his deportment, the urbanity of his spirit . . . he strongly drew upon my sympathies and excited my deepest interest. There our personal friendship began, which revolving years served but to strengthen; for though our fields of labor were widely apart, and our modes of action in some respects diverse, we cherished the same hostility to every form of tyranny, and had many experiences in common."<sup>51</sup>

Garrison goes on to say that unlike other, merely nationalist revolutionaries, Mazzini "never tried to propitiate us by silence respecting our great national sin. He deplored it in private and in public, though he might have avoided the question altogether. Writing to Rev. Dr. Beard of Massachusetts [in] 1854 he recorded his sentiments in the following impressive language: 'I must express to you how grateful I feel for being asked to attend the first meeting of the North of England Anti-Slavery Association; how earnestly I sympathize with your noble object; how deeply I shall commune with your efforts, and help, if I can, their success . . . the sacred word liberty . . . the tears of the good and the blood of the brave . . . the unity of God . . . apostle of truth and justice . . . do not forget, whilst at work for the emancipation of the black race, the millions of white slaves . . . in Italy, in Poland, in Hungary, throughout all Europe . . . whilst Europe [is] desecrated by arbitrary, tyrannical power, by czars, emperors, and popes."<sup>52</sup>

As we shall see, Mazzini issued this "impressive language" immediately after having thrown considerable resources into the election of Franklin Pierce as President of the United States, and the initiation of a wild, fanatical *pro-slavery* conspiracy against the American republic.

51. Mazzini, Joseph, *His Life, Writings, and Political Principles*, New York, Hurd and Houghton, 1872, p. vii.

52. *ibid.*, p. xvi.

Not all anti-slavery activists followed Garrison's lead in provocative disunionism, though many did; and very few followed his footsteps into the leftist "swamp" (as a similar *mélange* of causes was known in the 1960s). The cases of Fredrick Douglass and John Quincy Adams are useful by way of contrast.

Douglass was a freed slave, entirely self-educated, who devoted his life to the emancipation of black Americans. Speaking on many of the same platforms as Garrison, he yet kept his dignity, and by his bearing and his eloquence, demonstrated in his own person the bright prospects for the full development of blacks after emancipation. This, however, was not to the liking of Garrison and his ilk. They consistently warned Frederick Douglass that he was hurting the cause because *he did not sound like a slave*; his diction was too developed, his vocabulary too large, to appear "credible."

But Douglass refused to be patronized, and his persistent courage in this regard makes him one of the heroes of his time. Though he, like many abolitionists, later criticized Lincoln's Civil War efforts as "too slow," Douglass nevertheless faithfully aided the President wherever possible, and effectively recruited black troops for the U.S. Army.

John Quincy Adams' education, as a teenager with Benjamin Franklin in Paris, and for several decades as diplomat, Secretary of State and President, was too thorough to allow him to view British and British-allied abolitionism without great skepticism.<sup>53</sup>

53. When he was ambassador to England, John Quincy Adams encountered the British anti-slavery movement, headed by William Wilberforce. Adams says in his *Diary*, June 6, 1817:

" . . . The suppression of the slave-trade was the subject of Mr. Wilberforce's wish to see me, and we had an hour's conversation relating to it. His object is to obtain the consent of the United States, and of all other maritime powers, that ships under their flags may be searched and captured by the British cruisers against the slave-trade—a concession which I thought would be liable to objections. . . .

"Probably this project originated in the brain of Master Stephen, the author of [the anti-American book] 'War in Disguise,' and brother-in-law to Wilberforce, one of the party called in derision the Saints, and who under sanctified visors pursue wordly objects with the ardor and per-

Thus when Adams, defeated for presidential re-election by Andrew Jackson, embarked on a new career as an elder statesman in the House of Representatives, he always steered clear of involvement with Garrison's movement. But John Quincy Adams's valor in standing up to the mounting power of pro-slavery politicians in Washington—his successful fight to break a gag rule on discussion of the slavery issue—kept Congress alive as a republican institution in the very dark days of the 1840s.

As for the Union, Garrison said it should be broken up so that he would not have to live in a country that included in it the institution of slavery; Adams wanted it strengthened so that he could exercise government power to break up that institution, by economics or by force.

Their political methods were opposite, because while Garrison's irrationalism was typified by his emulation of Mazzini's new "religious" thought, John Q. Adams was a follower of Plato.

On June 11, 1819, when he was U.S. Secretary of State, Adams made the following entry in his diary:

My wife has made a translation of the first and second Alcibiades [dialogues] of Plato, from that of Dacier in the *Bibliothec des Philosophes*. She made it for the benefit of her sons, and I this morning finished the revisal of it, in which I have made very little alteration.

I read the first Alcibiades at Auteuil [France], in the year 1784, at the age of seventeen. The folly of that presumption which would rush to the management of public affairs without a stock of knowledge concerning them, the meanness of setting up as the standard of our own acquirements those of our associates, the indissoluble union of moral beauty and goodness, the indispensable duty of seeking self-knowl-

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severance of saints. . . . [British Foreign Minister Lord] Castlereagh has more than once thrown out this idea [for consideration]. . . . In substance it is a barefaced and impudent attempt of the British to obtain in time of peace that right of searching and seizing the ships of other nations which they have so outrageously abused during war. . . ."

edge and self-improvement, and the exalted doctrine which considers the body as merely the mortal instrument of the soul, made a deep and lasting impression upon my mind.

The beauties of the composition did not then so affect me. The dramatic character of the dialogue . . . the playful but cutting irony . . . struck me less than the pure and glorious moral sentiments inculcated in his discourse. The lessons of Socrates were lost on Alcibiades; they were not so upon me. . . . I wish my sons to read, and to be penetrated as deeply as I have been with the lessons of, the first Alcibiades.

Other entries in Adams's diary, especially during his earlier sojourn in Russia as U.S. ambassador, proclaim his rediscovery of Plato, discussing the *Republic*, the *Laws*, and other dialogues.

Let it be remembered that *this* American designed the Monroe Doctrine, and fought for the rest of his life against the racist foreign agents who wanted to remove the United States from its leadership of the world's republicans.

### Southern President versus 'Southern' Insurrection

General Zachary Taylor, who had led the American army to a successful termination of the Mexican War, won the presidency on the Whig ticket in the election of 1848. A lifelong military man, a slaveholding Southerner (his daughter was Jefferson Davis's first wife), Taylor was devoted to the Union and the Constitution.

In his inaugural address, President Taylor threw cold water on the doctrine of Young America, characterized by Edwin DeLeon as "extending the area of freedom," whether that involved "revolutionizing" Europe or subjugating Latin America:

"As American freemen we can not but sympathize in all efforts to extend the blessings of civil and political liberty, but at the same time we are warned by the admonitions of history and the voice of our own beloved Washington to abstain from entangling

alliances with foreign nations. In all disputes between conflicting governments it is our interest not less than our duty to remain strictly neutral . . . [and to cultivate] peaceful and friendly relations with all other powers."<sup>54</sup>

### The Quitman Project

Resuming the Whig economic outlook, Taylor informed Congress that he would favorably receive their bills designed to protect American manufacturing and to recommence federal construction projects for improving transport and commerce.

But within a short time, the nation was to be plunged into a profound crisis, the new President would be dead, and the Whig Party would be at an end. "Young America" played a central role in these events, acting largely through the person of John Anthony Quitman.

Quitman was a New Yorker who moved to Mississippi in 1821, at age 23, and married into a wealthy family there. On January 3, 1830, as the Nullification-Secession Crisis was being heated up in South Carolina, the Scottish Rite Supreme Council in Charleston issued a warrant to "John A. Quitman, 1st Sovereign of Sovereigns and Grand Illustrious Prince," to open and preside over a Scottish Rite organization in the state of Mississippi.<sup>55</sup>

According to the sketch on Quitman in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "In 1834 he became identified with the political group known as 'Nullifiers' who held the views expressed by the Nullification leaders in South Carolina. He prepared an address in their behalf, which was adopted May 21, 1834, by a convention of 'Nullifiers' at Jackson . . . the sentiments therein set forth were not then popular in Mississippi."

To express the same thing somewhat less politely, Quitman imported into Mississippi the project of the European oligarchs to destroy the American republic, which had recently been tried

54. *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*, p. 100.

55. The original warrant is photographically reproduced in Harris, Ray Baker, *Southern Supreme Council*, p. 202.

out in South Carolina, and whose success would have to await the creation of a wider insurrectionary organization and greater public demoralization.

John A. Quitman was an avid participant—a brigadier-general of volunteers—in the Mexican War, becoming a close friend of Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts. *At the close of the war, he presented a plan to President Polk for the permanent subjugation and annexation of Mexico.*

The Freemasons' monthly magazine of Boston printed the following notice on February 1, 1848:

"At a special session of the Supreme Council . . . for the Southern Jurisdiction . . . our illustrious Brother, John A. Quitman . . . Major General in the Army of the United States, was elected to fill a vacancy in the [Southern] Supreme Council, and was duly and formally inaugurated a Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the 33d. All Consistories, Councils, Chapters and Lodges under [the Southern] jurisdiction are hereby ordered to obey and respect him accordingly." Quitman was by this time the recognized leader of the secessionist movement in Mississippi, the most important such grouping outside South Carolina.

The Quitman proposal for the annexation of all Mexico had not been adopted by the federal government. But beyond annexing Texas, the United States had taken from Mexico, as a result of the war, territory composing the present states of Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, California, and most of Arizona. There was widespread anxiety concerning the disposition of this territory: What states would be formed out of it? Would they be slave states or free?

In October 1849, Quitman's Mississippi secessionists convened a strategy session in Natchez with representatives from throughout the South, and a call was issued to all Southern states to send delegates to a convention on June 3 of the following year.<sup>56</sup> In January 1850, Quitman took office as Governor of

56. Jennings, Thelma, *The Nashville Convention: Southern Movement for Unity, 1848-1851*, Memphis State University Press, Memphis, Tennessee, 1980, p. 6.

Mississippi. In that office, as leader of the extremists in the South, Quitman was openly proposing the breakup of the Union, and the new president, Zachary Taylor, was presented with a deepening national crisis.

At the same time, Quitman was engaged in another of Young America's adventures: he was arranging and financing the invasion of Cuba by mercenary troops. With the ostensible purpose of taking Cuba out from under "oppressive" Spanish rule, and saving the South from the threat that Spain might abolish slavery in that neighboring island, a "Cuban Junta" of revolutionaries in New York had hired Spanish renegade Narciso Lopez as a general for the invasion, and Quitman for broker and sponsor. It is useful to note that Virginia's Robert E. Lee and Mississippi's Jefferson Davis were both offered the leadership of the invasion, and both refused the offer.

The newspaper of the "Cuban Junta," *La Verdad*, published from 1848 to 1853 with a steady support for these Caribbean "filibusters," was edited by Jane McManus, alias Cora Montgomery. Miss McManus had first begun her career as an anti-Latin American intriguer when Aaron Burr sent her into Mexico's Texan province after he returned from his European exile. Burr had sent along a letter of introduction for her to Judge James Workman of Louisiana, former British War Ministry official who had written the 1801 British plan for the conquest of Spanish America.

In the 1830s, when the ancient Burr was sued by his last wife for divorce, she had named Jane McManus in court as the "other woman"—the object of Burr's adultery.

Seeking to defuse the national crisis cooked up by this assortment of spies and agents, the old Whig Party leader Henry Clay constructed a congressional compromise over the disposition of the new western territories, similar to the Missouri Compromise he had arranged in 1820.

President Zachary Taylor took a different, complementary approach to the problem. He sent his own agents into California and New Mexico and arranged for those territories to request

that Congress admit them to the Union as free states. While Texas leaders were claiming part of New Mexico, and there were threats of invasion across the desert from Texas into New Mexico, Taylor pledged that he would uphold the law and the Constitution at all costs.

Taylor now acted against the primary anti-Union conspirator. *In June, 1850, a federal grand jury in New Orleans indicted Mississippi Governor John A. Quitman for financing the invasion of Cuba, in violation of laws protecting the neutrality and peace of the United States.*

On July 3, John Quitman sent a telegram to Washington, D.C., saying that he would personally be leading an anti-federal army of several thousand troops from Texas into New Mexico. Allan Nevins, in *Ordeal of the Union*, paraphrases President Taylor describing a meeting he had that day with some Southern visitors:

"I told them . . . that if it becomes necessary I will take command of the army myself to enforce the laws. And I said that if you men are taken in rebellion against the Union, I will hang you with less reluctance than I hanged the spies and deserters in Mexico!"<sup>57</sup>

The next day, July 4, 1850, Taylor had on his desk a half-finished message declaring that he would never permit Texas to seize any part of New Mexico's area. The President appeared that afternoon at an Independence Day celebration, at which the audience was exhorted to rally to the Union.

That evening the President "fell ill," vomiting up a mass of blackish material. He died on July 9th. Death was officially attributed to his having consumed too-cold milk and too many cherries. This, according to the official reports, had caused "cholera morbus," then fever.

57. Nevins, Allan, *Ordeal of the Union*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1947, p. 331.

Following this second death of a Whig President by "stomach distress," the compromise bill proposed by Henry Clay was defeated. But a new compromise plan, credited by Democrats to Stephen Douglas, a Young America-affiliated Senator from Illinois, passed the Congress—and the crisis was abated. Henry Clay died in 1852, and the Whig Party died with him.

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## How the Eastern Establishment Ran Southern Secession

With the weak Vice President, Millard Fillmore, now temporarily occupying the White House, the Young America movement began openly preparing to seize power in the United States. Senator Stephen Douglas, the new Compromise hero, thought he had a deal with the Eastern and European financiers behind the movement to make him the next President. With this in mind, he sponsored the purchase of the Democrats' party journal, the *Democratic Review*, by Young America intriguer George Sanders, who was supposed to promote his candidacy.

We have met with Sanders before, the reader may recall; his "Texas interview" trick helped defeat the Henry Clay presidential campaign in 1844, and thus receives part credit for the Mexican War.

Sanders was an official American political agent of the British Hudson's Bay Company, employed by Sir George Simpson, Hudson's overseas governor, and Sir John Henry Pelly, governor of the Company and governor of the Bank of England.<sup>1</sup> Sanders, like Caleb Cushing, was at the same time a very loud "anti-British" demagogue.

The *Democratic Review* issues published by Sanders in 1852, readily available in public libraries today, are crucial documentary evidence for the historical investigator, and they ought to be a terrible embarrassment to academic historians.

1. Curti, M. E., "Young America," in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXII, October, 1926, pp. 34-55.



In a 9,000-word piece entitled "Mazzini and Young Europe," Sanders gushes praise for the efforts of Giuseppe Mazzini and his revolutionary organizations throughout Europe, and he demands that the United States aid in the overthrow of European tyrants; a thoroughly sinister portrait of Mazzini appears on the frontispiece of the bound volume containing the 1852 *Democratic Review* issues.

In a later issue that year, the same George Sanders warns Democrats that "*This continent is for white people, and not only the continent, but the islands adjacent, and the negro must be kept in slavery at Cuba and Hayti, under white republican masters.*"<sup>2</sup> The word "republican," so deliberately abused by using it to connote a type of slavery, is supposed to distinguish "Americans" like the secessionist leader Quitman, from the "monarchist" Spaniards who then ran Cuba and might decide to liberate its slaves.

Like Thomas Cooper, who was a violent "leftist" in England before coming to South Carolina to create that state's "rightist" rebellion against the republic in the 1820s, George Sanders combined "left-wing" and "right-wing" revolutionism in his own person, as they were combined in the movement Sanders represented: Mazzini-worshipper William Lloyd Garrison, proposing the breakup of the United States on the grounds of abolitionism; Sanders and Quitman proposing disunion and universal slavery in the name of the very same Mazzini revolution.

### 'The Champion of My Race'

In August 1851, John Anthony Quitman, who had resigned the governorship of Mississippi over his still-pending indictment in the Cuba conspiracy, arrived in Boston. He was accompanied by secessionist Jefferson Davis, his sometime political collaborator, and two others—Generals Pillow and Clingman—who had been members of the Cushing-Quitman clique of officers in the Mexican War.

2. *United States Democratic Review*, Nov.-Dec., 1852, p. 440.

Caleb Cushing met the generals in Boston, and took them home with him to Newburyport, the site of his commission three decades earlier from Essex Junto member John Lowell to be "my champion and that of my race." There, in a famous, several-days-long strategy session, the Boston Brahmin, the Scottish Rite secessionist leader, and their friends planned the next administration of the United States. Midway through the meeting they brought in General Franklin Pierce from New Hampshire to join them; Pierce was to be chosen the Democratic presidential nominee in a prearranged convention "surprise" the following year. Cushing's collaborators now fanned out to prepare the stage show.

The disgracefully laudatory Cushing biography by his family member, Claude M. Fuess, may be consulted for a detailed and somewhat candid description of this fakery. We reproduce here a quote from a Pierce associate carried in the Fuess book:

They [the Mexican War generals] fixed up all the arrangements to make Frank Pierce the Democratic nominee for President. All of them but Pierce will be in the Convention. . . . They will [at first] conspicuously try to secure two-thirds of the Convention for one or the other of the three [prominent candidates] but their influence, though strong enough to give one after another a majority, will somehow always fail to bring together two-thirds for either. When the Convention begins to get tired and delegates are asking who, then, can we nominate, the Gen'l—is to nominate Gen'l F. Pierce and Gen'l—is to second his nomination. Other generals and others besides the generals will join them, and Pierce will be the nominee."<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, quoting Fuess:

As the reading of states for the forty-ninth ballot began,

3. Fuess, *Life of Caleb Cushing*, Vol II, p. 119.

the stampede which Cushing had been preparing actually occurred. Pennsylvania . . . came forward for Pierce. Others followed, until, in one of those strange bursts of mob mania which sometimes explode when tension runs high, everybody seemed simultaneously to wish to cast his vote for the winning candidate. The hall was a shouting mass of humanity . . . Pierce received 282 out of 288 votes cast. To the general public, he seemed like a far more mysterious 'dark horse' than Polk had been in 1844. In reality, he was nominated by a plan more successful in its immediate results than any similar scheme in our political history.<sup>4</sup>

The nearly moribund Whigs nominated patriotic General Winfield Scott for the presidency. He was beaten by a coalition of precisely the kind which had met in Caleb Cushing's parlor. The "Cotton Whigs"—Northern textile manufacturers (i.e. the Cabots and the Lowells) with strong ties to Southern planters—defected from Scott, and their main representative, Daniel Webster, bitterly opposed his candidacy, splitting the party.

During the years 1847 through 1852, 1,875,000 immigrants had entered the United States. Of this total, 920,000 escaped from the Irish famine and 487,000 were German refugees from revolutionary chaos. The pro-slavery lords of Boston and New York, specifically including the Astors, Vanderbilts and Roosevelts in New York, organized anti-Negro sentiment and anti-Whig votes from the miserable Irish, many of them tenants in Astor's disease-infested slums.

Still another source of Pierce support was the Young European himself. Giuseppe Mazzini wrote in 1853:

Kossuth [Hungarian radical] and I are working with the very numerous Germanic element in the United States for his [Pierce's] election, and under certain conditions which he has accepted. Of these conditions he has already fulfilled

4. *ibid.*, p. 123.

enough to give us security that he will carry out the rest. He was to appoint American representatives in Europe who would be favorable to us and would help us; and almost all his nominations are such as we desired. He was to give to all battleship commanders instructions opposed to Austria and the despotic governments: he has done it . . . He had promised to give orders to all his diplomatic agents to recognize immediately whatever insurrectionary republican government should be established in an Italian or Hungarian province, and he states that he has done so.<sup>5</sup>

The election of Franklin Pierce, indeed, gave the signal for the revolution to begin. We will restrict our treatment here, due to space limitations, to two, intimately connected objectives of this revolutionary project:

- The destruction of the liberties of the emerging republics of Latin America, and their colonial reconquest; and
- the breakup of the United States and the overthrow of its republican government.

These two objectives had been combined in the plans of America's enemies since the mercenary army of Aaron Burr sailed from Ohio to the Gulf South, and remain so in the twentieth century.

### The Cushing-Pierce Administration

President Franklin Pierce, after pledging that his administration would be devoted to ensuring that "no sectional, or ambitious, or fanatical excitement may again threaten the durability of our institutions,"<sup>6</sup> made the following appointments:

*Caleb Cushing*—Attorney General of the United States;

*Jefferson Davis*—Secretary of War;

*James Buchanan*, who had been Secretary of State during the Mexican War—U.S. Ambassador to England;

5. Quoted in Barr, *Mazzini*, p. 217.

6. *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*, p. 109.

*George Sanders*, revolutionist, official political agent of an arm of the British government—U.S. Consul in London;

*Edwin DeLeon*, Thomas Cooper's disciple and father of the Young America movement—U.S. Consul in Egypt;

*August Belmont*, official U.S. agent of the British Rothschild bankers and American Consul of the Hapsburgs' Austrian Empire—U.S. Ambassador to Holland;

*Pierre Soulé*, exiled French Revolutionary, Jesuit-trained, Young America Senator from Louisiana—U.S. Ambassador to Spain;

*William L. Cazneau*, husband of Aaron Burr's agent and mistress, Jane McManus—U.S. Consul in Santo Domingo.

A decade later, in the Civil War, Davis was to be president of the Southern Confederacy; Belmont would be Democratic national chairman and not-so-loyal leader of the opposition to President Lincoln; Soulé would be an important Confederate diplomat; Edwin DeLeon was to become the chief Confederate propagandist in Europe and reputedly the closest adviser to Jefferson Davis; and Sanders was to engage in the most audacious anti-American operations as a Confederate spy, fleeing to Europe after the war with a \$25,000 price on his head for allegedly having participated in planning the murder of Abraham Lincoln.

When George Sanders arrived as U.S. Consul in London, he immediately set up his house there as the headquarters of European revolution. At a single dinner party on Feb. 21, 1854, Sanders hosted the "very English" Italian Giuseppe Mazzini, terrorist assassin Felice Orsini, Italy's Giuseppe Garibaldi, Louis Kossuth of Hungary, Arnold Ruge of Germany, A. A. Ledru-Rollin of France, Alexander Herzen of Russia and U.S. Ambassador James Buchanan. Buchanan later explained that he had joked to Mrs. Sanders that night, "I asked her if she was not afraid the combustible materials about her would explode and blow us all up."<sup>7</sup> Eventually, when the U.S. Congress found out what Sanders was doing, he was recalled from London.

7. Buchanan to William L. Marcy, Feb. 24, 1854, quoted in Curti, "Young America," p. 48.

Meanwhile, Caleb Cushing's old comrade-in-arms, Scottish Rite Supreme Council member John A. Quitman, flew into furious activity on the election of his and Cushing's man Pierce. The prosecution of his federal indictment for the first anti-Cuba conspiracy had collapsed after the surprise death of President Taylor. Quitman signed a formal agreement with the "Cuban Junta" revolutionists in New York in August, 1853.

He became "the civil and military chief of the revolution," with complete control of all funds, the power to issue bonds and military commissions, the power to raise troops and charter vessels, and all the prerogatives of a dictator. Quitman was to devote these powers to the creation of an independent government in Cuba which would retain slavery; he was to receive \$1 million if and when Cuba became free.<sup>8</sup>

The Spanish government moved to defend its Caribbean possessions in the following month, by appointing the Marques de Pezuela as Captain General of Cuba. Pezuela promptly suppressed the slave trade, freed many slaves, encouraged racial intermarriage, organized freed slaves into a militia, and forbade whites to arm themselves—thus counteracting the attempted insurrection by Quitman-linked planters.

On February 28, 1854, Pezuela confiscated the American merchant ship *Black Warrior* in Havana harbor, and arrested its Young America intriguing captain, James D. Bulloch. In response to the *Black Warrior* seizure, Pierce told Congress this "wanton injury" demanded "immediate indemnity"; Louisiana Senator John Slidell, the Burr-rite New Yorker who had married his niece to August Belmont and brought the Rothschild representative into Democratic politics, pushed for repeal of the neutrality laws which formally blocked Quitman's adventures;

8. Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis*, Harper and Row, New York, 1976, p. 188.

and Attorney General Caleb Cushing called for an immediate naval blockade of Cuba.<sup>9</sup>

It should be noted here that the focus of this war fever, Black Warrior Captain James D. Bulloch, lived in New York with his sister's family; his sister had a baby four years later who was to grow up and become President of the United States, following the revered steps of his Uncle Jimmy—this was Theodore Roosevelt, and his Uncle James D. Bulloch was to become head of the Confederate Secret Service in Europe, and the procurer of the Confederacy's entire navy.

After the seizure of the *Black Warrior*, ambassador to Spain Pierre Soulé issued an ultimatum, which the Spanish ignored. Quoting Potter's *The Impending Crisis* again, "two months [later] Spanish republicans attempted a revolution; Soulé was already in touch with them, and it was believed that he had subsidized them; he had publicly hailed the revolution 'with all the fervor of holy enthusiasm' . . . Before the end of his mission, he had become involved with an international network of revolutionists."<sup>10</sup>

Before the Cuban adventure collapsed, facing Spanish-Cuban resistance and congressional opposition, Pierre Soulé, James Buchanan, and the U.S. ambassador to France had met in Belgium and issued the famous Ostend Manifesto, threatening to invade Cuba if Spain did not sell the island to the United States.

In May of 1855 adventurer William Walker and a mercenary band backed by New York's Cornelius Vanderbilt<sup>11</sup> sailed for Nicaragua and began a civil war in Central America. Walker had earlier failed to conquer western Mexico, but now he won a brief struggle and became dictator of Nicaragua. There he *rein-*

9. *ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

10. *ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

11. Andrews, Wayne, *The Vanderbilt Legend*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941, pp. 54-55: "Two days before the sally, the [Vanderbilt-owned Accessory] Transit [Company] agent C. J. Macdonald presented Walker with \$20,000 and a steamer to transport his men. It is not apparent [sic] that Cornelius Vanderbilt, in New York, sanctioned this use of the company's funds or the loan of the company's steamboat."

*stituted slavery* and prepared plans to dig a transoceanic canal under European colonial auspices. The Cushing-Pierce administration officially recognized "President" Walker's Nicaraguan dictatorship in May of 1856. When Walker confiscated Vanderbilt's ships and Nicaraguan properties, however, Vanderbilt subsidized the neighboring regimes<sup>12</sup> to resist the little Hitlerian, and many people died in battle or from war-related disease—over 10,000 in Costa Rica alone. Walker was finally executed in 1860.

### The Scottish Rite Begins the Insurrection

While Scottish Rite Supreme Council member and secessionist John A. Quitman was trying to conquer Cuba, the Swiss master of the Scottish Rite in the Northern Jurisdiction, J. J. J. Gourgas du Pan de Rengers, set in motion the machinery to blow up the United States.

Gourgas delegated Killian Henry Van Rensselaer—a "patron" of the old unreconstructed Dutch feudal lords in New York—to take personal charge of initiating a military organization with insurrectionary potential in the heart of the country. According to Van Rensselaer's Scottish Rite biography, he had been "irregularly knighted in Rochester, New York in 1830 by three officers of the British army in Canada."<sup>13</sup>

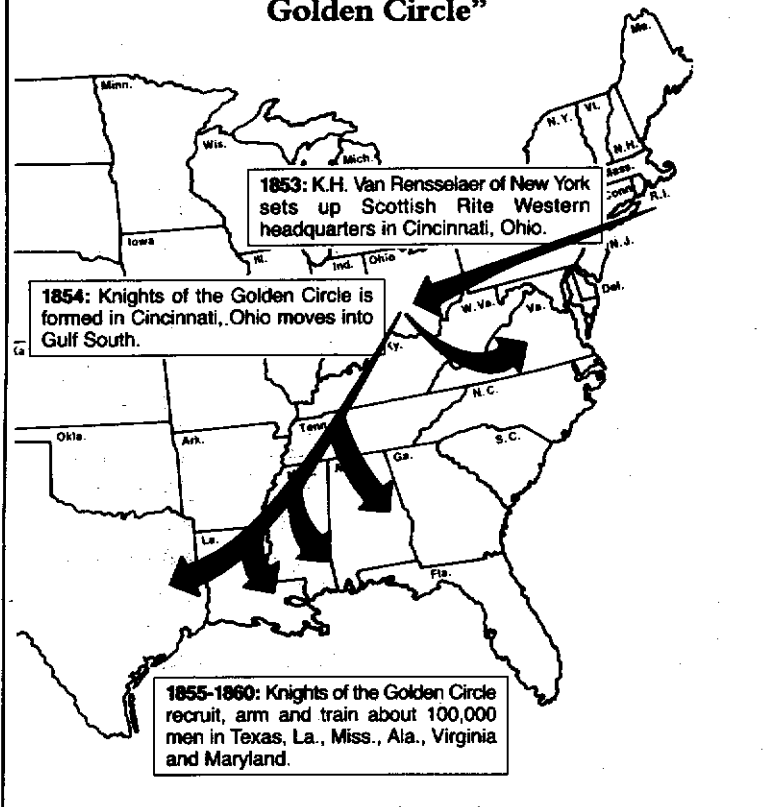
Piecing together the truth about what Gourgas and Van Rensselaer did to the United States has cost investigators many hours of painstaking work shoveling through mounds of lying cover

12. *ibid.*, pp. 56-58: "the Commodore protested to Secretary of State Marcy against . . . the unlawful seizure of a large amount of property; notwithstanding, the United States Government did not intervene . . . William Walker, on the 12th of July, rose to the presidency of Nicaragua."

"This election [sic], and the inactivity of our State Department, decided Vanderbilt. He alone would destroy Walker. . . . In the summer, he persuaded the governments of Honduras, Guatemala, San Salvedore, and Costa Rica to build a defensive alliance against the new administration in Nicaragua. In the fall, he ordered William R.C. Webster and Sylvanus Spencer to lead and organize invading forces. Webster, an Englishman, resented the spurious sovereignty of the amateur revolutionist."

13. Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council*, Vol. I, p. 286.

### The "Northern" Origins of the Confederate Gestapo—"Knights of the Golden Circle"



stories—and a good bit of discussion with relevant families and Masonic organizations.

In 1851, K. H. Van Rensselaer was named Deputy to the Northern Supreme Council for the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Over the next two years, he made his way westward, carefully probing for local openings, testing the political waters.

In 1853, he set up the first consistory, or regional headquarters, west of New York—in Cincinnati, Ohio.<sup>14</sup> He then made his home in Cincinnati, becoming there a “revered” Scottish Rite personage whose grave is still the site of yearly ceremonies.

Another secret organization very coincidentally began in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1854.<sup>15</sup> It was called the Knights of the Golden Circle, and it utilized very un-Ohioesque mummeries such as

14. *ibid.*, p. 286.

15. Fesler, Mayo, “Secret Political Societies in the North during the War,” in *Indiana Magazine of History*, 1918, Bloomington, Indiana, Vol XIV, No. 3, p. 190.

Van Rensselaer family privately printed material, (including *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, by Mrs. Catherine Van Rensselaer Bonney, Albany, 1875,) in the rare book section of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute’s library, Troy, New York, shows that “the Knight” Mr. Killian H. Van Rensselaer was earlier a principal organizer of another project, with other members of his family: the 1837-38 cross-border raids, supposedly to support a Canadian “uprising” against the British government in Canada, deliberately provoking the defensive reactions of Canadians and giving the British the pretext for police actions to destroy the Canadian republican movement.

Rensselaer Van Rensselaer (sic), was the volunteer “General” of the “Patriots” in this British military intelligence-coordinated provocation. From Vol II, pages 86-87 of Ms. Bonney’s *Gleanings*, here is a letter from Killian H. Van Rensselaer, in Rochester, to Gen. Rensselaer Van Rensselaer at Navy Island, Jan. 10, 1838:

“Let me introduce to you our friend Mr. Huff of Mendon. He has a few gentlemen with him for your cause, together with some money, clothing, &c., &c.; he is warmly in favor of the Patriot’s claims. He has also One Hundred in money from our Committee, we hope it will be of service to you. There are about 30 gentlemen to leave in the morning for your camp, and the prospect of as many more following in their track. You will want to make good arrangements on our shore, so that what means we can send will find a safe harbor, and you be able to receive them. How does Henry do? We are all anxious for some news of *blood* [emphasis in original]. I heard from Albany today, friends all well. Yours, K. H. Van Rensselaer.”

“General” Rensselaer Van Rensselaer was arrested by United States General Winfield Scott, acting on the northern frontier to break up the operation, under orders from Secretary of War Joel Poinsett. (Elliott, Charles Winslow, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man*, Arno Press, New York, 1979, pp. 339-340). He was sentenced to six months imprisonment (Young, Andrew, *The American Statesman*, p. 715).

the Maltese Cross by way of symbolism. We would still know very little about this Scottish Rite front organization if its official founder, George W. L. Bickley, had not talked after being put in the Ohio State Prison by military authorities during the Civil War.

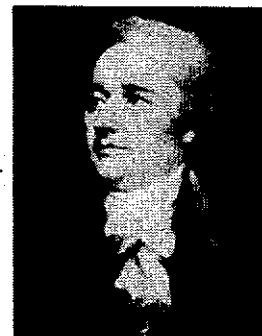
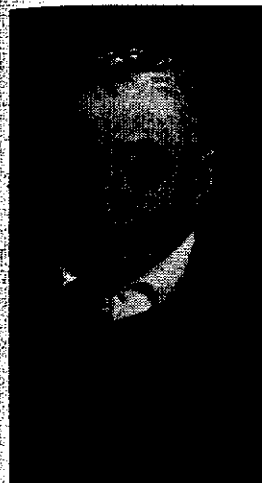
The Knights of the Golden Circle was the military organization of what was to become the Confederate States of America. The name was derived from the circle with a 1,200-mile radius from Cuba, cutting through North and South America. The Knights' ritual stated that the purpose of the order was "the entire and speedy conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a separate and independent nation upon such a basis as to render it subservient to the march of American civilization."<sup>16</sup>

Base slander! To thus pervert the name of American civilization to the end of treason against our existence—in the mode, alas, of Henry Kissinger, Robert McNamara, and Paul Volcker today.

After the first "castles" of the Knights were set up in Cincinnati and surrounding towns, the new order sent organizers and recruiters southward to the Gulf Coast and eastward to Washington, D.C. Recruits signed up in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and in Texas all along the Rio Grande river bordering on Mexico. General P. T. Beauregard, brother-in-law of Louisiana's Burrite political boss John Slidell, joined the order; Beauregard was to be in command of the South Carolina troops in 1861 to supervise the attack on Fort Sumter which started the Civil War.

According to Bickley, "Men were enlisted as colonists or emigrants [for Mexico] openly drilled in Baltimore, Washington,

16. *ibid.*, pp. 190-191. See also Bell, William Henry, *The Knights of the Golden Circle, Its Organization and Activities in Texas Prior to the Civil War*, master's thesis, 1969, call no. B4139K in the Texas A&I University Library, Taftsville, Texas. This is an extremely interesting treatment of the Knights, the result of several years of independent study. See also Morrow, Curtis Hugh, *Politico-Military Secret Societies of the Northwest, 1860-1865*, dissertation for Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1929, p. 6.



Alexander Hamilton (right), founder of the American system of economics, took personal responsibility for the defense of the nation by opposing the schemes of Aaron Burr (left).

Burr killed Hamilton July 11, 1804, as depicted by the illustrator Hooper. Burr fled south to plan the dismemberment of the country, then resumed his Vice-Presidential duties.

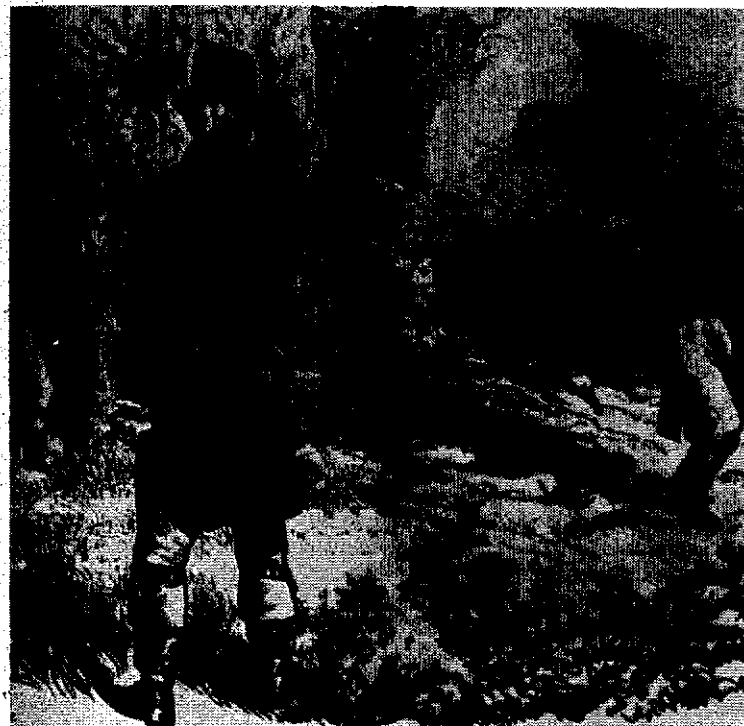




Photo: New-York Historical Society.

Joshua Hett Smith's house (above) near West Point. He hosted Benedict Arnold and hid Major André; the upper left-hand window was their lookout post. Smith fled to London and the patronage of his Mallet family relatives.

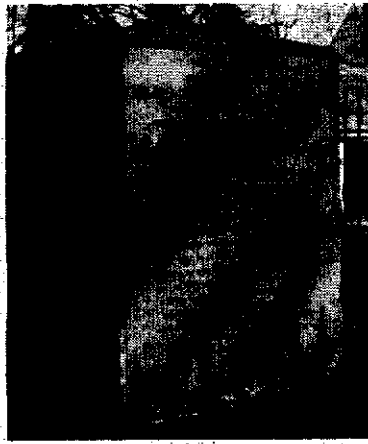
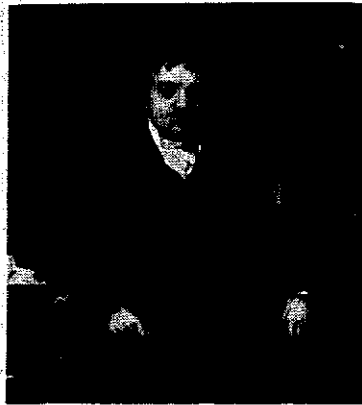


Photo: Michael Spornhaus.

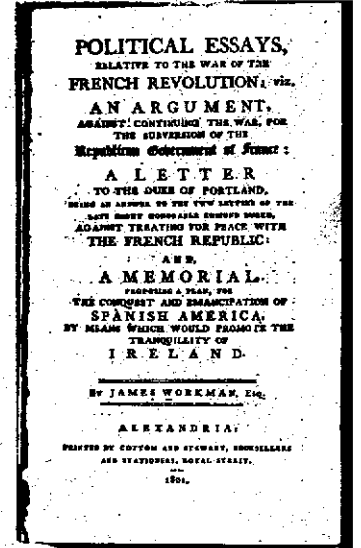
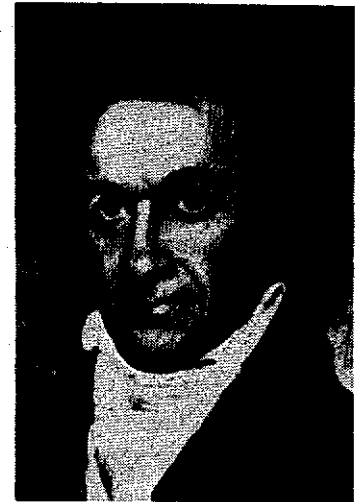
Mrs. Margaret ("Peggy") Shippen Arnold (above left), Aaron Burr's step-sister, was counseled at the climax of her husband's treason by Burr and his fiancée, Mrs. Theodosia Prevost. Sketch drawn by Major André.

Monument to John André (right), erected by Cyrus Field at the gallows site in Tappan, N. Y., in 1880, 100th anniversary of André's hanging. "... this stone was placed . . . by a citizen of the states against which he fought . . . in token of those better feelings which have since united two nations, one in race, language and religion. . . ."

On Washington's birthday, 1882, the monument was defaced, soon after bombed with nitroglycerin. In 1885, after repairs, the base and pedestal were blown up with dynamite, the stone remaining ever after unmounted. The monument is now owned by a "preservation society" managed by Rockefeller Family and Associates.



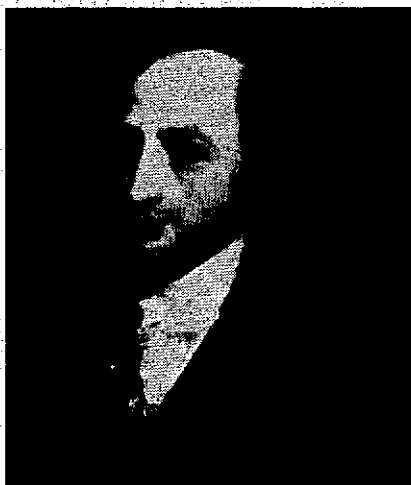
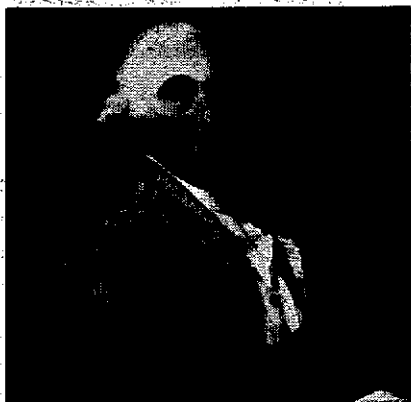
Robert Livingston (top left) became Masonic Grand Master of New York State under British army sponsorship. His brother, Deputy Grand Master Edward Livingston (right), a disciple of Jeremy Bentham, moved to Louisiana to aid Aaron Burr's secession project. He and Burr were both financed by John Jacob Astor (bottom left), treasurer of the New York Grand Lodge. Astor's opium profits were converted into Manhattan real estate with his lawyer Aaron Burr's help; he created the New York system of slum housing.



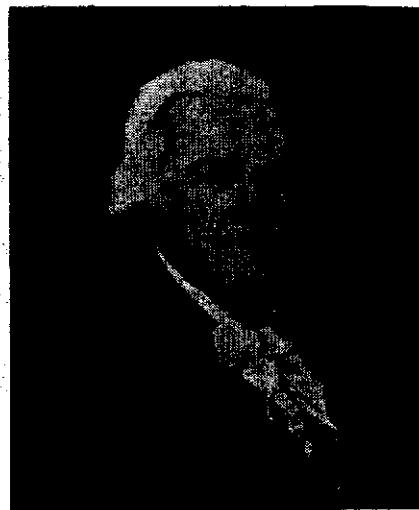
The proposal by British military intelligence officer James Workman for the British conquest of the western hemisphere. Workman went to New Orleans, worked with Burr in the attempt to break off the U. S. western states from the Union. (Pamphlet in the New York Public Library)



*William Petty, Earl of Shelburne (center left), was the chief orchestrator of the British-Swiss secret service until his death in 1805. Aaron Burr and Albert Gallatin were among his agents for the reconquest of America. The Baring Brothers (above) financed anti-American operations and the far eastern opium traffic. The left-most figure is Sir Francis Baring, who was also chairman of the East India Company.*

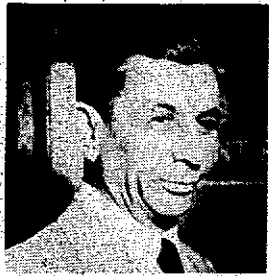


*Albert Gallatin (below left), from Switzerland's anti-republican oligarchy, became Jefferson's Treasury Secretary. He wielded "cost effectiveness" and "fiscal conservatism" against Hamiltonian plans for a strong U. S. defense.*

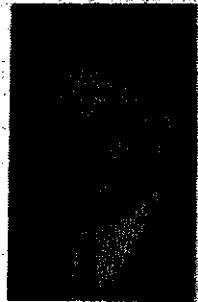


*Enemy command structure in the United States, the "Essex Junto," was led by George Cabot (above left), chairman of the Northern-secessionist Hartford Convention, and Judge John Lowell (above right), founder of the Tory Bank of Boston. John Lowell, Jr. (below right) was the chief pamphleteer against the U.S. war effort, 1812-1815. (Lower left) A slave held captive in a net sits on the Congo shore, awaiting sale and shipment. The Cabot family sold slaves in partnership with the Perkins and Forbes families until at least 1780. The firm of J. and T. H. Perkins instructed the captain of the ship, Willing Quaker, "always keep your men Slaves in irons . . . if you can get \$50 a head you may dispose of the whole."*

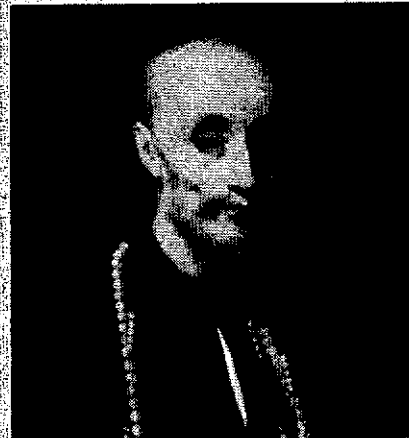
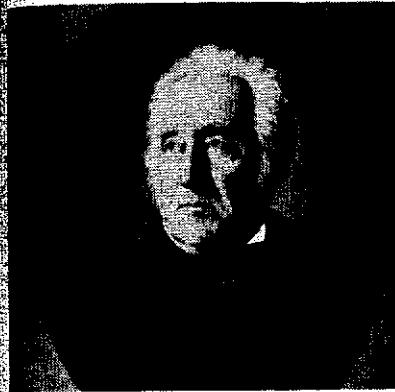




*They're Still In Business.*



December 16, 1773: Patriot "Indians" dump \$90,000 of tea in Boston harbor (above). In the 1780s Lowells and Cabots, representing the owners of that tea and other banished Tories, established what became known as the Bank of Boston for the use of their Boston Concern (see syndicate chart p. 132-133); Concern joined the British in the criminal Asia opium traffic. Death in China: (below) the North Taku forts immediately after British capture August 21, 1860, in the Second Opium War. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge III (below left), 4th generation syndicate millionaire, mid-twentieth century Chairman of United Fruit Company, Vice-President, Bank of Boston. Mafiosa Meyer Lansky (center left) was backed by the Bank of Boston in mob takeovers of Hollywood studios, and in the 1960s establishment of drug money laundering facilities in the Caribbean, first initiated by the Bank.



Thomas Handasyd Perkins (top) organized the Boston criminal opium syndicate. His brother James Perkins (center) married the sister of the British Apothecary-general, established the Boston-Turkey-China opium connection. Wu Ping-Chien, "Houqua" (below), mandarin security manager for the British opium racketeers and their American junior partners.

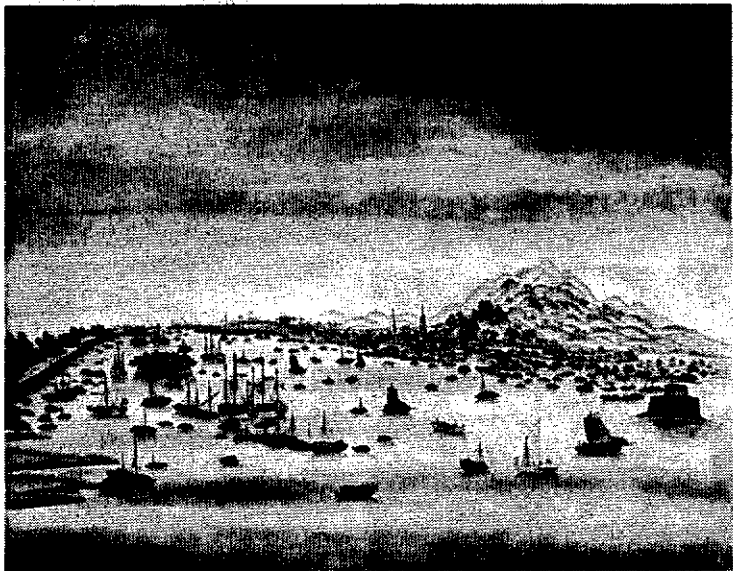
**CHINA MUTUAL INSURANCE CO.**  
12 STATE STREET.

Francis Bacon, Pres. G. L. Bullard, Secy.

DIRECTORS		
Francis Bacon.	J. M. Folsom.	W. J. ...
Eben. Bacon.	R. H. ...	S. C. ...
E. B. Baker.	J. P. Gardner.	H. ...
E. C. Bates.	Ralph Goddard.	E. W. ...
W. S. Bullard.	And. T. Hall.	Wm. Peabody.
J. T. Bush.	A. Hemenway.	E. C. ...
J. S. Coolidge.	Osborn ...	Jas. ...
J. A. Cunningham.	Jas. Ducking.	S. T. ...
Sam'l. Dana.	G. T. ...	F. W. ...
C. R. Jessenden.	R. C. Mackay.	Enoch ...

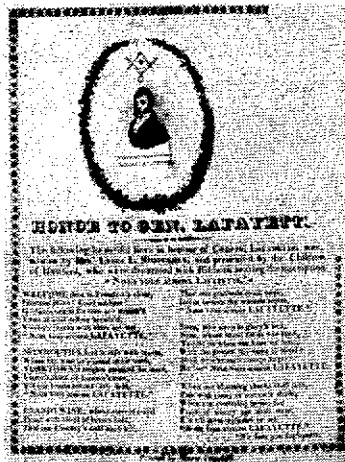
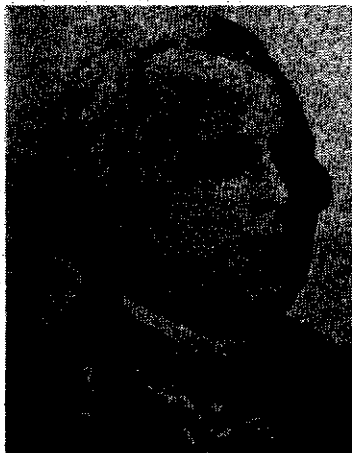
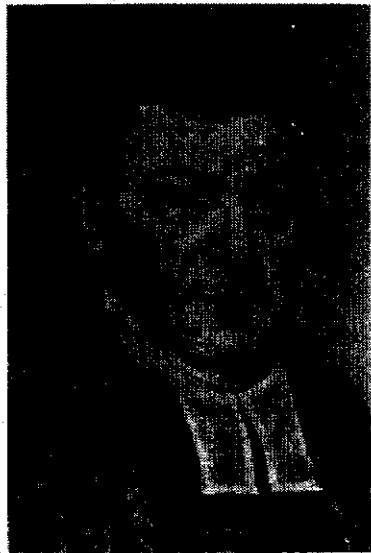
AGENTS	
LONDON	
Baring Brothers & Co.	
CANTON	SHANGHAI
Russell & Co.	Russell & Co.
CALCUTTA	BOMBAY
Gisborne & Co.	Forbes & Co.
Book-keeper.	Clerk.
Geo. B. Ager.	E. Bullard.

1850s poster of the China Mutual Insurance Co. of Boston. Among the directors listed, participating in the criminal opium traffic to China, are members of the Bates, Coolidge, Dana, Forbes, Gardner, Hemenway, Minot, Peabody, Perkins, Sturgis, Tappan and Train families. Baring Brothers ran the London financial end. (Below) A Chinese drawing of the Canton River, about 1830, showing the trading zone of the East India Company and other foreign merchants to the left center.

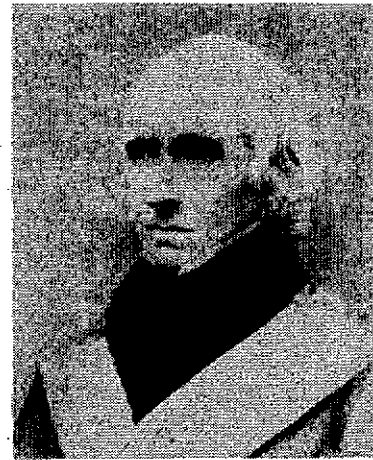
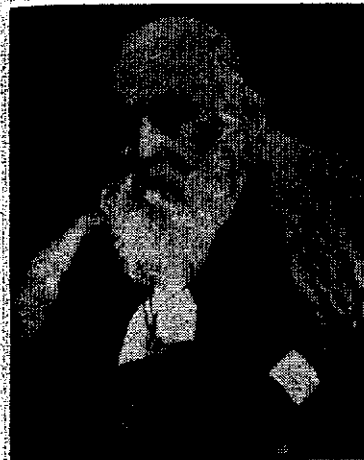


John Murray Forbes, opium smuggler, business agent and secretary of Houqua (1830-37), and partner in Russell and Company, which bought out Perkins. Forbes, backed by the Cabots, was the longtime financial sponsor of transcendental poet and anti-republican leader Ralph Waldo Emerson. (Below) Ruins of the old "Factory" (foreign merchants) site in Canton, torched by the Chinese in 1856. (Above) The Forbes family house "The Lawn" in Shanghai, later the Shanghai Country Club.

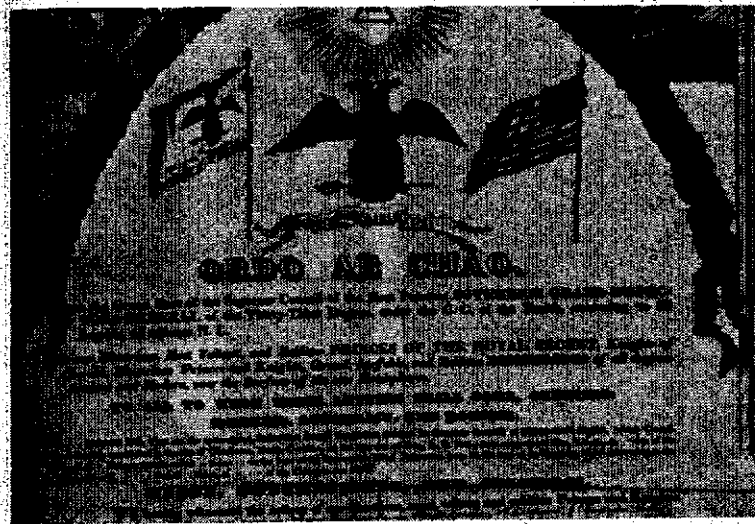




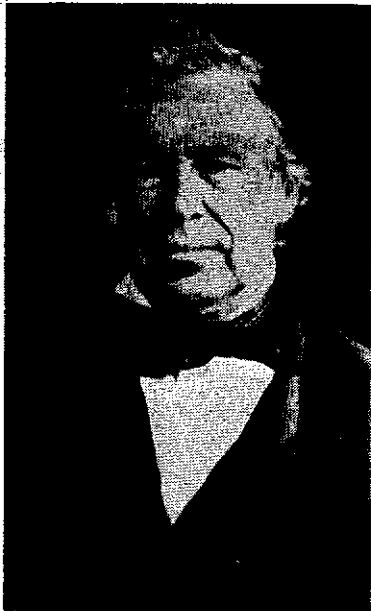
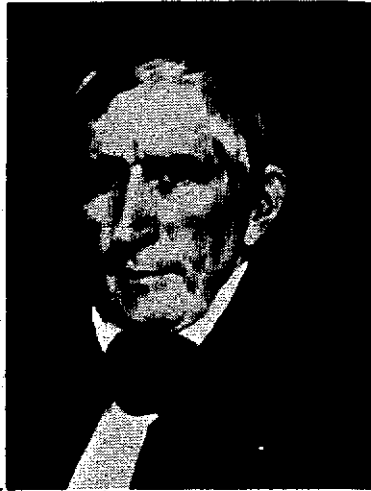
A pro-American branch of freemasonry, originally organized by Benjamin Franklin, greeted freemason Gen. Lafayette's 1824-25 return visit to America; notice the masonic emblem at the top of the poem-broadside. The Franklin networks were targeted by Scottish Rite subversives including (left, top) John Mitchell of Philadelphia, a witness for Benedict Arnold; (upper right) Frederick Dalcho of South Carolina, editor of the Tory Charleston Courier; and (below left) Augustine Prevost of Geneva, Switzerland, British southern commander during the Revolutionary War.



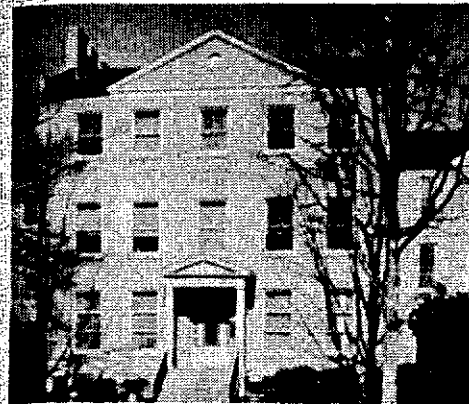
Albert Pike (left) Satanist from Newburyport, Massachusetts, organized the Scottish Rite southern Supreme Council in the late 1850s, coordinated the insurrectionary machinery leading into the Civil War, and put himself in charge of creating Indian uprisings as a Confederate General.



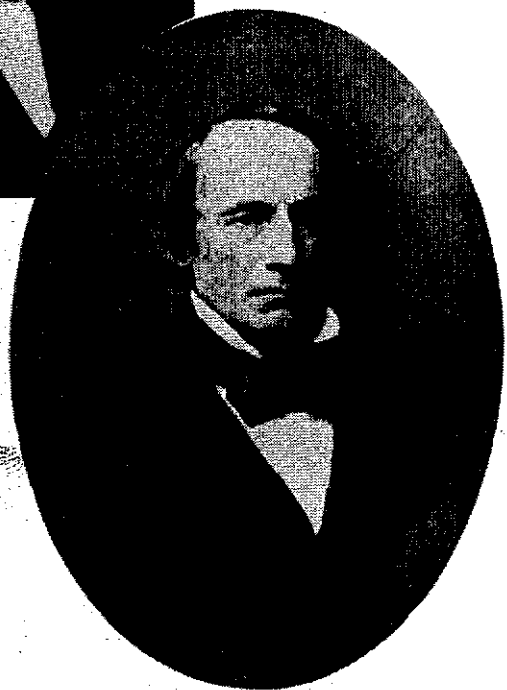
John James Joseph Gourgas Du Pan de Rengers (right), Swiss "Sovereign Grand Commander" of the Scottish Rite, northern branch, for the first half of the nineteenth century. The Southern branch was the command center of the Southern secessionist movement. Above, their Jan. 3, 1830 warrant to New Yorker John A. Quitman to set up a Consistory of Sublime Princes of the Royal Secret in Mississippi. Quitman plotted secession and war throughout the hemisphere, was arrested by President Zachary Taylor (next page)—who died immediately thereafter.



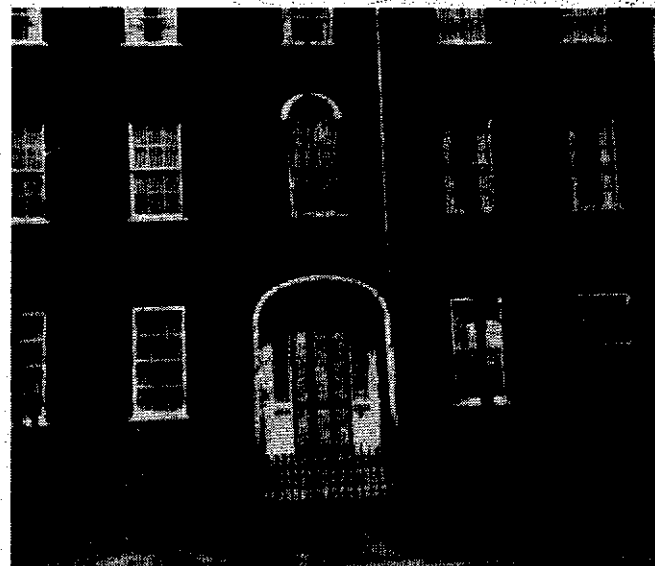
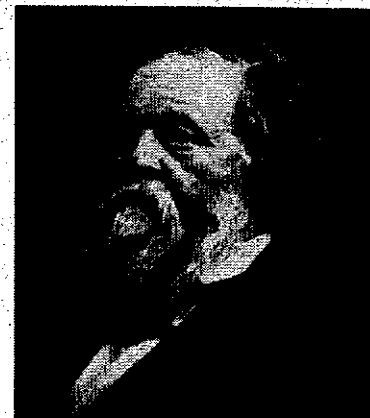
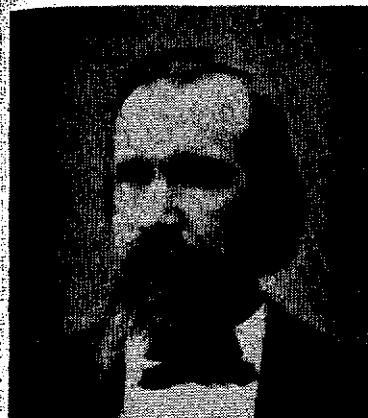
*William Henry Harrison (top right), first Whig Party president, who died from mysterious causes a month after his inauguration. Zachary Taylor (bottom right), second Whig Party President, who died in the second year of his term from "stomach distress." Winfield Scott ran for president as a Whig in 1852, but with Horace Greeley (left) as his campaign manager, he failed and the Whig Party collapsed.*



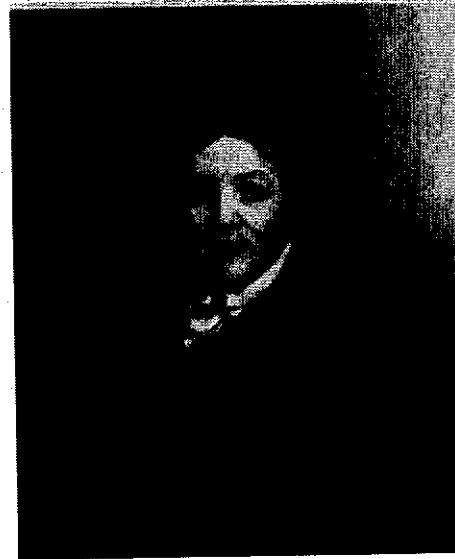
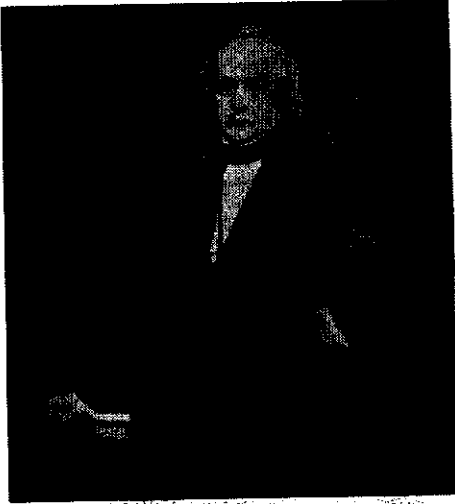
*Antonio Priuli (below left), Doge of Venice 1618-1623, ancestor of the Venetian pro-feudalist family renamed Prioleau, who organized the South Carolina colonial aristocracy. (Above) DeSaussure College at the University of South Carolina, and a bust of Swiss citizen Henry William DeSaussure. British revolutionist Thomas Cooper (below right), hired by DeSaussure to be President of South Carolina College, was the first to call for southerners to revolt against "northern oppression." Cooper's Nullification movement, backed by Gallatin's free trade movement up north, forced an end to the Henry Clay-John Q. Adams protectionist tariffs of the 1820s.*



*Boston Brahmin Caleb Cushing (below) planned the Mexican War and directed key events of the 1850s which led to the collapse of the Union. Though an outspoken friend of slavery, Caleb Cushing tutored his Newburyport neighbor and employee, the young William Lloyd Garrison (above), creating his "radical abolitionist" career. Garrison and Cushing then worked from opposite ends of the spectrum for national destruction.*



*The Caleb Cushing house (bottom), Newburyport, Massachusetts. Here Cushing met in 1852 with John A. Quitman and Jefferson Davis, to plan the rigging of Franklin Pierce's nomination and presidential election. Cushing, appointed Attorney General, and Quitman's Scottish Rite deployed insurrectionary forces during the Pierce administration. Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, Jr. (top left), wrote the secession resolution that pulled Mississippi out of the Union in 1860. His family managed a treasonous political machine from London to New York to Texas. He was appointed Interior Secretary and U.S. Supreme Court Justice by President Grover Cleveland. L.Q.C. Lamar's great uncle Howell J. Cobb (top right), as U.S. Treasury Secretary dominated the Buchanan cabinet, presided over the convention founding the Southern Confederacy. Cobb was on Albert Pike's Scottish Rite Supreme Council.*



*John Slidell (above), a New Yorker trained by Aaron Burr's political machine, directed Louisiana's secession from the Union. Opium addict Congressman John Randolph of Roanoke (below) was a step-child of the British Empire Tucker family. Randolph and the Tuckers wrested Virginia, the former bastion of republicanism, from the American Union.*

and in all the large cities of the South. It was a matter of newspaper notoriety both in this country and in Europe."<sup>17</sup>

By the time the Civil War started, the Knights of the Golden Circle claimed at least 65,000 armed and drilled recruits in the deep South—and in the area of the nation's capital (this made the successful inauguration of President Abraham Lincoln a tricky business). The order gradually stepped up its molding of Southern "public opinion" toward the necessity of secession from the Union. At the point secession was being resolved upon, it was of great value to the leaders of the insurrection to have an armed secret organization numbering in the thousands, to enforce "unanimous" public support for their actions.

After Lincoln unexpectedly ordered a national mobilization to crush the rebellion, the Knights of the Golden Circle engaged in paramilitary and espionage operations in the North, along with parallel and successor groups under different names—none, however, publicly carried its proper name: Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry.

### The Bleeding of Kansas

Before the republic could be overthrown, the general population had to be convinced that a North-South conflict was inevitable, or "irrepressible," as New York's Senator Seward had gleefully put it when Henry Clay's compromise seemed defeated in 1850.

President Pierce had promised his administration would look to domestic tranquility and security, above all else. But virtually the first order of congressional business during the Cushing-Pierce administration was the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Drawn up by Stephen Douglas after conferring with Caleb Cushing, the act repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited the establishment of slave states above the southern border of Missouri, apart from that state itself. The Kansas-Nebraska Act directed that what was then

17. Milton, George Fort, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, The Vanguard Press, New York, 1942, p. 68.

called the Nebraska Territory would be divided into the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and that whether slavery was to be permitted there would be left to the "residents" to decide.

Attorney General Caleb Cushing now wrenched from every member of the Pierce cabinet support for the bill, and he wrote articles making its support the crucial test of the loyalty of Democrats to the President.<sup>18</sup> The administration had the political muscle to pass the bill, and Pierce signed it May 30, 1854.

A month before passage of the act, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had issued a charter to the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company "for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West." Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune* trumpeted the Company's plan as the means to bring 20,000 abolitionists storming into Kansas. A "Platte County Self-Defensive Association" was organized in Missouri with the avowed aim of "removing any and all emigrants who go [to Kansas] under the auspices of Northern Emigrant Aid Societies."

Just after House passage of the act, William Seward exclaimed before the Senate: "Come on then, Gentlemen of the Slave States, since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right."<sup>19</sup>

"Border Ruffians" now poured into Kansas from Missouri, and fighting abolitionists poured in from New England. The outrages of murder and arson, committed mostly by the pro-slavery Missourians, and the savage cold-blooded murders committed by white abolitionist John Brown, are familiar in outline to all history-minded Americans. The overseer of this carnage is not so familiar as he should be. U.S. Attorney General Caleb Cushing approved all the fraudulent elections held by the thugs who moved in to steal the territory for slavery. Cushing made

no attempt to stop the mobs from raging up and down the area, wrecking and burning towns. He couldn't "catch" John Brown.

George Cabot, leader of the Essex Junto, had written a half-century before on the subject of what the United States would have to be put through to be successfully disunited and destroyed—the end to which the Junto was dedicated:

"The essential alterations . . . will be the consequences only of a great suffering, or the immediate effects of violence . . . Separation will be unavoidable, when our loyalty to the union is generally perceived to be the instrument of debasement and impoverishment. If a separation should, by and by, be produced by suffering, I think it might be accompanied by important amelioration of our theories."<sup>20</sup>

On May 24, 1856, John Brown, four of his sons, and three other followers went in the middle of the night to the cabin of a pro-slavery Kansas settler named James Doyle. While Mrs. Doyle pleaded for mercy, Brown dragged Mr. Doyle and two of his sons outside, shot the father, split open the skulls of the sons, and hacked all their bodies to pieces. This, he announced, was done in the name of the Army of the North.

Then they went to the house of Allen Wilkenson, a pro-slavery member of the legislature, and hacked open his skull in front of his wife. Finally, they went to another pro-slavery settler's house, dragged the man's house guest outside, split his skull, slashed open his side, and chopped off his hand.

Brown's deeds that night, known as the Pottawatomie Massacre, were actually defended by abolitionist newspapers.

John Brown was not, in fact, his own man. His actions were always closely controlled by his financial sponsors: feeding and arming followers whose only business is murder depends entirely on a constant resupply of money, and requires well-supervised security for transportation and hiding places.

Brown's first financial angel was Gerrit Smith of upstate New York, beginning in the late 1840s. Smith was by that time well

18. Fuess, *Life of Caleb Cushing*, Vol. II, pp. 147-149.

19. Potter, David M., *The Impending Crisis*, pp. 202-203.

20. *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*, p. 349.

established as a bankroller of radicals. When his father, John Jacob Astor's original business partner, had died in 1837, Astor loaned Gerrit Smith \$250,000 without even a signed contract. Smith then owned a million acres of land inherited from the days of the Astor partnership, on which John Brown came to live in 1848. Smith ultimately gave away \$8,000,000 to radical causes, according to his admiring biographers. (This Astor-affiliated funding of assassins, starting with John Jacob Astor's financing of the escape of Aaron Burr after his killing of Alexander Hamilton, continued into the twentieth-century Astor family backing of the pro-Nazi movement within England, based in their house "Cliveden.")

As the Kansas violence was increasing, "Samuel Cabot [grand nephew of George Cabot and grandson of opium syndicate founder Thomas H. Perkins] and Amos A. Lawrence, a principal stockholder in the Emigrant Aid Society, sent \$4,000 worth of Sharp rifles into Kansas."<sup>21</sup> The exact nature of John Brown's direct Cabot connection may never be known, because all but one of his sponsors burned their papers. But this much is certain—when Brown failed at an earlier attempt to establish himself as a wool merchant, Perkins syndicate member John Murray Forbes donated a chunk of cash to keep Brown going; and *the Cabot Bank loaned Brown \$57,000*;<sup>22</sup> how or whether this was repaid is unknown.

But the most determined backer of John Brown, and later his controller, was Thomas Wentworth Higginson of Newburyport, Massachusetts, whom we encountered earlier.

In January, 1857, after James Buchanan was elected President to replace the disreputable Franklin Pierce, John Brown went to Boston and met with Higginson, fellow Newburyporter William L. Garrison, and several of their friends. Their Massachusetts State Kansas Committee made Brown its official agent, and one of them gave Brown \$1,300 for 200 revolvers. In New

21. Oates, Stephen B., *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown*, Harper and Row, New York, 1970, p. 158.

22. *ibid.*, p. 66.

York, the National Kansas Committee, meeting in the Astor House, transferred all their guns to the Massachusetts Committee for Brown, and pledged additional supplies for 100 men and \$5,000.<sup>23</sup>

Back in Boston, Brown met with Transcendentalist author Ralph Waldo Emerson. A Young America supporter, Emerson praised Brown as "a true idealist with no ends of his own," and gushed: "A shepherd and herdsman, he learned the manners of animals and knew the secret signals by which animals communicate." Brown also met with nature-loving writer Henry David Thoreau. A sometime family employee of the Swiss grand master of the Scottish Rite, J. J. J. Gourgas,<sup>24</sup> Thoreau called Brown a man of "rare common sense." Both authors gave Brown money.

Meanwhile, on Jan. 15, 1857, Thomas Wentworth Higginson convened the Massachusetts State Disunion Convention (sic). He was determined to complete the several-generations-long project: terminating the American republic which was so hateful to his embittered family. It was at this Disunion Convention that the ingredients for the disastrous Harper's Ferry raid were put together.

While many children in America grow up thinking they might like to *become* the President, some children only want to *kill* the President. Higginson, whose family had fought the United States as "irregulars" with the British Secret Service since sometime before 1800, was such a child. This flaming radical "leftist," Thomas W. Higginson, in his biography of his grand-

23. *ibid.*, p. 193.

24. Information from an interview with the Gourgas family. Thoreau worked for the Gourgases as a gardener. Francis R. Gourgas (1811-1853) was a wealthy nephew and political co-thinker of J.J.J. Gourgas, whose family seat at Weston, Mass., J.J.J. Gourgas kept as his home-base. Francis R. Gourgas was the financial backer of the Social Circle in Concord, the elite group to which Emerson and other transcendentalists belonged. See *Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord*, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1888.



father, "rightist" leader Stephen Higginson, describes that Essex Junto member as follows:

[He] wished for cordial alliance with Great Britain; in a word, [he] was a thorough-going, uncompromising, ardent, steadfast Federalist, and as such a zealous and devoted patriot in every fibre of his frame. . . .

His fireside . . . was a centre of earnest discussion of the great practical controversies of the day, and without in the least comprehending the full import of their meaning, my boyish ears drank in and my boyish heart and imagination retained political impressions, which remained unaltered till the widening experiences of life . . . gradually modified them. . . . On the whole, it was a healthful stimulation to a child's intellectual power of discernment, honorable feeling, and patriotic devotion to great practical principles inculcated by such men as my grandfather and George Cabot and Henry Lee and many men of mark whom [grandfather] gathered around him as guests; and as all my relatives on my father's side, as well as on my mother's, were zealous and uncompromising Federalists, my whole form of thought and feeling took from the first a highly conservative and aristocratic form.

These practical associations and convictions, which unconsciously framed . . . my character, were rounded out and completed by the social influences spread around me by my grandmother—an English woman by birth and breeding, married to my grandfather in his widowhood. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Thomas Wentworth Higginson told his Disunion Convention:

But give me a convention of ten men who have drawn

25. Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, *Life and Times of Stephen Higginson*, Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1907, pp. 279-281.

the sword for the right, and thrown away the scabbard, and I will revolutionize the world. (Loud applause.)

You say, we are "traitors," "fanatics." That is what we came here to be. That is a clear compliment. You say we are "weak," "powerless." Are we? Give us five years, and let us see . . . all we ask is, Open the doors of your powder magazine, and let us try! . . .

I tell you . . . that there are men on this platform to whom these thoughts, that are new to many of us to-day, have been the deliberate purpose of years! . . . How many years is it since, in the city of Boston, the action of half a dozen men lined the streets with bayonets from Court Square to Long Wharf, and brought the country to the very verge of civil war? Unprepared, unpremeditated, unpracticed, half a dozen men [i.e. abolition-activists] did that; and there has not been a fugitive slave case in Boston since. Give us another one, another chance to come face to face with the United States government, on such an occasion as that, and see if we have not learned something by the failure. . . . Talk of treason! Why, I have been trying for ten years to get the opportunity to commit treason, and have not found it yet. . . .

No, sir! disunion is not a desire, merely; it is a destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in effecting the process. The laws of human nature are taking care of those difficulties very rapidly. If our calculations are correct, it will be easier to hasten it than to postpone it. . . . I tell you, let another war come in Kansas, and no power on earth can prevent a border war between Missouri and Iowa. The line will be drawn for us soon enough by the passions of men. The calm deliberations of conventions like these, only prepare the way for it. If we cannot bring it about peaceably, it will come forcibly, that is all. The great forces of nature are sufficient. The vast antagonistic powers are brought into collision—the earthquake comes—and all we disunionists

say is, if it is coming, in God's name, let it come quickly!  
(Applause.)<sup>26</sup>

Higginson had invited to his convention a British soldier of fortune, Hugh Forbes, who had served in Garibaldi's forces and was now editor of the Italian-language newspaper *The European*. Forbes and Brown were introduced, and Forbes set out for Mount Tabor, Iowa, where he set up a military training school to drill John Brown's private army.<sup>27</sup>

When Higginson later had doubts about John Brown's willingness to go the lengths required, Higginson was reassured by Franklin Sanborne, an associate of Higginson and Gerrit Smith in managing the Brown project:

Brown . . . is as ready for a revolution as any other man . . . I believe he is the best Disunion champion you can find, and with his hundred men, when he is put where he can use them and drill them, (and he has an expert drill officer with him) will do more to split the union than a list of 5,000 names for your convention—good as that is.<sup>28</sup>

John Brown and about 20 followers attacked and temporarily captured the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on Oct. 16, 1859. During this insane raid, Brown's men first killed a free black porter who did not "halt" on command because he had never heard the word; they also killed the mayor of the town, whose slaves were then freed by a clause in the man's will. These were the only slaves freed in the raid, though Brown's announced objective had been a widespread slave insurrection.

Brown was captured, many people died, many were injured, and disunionists, North and South, were ecstatic. During his

26. *Proceedings of the State Disunion Convention; held at Worcester, Massachusetts, January 15, 1857*, Boston; printed for the Committee, 1857, pp. 29-31.

27. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood*, pp. 200-201.

28. *ibid.*, p. 216.

trial and after his hanging, Brown was celebrated as an heroic martyr by the Boston Brahmins and by their poets and politicians. The secessionist Southern newspapers then played the "Northern sympathy for Brown" and "hatred for the South" to a Southern population whose pro-Union element was already beginning to despair.

### How Secession Was Run

American society, in 1859, was demoralized and disoriented. The abandonment of American System economics—the Free Trade, no-tariff, no-national-bank policies of the Young America Democrats—had set up the economy for a crash in 1857, a repeat of the panic and business depression that had brought mass poverty and hunger in 1837. By the time the next President, Abraham Lincoln, was inaugurated in 1861, the United States Treasury was literally bankrupt—the salaries of congressmen could not be paid. Pro-Confederate plunder by the Buchanan administration, and an economic program fostering speculative paper empires, were both to blame.

The nation was politically split, despite strong pro-Union sentiment remaining alongside disunionism in South and North. And in 1861, an armed insurrection began, an insurrectionary army eventually totaling a million men was put into the field, and the United States was nearly destroyed.

But no "demoralization," no mere "political sentiments" can put a million men into the field. *Disunionism* was translated into *armed insurrection*, and the historian must answer the question, "By whom was this done?"

Answering this question involves great difficulties—which is not to excuse the academic historians, who have never tried to do so. The investigator faces two principal problems:

1) Treason, armed rebellion per se, being a capital offense, its practitioners have a strong interest in preventing evidence of their acts from being available to the curious;

2) The traitors, and their Northern and foreign controllers, later came back to dominate American political life—we are

speaking here of the administrations of Presidents Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, the Dulles family, and others; the powerful do not appreciate people snooping in their bloody closets.

By and large, the men the public identifies with the Southern Rebellion had little or nothing to do with originating the insurrection; they were front men, like Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, who were left with the horror and the tragedy to deal with when the rebellion was challenged and successfully put down.

While the Knights of the Golden Circle, the *military* pre-organization of the Confederacy, was being organized under the control of the Scottish Rite's Northern chief, the Swiss J. J. J. Gourgas, and his lieutenant Killian Henry Van Rensselaer, the Southern Jurisdiction of the Rite was organizing the political leadership for the secession itself. The man in charge of this project was Albert Pike of Newburyport, Massachusetts.

Pike had been a life-long friend and a decades-long protégé of his townsman Caleb Cushing. On March 20, 1853, two weeks after Cushing rose to power as the attorney general of the United States, the Rite's Southern Secretary General Albert Gallatin Mackey conferred the Rite's exalted degrees upon Albert Pike at a ceremony in Charleston, South Carolina. As Pike commented in his last speech as grand commander in 1890, "I never heard of the Scottish Rite until 1853."<sup>29</sup>

Albert Pike<sup>30</sup> is one of the most physically and morally repulsive individuals in American history. Horribly obese—easily 300 lbs. or more—Pike was known in his adopted state of Arkansas as a practitioner of Satanism. His reported sexual proclivities included sitting astride a phallic throne in the woods, accompanied by a gang of prostitutes. He would bring to his

29. Harris, *Southern Supreme Council*, p. 244.

30. See Duncan, Robert Lipscomb, *Reluctant General: The Life and Times of Albert Pike*, E.P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1961. This is the closest thing to a serious biography of Albert Pike yet written. It is a shameless, ludicrous apology.

revels one or more wagon-loads of food and liquor, most of which he would consume over a period of perhaps 48 hours, until he passed into a stupor.

Pike was thrilled at the chance he got to kill Spanish-Americans in the Mexican War; he pushed himself forward in Arkansas politics with noisy anti-Negro and pro-slavery rhetoric; and in the 1850s he became the leading Southern organizer and boss of the American Party or "Know-Nothings"—the third-party grouping based on hatred and fear of immigrants.

In 1858 Albert Pike and 11 of his collaborators issued a circular calling for the expulsion of free Negroes and mulattoes from Arkansas, citing "the laziness and bestiality of a degraded race," their "immorality, filth and laziness," and calling the Negro "so worthless and depraved an animal."<sup>31</sup>

In 1859, Albert Pike was called upon to become the grand commander of the Southern Scottish Rite. The activities of Pike's South Carolina-based organization are, of course, as closed to public scrutiny as were the minutes of Hitler's cabinet meetings. But the Scottish Rite's official histories have given us some names to reckon with.

The gap Pike was to fill came from the sudden death, in 1858, of Mississippi secessionist and Scottish Rite leader John A. Quitman. Over the next two years—until the records suddenly stop a week before Fort Sumter—Pike set up a Scottish Rite Supreme Council extending for the first time over the entire South.

In March, 1860, Howell Cobb of Georgia was made a sovereign grand inspector general and an active member of the Supreme Council.<sup>32</sup> Cobb was at that time *Secretary of the Treasury of the United States*, and the most powerful member of the Cabinet. A close friend of President Buchanan, Cobb was to be the leader of the secessionists in Georgia and the chairman of

31. *ibid.*, p. 162.

32. Harris, *Southern Supreme Council*, p. 283.

the Convention which organized the Confederacy in Montgomery, Alabama.

John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky became a sovereign grand inspector general and an active member of the Supreme Council in September, 1859.<sup>33</sup> Breckinridge was at that time *Vice-President of the United States*. To better understand his significance in this business, we must return to the checkered career of the Boston Brahmins' agent Caleb Cushing.

The 1860 national convention of the Democratic Party was held at Charleston, South Carolina. Caleb Cushing, who held no particular national office at that time, was selected as convention chairman.

Under the supervision of Chairman Cushing, the Gulf States delegations staged a walkout in supposed reaction to a platform decision by the convention. Following the walkout, Cushing then ruled that no candidate could be chosen without the consent of two-thirds of the *original delegates*. Stephen Douglas and his northern backers were amazed and furious, and the convention broke up without choosing a candidate.

The extremist Southern delegates, whooping it up in this dress rehearsal for Secession, now set up their own Convention—and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts presided. The secessionists nominated Vice-President Breckinridge as *their* candidate for President, while Stephen Douglas was nominated by the remnants of the party. Yet another slate, headed by John Bell of Tennessee, was nominated by quasi-Democrat Unionists calling themselves the Constitutional Union Party.

From then until the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, the Breckinridge "election campaign" had its unofficial headquarters in the White House, and its commander was the celebrated Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts. The purpose of this arrangement, as we shall see, was no mere minority candidacy.

The Union's armed forces were imprisoned, while the insurrectionists were armed by Northerners, foreigners and by the federal government itself.

### What Secession Was—And Wasn't

We shall present here a compressed record of the 1861 insurrection: the creation of the Southern Confederacy, state by state, and the arming of the insurrectionary forces. It is an aspect of American history for which the academic historians have had peculiarly little curiosity. They have offered us accounts of the events which have lamely reproduced the insurrectionists' own testimony, or some other explanations which somehow transform an armed attack on the United States into a "geographical" problem.

### South Carolina

The 1860 election results are themselves somewhat annoying to the purely "sectional" view of the ensuing conflict. Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected President with 1,867,000 popular votes, to 1,379,000 for Democrat Stephen Douglas, 854,000 for secessionist candidate Breckinridge and 591,000 for Constitutional Union candidate Bell. The secessionist Breckinridge received only 45 percent of the vote within the slave states, 115,000 less than Douglas and Bell combined, while Lincoln was routinely excluded from the ballot.

South Carolina, the Scottish Rite's Southern headquarters, completing 30 years of attempts to destroy the American Union, began the secession process immediately after Lincoln's election. The state's governor, William Gist, like the three who were to succeed him during the war, had been trained in politics under the British revolutionary import, Dr. Thomas Cooper, at South Carolina College.

Gist's own family background was appropriate to his actions. His grandfather of the same name had been a loyalist captain

33. *ibid.*, p. 271.

with the British forces during the American Revolution, serving under General Augustine Prevost.<sup>34</sup>

The South Carolina legislature called a convention which met on Dec. 20, 1860, and passed an Ordinance of Secession, announcing that the state's ratification of the U.S. Constitution was "repealed."

Interestingly enough, it was the great-grand-uncle of our present-day AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, South Carolina's Senator James Chesnut, who first officially proposed the secession action. In his speech to the legislature he promised the insurrection would come off so smoothly that he would "drink all the blood that will be spilled." Chesnut was later to order the commencement of firing on Fort Sumter, which began the Civil War. Mr. Kirkland has defended his family's actions by asserting that "Northern aggression" was responsible for the war.

Utilizing an atmosphere of hysteria, which had been increasing from John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry to the Lincoln election, the insurrectionists proposed elections to state conventions throughout the South, which would adopt secession ordinances as South Carolina had done. (It should be noted that South Carolina held no popular election for President in 1860, and none for the commencement of the insurrection.<sup>35</sup>)

### Mississippi

Mississippi, whose secessionist organization had been created by the recently deceased Scottish Rite leader from New York, John A. Quitman, acted first after South Carolina. While Jefferson Davis called for delay, the "Young America" leaders in the state

34. Gist family geneological records at the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

35. See Wooster, Ralph A., *The Secession Conventions of the South*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962, pp. 14-15. An "election" for delegates to the South Carolina secession convention took place amid secession-mania mob scenes, involved virtually no discussion, in many parishes offered only one candidate, and published no returns.

called for a convention against his counsels. In an election held Dec. 20, 1860, secessionist delegates were said to have received 16,800 votes to 12,200 for their opponents.<sup>36</sup>

The Mississippi Ordinance of Secession was drawn up by L. Q. C. Lamar, nephew of the second President of the Texas Republic Mirabeau Lamar. The Lamars were a banking family based in Georgia and New York; Gazaway Bugg Lamar was the founder of the Bank of the Republic in New York City, and the leading partner in a massive transatlantic financial trust involving the cream of the British, Swiss, and "Yankee" oligarchs. We shall look more closely at the crucial New York arrangements in Chapter 15.

On the same day as the Mississippi secession was decided, Dec. 20, 1860, the U.S. Secretary of War, John Floyd, who had been the "favorite pupil" of the British revolutionist Thomas Cooper, ordered the Allegheny arsenal at Pittsburgh to send 113 heavy columbiad cannons and 11 32-pounder cannons to the unfinished, undefended U.S. forts at Ship Island, Mississippi and Galveston, Texas, where they could be seized by the insurrectionists.<sup>37</sup>

### Florida

Florida held an election December 22, 1860, in which a tiny scattered vote favored secessionist delegates by approximately 3 to 2. That state's leading secessionist, Senator David Yulee, was a prominent spokesman for the Mazziniite "Young America" movement.

36. Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis*, p. 505: "about 41,000 votes were cast, of which some 12,000 were for candidates whose positions were not specified or are now unknown, but of the remaining 29,000, some 16,800 were for secessionists and 12,218 for cooperationists."

37. Swanberg, W. A., *First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1957, p. 67.

## Alabama

In Alabama's election, Dec. 24, 1860, the secessionists received 35,000 to 28,000 for the opposition.<sup>38</sup> A sizeable portion of the state attempted to break off and form a new state, loyal to the Union, but their resistance was crushed. The leader of the Alabama secessionists, William Lowndes Yancey, had led the walkout from the Democratic National Convention in Charleston under Caleb Cushing's supervision.

Yancey, formerly a South Carolina politician, had appeared to be a strong Unionist until the 1840s, when he suddenly arose as the most dramatic "fire-eating" mouthpiece for Southern defiance of the Union. No biographer has yet bothered to pose an explanation of this curious switch-over in outlook. Certain facts, however, might help clear up the mystery.

William Lowndes Yancey's father died when he was an infant in Georgia. His mother remarried a Presbyterian minister and accompanied her new husband, Nathaniel Beman, up to Troy, New York. Beman was a radical abolitionist and raised his stepson Yancey in an atmosphere of wild crusades and intrigues against the moderate churchmen, rising to become moderator of the Presbyterian Church. From 1845 through 1865, Beman was president of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, under the close control of the Van Rensselaer family.<sup>39</sup> Patroon *Killian Henry Van Rensselaer*, as we have seen, was the *Northern Scottish Rite leader who personally set up the Knights of the Golden*

38. Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis*, p. 505 (Florida and Alabama results).

39. Van Rensselaer family privately printed material cited in footnote 15 above, establishes:

1) that the Van Rensselaer family, the virtual feudal lords of the area around Albany until the 1840s, exercised close personal control over the affairs of the school during the long period of Nathaniel Beman's presidency; Patroon Stephen Van Rensselaer, who founded the school in 1824, had earlier revived the moribund Scottish Rite in the Albany area;

2) that Beman was a raving kook; as Yancey's stepfather he was someone to be kept out of the sanitized versions of Southern secession history.

*Circle in the United States.* It was the Knights who provided the military backbone and the thuggish enforcement for the Confederate insurrection—particularly in the Gulf South from Texas to Alabama.

Two other Alabama secession leaders are of interest to the historical investigator—although they do not seem to have aroused any interest within the "history profession."

*Caleb Huse* was the leader of the Alabama militia, training his troops at the University of Alabama. At the beginning of the Civil War, Huse was immediately sent to England to begin acquiring arms for the insurrection. He was credited by James D. Bulloch, the Confederacy's European Secret Service chief, with being the "unsung hero" of the arms procurement effort, bringing back from Europe hundreds of thousands of rifles with which to kill Americans.<sup>40</sup> Caleb Huse was a Northerner—from Newburyport, Massachusetts. His family owned the *Newburyport Herald*—the same paper that Caleb Cushing and William Lloyd Garrison had worked on. The Huse family published a special memorial volume in tribute to Caleb Cushing in the 1870s, which included a gushing speech by Albert Pike about his lifelong friend Cushing.<sup>41</sup>

*John William Mallet* was another visiting insurrectionist at the University of Alabama. A British chemist, in the international spy family into which Aaron Burr married, Mallet was appointed head of the Confederate Ordinance Laboratories—heading up the effort to devise bombs, torpedoes, poisons, etc. Mallet never bothered to give up his British citizenship, and after the Civil War he was a founder of the American Chemical Society and got off scot free.

Both Caleb Huse and John William Mallet were chemistry

40. Bulloch, James D., *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or, How the Cruisers Were Equipped*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1884, pp. 52-53.

41. The Cushing memorial volume is shelved in the Cushing House, maintained as a museum by the Historical Society of Old Newbury, at 98 High St., Newburyport, Mass.

teachers at the University of Alabama. *Yet a third chemistry teacher there*, Frederick A. P. Barnard, went on to a bizarre career of secession and subversion in Mississippi and New York. Huse and Barnard were from Massachusetts, Mallet was British. Alabamians should be interested to inquire, what was being brewed in the university chemistry lab?

## Georgia

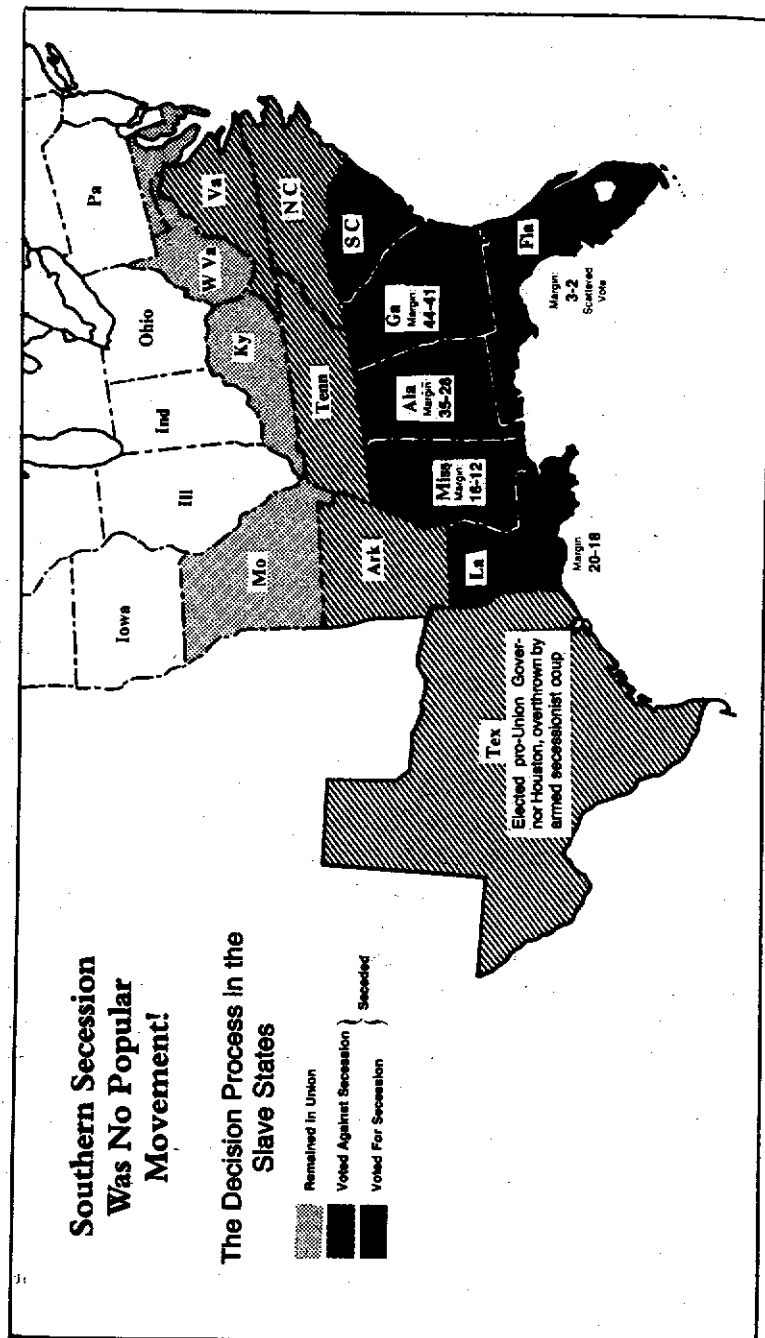
Georgia's leading secessionists were the Scottish Rite Supreme Council member Howell Cobb, Albert Pike's dearest friend Robert Toombs (later a Supreme Council member), and the previously described Lamar family. Georgia held elections for a secession convention on January 2, 1861, in which the secessionists claimed victory by a 44,000 to 41,000 margin. There is some evidence that the anti-secessionists actually achieved a slim majority.<sup>42</sup>

## Louisiana

John Slidell was the political boss of Louisiana, the leader of the state's secessionists and the single most powerful backer of the 1856 election of president James Buchanan. Slidell was born and raised in New York City, entirely a product of Aaron Burr's political machine. His father was the president of the Mechanics Bank of New York, a partner therein with Matthew Davis, Burr's

42. Potter, David M., *The Impending Crisis*, p. 506: Georgia "Governor Joseph E. Brown . . . declared that 'the delegates to the convention who voted for the ordinance of secession were elected by a clear majority . . . 50,243 for secession and 37,123 against secession' . . . Brown did not say that 50,243 votes were cast for candidates pledged to secession . . . [but] for candidates who later voted for secession . . . many delegates who had voted against immediate secession on preliminary votes decided on the final vote to acquiesce in the will of the secessionists. . . ."

Potter quotes the new research of Michael P. Johnson, "A New Look at the Popular Vote for Delegates to the Georgia Secession Convention," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LVI (1972), pp. 259-275: ". . . the most generous estimate that is probably more accurate places the majority for cooperation" i.e. against immediate secession at just over 50% of the voters.



lifelong henchman and executor. Slidell was trained and placed in Louisiana politics by Edward Livingston, Burr's indicted co-conspirator in the 1807 secession attempt. Little more than this is known about Slidell in New York—he burned all his papers and letters, and every personal effect from which his history might be accurately reconstructed.

Two other powerful Louisiana secessionists were the state's U.S. senators, Pierre Soulé and Judah Benjamin. We have described Soule, the French, Jesuit-trained revolutionist, in the context of his Young America intrigues under the Cushing-Pierce administration.

Judah Benjamin, a British subject from the West Indies, was hired as a law clerk by John Slidell. He later became Confederate secretary of state and a close advisor to Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and after the Civil War managed to escape to a luxurious life in England as a Queen's Barrister.

Though he undoubtedly played a role in the British Secret Service's post-war operations in the U.S. (Klu Klux Klan, etc.), Judah Benjamin has been posthumously promoted into some sort of super-conspirator of the Civil War. When his actual biography is compared to the treasonous activities of socially prominent, Anglo-Saxon leaders in Boston and New York, and to Swiss, Dutch and Venetian gentlemen who would prefer to remain anonymous, it would seem that Benjamin—born a Jew—is supposed to take the rap for the bluer-blooded elites. (An Ohio senator, attacking Benjamin's extreme pro-slavery rhetoric, called him "a Hebrew with Egyptian principles.")

Louisiana's secessionists held an election for a state convention on January 7, 1861. The secessionist delegate-candidates received 20,000 votes to 18,000 for their opponents.<sup>43</sup>

## Texas

Sam Houston, chief of staff of the victorious army of Texas in their revolution against Mexico, was governor of Texas when

43. *ibid.*, p. 506.

Lincoln was elected President. Secessionists—including the powerful Lamar family, backed by thousands of armed paramilitary Knights of the Golden Circle—called for a Texas secession convention. Sam Houston said no. He ruled, as governor, that all efforts to pull his state out of the union were illegal, and refused to call a special session of the legislature to set up a convention.

The secessionists simply pulled a coup, deposing Governor Houston and calling a rump "election." Their announcement that secessionists delegate-candidates received 40,000 votes, to 10,000 for their opponents, must be matched against the state's official 600,000 population at that time.

*That, in fact, constitutes the entirety of "popular support" for the Insurrection of 1861.* With only the elections just described, the secessionists controlling the state governments of South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas met at Montgomery, Alabama, under the chairmanship of Scottish Rite Supreme Council member Howell Cobb. They announced the establishment of the Southern "Confederacy," and designated Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as President of their rump nation. He made fairly good window-dressing for their insurrection, being both a Southerner and an American.

Lincoln's presidential inauguration was still a month away, in March 1861. Secessionists attempted to compel each of the other slave states to join the "Confederacy," and failed in every case. Opponents to secession won clear-cut victories in the elections held in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas.<sup>44</sup> The secessionists were defeated as well in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware.

44. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South*. The Arkansas vote for convention delegates was 23,626 for Unionists to 17,927 for secessionists (Wooster, p. 157);

North Carolina voters rejected even holding a convention to discuss secession, but the secessionists got the state government to declare secession (Wooster, pp. 193-195);

Virginia voters elected 120 anti-secessionists to 32 secessionists as



The Arkansas convention was a personal embarrassment for the enormous Scottish Rite leader, Albert Pike. When he heard that the convention in Little Rock was likely to vote Unionist, Pike made a hurried trip out west to personally harangue the delegates: "Things have gone so far that you have only one choice in the matter. You must go out voluntarily, or be kicked out or dragged out. South Carolina is going to drag you out, or the government is going to drag you out by calling on you for troops. . . ."<sup>45</sup> The Arkansas delegates refused to be intimidated, and voted to stay with the Union.

Having voted to stay in the Union, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas were, indeed, eventually "dragged out." After the insurrection's headquarters in South Carolina started the war, those four states were unceremoniously declared to be out of the Union and part of the Southern Confederacy.

### Virginia

Virginia's pro-Union vote reflected the state's proud history of American leadership—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, James Monroe, Henry Clay, William H. Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott and Sam Houston were its native sons. When the insurrectionists eventually seized control, a portion of the state holding to that tradition broke away and declared itself the separate, loyal state

delegates (Wooster, p. 142);

Tennessee cast 91,803 votes for Unionist delegates against 24,749 for secessionists, and at the same time rejected even holding a convention to discuss it by 69,675 to 57,795 (Wooster, p. 180). After the attack on Fort Sumter began the Civil War, the Tennessee state government simply declared secession, then held a referendum under war conditions, won by secessionists. The state was occupied by the Confederate army to control the pro-Union unrest.

The reader should keep in mind the crucial historical difference between the *origin of secessionism*, which we are discussing here, and the popular feeling in the South after the outbreak of the Civil War, supporting what most Southerners viewed as a defensive struggle.

45. Duncan, *Reluctant General*, p. 167.

of West Virginia. But there was another, *non-American* tradition in Virginia, which ultimately overpowered the patriotic impulse in that state.

In the early nineteenth century, the U.S. Congress was frequently the scene of vulgar antics by one of its Virginia members, a drunkard and drug addict styling himself "John Randolph of Roanoke." Randolph's acid tongue and bitter polemics were constantly directed against Northerners and the North in general, frequently doing battle against the South-hating Congressman Josiah Quincy, who was later to be president of Harvard for a quarter-century. One may still find, in the surviving correspondence between these two gentlemen, evidence of their deliberate collaboration to produce Union-splitting tension and rancor between North and South.

There was something quite substantial behind this stage show. Mr. Randolph had, it seems, a stepfather by the name of St. George Tucker<sup>46</sup> (1752-1827), who had become the sole guardian of John Randolph after his mother died. Mr. Tucker's nephew, Henry St. George Tucker (1771-1852), was the *chairman of the British East India Company*, a wild colonial racist who spent six months in prison for "attempted rape."<sup>47</sup> Another Tucker

46. For the Tucker family, see Hess, Stephen, *America's Political Dynasties: from Adams to Kennedy*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1966, pp. 367-392 and pp. 641-642; and Brugger, Robert J., *Beverly Tucker: Heart Over Head in the Old South*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1978.

47. Henry St. George Tucker, or "India Henry," was the private secretary to Sir William Jones, the great British philologist whose study of Sanskrit language and Hindu culture gave Britain great power to manipulate and grab the subcontinent. See *The trial of Henry St. George Tucker, esq., for an assault, with intent to commit a rape, on the person of Mrs. Dorothea Simpson; held in the Supreme court of judicature, at Fort William, in Bengal*, published by J. F. Hughes, London, 1810, in the Library of Congress. In 1834 Tucker became the chairman of the British East India Company and remained so until 1851, calling publicly for the banning of all public education in India as "dangerous," and for total press censorship.

Henry St. George Tucker wrote from East India House, London, to John Randolph's step-brother, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, on Jan. 29, 1847, "We had the pleasure of seeing a good deal of your relative, Mr. Randolph,

nephew (and Randolph cousin) was British Admiral Thomas Tudor Tucker (1775-1852), who was wounded battling the *U.S.S. Essex* during the War of 1812, while Congressmen Randolph and Quincy stridently denounced the American war effort.

St. George Tucker, and his two sons Henry St. George and Nathaniel Beverly, completely dominated the legal profession and the writing and teaching of laws in the State of Virginia. Henry Wise, the Virginia governor who gleefully used John Brown's raid on the Harper's Ferry arsenal to prod his state toward secession, had been the Tuckers' pupil at the University of Virginia.

Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker (1784-1851) was, aside from Englishman Thomas Cooper, the most radical Southern disunionist and "states-rights" advocate from the 1820s on.<sup>48</sup> His

when he, on different occasions, visited this country—we admired his talents, but could not always keep pace with his Enthusiasm." Before Randolph's death in 1831, cousin "India Henry" was not yet Chairman, but a powerful, rising Director of the East India Company during Randolph's visits.

48. The following letter, marked "1806 Fall" on the upper right-hand corner, was addressed to and was received by Nathaniel Beverly Tucker and is in the Tucker-Coleman Collection in the Swem Library, William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.:

Table of Figures

	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2
1	a	d	g	j	m	p	s	v	y
2	b	e	h	k	n	q	t	w	z
3	c	f	i	l	o	r	u	x	v

Letter

The execution of our project is postponed till December, want of water in the Ohio rendered [crossed out: "delay expedient"] movement that way impracticable. Other reasons rendered delay expedient. The ["operation" ?] is enlarged and comprises all that Wilkinson could wish. Confidence limited to a few.

[signed] A. BURR

J. Dayton

Letter

' - - - ; = . / = - - - . = - - - = @ = # = ; = ; ' . / = - - - ; = - - /  
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nephew, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker (1820-1890), served as the U.S. consul in Liverpool from 1857 until 1861.<sup>49</sup> With his British family in high military, intelligence, and colonial positions, he was in an ideal position to begin the *Confederate navy-building efforts, which were then carried out at Liverpool entirely under*

- - - - . = - - - - = @ = # = ; = ; ' . / = = [i.e. a scribbled code]

On the reverse is written the name of the addressee, N. B. Tucker, Esq., and the following list:

Gill .....	23	
Bo [indecipherable] .....	22	
Heald .....	25	
C L Wells .....	32	
Shaler .....	22	
Bailey .....	20	
	[adding to]	145 [sic]
Gilbert .....	132	
		75
	[adding to]	352
Pitman .....	29	
Gu [indecipherable] .....	11	
	[adding to]	392

In 1806, Aaron Burr floated a mercenary army down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers towards New Orleans, there to take as much territory from the United States and Mexico as he could to create for himself a British-supported empire. The above letter from Burr is addressed on its face to Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, later an indicted co-conspirator with Burr, and addressed on its back to Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, one of those "few" in whom Burr seems to have reposed "confidence."

This letter is in the New York Historical Society published microfilm of Burr Papers, but not identified in any way, in the microfilm, with the name of Nathaniel Beverly Tucker—it is only listed as Burr to Jonathan Dayton—except that the microfilm gives the letter's physical location as the Tucker-Coleman (i.e. Tucker Family) collection at William and Mary.

The secession movement in pre-Civil War Virginia was first built around this N.B. Tucker (1784-1851) at the College of William and Mary, where Tucker, like his father before him, was a law professor. In the very intimate Tucker circle at the College was John Tyler (U.S. President 1841-1845, Civil War-era secessionist; see Chitwood, Oliver Perry, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York and London, 1939, p. 152, 197-198). The school served as a subversive base in Virginia, as did South Carolina College and Harvard in their states. William and Mary was, before the Tuckers began to dominate it in the 1790s, the seat of great classical learning, led by Plato-disciple and Declaration of Independence signer George Wythe. N.B. Tucker's

the direction of Theodore Roosevelt's uncle James D. Bulloch, the director of the Confederate Secret Service in Europe. The ships contracted for at Liverpool and built at Birkenhead caused devastating loss of American life and swept more than half of the American merchant fleet from the seas.

father St. George Tucker replaced Wythe in the Law and Police chair, after opposing the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, and began preaching "states rights," Adam Smith and British law; George Wythe, whom he replaced, was an ardent Unionist and had written the rules of procedure for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

John Randolph wrote to Aaron Burr (April 16, 1802, *Burr Papers*), speaking of himself in the third person, as would a queen: "John Randolph . . . despairs, utterly, of getting away [from Congress] before the middle of next week. He is not vain enough to suppose that Col. B. will postpone his departure on that account:—but he shall be highly gratified by any cause of detention not disagreeable to Col. B. which shall give J.R. the pleasure of accompanying him thro Virginia." Nathaniel Beverly Tucker's most recent biographer, Robert J. Brugger, expressed the following view, in a private interview with the present author: "John Randolph probably told Beverly Tucker what he knew about Burr's plans for his Western expedition. . . . Randolph may well have made himself acquainted with it. . . . there was such strong anti-Jefferson feeling at that time. . . ."

When Burr was arrested, John Randolph was his loudest supporter in the Congress, full of sarcastic venom against President Jefferson. It is perhaps not only a fascinating coincidence that John Randolph somehow became the foreman of the grand jury which was to indict Aaron Burr for treason in Richmond, Virginia. In the furious struggle that occurred in the jury room and in the Richmond political arena surrounding the trial, Randolph strained to shift the spotlight of incrimination onto prosecution witness General Wilkinson, thereby to call into question the government's whole case against Burr. Randolph failed to indict Wilkinson; but his efforts must have contributed somewhat to the overall process of the trial, in which Burr escaped conviction. Randolph's (and Burr's) focus on Wilkinson as the real villain was picked up by Henry Adams in his famous histories of the period, helping to make Burr's guilt vaguely questionable for posterity. At this time, the Treasurer of the United States—the man who ran the day-to-day business affairs of the Treasury, under the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, was Thomas Tudor Tucker, brother to St. George Tucker and uncle to Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, to John Randolph and to "India Henry" Tucker. Thomas Tudor Tucker was Treasurer throughout and well beyond Gallatin's reign at Treasury, serving from 1801 to 1828. Thus the known Burr-Tucker communications run the gamut from the high plane of polite functioning—Thomas Tucker transmitting reports on War Department finances, and other official messages from

During the Civil War, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was one of the four leading members of the "Canadian Cabinet"—the cross-border Confederate spy ring which tried to burn American cities and ran the draft riots in New York. He was indicted after the war, along with George Sanders and others, for allegedly helping to plan the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, but he got the charges dropped. In 1872 he quietly returned to the U.S. and served as an official lobbyist for the Pennsylvania railroad. His brother, John Randolph Tucker (1823-1897), was president of the American Bar Association, and his son and grandchildren were bishops of the Episcopal Church.

### William Seward and the Arming of the Insurrection

Two weeks before the 1860 presidential election, the U.S. secretary of war, John Floyd, quietly concluded an agreement with South Carolina's governor William Gist to sell 10,000 U.S. government rifles to his state, which had by this time been whipped into a frenzy by anti-American revolutionists. After Lincoln's election to the presidency was announced—four months before his inauguration—the South Carolina insurrectionists began a military buildup aimed at seizing the set of United States fortifications in the Charleston harbor. The American commander, Major Robert Anderson, was determined not to yield the forts, but could not hold them indefinitely unless his position was reinforced with men and supplies.

Governor Gist informed President Buchanan that his state was "likely" to secede, and it could be accomplished quietly and

the Treasury to Vice-President Burr (presiding over the Senate)—to conversations more in the nation's "back alleyways," so to speak.

49. This Tucker's brother David was married to the daughter of George Miffin Dallas; from 1856 to 1861, Mr. Dallas was the United States Ambassador to England. He had previously been the private secretary to Albert Gallatin, sent by London to mediate Gallatin's communications with "Lord Castlereagh, Count Lieven [anti-American Russian Ambassador to England] and Mr. Baring" according to the *Diary of James Gallatin* entry of Oct. 24, 1813, p. 12.

bloodlessly if the government would promise not to send reinforcements. Gist's plea for the government's acquiescence in the destruction of the Union was taken in hand by Treasury Secretary and Scottish Rite Supreme Council member Howell Cobb, who stiffened the will of the somewhat more nervous traitor, War Secretary Floyd. Cobb and Floyd received backing from a remarkable source: New York Sen. William Seward, otherwise known as the leader of the radical-abolitionist wing of the new Republican Party. With this combination behind him, President Buchanan felt safe in assuring the insurrectionists that he would not interfere.

Over the period before the March 4, 1861, Lincoln inauguration, the secessionists built powerful batteries around the harbor. On Dec. 26, 1860, U.S. Major Robert Anderson—acting on his own initiative—moved his men and equipment from an onshore installation out to the more defensible Fort Sumter, which lay on an island in the harbor. Fort Sumter now became the focus of strategic concern for the nation; the failure of the government to send reinforcements symbolized to enraged patriots the manifold treason of the Buchanan administration.

When Abe Lincoln came to Washington to assume the presidency, the armed Knights of the Golden Circle were prepared to assassinate the new President and seize the capital. But General Winfield Scott, who had moved the headquarters of the U.S. Army out of Washington, D.C. when Franklin Pierce was elected President in 1852, had other ideas.

Scott deployed thousands of troops, bomb experts, and special police to every conceivable assassination vantage point. On hearing that secessionists planned to disrupt the official counting of the electoral college ballots in the Capitol, General Scott announced "that any man who attempted by force . . . to obstruct or interfere with the lawful count of the electoral vote . . . should be lashed to the muzzle of a twelve-pounder gun and fired out of a window of the Capitol. I would manure the hills of Arlington with fragments of his body, were he a senator or chief magistrate

of my native state! It is my duty to suppress insurrection—*my duty!*"<sup>50</sup>

Lincoln's inauguration was quiet.

The new President was strongly advised by William Seward, whom he had appointed his secretary of state (in a politically "balanced" cabinet), that he must not reinforce Fort Sumter. Better let the extremist Southerners secede, said Seward—"they will come back to the Union in two or three years."

Rather than stand up to South Carolina, Seward proposed, Lincoln should immediately send sharp notes to Spain and France. If no satisfactory replies were given, war should be commenced with those nations which would "divert the attention" of the nation from its sectional struggles!<sup>51</sup>

President Lincoln, however, knowing that every department of the federal government was riddled with traitors, sent his own personal agents into South Carolina for some first-hand political intelligence. His friends confirmed what he had suspected, that South Carolina was not acting from rage or resentments, but from "decades of a false political economy"; that its leaders had completely crushed out Unionist elements in the state, and would never come back to the Union unless compelled to do so.

Lincoln determined to send reinforcements to Fort Sumter; *at the same time, Seward began a series of meetings with agents of the South Carolina secessionists whom he assured, directly*

50. Swanberg, *First Blood*, p. 199.

51. Seward is quoted in Nicolay, John G., and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, The Century Co., New York, 1917, Vol. III, p. 446: "I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once. I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America, to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of independence on this continent against European intervention. And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France, would convene Congress and declare war against them."

*contrary to Lincoln's policy, that their steady preparations for aggression would not be resisted*<sup>52</sup>.

When Lincoln arranged for a squadron of gunships and troopships to be sent to reinforce Sumter, Seward secretly arranged for the gunships to be diverted to Florida. When Lincoln found out about this, he ordered Seward to reverse his interference. Seward stalled long enough so that the gunships were already steaming southward, and their commander, mistakenly believing he was going to Florida on Lincoln's order, refused to turn back on Seward's mid-course directive. The reinforcement troops arrived off Charleston harbor, and waited and watched in agony as the insurrectionists started pouring their murderous fire onto Fort Sumter: without the gunships, the troops could not get into the harbor. After 36 hours of sustaining this terror, the heroic Anderson surrendered Fort Sumter.

The new governor of South Carolina, Francis Pickens, yet another student of the British revolutionist Thomas Cooper, exulted at this humiliation of national power, crowing "We have made the proud flag of the stars and stripes, that never was lowered before to any people on this earth—we have lowered it!"<sup>53</sup>

President Abraham Lincoln had been prevented from crushing the insurrection while the secession was still confined to the lower South, and possibly preventing the tragedy that was to occur. Still advised to compromise by the majority of his own cabinet, criticized for taking the "narrow view" that the rebellion was the work of a small minority of conspirators rather than the broad expression of sectional sentiment, Lincoln nevertheless assumed personal responsibility for saving the nation.

Though faced with a *fait accompli*, he acted as he was never expected to act. He immediately called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the insurrection, and the bloodiest war in American history had begun. For the next four years, Lincoln invoked the

52. Swanberg, *First Blood*, pp. 226-232.

53. *ibid.*, p. 324.

full powers of the presidency; he called into existence massive productive powers—creating the steel industry from scratch and starting the world's greatest railroad system; and he gradually forged an unbeatable military machine. By the war's end, the United States armed forces were the largest and toughest in the world; and the continuing productive momentum of Lincoln's restored Hamiltonian policies were to give the U.S. the world's largest industrial economy within less than two decades.

### Lincoln and Juárez

The American Civil War, like the American Revolution, was an international conflict upon whose outcome the fate of civilization rested—and it was fought on both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border. We will briefly sketch here the outline of a struggle which pitted the presidents of the United States and of Mexico as allies against their common foreign enemies.

At about the same time as Abraham Lincoln took over the U.S. presidency, Benito Juárez assumed that office in Mexico. Juárez was a full-blooded Indian, a former physics professor, and a terrifying threat to his opponents because he was a thoroughly honest man. He had been trained in political economy by neo-Platonic teachers, and had spent several years of his ascendancy toward power in exile in New Orleans, Louisiana.

During the 1850s a Swiss banker, Jean-Baptiste Jecker, had carried out a series of swindles and depredations against Mexico, operating from the office of his firm Jecker and Torre in Mexico City. Along with the Crocker Bank and other Boston-linked financial interests in California, Jecker had financed attempted landings of anti-Mexican mercenary armies in the West, part of the wave of Young America imperialism under the Cushing-Pierce administration.

Jecker had also concluded a wildly fraudulent loan with the corrupt Mexican leader General Miguel Miramón: Jecker agreed to pay \$750,000 into the Mexican treasury, and received in return bonds worth \$15 million, and the rights to all the silver that could be found in the states of Sonora and Baja California!

General Miramón absconded with 600,000 pesos and fled to Cuba, and Benito Juárez became Mexico's President. Juárez and the Mexican Congress declared a two-year moratorium on foreign debt payments, and Juárez announced that the fraudulent Jecker loan could never be honored.

When the Southern Confederacy began its insurrection against the United States, the colonial powers of Europe contrived to use the "injustice" done to the Swiss banker Jecker—who had since emigrated to France—as a pretext to invade the Western Hemisphere. The governments of Great Britain, France and Spain concluded an agreement in the fall of 1861, arrangements for which had been made by the diplomatic efforts of Britain's special envoy, Louis Mallet.

The plan was the particular brainchild of America's greatest enemy in continental Europe, King Leopold I of Belgium.<sup>54</sup> He was the head of the Saxe-Coburg house and the uncle of Britain's Queen Victoria and of her husband Prince Albert; Leopold's family members would take over more and more European kingdoms as the nineteenth century progressed.

Leopold I of Belgium was the only European monarch to openly advocate the recognition of the Confederacy; the Young America plotters had earlier issued the Ostend Manifesto from within his kingdom, calling for the conquest and permanent enslavement of Cuba. His son, Leopold II, was to carry this racialist experimentation to new limits as the founder and ruler of the Belgian Congo, whose Leopoldville was named for him.

The colonial powers of Europe agreed to send the Hapsburg Prince Maximilian to be the Emperor of Mexico as their representative. Maximilian's wife Carlotta was Leopold's daughter, and through her the Belgian Coburg would have a direct managing hand in the conquest.

54. The standard (apologetic) account (i.e. the one the Belgian consulate in New York keeps in their library) of Leopold and the invasion is O'Connor, Richard, *The Cactus Throne: The Tragedy of Maximilian and Carlotta*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971.

President Abraham Lincoln had from the very first assured President Benito Juárez of all possible U.S. support against European intervention. Juárez' envoy to Washington Matias Romero had traveled out to Lincoln's home in Springfield, Illinois, to meet with the newly elected President and to avoid having to deal with the Secretary of State-designate, William Seward, whom he thoroughly distrusted. Lincoln and Juárez maintained their alliance on this personal basis for the rest of the war.

Despite Lincoln's warnings to the Europeans that the Union would prevail, that the Monroe Doctrine would eventually be enforced, the armed forces of Britain, France, Spain, Austria and Belgium invaded Mexico in 1862; "Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico" and "Empress Carlotta" came in behind the troops. During the few years of this bloody adventure, Maximilian signed and the largely French army enforced the so-called Black Decree, ordering the execution of all persons belonging to "unauthorized societies . . . regardless of character."

Juárez and the Mexican patriots were compelled to fight a guerrilla war, gradually weakening but never completely destroying the invading imperial forces. But when the Union Army finished its cruel work against the Southern Rebellion, its generals were ordered to proceed to the Mexican border, where they began openly supplying the Juárez forces with arms and equipment. President Lincoln resisted the advice that the United States ought to send troops into Mexico "to help Juárez," and President Andrew Johnson, taking over for the murdered Lincoln, held to the same policy. It would be enough to pressure the foreign army to leave Mexico, then "Juárez and the Mexicans can take care of Maximilian."

At the end of the American Civil War, a large group of Confederate officials fled to Mexico and joined the war of Maximilian against the people of Mexico. Prominent among them were Confederate diplomat Pierre Soulé, formerly the Mazzini-allied U.S. ambassador to Spain under the Cushing-Pierce adminis-

tration; Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, Virginia's Confederate spy and cousin of the East India Company chairman<sup>55</sup>; and Confederate General Sterling Price, who had been governor of Missouri during the Kansas-Missouri border war of the 1850s, was the leading Western controller of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and had created a Confederate terrorist organization known as the Corps de Belgique "in honor of the Belgian Consul in St. Louis."

The hundreds of Confederate émigrés were given a million acres by Maximilian upon which they set up the "Carlotta Colony," hoping to luxuriate in a tropical empire though they had lost the northern war.

But the imperialist army withdrew to France in March of 1867, and Maximilian's regime fell soon after. Maximilian was executed by the Mexicans, despite the pleas of European "liberals," while the Empress Carlotta returned to Belgium, to live out her life confined as a psychotic well into the twentieth century.

Most of the high-ranking Confederates in Mexico then drifted back into the United States, where many of them simply reentered the mainstream of American life. In fact there was no accounting done, no sorting out, no "Nuremberg Trials" for the insurrection of 1861, which killed more than a half-million Americans—more than died in both of the World Wars.


A particularly chilling example of the failure of post-Lincoln

55. Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was given, for his management and as a front-man owner, the property of Baron Escandon and other Mexican hacienda landlords who had invited Maximilian to seize their country. Tucker took over their property, 1.5 million acres and 190,000 head of livestock, and received a large cut of the proceeds. With the popularity of Juarez's pepublican movement, backed by the U.S.A., these landlords became so unpopular they dared not visit their own property. As they escaped to Europe, transfer was accomplished thru English merchant banker Davies and Co, in Mexico. Tucker himself fled Mexico March 5, 1867, three months before the execution of Maximilian. See Tucker, Jane Ellis, *Beverly Tucker: A Memoir by his Wife*, The Frank Baptist Printing Co., Richmond, undated, in the State Library of Virginia, at Richmond; pp. 31-37.

Americans to appreciate the nature of this Rebellion is the case of Edward House. His father Thomas House was a British merchant who came to the Texas province of Mexico in the 1830s. The elder House did not stick by Sam Houston when Houston fought against Secession; Thomas House made a fortune as a British national, carrying arms from Britain through the Union blockade to Texas. After the Rebellion was defeated, Thomas House returned to England and educated his son Edward at Bath. Years later, the young man returned to America to tend his father's cotton plantations; he despised the United States as an enemy land, and retained a fierce loyalty to Great Britain. *This was "Colonel" House, who directed the foreign policy and much of the domestic affairs of the United States during the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. . . the years of the World War and the League of Nations. President Wilson was not unsympathetic to House's viewpoint—his own father had been a Confederate Army chaplain and slaveowner.*

The political backgrounds of the earlier presidents, Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt, were completely bound up with the treason of the 1861 Insurrection. Cleveland, brought into politics by the Confederate spy ring in New York,<sup>56</sup> returned the favor and made dozens of Rebel officials the top men in his two administrations. The arch-racialist Roosevelt took office when President William McKinley was shot to death. He led the world to believe that the bullying, imperialist antics echoing his uncle, Confederate Secret Service chief James Bulloch, represented America's natural outlook rather than the policies which Abraham Lincoln and hundreds of thousands of Americans had died to defeat.

56. Grover Cleveland was recruited as a young man, with perhaps vague Copperhead sympathies, into the political family of Augustus Schell, political boss of the insurrectionary machine based in New York; see Chapter 15.



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PART III  
The Reform of  
America by Her  
Enemies

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—13—

## From the British East India Company to Emerson, Carlyle, and Marx

Treason: 1. Violation of allegiance towards one's country or sovereign, esp. the betrayal of one's own country by waging war against it or by consciously and purposely acting to aid its enemies.

In each mouth Satan mangled with his teeth  
A sinner, each jaw moving like a brake  
So that three wretches anguished as he chewed.  
He of the front mouth less from the biting writhed  
Than from the flaying of the angry claws;  
His back was stripped and stripped again of flesh.  
"Yon soul above who suffers greatest pain  
Is Judas," so my master's voice affirmed.

Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*

The American Union had been rescued and re-established by the profound mobilization of our people by President Abraham Lincoln from 1861 to 1865. More than 2.5 million men fought for the Union, taken from a population, in the loyal states, of 22 million. When Eastern bankers had denied Lincoln the credit needed to finance the war, the President had created a new national banking system, printed 400 million new greenback dollars, and raised government spending by 600% to \$300 million per year.

A system of strict tariffs and preferential buying had been put

into effect, so as to force new industry into existence. Government-sponsored railroad construction had been undertaken with a view to opening the vast continent to industry, agriculture, and new cities.

At the victorious conclusion of the Civil War, the President had been assassinated. But the spirit of national optimism—the feeling that we could accomplish *anything* necessary for national progress, would determine the political and social developments in the United States and much of the world for the remainder of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

At war's end, the United States had the largest and best army in the world. Over the next 20 years of peace, the American economy expanded at unbelievable rates, until America became, suddenly, the world's industrial leader. Between 1866 and 1887, operating railroads grew by 400% to 150,000 miles; American steel output, nurtured by Lincoln's legal framework, grew by 2000% to 340,000 tons per year.

Having failed to terminate the American Union in the insurrection of 1861, the enemy British and allied oligarchs now faced an invigorated nation, standing forth as a universal model and guide for the potential defeat of oligarchism and backwardness. The world had seen the U.S.A. use Hamilton's concept of *national sovereignty over the economy*, and the revival of Benjamin Franklin's tradition of *rationalism and alerted citizenship*, to win unprecedented military and civil triumphs.

Responding to this renewed threat to their existence, the old European oligarchy created a great series of "reform" movements to block America's progress. In the course of a half-century following the Civil War (1866-1916), these reformers stopped our economic growth and seized control of the finances, politics, and culture of our country. In the period since the First World War, this "Eastern Establishment" has nearly succeeded

1. This was true except in the South. There Lincoln's enemies, the old Free Trade, "radical Republicans," controlled Reconstruction policy to keep the former Rebel states unindustrialized—and thus, in a profound sense, still not back in the Union.

in eliminating the very *idea* of America, and its special purpose, from the minds of living Americans.

We will attempt to show a sort of family history of the "reformers," and the development of the anti-American machine they have created within the United States. If the story is properly told, those who hear it will not be surprised at the behavior of those who favor Khomeini, Qaddafi, and the Soviet leadership over the United States, but will be prepared to retire them from action.

Treason against a republic is the greatest crime, because the nation's past achievements are defiled and buried, the present strivings of its statesmen and citizens are ruined, and the future greatness of its children may be prevented forever, their lives thrown away.

Whatever may be the immediate motivation for treason, the traitor typically approaches his acts from the standpoint of a *thoroughly criminal mind*, consciously reflecting on a variety of great crimes already committed.

This is a story of treason against the American republic, and thus, because of America's unique power and promise, treason against all of humanity. We shall see a remarkable connectedness between the perpetrators in different times and places, and in what might have seemed diverse planes of activity.

Most notable, and not at all surprising, is the fact that the planners and sponsors of the treason always prove to have some important connection to a particular massive crime—the *destruction of the populations of Asia by the British East India Company*.

The relationship of Western European civilization to the non-white people of other continents, so besmirched by a record of enslavement and looting, will remain the central problem of our time—should we survive the present threat of devastation from the East.

Britain's Asian empire—the "nursery" for the traitors and gangsters with whom we will deal in Part III—presents the historical investigator with unexplored territory, in a certain sense. Accounts of this bloody epoch (like those of Africa and

Ibero-America) generally fall into one of two categories: apologies written or commissioned by the guilty parties themselves; or polemics by Marxists and others which fail to differentiate the crimes from Western civilization itself (and thereby fail to inquire into the peculiar nature and role of the perpetrators back within Western society).

But crimes against the Indians and Chinese were also treason against England itself—a betrayal of the Mediterranean Renaissance civilization which England had further developed and in some ways still represented; a betrayal which could potentially be punished and corrected.

This is a story of corruption on a scale unimaginable up to that time, the controllers and benefactors of which then turned for plunder to the United States, while clamoring for an end to the “corruption” of those who stood in their way.

The British East India Company was begun in 1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to certain London-based merchants to trade in the East, following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Over the years this private company was given monopoly privileges with respect to trade in India, in return for which the oligarch-adventurers paid millions of pounds sterling (a fraction of their revenues) into the public treasury back home.

In the first two centuries the British competed with other European traders throughout Asia (among the competitors, the Dutch were the most notorious for cruelty and disregard for human life, as reflected by Jonathan Swift’s treatment of the Dutch sea captain, more bestial than animals, in *Gulliver’s Travels*).

The Company established trading strongholds in certain coastal areas of India, building up a private army which contested with French forces and native armies in the latter 1700s for “trading rights” and political power over coastal regions.

Methods of control and looting were learned first in the consolidation of the Company’s hold over Bengal, in the northwest, later to be applied to the entire subcontinent.

Mir Jafar was established as the puppet *Nawab* of Bengal in

1757. In return for this favor, and the continued support of the Company’s army, Mir Jafar agreed to give £1,000,000 out of the province’s taxes to the East India Company, £500,000 to the English inhabitants of Calcutta, and “large gifts” to various officials of the company.

A British Parliamentary committee<sup>2</sup> estimated that £1,238,575 in gifts were distributed, and that British military commander Robert Clive had received £31,500 and an estate worth £27,000 per year. Clive, whose army had conquered the province against 50,000 native defenders, reported to the committee that “the Nabob’s generosity made my fortune easy.” Clive received a total of at least £234,000 from Mir Jafar.<sup>3</sup>

Three years later, in 1760, Mir Jafar was deposed and replaced by Mir Kasim, who rewarded his sponsors with £200,000 in gifts, including £58,333 to the Company’s Bengal Governor, Henry Vansittart, and contributed £50,000 to the Company’s wars in South India.

In 1763, Mir Jafar was reinstated, paying £500,165 for the privilege. He died two years later, and his illegitimate son became “ruler,” distributing £230,356 in gifts.

The typical Company official, who might survive opium addiction, drunkenness, and venereal disease, would return to England as a massively wealthy individual. Former East India men were known as “nabobs,” who paraded their plunder and openly bought seats in Parliament.

The Company had come to India with the announced purpose of buying and selling merchandise. But the great fortunes of Company officials and stockholders were secured by theft—forced sale or purchase, and outright “tax collecting.”

The Company itself, as well as its officials acting in their own private capacities, made themselves middlemen for most com-

2. *Reports of the Committee of Secrecy Appointed by the House of Commons on the State of the East India Company*, 1773.

3. Gardner, Brian, *The East India Company*, McCall Publishing Co., New York, 1972. Clive died as an opium addict and probable suicide (Gardner, p. 102).

mercial transactions in Bengal—and later all of India. Indian weavers were forced to sell their wares to the East India men. The competition was gradually wiped out, as native merchants were compelled to purchase their stocks of goods from the English. "Various and innumerable" were the methods of compulsion "practiced by the Company's agents . . . such as by fines, imprisonments, floggings. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The tax collectors for the once-powerful Mughal emperors were given contracts for the collection of taxes payable to the Company, which came from the small landholding peasants in the form of an ever-larger share of their crops. As the Bengali peasants fell behind in their crop payments, their land would be confiscated and sold at auction, or, as a last resort, their seed grains would be taken from them.

The figures in the accompanying chart<sup>5</sup> show that the American colonists were not the only ones suffering under the oppression of British taxation at this time.

#### LAND-REVENUE TAXES IN THE PROVINCE OF BENGAL

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Regime</i>	<i>Collection</i> (£)
1762-63	Mir Kasim	646,000
1763-64	Mir Jafar	762,000
1764-65	Mir Jafar	818,000
1765-66	Dual Government (1770: famine kills third of inhabitants)	1,470,000
1771-72	Dual Government	2,341,941
1772-79	Company Direct Rule	2,577,078 (avg.)
1790-91	Company Direct Rule	2,680,000

R.C. Dutt describes the consequences of these policies on the exhausted population:

4. Bolts, William, *Consideration on Indian Affairs*, London, 1772.  
5. Mukherjee, Ramkrishna, *The Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, Monthly Review Press, London and New York, 1974, p. 359.

Early in 1769 high prices gave an indication of an approaching famine, but the land-tax was more rigorously collected than ever. . . . Late in the year the periodical rains ceased prematurely, and the Calcutta Council in their letter of the 23rd November to the Court of Directors anticipated a falling off of the revenues, but specified no relief measures to be undertaken. On the 9th May 1770 they wrote: 'The famine which has ensued, the mortality, the beggary, exceed all description. . . .' On the 11th September they wrote: 'It is scarcely possible that any description could be an exaggeration of the misery the inhabitants . . . have encountered with. It is not then to be wondered that this calamity has had its influence on the collections; but we are happy to remark that they have fallen less short than we supposed they would.' "

The official British estimate was that *one third of the people of Bengal under their control, or 10 million out of the 30 million inhabitants, died in the famine of 1770.*<sup>6</sup>

R.C. Dutt quotes Warren Hastings, the Governor of Calcutta, in a letter to the East India Company Directors in November 1772:

Notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province, and the consequent decrease of the cultivation, the net collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768. . . . It was naturally to be expected that the diminution of the revenue should have kept an equal pace with other consequences of so great a calamity. That it did not was owing to its being violently [sic] kept up to its former standard.<sup>7</sup>

Warren Hastings is called "a firm and wise peace-time ad-

6. Dutt, Romesh Chunder, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1902, pp. 51-52.  
7. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, p. 53.

administrator" by author Brian Gardner in *The East India Company*.<sup>8</sup>

There had been famines in India from time to time, over the centuries of invasions of the subcontinent since the higher Indian culture collapsed in the first millennium of the Christian era. But under British rule, the *systematic* withdrawal of resources and, as we shall see, the *systematic and calculated* destruction of native Indian manufacturing capabilities, inevitably resulted in uncontrollable, persisting famines and proneness to disease—a condition that continued until the independent Indians were able to organize their own production in the 1960s and 1970s.

Toward the end of the American War for Independence, the political circles associated with the British East India Company took nearly complete control over British political affairs. A new government was headed by Prime Minister William Petty, the Earl of Shelburne, who negotiated the peace treaty with the United States, and directed the British intelligence services in complex worldwide tasks of conquest and subversion.

A Board of Control for the Affairs of India was set up in London. Henry Dundas, political boss of Scotland and Shelburne's "dirty operations" chief, was officially President of the Board from 1793 to 1801. Unofficially, Dundas controlled Indian operations almost entirely for 30 years, from the time in 1787 when he proposed that Indian opium be poured into China as an instrument of war and looting. Dundas is also to be remembered for his role as the "Satan-ritualist" intelligence official to whom the two famous spies, Aaron Burr and Francisco Miranda, reported in England.

The British now geared up for a military offensive throughout Asia. Lord Cornwallis, who had surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown, was appointed Commander in Chief and Governor General of India.

But it was not until the military campaigns of 1797 to 1803, under the leadership of the brothers Richard, Henry, and Arthur

8. Gardner, *East India Company*, p. 111.

Wellesley, that the British East India Company finally subdued and controlled the entire subcontinent of India. Based on this exploit, Arthur Wellesley was created the Duke of Wellington and later gained fame for the defeat of Napoleon.

By the 1820s, the East India Company had a standing army of over a quarter-million troops, and a navy patrolling the seas from the Southwestern Pacific to the Persian Gulf. This was the largest armed force in the world. Between 1803 and 1857, this army engaged in a series of wars against restive Indians and neighboring Asian people, with casualties in the millions.

Among these conflicts the apologetic Brian Gardner names the following: Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1805); Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-1816); Pindari and Maratha Wars (1816-1818); First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826); First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842); Sind War (1843); Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849); Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-1853).<sup>9</sup>

In addition, the British fought the French in India from 1804 to 1815, sent troops to China to crush resistance to the sale of opium in 1841, and waged barbarous warfare against a revolt of nearly all of India in 1857.

A new mode of looting followed necessarily upon the conquest of the Indian subcontinent—the old methods would be insufficient to finance the cost of the military adventures on such a scale. Tariffs were imposed against the import of Indian textiles and garments into Great Britain, ranging from 70% up to 400% of the price of the products. At the same time, British authorities held the tariffs in India to a nominal 2½%.

The Indian manufacturing sector—chiefly fine cotton and silk goods, was swiftly destroyed. From 1818 to 1836 the export of cotton twists from Great Britain to India rose 5,200 times. The export of British muslins to India went from 1 million to 64 million yards between 1824 and 1837. Whereas in 1813, Calcutta had exported to London £2,000,000 in cotton goods, in 1830 Calcutta imported £2,000,000 in British cotton goods and ceased

9. Gardner, *East India Company*.

exporting. By 1850, total exports from Great Britain and Ireland to India were £8,024,000, of which cotton goods amounted to £2,220,000.<sup>10</sup>

Indian weavers, who had once supplied Europe and Asia with the finest cloths, now disappeared from world commerce.

To pay for the imports, the British developed vast opium plantations in India, and, largely under expert Scotch supervision, smuggled the illegal, poison drug into China. The East India Company sold licenses for the export of opium, the revenues for which rose from £728,517 in fiscal 1834-35, to £4,137,975 in 1850-51.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, the tax collections had been extended to bear down upon the entire subcontinent.

In Bombay (where the family of John Foster and Allen Dulles made its fortune in plunder with the East India Company), Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone explained his land revenue policy:

The general principle is to take half of the money produced by the sale of the crops, and leave the rest to the Ryot [peasant]. . . . In the Ahmedabad [district], the number of villages that have been let to the highest bidder [rented to "tax-farmers" or private collectors], the consequent detection of all sources of revenue . . . have a tendency to strain the revenue to the highest pitch . . . If I were to decide on the present condition of the people in this collectorship, I should pronounce it to be very much depressed. The Ryots seem to be ill-clothed and ill-lodged.<sup>12</sup>

The Bombay Administrative Report, published later in the century, was more graphic:

From the outset it was found impossible to collect any-

10. Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 405-406.

11. Gardner, *East India Company*, pp. 206 and 306.

12. Minutes of August 15, 1821, and of (month and day unknown), 1821, quoted in Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall*, p. 375.

thing approaching to the full revenue. In some Districts not one-half could be realised. . . . Every effort, lawful or unlawful, was made to get the most out of the wretched peasantry, who were subjected to torture, in some instances cruel and revolting beyond all description, if they would not or could not yield what was demanded. Numbers abandoned their homes, and fled into the neighbouring Native States. Large tracts of land were thrown out of cultivation, and in some Districts no more than a third of the cultivable area remained in occupation.<sup>13</sup>

Other reports tell of cultivators fleeing from the tax collectors into the jungle, being rounded up by British soldiers and flogged and tortured to get them back to work.<sup>14</sup> In the Bombay revenue district, tax collections increased from £868,000 in 1817 to £1,818,000 in 1821.<sup>15</sup>

As the native Indian cotton disappeared from the market, with the devastation of its cultivators, the British textile exporters could depend on a different source of cheap raw material—American slave cotton.

An important lesson from the British oligarchs' experience in India was the manipulation of popular culture in support of the planned destruction of the economy. The object of the Company's cultural warfare was to *prevent at all costs the importation of Western values and ideals into India*. Later, the conquerors of India would strive to eliminate Western values from the American republic, while imposing "reforms" that would reverse American economic and cultural achievements.

The Company simply adopted the most outrageously decadent aspects of surviving Indian religious orthodoxy, patronized them, and through the selection of religious leaders and laws, made *British-run* "Hinduism" and "Islam" into the state religions for the Company's subjects.

13. *Bombay Administrative Report*, 1872, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 376.

14. Dutt, *Economic History*, Vol I, p. 62, 149.

15. Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall*, p. 376.

This was no "visitors' acceptance of the ways of the host." Nothing of positive value, that still remained from earlier Indian civilization—or from substantial modernizing initiatives of recent Indian leaders—was selected by the British to continue functioning. Reservoirs, canals, and sluices which had irrigated much of ancient Asia, still continued to operate in parts of southern India which the British had yet to conquer in the early 1800s.

But for the two centuries of British rule, the areas they controlled were subjected to droughts and floods, leading to epidemics and famines, because the British chose not to keep up the ancient Indian system of water management.

No, other projects were more important.

Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal (1772-1774) and Governor General of India (1774-1786), selected certain "Brahmin *pandits* from different parts of . . . Bengal [who] were brought to Calcutta where they were employed for two years in order to prepare a compendium of Hindu laws in Sanskrit. . . . The manuscript was then translated into Persian and from Persian into English . . . presented . . . to the Court of Directors of the East India Company and published in 1776."<sup>16</sup> This Company creation became the *Gentoo Code*—the law for Hindus.

Exactly the same process was followed for the Moslems: Hastings hired certain amenable "learned professors of the Mahomedan Law," who translated material from Arabic to Persian, establishing for India a compendium of law (for Moslems only) called *Hedaya*.<sup>17</sup>

And who was to enforce this new "orthodoxy"? Of course, theologians would be necessary.

The Company "took under their management a large number of Hindu temples. They advanced money for rebuilding important shrines and for repairing others, and paid the salaries of the temple officials, even down to the courtesans, which were a

16. *ibid.*, 316.

17. Warren Hastings, letter to the Directors of the Company, Feb. 21, 1784, quoted in Muir, Ramsay, *The Making of British India: 1756-1858*, Manchester University Press, 1917.

normal feature of the great temples of the South. They granted large sums of money for sacrifices and festivals and for the feeding of Brahmans. . . . Even cruel and immoral rites, such as hook swinging, practised in the worship of the gods, and the burning of widows, were carried out under British supervision. In order to pay for all these things a pilgrim tax was imposed. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

Lord William Bentinck, Governor General from 1828 to 1835, "reformed" the law to allow for prosecution of persons who "used violence" to recapture widows who escaped from the funeral pyre where they were supposed to be burned with their husbands' bodies.<sup>19</sup>

If widows escaped this slaughter, they were not allowed to remarry—an especially cruel law because 1) from one-third to one-half of Indian women were married before the age of ten; and 2) powerful Brahmans were allowed to marry ten or hundreds of wives, whom they visited in rounds. The British outlawed child marriage in 1929, and the Republic of India outlawed polygamy in 1955.

Meanwhile, under British control, new tribes were brought under Hindu law and converted to Hinduism;<sup>20</sup> at the same time, the Company successfully prevented Christian missionaries from entering India until well into the nineteenth century.

To administer this horror and carnage, the British East India Company felt the need for a new species of employee, trained in a new type of "economics," who by his training could be relied upon to commit murder on an unprecedented scale without pity and without remorse. This kind of training would have to involve the selection of candidates with criminal propensities, and inculcation with the most degraded concepts of racialism and irrationalism.

To this end the Company founded two colleges in England.

18. Farquhar, J. N., *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Macmillan, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Dehli, 1977, p. 9.

19. Gardner, *East India Company*, pp. 200-201.

20. Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall*, p. 333.

Its military school at Addiscombe trained 3,600 for India between 1809 and 1861. One of its most illustrious graduates was Field Marshal Baron Robert Napier of Magdala, whose family would later use the proceeds of his shocking crimes to "reform" American laws and finances.

The theoretical justifications for the Asian adventures were developed at the Company's Hailybury College near Hertford. It was here that the East India Company's professor of economics and modern history, Thomas R. Malthus, wrote and published most of his infamous works on the necessity for population reduction, and the inevitability of poverty and suffering, during his tenure from 1806 to 1834.

The headquarters for the Company was the East India House in London. James Mill (1773-1836), economist and disciple of radical hedonist spymaster Jeremy Bentham, was Examiner of Correspondence for the Company for 18 years. His son, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), rose after 34 years with the Company to the same position as his father. He was a key policy-making official of the Company, and was the central organizer of the Radical Party which planned the policies of Great Britain (and, they hoped, the United States) in the nineteenth century.

In 1857, the people of India rose in rebellion against the Company's rule. The slaughter and torture imposed on the "mutineers" by the Company's troops rank with the vilest of all acts in human history. Drunken, insane soldiers looted, raped, maimed, murdered, and burned their way across India.

The world was outraged. Queen Victoria took the administration of India away from the East India Company, which was dissolved several years later. John Stuart Mill wrote the Company's final, futile plea to the Parliament that the Company be allowed to keep India, on the grounds that its administration had cost the government nothing, that "private enterprise" would keep India's affairs out of party politics!<sup>21</sup>

John Stuart Mill became the leading spokesman for Classical

21. Gardner, *East India Company*, p. 289.

Economics, or "free enterprise" theory. As the chief intelligence officer for the greatest single criminal organization on earth, which had succeeded in "freeing" India from nearly all traces of economic enterprise, Mill now turned in the final years of his life to apply the lessons of India to the conquest of America.

### The Conception and Birth of 'Reform': Emerson, Carlyle, Engels

Here are you set down, scholars and idealists, as in a barbarous age: amidst insanity to calm and guide it; amidst fools and blind, to see the right done; among violent proprietors, to check self-interest . . . among angry politicians swelling with self-esteem, pledged to parties . . . under bad governments to force on them, by your persistence, good laws. Around that immovable persistency of yours, statesmen, legislatures, must revolve denying you, but not less forced to obey.<sup>22</sup>

—Ralph Waldo Emerson  
Harvard College, 1867

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) may be thought of as the founder of American Reform and its original guru. He gathered around himself and led the "transcendentalists," such as Henry David Thoreau and Margaret Fuller, and edited their journal, *The Dial*. With his reputation as a rebel against established authority in the church, the government, and industry, Emerson's writings and speeches inspired abolitionists, vegetarians, prohibitionists, atheists, socialists, civil service reformers, free enterprise advocates—and later movements such as the hippies of the 1960s and the greenies of the 1970s.

In the 1867 address quoted above, Emerson as an elder statesman is seen passing the torch to the new generation of reformers in all fields. These later reformers battled the au-

22. Quoted in Miller, Lawrence, *Dimensions of Mugwump Thought*, dissertation, 1968, University of Illinois; pp. 56-57.



thorities in American culture and displaced them from power. The history books tell a story of greed and exploitation being reversed or controlled by public-spirited men and women, inspired by the courageous democratic souls—true-blue Americans typified by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The real story is entirely opposite to this tradition. We have described in earlier chapters the ugly role played by abolitionists in the creation of the Civil War, and how the insincere sponsors of that movement deliberately blocked the transformation of the South promoted by “moderate” American System advocates such as Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln.

Emerson was no democrat. He had no sympathy for the nation of Washington and Lincoln. He was rather a lieutenant in a small army of foreign agents, representing the imperial ambitions of Great Britain and the horrible commercial appetites of certain Scots and their “old European” allies.

The Boston community into which Emerson was born was a tightly knit little social island of British-connected merchants and Unitarian ministers. Since the middle 1790s the leading families (Cabot, Lowell, Forbes, Higginson) of this pro-Tory set had been in a state of rebellion against the United States government, against the nation’s new-won independence, against republicanism in general.

Harvard College, the intellectual center of the treason, was run as a family affair by the Boston secessionist leaders. Harvard’s President John T. Kirkland had greeted Aaron Burr when that disguised fugitive from justice had snuck back into the country in May 1812. Kirkland had given Burr a check drawn on the Harvard treasury to help him get back to New York.

Emerson, the son of a Unitarian minister, entered Harvard as the personal servant, janitor, and family tutor for President Kirkland. That he was a good candidate for the job of organizer for the British Party, may be seen by a glimpse into some of his early diary entries.

These words were written when he was 19 years old:

I believe that nobody now regards the maxim that “all men are born equal,” as anything more than a convenient hypothesis or an extravagant declamation. For the reverse is true—that all men are born unequal in personal powers and in those essential circumstances, of time, parentage, country, fortune. The least knowledge of the natural history of man adds another important particular to these; namely, what class of men he belongs to—European, Moor, Tartar, African? Because nature has plainly assigned different degrees of intellect to these different races, and the barriers between are insurmountable.

This inequality is an indication of the design of Providence that some should lead, and some should serve. For when an effect invariably takes place from causes which Heaven established, we surely say with safety, that Providence designed that result.

Throughout Society there is therefore not only the direct and acknowledged relation of king & subject, master & servant, but a secret dependence quite as universal, of one man upon another, which sway habits, opinions, conduct. . . . the same pleasure and confidence which the dog and horse feel when they rely upon the superior intelligence of man is felt by the lower parts of our own species with reference to the higher.

. . . I saw ten, twenty, a hundred large lipped lowbrowed black men in the streets who, except in the mere matter of language, did not exceed the sagacity of the elephant. . . . the African degenerates to a likeness of the beast. . . . are they not an upper order of inferior animals?<sup>23</sup>

In a subsequent entry, Emerson opines that slavery is blasphemous and illegitimate. But the racial and caste viewpoints

<sup>23</sup> Joel Porte, ed., *Emerson in His Journals*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp. 19-22.

expressed in the quotation above remained the foundation of Emerson's thinking throughout his life, in coexistence with "democratic" views expedient for various social-action projects—such as the promotion of secession and civil war.

As late as 1838 he defended the slave trade in a letter to his wife: "To such as *she* these crucifixions do not come. They come to the obtuse and barbarous to whom they are not horrid, but only a little worse than the old sufferings. They exchange a cannibal war for the stench of the hold. They have gratifications which would be none for the civilized girl."

But as a college graduate Emerson was not yet "invented." After a brief, depressing teaching career, he was equally unimpressive as yet another Unitarian minister. For years he was a drifting, bored, purposeless liberal preacher. In September 1832, at the age of 29, Emerson quit his pastorate, choosing what he called "Socratic paganism" over "an effete superannuated Christianity," and took a boat for Europe. After a tour of Italy and France, he arrived in England.

At East India House, Emerson met with John Stuart Mill, who gave him a letter of introduction to a young Scottish literary protégé of his, Thomas Carlyle. After an extended visit with Carlyle and his wife Jane, Emerson became Carlyle's business representative, partner, disciple, and lifelong friend. Emerson published and promoted Carlyle's books in the United States; Carlyle did the same for Emerson in Great Britain. Emerson wrote to Carlyle calling him "my general" and referring to himself as "your lieutenant."

Upon his return home Emerson married a new wife (his first had died before the trip) and gathered an entirely new circle of friends around him—the transcendentalists. He began an entirely new career as the famous "rebel" leader on the lecture circuit, the darling of the Brahmins of Boston. While attacking the "corruption" in America's commitment to material progress, Emerson preached a new morality of romantic selfishness—"self-reliance":

"A political victory, a rise of rents, the recovery of your sick,

or the return of your absent friend, or some other quite external event, raises your spirits, and you think good days are preparing for you. Do not believe it. . . . Nothing can bring you peace but yourself. Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles."<sup>24</sup>

The new creed of quietude, of estrangement from "corrupt society," was embellished with translations and interpretation of certain existentialist Eastern writings (Persian, Indian). But the peculiar Transcendentalist atmosphere of neurosis, of heavy "sensitivity" flirting with homosexuality, is a replication of the worst of the German romantic genre which Emerson imported under the tutelage of that movement's interpreter in Britain, Thomas Carlyle.

The creation of Ralph Waldo Emerson's reputation as a deeply wise, sincere advocate of the oppressed, etc., now became the project of the leading Brahmin families. James Elliot Cabot was to be his editor and executive arm; John Murray Forbes would be his financial angel.

### How Carlyle Was Assembled

The Oracles are dumm,  
 No voice or hideous humm  
 Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.  
*Apollo* from his shrine  
 Can no more divine,  
 With hollow shriek the steep of *Delphos* leaving.  
 No nightly trance, or breathed spell, Inspires the pale-  
 ey'd Priest from the prophetic cell.  
 . . . and sullen *Moloch* fled  
 Hath left in shadows dred  
 His burning Idol all of blackest hue;  
 . . . The brutish gods of Nile as fast,  
*Isis* and *Orus*, and the Dog *Anubis* has.

24. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *The Essay on Self Reliance*, The Roycrofters, East Aurora, New York, 1908, p. 59.

Nor is *Osiris* seen. . .  
 In vain with Timbrel'd Anthems dark  
 The sable-stoled Sorcerers bear his worshiped Ark.  
 He feels from *Juda's* Land  
 The dredded Infant's hand,  
 . . . Our Babe to shew his godhead true,  
 Can in his swadling bands controul the damnèd crew.

—The pagan gods—and their earthly sponsors—are put to rout in John Milton's *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*.

The famous Scottish fascist Thomas Carlyle (1795- 1881), whose disciple Ralph Waldo Emerson became after their first meeting in 1833, was the son of a Calvinist carpenter, descended from workingmen and farmers. His career as a prophet of feudalism owed little to family or early friends. We shall briefly describe the small circle of British strategic planners who adopted Carlyle and put his rage against humanity to work.

Henry Brougham, later known as Baron Brougham and Vaux, told the House of Commons on April 9, 1816:

After the cramped state in which the enemy's measures and our own retaliation . . . had kept our trade for some years . . . a rage for exporting goods of every kind burst forth. . . . Everything that could be shipped was sent off; all the capital that could be laid hold of was embarked. . . . It was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war [of 1812] had forced into existence contrary to the usual course of things.<sup>25</sup>

25. *Parliamentary Debates*, Hansard, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1098-1099, proceeding of the House of Commons on April 9, 1816; also in *Edinburgh Review*, no. LII, June, 1816; quoted by Stanwood, Edward, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century*, originally published by Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1903, reprinted by Garland Publishing, Inc., New York and London, 1974, pp. 167-168.

Between 1816 and 1820, the flood of British imports had indeed crippled American production. The resulting depression lasted until the middle 1820s, when the American System political movement—created by Mathew Carey and led by Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams—utilized the government's powers to direct a vigorous industrial expansion.

The frank admission of the aims of British trade war, quoted above, caused a sensation when American nationalists publicized it in the United States. The speech had been reprinted in the June, 1816 issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, a journal whose creation had been sponsored by Lord Brougham. Henry Brougham, it seems, was a new type of "liberal"—a reformer in the new style of Lord Shelburne's Scottish-Swiss intelligence clique.

The *Edinburgh Review* was to be an instrument of cultural warfare for these new lords of British (and Asian) society. The *Review* was founded on the suggestion of Sydney Smith, a theologian who led the movement to prohibit the introduction of Christianity into India. After Smith edited the first few issues, the editorship was entrusted to Smith's friend Francis Jeffrey.

It was Lord Brougham who first brought the struggling Scottish author James Mill into public view by arranging for him to begin writing articles for the *Edinburgh Review* in 1808. In that year Mill met and surrendered himself to the anti-Christian gospels of Jeremy Bentham. Mill, with his young son John Stuart, henceforth lived with Bentham, as his worshippers and tenants (Mill said "Bentham will have a disciple able and anxious to devote his whole life to 'the propagation of the system'").

James Mill completed his book *The History of India* in 1818. The following year he was hired by the East India Company for its intelligence department, of which he became the chief in 1830.

It was his duty as Examiner of Correspondence to *receive and analyze field reports from Asia, develop continuing strategies for the Company's overall management, and to draft orders for its military and civilian officials* which were submitted to the Di-

rector and Chairman for their signatures. As the Company's public spokesman he defended its right to continue ruling India in interrogations before Parliament in 1831 and 1832, declaring that the Indians were not fit people for self-rule.<sup>26</sup>

James Mill brought his friend David Ricardo to publish his work on political economy and to enter Parliament, while Mill trained son John Stuart to follow in his own footsteps.

When Ralph Waldo Emerson arrived at the East India House in 1833, the younger Mill was already a 10-year veteran in the intelligence department headed by his father. Over the next quarter century he rose in power in the Company, until in 1856 he assumed his father's old command post. John Stuart Mill was thus the day-to-day superintendent of the holocaust in which the British put down the 1857 Indian rebellion.

Thomas Carlyle, in his early thirties, had achieved no literary career. After attending Edinburgh University, Carlyle had written a life of Friedrich Schiller, published in 1825. Three years later the publisher sold 600 unbought copies back to the frustrated author.

But beginning in 1827, Edinburgh Review editor Francis Jeffrey began opening doors for Thomas Carlyle. Readers may remember Jeffrey from Chapter 8 of this book: he made a daring trip to the enemy U.S.A. during the War of 1812, conferring there with John Lowell ("The Rebel"), leader of the Boston anti-war crusade. Arrested and briefly held by American authorities as an enemy alien, he had been summoned before Secretary of

26. Mill's relation to the Company is presented quite baldly in Willson, Beckles, *Ledger and Sword, or, The Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies (1599-1874)*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1903, Vol II, p. 425:

"It was at this time that the great conflict between Parliament and the Company came on, the Company struggling not merely for its principles, but for its very existence. . . . Chief of [the Company's supporters] was James Mill. For the time being Mill was almost in himself the Company. Between 1831 and 1834 he was repeatedly examined by Parliamentary committees through numerous weary sittings."

State James Monroe on the quite logical assumption that he was a representative of the British government.

Jeffrey introduced his new, quaintly accented asset into all the right circles; he bought and published Carlyle's literary offerings even when he thought them of inferior quality; he lent Carlyle money to get established.

When Emerson met with him, Carlyle was midway through a 10-year testing period by the East India nabobs and their Radical Party. When Carlyle's autobiographical fiction *Sartor Resartus* was published in Boston through Emerson's mediation, the author was as yet (1837) virtually unknown to the public.

The final assembly of Thomas Carlyle was up to "the boss." John Stuart Mill brought Carlyle reference materials for the construction of a history of the French Revolution. The first volume being completed with great effort, Carlyle turned over the manuscript to Mill. After it was perused by Mill and his mistress, the manuscript—which Mill said he thought "deficient"—was conveniently thrown in the fire by the maid. Mill gave the horror-stricken author £100 to try again, and the three-volume study in historical myth-making was at length satisfactory and ready for publication.

This is how John Stuart Mill explained his course of action to ensure that Carlyle would now be made a celebrity: "[It was] a book so strange & incomprehensible to the greater part of the public, that whether it should succeed or fail seemed to depend upon the turn of a die—but I got the first work, blew the trumpet before it at its first coming out & by claiming for it the honour of the highest genius frightened the small fry of critics from pronouncing a hasty condemnation, got fair play for it & then its success was sure."

Mill wrote and published his shameless puffery in the *London and Westminster Review*, a publication under his entire supervision, dated July 1837:

This is not so much a history, as an epic poem; and notwithstanding, or even in consequence of this, the truest

of histories. It is the history of the French Revolution, and the poetry of it, both in one; and on the whole no work of greater genius, either historical or poetical, has been pronounced in this country for many years. It is a book . . . of distinguished originality . . . of surpassing excellence. . . . what is it, in the fictitious subjects which poets usually treat, that makes those subjects poetical? Surely not the dry, mechanical *facts* which compose the story; but the *feelings* . . . which the story, or the manner of relating it, awakens in our minds.<sup>27</sup>

The book, *The French Revolution*, was an international success and made Thomas Carlyle a famous man. It does not concern itself with "the dry, mechanical facts." The following excerpt purports to describe the events in Paris following King Louis XVI's dismissal of Swiss banker Jacques Necker from the post of Finance Minister, after Necker had repeatedly sabotaged and subverted the administration for its failure to cut the national budget:

Hark! a human voice reporting articulately the Job's-news: *Necker, People's Minister, Savior of France, is dismissed—Impossible, incredible!* . . . Necker is gone. Necker hies northward incessantly, in obedient secrecy, since yesternight. We have a new ministry; Broglie the War-god; Aristocrat Breteuil; Foulon who said the people might eat grass!

Rumour, therefore, shall arise. . . . Paleness sits on every face; confused tremor and fremescence; waxing into thunderpeals of Fury stirred on by Fear.

But see Camille Desmoulins, from the Cafe de Fay, rushing out, sybylline in face, his hair streaming, in each hand a pistol! He springs to a table: the Police satellites

27. Reprinted in Gibbs, J. W. M., editor, *The Early Essays by John Stuart Mill*, George Bell and Sons, London, 1897, pp. 271-278.

are eyeing him; alive they shall not take him. . . . Friends! shall we die like hunted hares? like sheep . . . bleating for mercy. . . . The hour is come . . . when Oppressors are to try conclusions with Oppressed; and the word is, swift Death, or Deliverance forever. . . . Us, meseems, one cry only befits: to Arms! Let Universal Paris. . . as with the throat of the whirlwind, sound only: to arms! "To arms" yell responsive the innumerable voices; like one great voice, as of a demon yelling from the air; for all faces wax fire-eyed, all hearts burn up into madness. In such, or fitter words, does Camille evoke the Elemental Powers. . . .

The wax-bust of Necker, the wax-bust of [the Duc] d'Orleans, helpers of France: these covered with crape . . . a mixed multitude bears off. . . .

In this manner march they . . . armed with axes, staves . . . grim, many-sounding through the streets. Be all theatres shut; let all dancing . . . cease! Instead of a Christian Sabbath . . . it shall be a Sorcerers Sabbath; and Paris, gone rabid, dance—with the Fiend for Piper!<sup>28</sup>

This is the "historical method" of the fascist movement—with J. S. Mill for piper. The people are possessed, says Carlyle, but not by Necker, d'Orleans, Bentham, and Shelburne, as the historical record would show. The people must have revenge, must purge themselves with blood.

Carlyle's next famous work was *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. Here Carlyle openly calls for a revival of paganism and the surrender of all mankind to totalitarian rule. He retells the myths of the Norse gods (Thor, Odin) and connects them to what was, in his view, the racially superior Nordic stock of men. These rude biological ancestors of many Britons, he claims, constitute the *heritage of England*—not the prophets of the Bible, Jesus Christ, and the Mediterranean Renaissance

28. Carlyle, Thomas, *The French Revolution, A History*, Oxford University Press, London, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 183-185.

civilization. The cultural inheritance that fell to Shakespeare is of no account—Shakespeare was great, says Carlyle, because he was completely unconscious when he wrote, as in a reverie! And on what should modern man build his faith?

Now if worship even of a star had some meaning in it, how much more might that of a Hero! . . . I say there is, at bottom, nothing else admirable! No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man. It is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's life. Religions I find stand on it; not Paganism only, but far higher and truer religions,—all religion hitherto known. Hero-worship, heartfelt prostrate admiration, submission, burning, boundless, for a noblest godlike Form of Man.<sup>29</sup>

After the publication of this piece in 1841, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Carlyle's American representative, began retailing this theme in his own public lecture series, retitling it *On Representative Man*.

Edgar Allan Poe commented, "The next work of Carlyle will be entitled *Bow Wow*, and the title-page will have a motto from the opening chapter of the Koran: 'There is *no* error in this book.' "

Carlyle wrote *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question in 1849*, describing the emancipated blacks in the British West Indies "sitting yonder with their beautiful muzzles up to their ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices; the grinder and incisor teeth ready for ever new work, and the pumpkins cheap as grass in those rich climates: while the sugar crops rot around them uncut. . . ."

He calls for laws forcing the blacks to work for their former masters, wages or no, for life terms. He says there is only "one

29. Carlyle, Thomas, *[On] Heroes and Hero Worship*, W. B. Conkey Company, Chicago, 1900, pp. 17-18.

intolerable sort of slavery. . . . It is the slavery of the strong to the weak. . . . [with] Folly, all 'emancipated'. . . armed with ballot boxes, universal suffrages . . . statistics, Constitutional Philosophies, and other Fool Gospels. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

Carlyle's way was in these later years made considerably easier by the patronage of the Baring family. The Second Lord Ashburton, head of the family in the middle 1800s, hosted Carlyle and his wife in royal fashion at the Baring Castle; Lord and Lady Ashburton became the most intimate confidantes of Thomas Carlyle. Lord Ashburton was the grandson of Francis Baring, who had been chairman of the East India Company and founder of the Baring bank. The Barings from Francis on *financed all the Company's trade, and that of the Boston merchants* who cooperated with the British in Asia.

Carlyle's own house became the main British base of operations for "Third Rome" anarchist leader Giuseppe Mazzini; Jane Carlyle was Mazzini's dearest friend. And in his old age, Carlyle acquired two worshipful disciples: John Ruskin and William T. Stead, feudalist founders of the British Round Table (Mr. Stead will play a role in our story later on, as an espionage agent against the United States in the 1890s).

It was in the prime of his career, in 1843, that Carlyle published a book on the oppression of workingmen by industries and industrialists—*Past and Present*. The next year he was greeted in the public prints with the praise—and imitation—of a disciple of a new type, a new Englishman, in fact.

### Communism as a Weapon of Feudalism

So much is certain: comparative physiology gives one a *withering contempt for the idealistic exaltation of man* over the other animals. At every step one bumps up against the most complete uniformity of structure with the rest of the mammals, and in its main features this uniformity extends

30. Carlyle, Thomas, *Occasional Discourses on the Nigger Question*, in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1872, Vol VII, pp. 81, 89; [first published in *Fraser's Magazine*, December, 1849].

to all vertebrates and even . . . to insects, crustaceans, tapeworms, etc.

These lines were written in the summer of 1858 by a British cotton manufacturer. For four years he had been a member of the Board of Directors of the Manchester Cotton Exchange, delegated to represent the interests of those manufacturers, like his family's firm, who bought slave cotton from the American South; worked up the cotton with virtual slave laborers in filthy Manchester mills; and sold their product at the point of a gun in British India, where it was traded for opium to be forced on the Chinese.

It was a time of feverish activity for these gentlemen. Their American source was being agitated by insurrectionists preparing secession and war against the U.S. government. Nathaniel Beverly Tucker of Virginia, the treasonous American consul in Liverpool, was making final arrangements with his friends and relatives for the exchange of cotton for raiding ships and guns (his cousin Henry St. George Tucker had been Chairman of the East India Company).

Manchester was the industrial center of the world-spanning slave-labor textile empire. It was also the birthplace and *political* center of the international "free trade" faction, whose goal was to reduce the rest of the world to rural raw-material suppliers and finished-product buyers, on the model of Alabama and India.

The author of the lines quoted above, typical of these gentlemen in his "withering contempt" for mankind, is without question the most famous British manufacturer in history.

He hunted foxes as a member of all the "smart" clubs. His personal profit share from the family thread and yarn mills ran as high as £4,000 per year, in addition to his £1,000 per year salary as manager of the Manchester plant employing 800 operatives.

But his fame rests on a political project with which he was entrusted. He was *Frederick Engels, founder of "Marxism," author of its doctrines and personal controller of Karl Marx.*

**Marxism**—the communist movement—was one of a number of weapons created by British strategists to counter the spread of American System political ideas and nationalist economic organization to the European continent.

The young Engels, who paid homage to feudalist hero Thomas Carlyle in 1844, was born in Germany's Rhineland, in 1820. His father, Frederick Engels, Sr., owned a textile mill in the Wupper valley—an area of strong British influence known as "Little England"; the twin towns of Barmen and Elberfeld were called "Little Manchester." The elder Engels was the first manufacturer in the area to introduce English machinery into his plant.

In 1837, Engels, Sr., accepted the offer of Peter and Godfrey Ermen, British-based manufacturers from a Dutch noble family, to form a partnership incorporating his factory with the ones they owned in Cologne and Manchester.

It is the political significance of the Engels family affiliations—the choosing of sides—rather than the strictly commercial aspects, which were of greatest significance. For Germany was at that time locked in a growing struggle between the republican allies of the American System, advocating national unification and rapid German industrial development, as against the "free trade" allies of the British nabobs, who sought a continuation of Germany's division into largely rural, petty principalities.

The leader of Germany's republican party was Friedrich List. He had been elected president of the 6,000-member German industrialists' association in 1819. His proposal for a customs union (Zollverein) had challenged the reactionary order imposed on Europe by the British and the Hapsburgs' Count Metternich at the Congress of Vienna.

Upon the invitation of the Marquis de Lafayette, with the encouragement of John Quincy Adams' State Department, List took refuge in the United States from Metternich's persecution. He joined Lafayette's triumphal American tour in 1825 as a translator for the General, and was introduced to Benjamin Franklin's old revolutionary employee Mathew Carey.

With Carey and his friends in Pennsylvania, Friedrich List

studied the nation-building precepts of Alexander Hamilton; he participated with Carey and Henry Clay in the successful fight for stronger tariffs and government-directed industrial growth; he developed coal mines in northeastern Pennsylvania and built an early pre-steam railroad to carry the coal—probably the first railroad in the United States.

List returned to Europe in 1830 as the American consul in Paris, one of the world's foremost economic and political thinkers. He moved on to Germany, serving in three cities as American consul. Under his renewed leadership the German republicans successfully created the Zollverein on Jan. 1, 1834, lowering the tariffs between the principalities and erecting tariff barriers against British dumping of cheap imports.

As List explained the republicans' outlook, "Government, sir, has not only the right, but it is its duty, to promote everything which may increase the wealth and power of the nation. . . . So the shipping interest and commerce must be supported by breakwaters—agriculture and every other industry by turnpikes, bridges, canals, and rail-roads—new inventions by patent laws—so manufactures must be raised by protecting them if foreign capital and skill prevent individuals from undertaking them."

The Zollverein was seen as a step toward a great commercial and industrial alliance of continental Europe and America to break Britain's stranglehold on world development:

European nations . . . must commence with the development of their own internal manufacturing powers. . . . Should they be hindered in these endeavors by England's manufacturing, commercial, and naval supremacy, in the union of their powers lies the only means of reducing such unreasonable pretensions. . . . Every war which the powers of the continent have waged against one another [in the last century] has had for its invariable result to increase the industry, the wealth, the navigation, the colonial pos-

sessions, and the power of the insular supremacy [of Britain]<sup>31</sup>.

In his book, *The National System of Political Economy*, List gives the rationale for national independence, in opposition to the world-view of the East India Company:

The present state of the nations is the result of the accumulation of all discoveries, inventions, improvements, perfections, and exertions of all generations which have lived before us . . . and every separate nation is productive only in the proportion in which it has known how to appropriate these attainments of former generations and to increase them by its own acquirements. . . .<sup>32</sup>

In 1835, List began publication of a journal whose title translates as "The Railroad Journal or National Magazine of Inventions, Discoveries and Progress in Commerce, Industry, Public Undertakings and Public Institutions, and of Statistics of National Economy and Finance." Within the government of Prussia, dominant among the German states, List's journal was "received favorably by the Minister of War, Witzleben, and by A[lexander] Humboldt [pro-American scientist]. Its influence spread rapidly throughout Europe. By the end of 1835, Prince Metternich outlawed this journal in Austria. . . . Metternich said List was 'the most active, wary, and influential of the German revolutionaries.'"<sup>33</sup>

Since the republican program for national unification and economic development had overwhelming public support, the British and their princely allies had to create self-styled "liberal" and "radical" movements to stem the tide. Among these was

31. List, Friedrich, *The National System of Political Economy*, Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1966, p. 421.

32. *ibid.*, p. 140.

33. Carol Cleary, unpublished manuscript, "The Battle to Contain List and his Policies," April 1979.



the Young Germany movement, set up in Switzerland in 1831 by British foreign minister Henry Palmerston, its thousands of refugee members and operatives ranging back and forth from its Swiss base. This was the training ground for the young Frederick Engels. As Engels later put it, "Young Germany was obliged . . . to take up social questions. While the middle classes of Germany kill their time . . . making it their chief business to effect some very little, almost invisible, good-for-nothing reform . . . the working people of our country read and digest the writings of the greatest German Philosophers. . . ." <sup>34</sup> As we will see momentarily, Engels' own course of study was not confined to the "greatest German philosophers."

The political and diplomatic offensive thrown into gear by the British against the American System in Europe in the 1830s and 1840s would be reapplied, with considerable sophistication, against the continuation of Abraham Lincoln's economic program in the United States after the Civil War.

The secret British war against the German republicans was under the immediate guidance of Dr. John Bowring (1792-1872) and his colleague, the Manchester textile manufacturer Richard Cobden (1804-1865).

Bowring had been the personal secretary of Jeremy Bentham and was the executor of his will. When Bentham had set up the radical *Westminster Review* in 1824, he had offered its editorship to James Mill, who declined it because of his duties with the East India Company; Bowring became its editor. Bowring had otherwise been arrested and banished from France on charges of espionage and jailbreak conspiracy; he was the semi-official representative of the spy-base island of Malta in the British Parliament; and in the 1850s he would be ambassador to China and Commander in Chief of British Forces in the Far East, where he ordered the attacks beginning the Second Opium War against the Chinese.

34. Frederick Engels, "Young Germany in Switzerland," 1845, Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, International Publishers, New York, 1975.

In 1838 Bowring, then an official in Palmerston's Foreign Office, began organizing more forceful measures to deal with the problem of the Zollverein. He dispatched Richard Cobden on an intelligence-gathering tour of Germany. On September 10, 1838, Bowring held a meeting in Manchester where he described the threat posed by the Zollverein. He claimed that the Germans did not really want to develop independent manufacturing, but *were being induced to do so largely because of the British Corn Laws, which restricted imports into England of foreign agricultural products.*

Bowring then sent Archibald Prentice, editor of the *Manchester Times*, to explain to the Manchester manufacturers the need for a new organization that would seek a battle-policy of "free trade," based on the repeal of the Corn Laws, so that German industrial development might be halted. The following month the Anti-Corn Law League was formed by Bowring, the Manchester manufacturers, and Cobden, who had returned from Germany with an account of the strategic weaknesses of the Zollverein.

John Bowring was officially deputized by Palmerston in 1839 to negotiate with Prussia to bring about the reduction of tariffs on English goods. The Prussian junker nobility then occupied, in British strategic planning, a similar position to that of the planter aristocracy in South Carolina: in exchange for British agricultural markets, they were expected to sabotage their own country's industrial development.

With this oligarchical alliance under construction, Bowring submitted to Parliament the proposal for tariff changes which, after several years of struggle, were put into effect later in the 1840s.

We may now look at the position of Frederick Engels within this "struggle" being developed in England under the control of Palmerston, Mill, and the radical imperialists.

Engels graduated from the Elberfeld Gymnasium in 1837, the year his father entered his partnership with the Ermen brothers in Manchester. His first major piece of journalism, *Letters from*

*Wuppertal*, appeared early in 1839 in the Hamburg organ of Young Germany, *Telegraph für Deutschland*. In this sarcastic attack on his home town, Engels blamed poverty, sickness, illiteracy, superstition, drunkenness, and general ugliness, not on the low level of industrial and scientific development, but on "factory work" itself. He also calls for atheism as a means of freeing popular consciousness.

Early in 1841 Engels wrote the libretto for an opera on the tragedy of *Rienzi*. This is the story of the fourteenth-century Italian knight who liberates the people and tries to recreate a Roman Empire to conquer the world. Engels's libretto was not published in his lifetime. But Richard Wagner's opera on the same theme, based on Englishman Edward Bulwer-Lytton's cult novel, *The Last of the Tribunes*, had its first German performance in 1842 and established Wagner's fame.

That he was no friend of the pro-American List's republican movement may be seen in Engels' *Reports from Bremen*, published in August 1841: "It is the German [emigrants] in the cities who have taught the Americans their deplorable contempt for our nation. The German merchant makes it a point of honor to discard his Germanness and become a complete Yankee ape. . . . When he returns to Germany he acts the Yankee more than ever."<sup>35</sup>

Engels spent a year in the Prussian military service, simultaneously immersing himself in the Young Hegelian movement. In 1842 he met the radical democrat Karl Marx (1818-1883), who was then editing the *Rheinische Zeitung* and looking for some new doctrine out of the orbit of Hegel and Young Germany.

Though Engels made little impression on Marx's thinking at

35. Engels, Friedrich, "Reports from Bremen," written for the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* No. 199, August 20, 1841, in Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich, *Collected Works*, jointly published by Lawrence and Wishart, London, International Publishers Co., New York, and Progress Publishers, Moscow, in collaboration with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.

first, he was to supply that new doctrine after he himself received his British "finishing."

Frederick Engels, Sr. sent his son to England in 1842, to work his way up to the position of overall manager of the family's Manchester textile mill. The staged "revolutionary" process which greeted the young gentleman, and in which he now joined, was described later by Engels himself:

Toward the end of 1838, some of the leading Manchester manufacturers founded an anti-Corn Law association, which soon spread in the neighborhood and in other factory districts, adopted the name of Anti-Corn Law League, started a subscription fund, founded a journal (the *Anti-Bread-Tax Circular*), sent paid speakers from place to place and set in motion all the means of agitation customary in England for achieving its aim. . . . When . . . at the beginning of 1842, the business slump turned into a downright commercial crisis which threw the working class into the most atrocious poverty, the Anti-Corn Law League became definitely revolutionary.

It took as its motto the saying of Jeremiah: 'They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger.' Its journal in clear language called on the people to revolt and threatened the landowners with the 'pick-axe and the torch.' Its itinerant agitators ranged the whole country. . . meeting after meeting was held, petition after petition to Parliament was circulated. . . ."

When, in spite of all this, [Prime Minister Robert] Peel failed to abolish the Corn Laws, but only modified them, the Congress [of League Representatives] declared, 'The people has nothing more to expect from the government; it must rely only on itself; the wheels of the government machinery must be halted at once and on the spot; the time for talking is over, the time has come for action. It is to be hoped that the people will no longer be willing to starve for the benefit of an aristocracy living in luxury.'

. . . The great means in the hands of the manufacturers . . . to raise an insurrection against the Corn Laws, consisted in *closing down their factories*. . . . When an increase in wages was to be expected owing to the improvement in business, a manufacturer . . . suddenly reduced the wages of his workers, thereby compelling them to strike. . . . The workers, to whom the signal for an insurrection was thus given, brought all the factories in [Stalybridge] to a standstill, which was easy for them to do since the manufacturers (all members of the Anti-Corn Law League), contrary to their custom, offered no resistance at all. The workers held meetings presided over by the manufacturers themselves, who tried to draw the people's attention to the Corn Laws. . . . The insurrection spread to all the factory districts; nowhere did the urban authorities . . . who were all members of the Anti-Corn Law League, offer any resistance. . . .<sup>36</sup>

When the project went awry because the workers demanded a restoration of their wages, Engels explained, the League created a special army to put down its dupes, who were quickly suppressed. Engels portrays this vast experiment in social manipulation as a fight for the interests of the middle class, as against the workers and the landed nobility.

Nowhere is the guiding hand of Bowring or the Foreign Office ever mentioned; imperialist oligarchs who own factories are described in the liberation dogma as "the middle class," the new enemy of which his German readers are warned to beware—those who own factories, or would build them.

Frederick Engels' first work on economics was written in England in 1843—the *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*—and published in Germany. Here Engels attacks Christianity, and like oppressors. But he takes care to direct his readers

36. Frederick Engels, *The History of the Corn Laws*, Marx-Engels Collected Works, Vol. IV.

on the free-trade-versus-protectionist battle raging in Germany: "Modern liberal economics cannot comprehend [allow] the restoration of the mercantile system by List. . . . On all points where it is a question of deciding which is the shortest road to wealth—i.e., in all strictly economic controversies—the protagonists of free trade have right on their side."<sup>37</sup>

But Engels was not "invented" until, in 1844, the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* printed his homage to Thomas Carlyle, a review of Carlyle's book *Past and Present*. From the radical *Jahrbücher*, co-edited by Karl Marx and Palmerston agent Arnold Ruge, Engels' fame was immediately spread throughout Germany by the British-aligned press. As he said in a letter to Marx, "It is ridiculous that my article about Carlyle should have won me a terrific fame with the 'mass,' while naturally only very few have read the article about economy."<sup>38</sup>

Engels' Carlyle review, never published in English until 1975, displays the common origin of the communist and fascist movements: "Of all the . . . books . . . which have appeared in England in the past year . . . [*Past and Present*] is the only one which is worth reading. . . . Carlyle's book is the only one which strikes a human chord, presents human relations and shows traces of a human point of view."

The review, like the Carlyle book, is an attack on the fraud of free institutions (in case the Germans might wish them for themselves): "The debates in the Houses of Parliament, the free press, the tumultuous popular meetings, the elections, the jury system . . . [have] not made independent men of the English. . . . The educated English are the most despicable slaves under the sun. . . ."

"Only the workers, the pariahs of England, the poor, are really respectable, for all their roughness and for all their moral degradation. It is from them that England's salvation will come,

37. Engels, Friedrich, *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, in Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Vol. III, p. 421.

38. Engels to Marx, October 1844, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.

they still comprise flexible material; they have no education, but no prejudices either, they still have the strength for a great national deed. . . ."

Engels praises Carlyle's "efforts to make German literature accessible to the English"—curious comment on the author of *Hero-Worship*, the sponsor of Romantic obscurantism as against Schiller and the republicans, the man who called German poet Heinrich Heine "a dirty blaspheming Jew."

Engels quotes Carlyle on the ultimate solution to man's oppression: Work! Work will make men free: "Who art thou that complainest of thy life of toil? Complain not. To thee Heaven, though severe, is not unkind; Heaven is kind—as a noble Mother; as that Spartan Mother, saying while she gave her son his shield, 'With it, my son, or upon it!' Complain not; the very Spartans did not complain.'"

Engels gently chides Carlyle's pantheism for not entirely abolishing religion. But he is "a theoretician of the German type. . . ." whose "book is ten thousand times more worth translating into German than all the legions of English novels which every day and every hour are imported into Germany. . . ." <sup>39</sup>

It was now to be Frederick Engels' job to "translate" Carlyle's viewpoint, dressing up feudalism in Hegelian clothes for the edification of German revolutionaries. Thus armed, equipped with a reputation, he now returned to the Continent for a time, meeting Marx in Paris and fastening upon his as a useful instrument for the propagation of a new doctrine. Marx, the young revolutionary in exile from Germany, was overwhelmed by the economic erudition of Engels's *Critique*. When Engels then published *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, Marx was wholly won over to what should rightfully be called "Engelsism."

As the *Critique* was the foundation of the Engels-Marx economic theories, the 'Condition of the Working Class' was the

39. Engels, Friedrich, review of Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present*, in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 467; the Carlyle review is pp. 444-468.

first important expression of their "social" theory. The book warns German readers about the horrors in store for them if industry is allowed to develop, and incidentally praises the pro-feudal noble lords of England who are "sincerely" fighting the horrors of industrialism—especially that "Germano-Englishman Thomas Carlyle," the truest champion of the working class. <sup>40</sup>

Marx was now pressed into the active service of the British nabobs. At Engels's urging and under his tutelage, Marx produced a crude attack on Friedrich List's book *The National System of Political Economy*. He calls List a plagiarist, a corrupt defender of special interests (German manufacturers), a liar.

The article was so ugly that it went long unpublished and only appeared in English in 1975. For example, List is quoted, "The force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself." By this List was speaking of the need to pay good wages, provide education, and so forth. But Marx rejoins, "It is a fine recognition of man that degrades him to a 'force' capable of creating wealth! The bourgeois sees in the proletarian not a human being, but a *force*. . . ." and so forth.

Most pathetic, in the light of Engels' own recounting of the conspiracies of the Anti-Corn Law League, is Marx's attack on List's "conspiracy theory": "Since his own work conceals a secret aim, he suspects secret aims everywhere. Being a true German philistine, Herr List, instead of studying real history, looks for the secret, bad aims of individuals, and, owing to his cunning, he is very well able to discover them . . . making [his enemy] an object of suspicion. . . . Herr List casts aspersions on the English and French economists and retails gossip about them." <sup>41</sup>

The middle 1840s saw an intense struggle over the future of

40. Engels, Friedrich, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, translated and edited by W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1958, pp. 104-105, 107, 312, and Engels' footnote on p. 331.

41. Marx, Karl, draft of critique of List's *National System*, in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol IV 4, pp. 267-268.

Germany, and over the personal leadership of Friedrich List. The slanders, the secret police operations, the "revolutionary" opposition to List's position, finally drew List to England, where he was psychologically broken; according to legend, he committed suicide in 1846.

Engels was on the battle lines in Germany, a central figure in bringing about this result. We have the record of two speeches he made in Elberfeld in February 1845. On February 15 Engels warned his audience—consisting of manufacturers and public officials and no workers—of the consequences if Germany were to follow List to challenge England's industrial supremacy:

Herr List has brought the wishes of our capitalists into a system. . . . [He] proposes gradually increasing protective tariffs which are finally to become high enough to guarantee the home market for the manufacturers. . . . Let us assume for a moment that this plan is adopted. . . . Industry will expand, idle capital will rush into industrial undertakings, the demand for workers will increase and so will wages with it, the poor-houses will empty, and to all appearances everything will be in a most flourishing state. . . . But . . . then . . . tariffs are reduced [so that] English industry can [again] compete with our own in the German market. Herr List himself wishes this. But what will be the result of all this? . . . The English will throw the whole of their surplus stocks on the German market . . . and so transform the German Customs Union into their 'second hand shop' once more. Then English industry will rise again, because it has the whole world for its market, because the whole world cannot do without it, while German industry is not indispensable even for its own market. . . .

Let us now assume that [the protective tariffs] are not reduced. . . . As soon as German industry is in a position to supply the German market completely it will stand still [having reached its limit].

[But suppose] we Germans will be able owing to pro-

ductive tariffs to bring our industry to a point at which it can compete with the English without protection. . . . A life-and-death struggle will arise . . . they will muster all their strength. . . . And with all the means at their disposal, with all the advantages of a hundred-year-old industry, *they will succeed in defeating us*. . . . We shall remain stationary, the English will stride forward, and our industry, in view of its unavoidable decay, will not be in a position to feed the proletariat it will have artificially created—the social revolution begins.<sup>42</sup>

The rest of the speech is a forecast of the bloody, merciless horrors which this "artificially created proletariat" (led, of course by the famous communist speaker) will unleash on these bourgeoisie if they dare to challenge the British.

In 1848, Karl Marx rewrote as the "Communist Manifesto" an earlier Engels piece entitled "Confessions of a Communist." This was to be the pattern; the Cotton Prince would write a draft, or simply make a suggestion for the appropriate theme of a work, and pass it along to Marx to put it in "good revolutionary form."

This subservience was enforced by Marx's slavish existence following his move to England, where all his "mature" work was done. The Engels-Marx correspondence shows that while Marx's family was starving (two children died of malnutrition) Engels gave Marx between £10 and £70 per year to support him; yet Engels's profits from the family firm ranged from £1,000 to £4,000 per year.

Engels' "contributions" served usually as Marx's only source of income. Marx never held a regular job; he at one time received a pound or two per piece for a series of articles, which Engels actually wrote, for the *New York Tribune*; he wrote another series of articles, for pennies, for the Bentham-trained Foreign Office official David Urquhart.

42. In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 258-260.

As the American secessionists geared up their preparations for action throughout 1859 and 1860, Cotton Exchange director Frederick Engels took responsibility for organizing and fitting out a regiment of the British army, and directed its deployment into position against what he warned was a threatened invasion of England by France.

During the American Civil War Engels made repeated suggestions to Marx that the American Union was lost, and was not after all worth saving. Marx respectfully declined to share his sponsor's "pessimism," refusing to adopt a stance so far removed from the logic of Revolution as to acquiesce in the perpetuation of slavery.

The revolutions which swept Europe in 1848 confused and blasted many of the hopes of republicans in Germany and elsewhere; full-scale German unification and industrialization was not to come before Bismarck's reign later in the century, and then not in the form of List's grand design linking the nations of Europe.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the very same British oligarchs who turned loose the radical movements against America's emulators in Europe, turned their attention to the problem of "reforming" an uncontrolled United States of America.

-14-

## 'Currency Reform'

### Some Words of Caution

God says in the First Commandment, Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

The United States Constitution gives our government the power to issue money and to regulate both money and commerce.

We should give a gentle warning here to those readers who have nervous problems with either of the above. If you have somehow mentally attached divine characteristics to money, or if you believe that only Unseen Forces, rather than constitutional governments, should create credit and control markets, you may have trouble following the rather simple material we present here.

This applies as well to those who unduly concern themselves with mere monetary *symbols*, as, for example, the silly hocus-pocus of the pyramid with the eyeball on our one-dollar bill. We shall detail here some of the means by which European oligarchs took control of the *substance* of America's sovereign financial powers.

At issue in these enemy operations was the overall strategic orientation of the United States, not any particular weapon the U.S.A. used to protect its national independence. High tariffs are not always appropriate instruments for the defense of do-

mestic industry, nor is gold backing for currency necessarily inappropriate.

President Abraham Lincoln had applied Hamiltonian economics to the task of winning a war, and the continued full use of sovereign power was transforming the postwar United States into the world's greatest industrial country. This our enemies were determined to stop, by contracting U.S. currency and credit, by lowering U.S. tariffs, and by replacing industry-builders with foreign agents in the seats of economic and political power.

The government had created over \$400 million in new greenbacks during the Civil War, declaring it legal tender for all debts. Following the war, British and allied forces demanded that the payment of gold, or "specie," be resumed, that the expansive credit policies of the Lincoln era be terminated. The issue was only settled after more than a decade of fierce political struggle, when specie resumption finally took effect in 1879.

A decisive factor was the application of barely concealed blackmail by a syndicate of international bankers—Morton Bliss and Co., August Belmont representing the Rothschilds, the Seligman Brothers, and Drexel-Morgan representing Junius Morgan. These firms had contracts for the refinancing of U.S. government debt, and warned the administrations of Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and Rutherford B. Hayes to proceed without interruption to specie resumption or face a credit boycott, as well as a syndicate-advised dumping of American stocks by European investors.<sup>1</sup>

In support of these rougher tactics, a barrage of hard money propaganda, together with attacks on the "corruption" of American manufacturers, appeared in the press and arose from certain pulpits and colleges.

We will describe here the origin of this clamor for an end to America's financial sovereignty. The importance of this move-

1. Unger, Irwin, *The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of American Finance, 1865-1879*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1964, pp. 352-353, 356, 361, 366, 370.

ment transcended the immediate currency issue; the apparatus deployed in the 1860s and 1870s would be used to press for further incursions in cultural and general political matters as well as the strictly economic.

For this analysis we must return briefly to Great Britain, to view the busy preparations of the Lords of the Asian empire for new overseas adventures.

### The British Mothers of American Reform

The first of the British mother-organizations for redirecting the wayward colonies was the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, created in 1857 under the presidency of Henry Peter Brougham, Baron Brougham and Vaux.

This was the same Lord Brougham who had sponsored the launching of the *Edinburgh Review*; who had discovered James Mill and started his career; who had declared Britain's trade war in 1816, "to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war [of 1812] had forced into existence contrary to the usual course of things."

Lord Brougham, at age 78, would need powerful help for the development of this new project. Among the political backers who sustained the National Association from its inception were Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord John Russell; and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, who guided the political training of ex-American George Peabody, founder of the Morgan financial empire. Russell and Shaftesbury both served as Association vice-presidents.

Lord Napier and Etrick was president of the National Association when the American specie resumption fight climaxed in the 1870s.<sup>2</sup> The Napier family was quite familiar with reforming foreign countries: Charles Napier had personally instigated the East India Company's Sind War in 1843, slaughtering thousands of natives resisting conquest and taking for himself hundreds of

2. Report of the American Association for the Advancement of Social Science, Boston, 1873, p. 182.

thousands of dollars in loot as Indian cities burned. Field Marshal Baron Robert Napier of Magdala was chief engineer in Britain's suppression of the 1857 Indian revolt, with responsibilities including blowing up Indian structures.

The principal philosopher for the National Association was Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), whose works the Association widely promoted. Spencer's moral standpoint was entirely consistent with the Association's objectives, as he expressed it in his *Social Statics*:

... the continuance of the old predatory instinct . . . has subserved civilization by clearing the earth of inferior races of men. The forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way, with the same sternness that they exterminate beasts of prey and herds of useless ruminants.<sup>3</sup>

The president of the trade section of the National Association was Sir John Bowring.<sup>4</sup> Since his earlier career as organizer of the Foreign Office's war against Friedrich List and pro-American republicans in Germany, Bowring had served as ambassador plenipotentiary to China, governor and commander-in-chief of Hong Kong, and superintendent of trade with China. In these capacities he oversaw the smuggling of opium, and began the shelling which led to the second Opium War when the Chinese again put up resistance to the drug.

As the publisher and executor for Jeremy Bentham, Bowring was the most radical of Lord Palmerston's diplomatic "reformers." The Communist experiment which had been thrown against Germany was modified for use in China under Bowring's expert hand.

3. Spencer, Herbert, *Social Statics; or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of them Developed*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1866, pp. 454-455.

4. Report of American . . . Social Science, 1873, p. 183.

Thousands of people in the Hakka tribe in Kwangsi province were converted to a form of mock-Protestant Christianity by Bowring's regional espionage chief, a Prussian missionary named Karl Gutzlaff, and his staff.<sup>5</sup> An army was assembled, which proceeded outward from Kwangsi in an insurrection against the Chinese Emperor, gaining new thousands of recruits for what was called the Taiping Rebellion. Converts recited the Ten Commandments, shared their worldly goods, and allowed themselves to be permanently separated into celibate men's and women's armies, while the maximum leader, Hung Hsui-Chuan, maintained a massive harem.

Combined British and French expeditionary forces eventually took over the assault on the Emperor which had been inaugurated by Bowring's irregulars.

Bowring's responsibility for the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, until his death of 1872, was in the area of trade policy—tariffs and related matters such as gold and currency. We will describe below the National Association's work in the United States, after considering the other main British organization for the reform of America, the Cobden Club.

### Swiss Spooks and the Cult of Free Trade

John Bowring's earlier partner in the anti-Corn Law League charade, Richard Cobden, performed one more notable service for the Radical Party later in life. Cobden negotiated a treaty with French Emperor Napoleon III in 1860 which lowered tariffs between England and France.

The two nations thus allied stepped up the ongoing war against China, forcing Chinese capitulation to the opening of the entire country to dope imports and looting in the name of trade. In the bargain the French were given a free hand by the British in Indochina, and the two empires again joined forces in the 1863 invasion of Mexico.

The treaty that Cobden negotiated was written by Louis Mal-

5. See Beeching, Jack, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, pp. 179-197 ff.



let, a British government functionary with whose Swiss family we have frequently made acquaintance. His grandfather was Jacques Mallet du Pan, British spymaster in France who promoted the free trade treaty which destroyed the French economy and led to the French Revolution.

Richard Cobden died in 1865; Louis Mallet quickly organized the Cobden Club in honor of the departed "apostle of free trade." Its mission: to remove the influence of Lincoln's dirigist economics from U.S. politics and government.

Within two months after the Cobden Club's first meeting in May 1866, its 145 members included 83 members of Parliament; soon all but one of the British cabinet ministers were members of Mallet's club.<sup>6</sup> Mallet was later rewarded by appointment as Permanent Undersecretary of State for India; he served in this capacity from 1874 to 1883, a period of massive growth in the cultivation of Indian opium for export.

The Cobden Club's executive committee, led by John Stuart Mill, was responsible for selecting new members—most importantly American members. The British wanted Lincoln's greenbacks called in and burned, the foreign-owned U.S. bonds paid off in gold, and the government's right to print money replaced by the exclusive right of any gold-rich banker to issue private notes; of course British bankers such as the Morgans controlled the largest hoards of gold.

John Stuart Mill complained about the Civil War bonds in a letter reprinted in Englishman Edwin Godkin's *Nation* magazine in New York:

The United States obtained these sums of money, in their extreme necessity, at an interest (all things considered), not very much exceeding the high value of capital in a new country compels them to pay in ordinary times; and after having reaped the benefit, having by that indis-

6. Lists of early members published with the yearly reports of the Cobden Club of London. The Library of Congress carries the reports in pamphlet form.

pensable help saved their national existence, they are now exhorted to withhold the price [i.e. repay in greenbacks rather than gold], at the cost of national honor.

It was somewhat extravagant, of course, for the British to lecture Americans on "national honor," having supplied the guns, ammunition, ships and crews for the recent Southern Rebellion against the United States.

The accompanying chart gives the names of prominent Americans who were recruited as official members of the Cobden Club, traveling back and forth to the erstwhile Mother Country to confer on the effort to subdue the defiant Americans.

Among the most important of the American members were the Adams brothers, Henry, John Quincy II and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., the corrupted grandsons of President John Quincy Adams. Henry Adams' desperate hatred for Americans and the American republic would later be transmitted to two of his students at Harvard, Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt.

In his exciting historical exposé, *The Civil War and the American System—America's Battle with Britain, 1860-1876*, historian Allen Salisbury reports on a warning about the Cobden Club which was read on the floor of the U.S. Congress in the summer of 1866. It was a message from the U.S. Consul in Liverpool, England to the late President Lincoln's economic strategist, Henry C. Carey:

They are making great efforts on this side to repeal our tariff and admit British goods free of duty. If effort and money can accomplish it, you may rest assured it will be done. The work is done through the agents of foreign [commercial or banking] houses in Boston and New York. Their plan is to agitate in the western States, and to form free-trade associations all over the country.<sup>7</sup>

7. Salisbury, Allen, *The Civil War and the American System: America's Battle with Britain, 1860-1876*, Campaigner Publications, New York, 1978.

Consul Thomas Dudley was a fierce patriot from Camden, New Jersey, who had helped orchestrate the capture of the Republican presidential nomination for Lincoln in 1860. He was a longtime student and devoted follower of Henry Carey, who directed the campaign for continuing Lincoln's and Hamilton's policies after the war.

President Lincoln had sent Dudley into the heart of enemy territory—Liverpool—where the Anglo-Confederate agents were building warships for the attack on American commerce. Largely due to Dudley's sharp eyes and ears, and his persistence despite threats to his life, more than 100 of the 400 Confederate-related vessels (blockade-runners and British-built raiders) were destroyed at sea, or prevented from being launched in the first place.

Salisbury's book details the treachery of David A. Wells, whom Lincoln had appointed to the Special Revenue Commission to plan postwar financial policies for industrial development. A year after Lincoln's assassination, Wells was named head of the Revenue Commission, and immediately joined with Lincoln's enemies in a campaign to overthrow the Lincoln policies; his main ally in the government was the U.S. Treasury Secretary, Hugh McCulloch.

In 1873, after several years of struggle, Wells and McCulloch went to London for a special Cobden Club dinner in their honor. The Club's printed report on that splendid affair carries an introduction by Sir Louis Mallet:

Mr. Wells, like Cobden, belongs to that rare class of statesmen who devote themselves to public life not for purposes of party or for the sake of office, but to give effect to the principles of policy which they believe to be essential for the welfare of their country and of mankind.

How devoted he was to the welfare of his country, the reader may judge from David Wells' speech to his British hosts:

I must frankly confess to a feeling of embarrassment. . . . I recognize that there is yet so much of the old, selfish, pagan principle accepted on the other side of the Atlantic . . . that the very coming together [at this dinner] to celebrate the continued progress of commercial and international freedom . . . is sure to be interpreted by not a few of my countrymen, including some . . . who claim to the title of economists and philanthropists, as constituting in itself sufficient evidence of a conspiracy and a reward for the betrayal of their industrial interests.

The whole aim and object of this school of economists has been to engraft upon the country a sort of Chinese policy of prohibition and exclusion; and their great leader and teacher, Henry C. Carey of Philadelphia, has not hesitated to express his opinion that the very best thing that could happen to the United States would be to have the ocean . . . converted into a sea of fire [totally] impassable . . . [he] has expressed the opinion that the death of Richard Cobden was one of the crowning mercies . . . Carey attacked trade as piracy.

. . . there is a conspiracy alleged, on the part of the Free Traders in the United States and England, to undermine and destroy the manufacturing of the former country, and make her people industrially dependent on Europe . . . [but we have great] evidence of the purity of motives of the British economists. . . .

"It seems to be a law of nature that, increase our power to produce and accumulate as we may, mankind as a whole can hope to do little more than secure the essentials of a mere subsistence."<sup>8</sup>

8. *Report of the Proceedings at The Dinner of the Cobden Club, June 28, 1873. Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson in the Chair. Speech of The Hon. David A. Wells, Being a Retrospect of the Results of Protection in the United States of America, With Preface by Sir. Louis Mallet, C.B., and List of Members, Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, London, Paris, and New York, 1873.*

As America's enemies in war have done repeatedly with treasonable statements by disloyal Americans, the Cobden Club reprinted this Wells speech and circulated it worldwide, with particular effect in Germany, in France, and among restive colonists in Australia.

### The Boston Branch of Brougham-and-Bowring

The British Association for the Promotion of Social Science set up shop in the United States in the fall of 1865. Established in Boston as the Social Science League, it was soon renamed the American Social Science Association.

As Irwin Unger makes clear in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *The Greenback Era*, the new American branch was the Boston headquarters for the movement to outlaw the greenbacks Lincoln had issued, and to force a contractionist credit and currency policy.<sup>9</sup>

Announcing itself to Boston's First Families as the agency to overhaul American society wholesale, the Association was the meeting place for the academic, governmental and commercial members of the Cobden Club and their immediate collaborators. As of 1869, David Wells, Arthur L. Perry and Amasa Walker,

9. Unger, *The Greenback Era*, pp. 136-144. The American branch made little pretense to independence from the British mother; that is, it was straightforwardly a British feudalist lobbying group on American soil. The *Constitution, Address, and List of Members of the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science . . . Minutes of the Transactions of the Association, July, 1866*, reproduced their Address of November, 1865:

"It is now eight years since the formation of an Association in Great Britain, for the promotion of Social Science. . . . The British Association, already alluded to, was founded by a few earnest laborers in the cause of humanity, under the lead of Lord Brougham, who has been from the beginning its President. . . . In 1862, an International Association . . . was formed at Brussels. . . . This Association grew out of that in Great Britain, and included members of the latter among its own members. Our own Association, in the same way, traces its origin to the British National Association; from which we have taken the idea and the general principles of our Constitution." In 1866, those elected as Corresponding Members of the American branch included Lord Brougham, John Stuart Mill, and Sir John Bowring.

### Some American Members of the British Cobden Club

Name	Date Selected
<b>Charles Francis Adams, Jr.</b> , railroad executive	1868
<b>Henry Adams</b> , historian	1873
<b>John Quincy Adams II</b> , railroad executive	1869
<b>Martin B. Anderson</b> , president, Rochester University	1872
<b>Edward Atkinson</b> , cotton manufacturer	1869
<b>George Bancroft</b> , historian; President Polk's War Secy.; ordered troops into Texas	1870
<b>Henry Ward Beecher</b> , radical abolitionist minister	1869
<b>John Bigelow</b> , co-owner of free trade organ, the <i>New York Post</i>	1866
<b>William Cullen Bryant</b> , first president of American Free Trade League; editor and co-owner of <i>New Post</i>	1869
<b>Ralph Waldo Emerson</b> , author, leader of the Transcendentalists	1869
<b>Cyrus Field</b> , laid Atlantic Cable; built monument to Major André at site of hanging; brother of David Dudley Field	1868
<b>David Dudley Field</b> , attorney commissioned by British to rewrite the laws of the world	1869
<b>James A. Garfield</b> , later a U.S. president, assassinated after renouncing British economics	1869
<b>Reverdy Johnson</b> , U.S. Ambassador to England, 1868-1870	1869
<b>Henry Wadsworth Longfellow</b> , author	1870
<b>Hugh McCulloch</b> , U.S. Treasury Secretary, 1865-1869	1871
<b>Alfred Pell, Jr.</b> , British-based insurance executive; set up American Free Trade League	1871
<b>Arthur Latham Perry</b> , prominent lecturer for Free Trade League	1870
<b>Mahlon Sands</b> , organizer for the Free Trade League	1870
<b>Carl Schurz</b> , German revolutionary emigré; board member Northwestern Mutual Life Ins. Co.; U.S. Interior Secy. 1877-81; editor <i>New York Post</i>	1872
<b>Charles Sumner</b> , Massachusetts senator; radical abolitionist and reconstructionist	
<b>William G. Sumner</b> , leading Harvard economist	1873
<b>Theodore Roosevelt</b> , historian; U.S. President	1880
<b>David A. Wells</b> , Lincoln appointee to the Revenue Commission, who betrayed the murdered President	1870

all Cobden Clubbers, were three of the four executive board members of the Association, while Charles Francis Adams, Jr., was Association treasurer.

From the meetings in Boston, Association members fanned out through the northeastern United States and into the Midwest, moving churchmen, editors and politicians behind the "new conservatism" of hard money, free trade and civil service reform (or the breakup of constituency-based political machines, which will be reviewed in our next chapter).

Franklin Sanborne was the General Secretary—the internal affairs organizer—of the Social Science Association. Sanborne had earlier immortalized himself as a principal "insider" controlling the terrorist expeditions of John Brown in the 1850s. Sanborne had burned his incriminating papers after the Harpers Ferry attack, but he had been arrested on orders of the U.S. Congress. Freed by a mob, Sanborne had fled to Canada.

The Civil War saved many radical abolitionists, as it had now become a national duty to shoot Southerners; apparently Sanborne's offenses were forgotten.

The most outspoken and most quoted partisan of hard money deployed by the Social Science Association was Edward Atkinson, a textile manufacturer and Cobden Club member. He had spent the last years of the Civil War trying to convince the government to open up full-scale wartime trade with the Rebel South for cotton, for his own factories and for the cotton-starved British. Late in the war he had initiated a business venture with his mentor, backer and political chief, John Murray Forbes, for the purchase at auction of confiscated southern plantations, proposing to work freed negro slaves at \$7.00 per month in the cotton fields.<sup>10</sup>

In the two decades following the Civil War, there were three men whose substantial activities appear to have molded the

national movement to crush Lincoln's economic legacy, and to subjugate America once again to European will. None of these men was terribly famous in his day, and no real biography of any of them has been written. But *John Murray Forbes of Boston*, *Abiel A. Low of Brooklyn* and *Lyman J. Gage of Chicago* were the "powers behind the throne" (or, representing the throne) of their time.

John M. Forbes was the actual founder and the permanent controller of the American branch of the British National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Forbes also organized and sponsored the Reform League of Boston, and continued to provide the basic financial support and transatlantic connections for Boston radicalism in line with his earlier projects, the abolitionism of John Brown and the Transcendentalism of Ralph W. Emerson.

Abiel A. Low, the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce from 1863 to 1866, was the undeviating hard rock upon which the New York "hard money" reformers were based; he sponsored their meetings, arranged for their opponents to be politically removed, and appeared in the newspapers as the greatest of the respectable merchants in the movement.

Lyman J. Gage was the treasurer and active leader of the Honest Money League of the Northwest, the propaganda agency for specie resumption in the pivotal Chicago battleground; he was president of the American Bankers Association in the 1880s; he planned and shaped the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, an international celebration of the end of American cultural and financial independence; and he organized the National Civic Federation, the grandfather group to today's anti-American political consortiums such as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. Gage was also United States Treasury Secretary under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

We met with John M. Forbes earlier in our story. The Forbes family, along with the Cabots, had remained with Thomas H. Perkins when he switched their joint enterprise from slave-

10. Williamson, Harold Francis [Harvard economics instructor], *Edward Atkinson, The Biography of an American Liberal, 1827-1905*, Boston, Old Corner Bookstore, 1934, pp. 14-19; see also Forbes, *Letters and Recollections*.

trading to dope-smuggling after the 1793 slave insurrection in the Caribbean. As a young man, John M. Forbes attained to a crucial position with the Perkins opium-trading syndicate in China: personal secretary and confidential agent for Wu Ping Ch'ien, or "Houqua,"<sup>11</sup> the Mandarin *head of security for the British East India Company in China*, who performed the identical role of native gang leader and intercessor for the American criminals as he had for the British.

Houqua treated Forbes as his adopted son, allowing him to acquire vast wealth from Houqua's donations in addition to Forbes' accretions from trading as a partner of the Perkins firm. On one occasion Houqua gave Forbes \$500,000 to hold and invest for him in American stocks.

After converting the China fortune into U.S. railroad holdings, Forbes capitalized on his China connection in a rather spectacular fashion. The 1857 crash and depression flattened business fortunes throughout the United States, but Forbes retained his holdings with a \$2 million personal loan from the Baring Brothers bank, British financiers of the East Indian empire.<sup>12</sup> The mag-

11. Adams, Russell B., Jr., *The Boston Money Tree*, pp. 105-6, 125-6. See also Forbes, John Murray, *Letters and Recollections*, edited by Sarah Forbes Hughes, orig. published 1900, reprinted by Arno Press, New York, 1981.

12. Forbes, *Letters and Recollections*, Vol. I, pp. 62-63:

"Houqua [Mandarin broker and chief of security for the British East India Company and British-allied Bostonians operating in Canton], who never did anything by halves, at once took me as Mr. Cushing's successor, and that of my brother Tom, who had been his intimate friend, and gave me his entire confidence. All his foreign letters, some of which were of almost national importance, were handed to me to read, and to prepare such answers as he indicated. . . . it was not uncommon for him to order me to charter one or more entire ships at a time, and load them. The invoices were made out in my name . . . and at one time I had as much as half a million dollars thus afloat, bringing me into very close correspondence with Baring Brothers & Co., and other great houses."

p. 145: "Early in the fall of 1855 the Barings (acting as it seemed, for Louis Napoleon, though this was never acknowledged) began to feel the way toward the purchases of wheat and flour which later in the year were undertaken for their account by J.M. Forbes & Co. This appears from

nitide of this bailout in present-day equivalents is so high as to beggar the imagination.

Forbes' dominant American financial position was thus assured with the same type of direct British patronage as had set up Boston China trader George Peabody twenty years earlier. Peabody was operating a London banking house in 1837 when he was warned in advance by his British friends of their decision to withdraw credit from worldwide markets and thereby depress commercial values; so he was fully liquid and ready to pounce on the American properties rendered bargains by the British move. Thus established, Peabody built the transatlantic banking concern which, with the inclusion of Junius Morgan and his son J.P. Morgan, became the overlord of American finance in the late nineteenth century.

A.A. Low's uncle, William Henry Low, was the senior partner in charge of Russell and Company, the firm which bought out and expanded the Perkins syndicate and brought the Boston Brahmins' opium trade to its greatest heights. When John Murray Forbes returned to Boston, A.A. Low took over Forbes' job as personal secretary and confidential agent for Houqua, and was likewise treated as his adopted son.

One day in February, 1841, A.A. Low's uncle, William, sat on the deck of the British warship *Calliope*. He was the guest of British plenipotentiary Charles Elliot, watching the action Elliot had started in Canton Bay to compel the Chinese to accept opium imports.

The British unloaded their troops on South Wantung Island, then bombarded the North Wantung forts and took them. William Low went ashore to look at the forts. In the words of a family

[a] letter of Sept. 22, 1855, from my father [John Murray Forbes] to his cousin, Mr. Russell Sturgis, who was then a partner in Baring Brothers & Co."

Article, "Forbes, John Murray," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1949, Vol. XXXV, p. 331: "In the financial depression of 1857 he obtained a credit of \$2,000,000 from Baring Bros. and [his] Michigan Central rode safely through the storm."

reminiscence, "The dead, dying and wounded lay in one indiscriminate mass, many of them with their clothes on fire, and praying for water, or for an end to be put to their suffering."

Though defeated in battle, the Chinese Emperor refused to ratify a truce on British terms, so reinforcements were brought from India. The city of Canton was bombarded. Continuing the Low family record, "The siege was marked by fires, ruined cemeteries and fields, the rape of little girls, robberies, and myriads of people bewailing their five thousand dead and the loss of their homes."<sup>13</sup>

After the Treaty of Nanking was signed giving the British looting rights in several Chinese cities, William Low returned to Canton and resumed business.

A.A. Low left China a wealthy man. He set himself up in the clipper ship business in New York, running the world's fastest opium smugglers into China for A.A. Low and Company. Only John M. Forbes' clippers could match Low's. These two pioneer American criminals were so successful that the British dope lords Jardine Matheson and Company were forced to build their own clipper fleet.

A.A. Low's son Seth inherited his bloody wealth, and continued his tradition as a preeminent social reformer. Seth Low was the third president of the National Civic Federation, and served as president of Columbia College from 1890 to 1901. The present campus of Columbia University was purchased and its buildings constructed by Seth Low with the family fortune made in the murder of the Chinese. The administration building, Low Library, is named for A. A. Low, one of the most successful criminals of modern times.

### The Case of Lyman Gage

The last of the three great post-Civil War monetary reform leaders, Lyman Gage, presents the inquiring historian with nearly

13. Augur, Helen, *Tall Ships to Cathay*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1951, pp. 114-115.

a sealed mystery. All biographical sketches about him are derived from the scanty material provided by Gage's memoirs, which appear to have been written by his third wife sometime late in his life.

According to this legend, Gage moved out to Chicago from upstate New York, an ambitious lad with no particular connections. He rose through the ranks of Chicago's First National Bank to become its president and the leading Chicago financier, all without wealthy sponsors, Eastern patrons or the like. For no reason other than his own internal logic, the story goes, this former bank clerk decided that America's republican sovereignty over credit had to go, and he elected to become a great figure in Britain's international game.

We shall say little, for the moment, about this rags-to-riches story, other than to bring up one curious element in the otherwise flat autobiographical account in the Gage memoirs.

Gage tells his readers that he has, for "more than 40 years," been interested in *spiritualism* and related matters. He dates the beginning of this interest from the time he happened to attend a seance, during which his recently deceased wife appeared to him and warned that his still living, healthy daughter would die. The terrified man was soon overwhelmed when his little girl suddenly developed a fever and died. From that time on, Gage explains, he toured the country participating in research into psychic phenomena, conversing with dead people who, after all, seemed to have demonstrated superior knowledge to that of the living.<sup>14</sup>

Lyman Gage was at the center of a political movement which took the American Midwest away from the Abraham Lincoln backers whose primary base was there, and created the degraded climate within which the school of Anglo-Austrian economic thought associated with the University of Chicago could pass itself off as American.

14. Gage, Lyman Judson, *Memoirs of Lyman Gage*, House of Field, New York, 1937, chapter entitled "Spirit Communication," pp. 184-208, and the first reference to Theosophy, pp. 162-169.

Looking behind the curtain of Lyman Gage's impossible account of his life, starting from the lead about "spiritualism," the present author was led to a late nineteenth-century American sub-culture inhabited by pagan cultists, U.S. Presidents, professors, espionage agents, hypnotists . . . and a good many first-class lunatics. This organized sub-culture, a sort of laboratory within which the present Eastern Liberal Establishment was bred, will be the subject of Chapter 17.

### The Reform of John D. Rockefeller

Henry Demarest Lloyd was a Columbia College student who was chosen as spokesman for rioting students in the spring of 1866. He did battle with a scornful tongue against the college president, Frederick A.P. Barnard, in pseudo-legal campus proceedings. Lloyd appeared to humiliate President Barnard, and the students went without punishment.

Three years later Barnard warmly recommended the young rebel as "a gentleman" to the president of the American Free Trade League, David Dudley Field, who hired Lloyd as a full-time agent and propaganda distributor for the League.<sup>15</sup>

Barnard had made no mistake. Revolution was his business, and Lloyd had selected himself for Barnard's purposes.

Frederick Barnard's story is a fascinating one, which is usually twisted in a preposterous way so as to be neatly divided into two entirely separate halves. Born in 1809 in Sheffield, Massachusetts, Barnard was the son of a fanatically pro-British local

15. Destler, Chester McArthur, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1963, pp. 24-26, 29, 31: "After 10 minutes deliberation the court admitted Lloyd's 'Special Plea.' Crestfallen, Barnard entered a nolle prosequi. His young adversary enjoyed a personal triumph. The court adjourned. The juniors carried Lloyd away rejoicing. For years afterward he was known among the alumni as 'the man who threw Prex. . . . An opening on the American Free Trade League's staff offered an opportunity to gratify Lloyd's desire to form connections within the mercantile community. President Barnard recommended him warmly as 'a gentleman' to David Dudley Field, the League's president, who employed Lloyd as a colporteur in the spring of 1869."

politician whose followers rioted against American troops marching through the town on the way to Canada in the War of 1812.<sup>16</sup> In the 1840s Barnard went to teach at the University of Alabama. His widely noted first public address in Alabama was in 1841, to the Masonic Lodge of Tuscaloosa on "The Claims of Masonry to the Respect and Veneration of Mankind," announcing the epistemology of feudal oligarchy, the method which Barnard and his ilk would bring to Eastern Establishment academia:

The *probabilities* are in favor of whatever has stood the test of time. . . . What has been received by generation after generation without question or dispute, is supported by a vast weight of authority and is corroborated by the results of experience. Talk to an Englishman of the evils of monarchy, and he will meet you with the inquiry, "Has not ours worked well? . . . If [freemasonry] has ever been the enemy of social or political order, point to the nation it has revolutionized—name the monarch it has dethroned! If it has ever been the insidious foe of religion or of the Church, instance the sacrilege it has perpetrated. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

That the Masonic Order has not failed in the attainment of its objects Professor Barnard held to be proved by the character of the men whom it has honored with the chief control of its affairs, and whose lives are the best vindication of its principles. Its loyalty to constituted government has been proved in its English branch by the fact that eleven kings of England, one Prince of Wales, two royal dukes, and many noblemen have been Grand Master . . . [while] the greatest of English cardinals, the sagacious Wolsey,

16. Chute, William J., *Damn Yankee! The First Career of Frederick A.P. Barnard, Educator, Scientist, Idealist*, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York, 1978, pp. 9-14.

17. Barnard's Oration on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1841, quoted in Fulton, John, *Memoirs of Frederick A.P. Barnard*, published for the Columbia University Press by Macmillan and Co., London, 1896, pp. 97-98.

two archbishops of Canterbury, one archbishop of York, seven bishops, and three mitred abbots have held the same dignity. . . . The secret transaction of business cannot be necessarily or universally wrong. That secret associations may be formed for evil purposes is true; but so may open associations. That secrecy makes bad societies more dangerous is admitted. . . . In no such sense is Masonry a secret institution. . . . It keeps nothing secret but its own peculiar business, which there are sufficient reasons for keeping to itself.<sup>18</sup>

At the University of Alabama Barnard shared the responsibility for the chemistry department with John Mallet, the British gentleman who later headed up the Confederate Ordnance Laboratories. Another Massachusetts man, Caleb Huse of Newburyport, trained the Alabama Militia at the university.

In 1856 Barnard was hired as president of the University of Mississippi, where he was on intimate terms with former Mississippi mathematics instructor L. Q. C. Lamar, author of the state's 1861 Secession Ordinance.

His close and loyal friend and supporter was the university's Board Chairman, Jacob Thompson,<sup>19</sup> U.S. Interior Secretary (1857-1860) and collaborator with Scottish Rite chief Albert Pike in the theft of hundreds of thousands of dollars in government gold for fraudulent Indian transactions, who would be the Canadian-based coordinator of terrorism against Northern cities during the Civil War.

Barnard guided the university through secession, then turned down an offer by Confederate President Jefferson Davis to be Commissioner of Natural Resources, and moved to Virginia. When Union troops overran his residence area, Frederick Barnard published an open letter to President Lincoln denouncing the Confederacy.

18. Paraphrased by biographer John Fulton in *Memoirs*, pp. 99, 101.

19. Fulton, *Memoirs*, pp. 200, 259; Chute, *Damn Yankee!*, pp. 149, 172, 181.

This denunciation contradicted Barnard's earlier published opinions. In a speech at Oxford, Mississippi on Nov. 20, 1856, Barnard said:

That the union of these States was originally a benefit . . . no man has ever doubted. [So] long as the principle of equality among the several members . . . remains intact, it must continue to be . . . a benefit to all alike. . . . Yet . . . every benefit of which the union is the source, springs out of that simple basis just mentioned . . . so soon as that principle ceases to be recognized . . . then the union is in fact, to all intents and purposes, substantially dissolved already, and its formal dissolution becomes a mere question of time. . . .

That invasion of the independence of Sovereign states and of the principle of equal rights . . . will never be our work. But should this lamentable consummation be brought to pass by other hands, and should all the valuable ends for which the union was established be successfully frustrated . . . let it not be imputed to us for faithlessness or impiety if we turn our backs upon the dishonored edifice, and refuse to worship longer within its desecrated walls. It will not be we who have dissolved the union; it will only be we who have said, The Union is dissolved.<sup>20</sup>

But Barnard's denunciation of the South was enough for Co-

20. "Gratitude for National Blessings: A Discourse delivered at Oxford, Mississippi, on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 20, 1856," reproduced in the *Record of the Testimony and Proceedings, in the Matter of the Investigation, by the Trustees of the University of Mississippi, On the 1st and 2nd of March, 1860, of the Charges Made by H. R. Branham, Against the Chancellor of the University*, printed by the Mississippian Office, Jackson, Mississippi, 1860, p. 21. It was charged that Chancellor Barnard wasn't "Southern" enough. Barnard testified (p. 27) "I am a slave-holder, and, if I know myself, I am 'sound on the slavery question.'" He received backing from secessionist leader L. Q. C. Lamar and Interior Secretary Jacob Thompson, and was exonerated by the Board.



Columbia College's trustees—Barnard was immediately hired as Columbia's president and served from 1864 to 1889. Frederick A.P. Barnard largely supervised the conversion of Columbia College into the Ivy League University it has been in the past century. The Columbia-affiliated Barnard College for women is named after him.

In 1866, the same year young Henry Demarest Lloyd was championing the Columbia rioters, New York attorney David Dudley Field traveled to London on a rather strange mission. Meeting with the British National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Field was named head of a commission to write a single code of laws which were intended to be imposed in every country of the world! Frederick Barnard was designated Field's assistant. The Field Code was eventually adopted by the British as the law of India, and 24 states of the U.S.A. took all or part of the code into their statute books.

By 1869, Field had been elected president of the American Free Trade League, a group set up in 1864 by London insurance executive Alfred Pell through his New York-based sons.<sup>21</sup> The Pells, Tory emigres in the American Revolution, had returned and intermarried with the Bartows; the famous Bartow-Pell mansion in the Bronx, N.Y., may still be visited—it was home to the family of Theodosia Bartow Prevost Burr.

Young Henry Demarest Lloyd set out with the Free Trade League on the path to his great renown as the premier reformer of the late nineteenth century. Lloyd was initially assigned to upstate New York and northern Ohio, distributing League flyers and organizing meetings on the old Anti-Corn Law League's slogan, "No Monopoly!"

We will focus here on one of Lloyd's later victories for the British reform movement, involving the Ohio capitalist John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937).

Starting in the 1860's, Rockefeller ruthlessly consolidated oil refineries and oil-carrying railroads so as to create a giant trust—

21. Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 30.

Standard Oil—which controlled nearly all the oil in America in 1882.

Englishman *John Teagle* immigrated to Cleveland, Ohio in the 1870s and entered into a small oil-producing partnership. When Standard Oil, as was their custom, made a deal with Teagle's firm to limit its production, Teagle went to the courts, the U.S. Congress, and the newspapers with an attack on the Rockefeller monopoly. He began feeding his material to Henry Demarest Lloyd,<sup>22</sup> who embarked on a great crusade to right the wrongs of Standard Oil. Rockefeller was vilified in the press and in popular literature as perhaps no other figure in American history has been vilified.

Under Lloyd's leadership, the crusade bore fruit in 1892 when Standard Oil was dissolved by the U.S. Supreme Court. The company was reorganized and was dissolved again in 1911. Its most important part, Standard Oil of New Jersey (known as Exxon today), then received a new president: *Walter Teagle*, the son of the British gentleman who had begun the attack on Standard in the first place!

With Teagle at the helm, the wonderfully reformed company entered into a cartel arrangement with the I.G. Farben company of Germany. This new worldwide oil and chemical monopoly was only partially terminated by Senator Harry Truman's committee probes in 1942, when the Standard-I.G. Farben cartel was blocking American access to strategic materials with which to fight the Nazis.

The Auschwitz concentration camp was arranged to give slave laborers to the cartel's on-site factory; inmates who couldn't work were killed with the cartel's Zyklon-B gas.

While John D. Rockefeller was being pummeled by some reformers, who wanted to take away what he considered his God-given money, other reformers appeared to come to his

22. "John Teagle," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, James T. White & Company, New York, 1945, Vol. XXXII, pp. 152-153.

rescue by informing him about what he could do with his money to get the attackers off his back.

Frederick Gates was chief among the "friendly" reformers. Gates and two other of these liberal persuaders were Baptist theologians trained at the University of Rochester, under the university's president, Martin B. Anderson, a prestigious member of the Cobden Club of London. Gates's memoirs credited Anderson with having shaped his life and his thought.<sup>23</sup>

Frederick Gates so ingratiated himself with the troubled John D. Rockefeller that he became Rockefeller's chief personal financial advisor. Gates counseled Rockefeller to finance a new University of Chicago, which was then built with Rockefeller's money, under Baptist auspices, opening in 1892.

Gates converted Rockefeller family funds into the source for other British-modeled educational schemes such as Columbia Teachers College, whose "liberal" methods have since replaced classical concepts in U.S. public schools, to the detriment of sanity, and culture, in today's younger generation. The Rockefeller Foundation and similar family instruments are controlled by the reform movement which seized control of John D. Rockefeller and his money. But the old pirate John D. Rockefeller's offspring eagerly joined forces with the new power in the family. With their massive stock holdings, they were, after all, given a delicious slice of the action by the Teagles, the British, the Nazis, et. al. By the mid-20th century, the new game had made "liberals" out of grandsons Nelson and David Rockefeller.

Old John D. Rockefeller inadvertently started another reform movement, again under Baptist auspices, when Cyrus Eaton came to Cleveland in 1901. The Eaton family had lived in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, since the 1760s. As prominent colonial ship-builders they had used their considerable influence to help stop Nova Scotia from joining the American Revolution. Later, thousands of emigrant Tories had streamed north into Nova Scotia,

23. Gates, Fredrick, *Chapters in My Life*, The Free Press-Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc, New York, 1977, pp. 57-71.

establishing the colony and its massive British naval installation as a permanent base of subversive operations against the United States.

Seventeen-year-old Cyrus Eaton moved from Canada to Cleveland, Ohio, on the invitation of his uncle, Charles Eaton, a Baptist minister whose Sunday School was supervised by John D. Rockefeller.<sup>24</sup> Cyrus Eaton was introduced to the American millionaire, who took him into his business part-time. Over the next decade, Eaton moved back and forth between Canada and the United States, purchasing Canadian utility companies with Rockefeller's help. He married an American girl, became an American citizen, and converted his Canadian holdings into a multi-million dollar Midwest utility and steel empire.

In the 1950s, Cyrus Eaton, acting on behalf of Lord John Russell's grandson Bertrand Russell, convened a series of conferences beginning in the Masonic Lodge in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. Eaton brought together Soviet and American "peace" representatives to forge a deal for the division of the world into two empires, one (perhaps the larger one) ruled by the Russians, and one by the elite families of Britain and of the U.S. Eastern Establishment. "Pugwash" remains today the overriding strat-

24. Nevins, Allan, *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and London, 1953, Vol 2, p. 294: "[The previous minister] was never so intimate with Rockefeller as his successor, the Reverend Charles A. Eaton, a gifted Nova Scotian who was pastor of the Euclid Avenue Church 1900-1909 and later of the Madison Avenue Church in New York. Entering politics, Eaton finally became one of the leading internationalists in Congress." From *Imprint of the Maritimes*, in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Call number F128.K46, pp. 85-86: "Representative Charles A. Eaton of the Fifth New Jersey District was minority leader of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee . . . in the . . . 80th Congress he had been chairman of this important committee. . . . Following World War II Representative Eaton joined with the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan and John Foster Dulles, [later] Secretary of State in the Eisenhower cabinet, in forging a far-seeing foreign policy for the Republican party. . . . In 1945, at San Francisco, he signed the United Nations charter in behalf of the United States."

egy concept for implementation by David Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, and by the Rockefeller family's longtime employee Henry A. Kissinger.<sup>25</sup>

### Some Interesting Ways To Make Money

Scottish Rite northern leader Killian Henry Van Rensselaer, second in command to the Rite's Swiss-born patriarch John James Joseph Gourgas DuPan de Rengers, had organized the Knights of the Golden Circle in 1853 and 1854. Spreading south and east from Cincinnati, the Knights had proposed to create a new feudal empire comprising most of the United States and Latin America; in 1861 they had served as the armed backbone of Southern secession.

Inspection of the Scottish Rite's data on its organization in the post-Civil War era<sup>26</sup> yields the names of two of Van Rensselaer's comrades who were to play significant roles in the British takeover of American financial affairs: *Henry L. Palmer* and *Albert Gallatin Goodall*. Their remarkable business affiliations seem to have attracted little attention from our Harvard or Columbia University historians.

### Case Study No. 1: Wisconsin

Henry L. Palmer rose in Masonic ranks to become Sovereign Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite, Northern Jurisdiction, from 1879 to 1908. Before the Civil War he had moved to Wisconsin from Troy, New York—Van Rensselaer's home base.

25. See Eaton, A.W.H., *The Eaton Family of Nova Scotia*, in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Call Number F93.2 EA8; Halifax Chronicle Herald, July 2, 1960, top of p. 1: "Cyrus Eaton, who left his Pugwash home as a youth to become one of America's great industrialists, returned to his native village yesterday to receive Russia's international Lenin Peace Prize. The prize, given to people of different nationalities and convictions in recognition of their outstanding work for peace, was made [sic] by Soviet Academician D. V. Skobeltzyn, a director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, before an applauding, shirt-sleeved Dominion Day Crowd of thousands. . . ."

26. Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council*, Vol. I, p. 362 (Palmer), Vol. II, p. 11 (Goodall).

He served as the head of Wisconsin's Democratic Party and as an organizer of the Midwest's pro-Confederate Copperhead faction during the war. In 1863 Palmer ran for governor of Wisconsin on an outrageously anti-Union Democratic platform; he lost by the largest margin in the state's history.<sup>27</sup>

Palmer's business was life insurance. He was associated with the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company from the time of its founding in 1858. His presidency of Northwestern Mutual (1874-1908) roughly coincided with the years Henry Palmer was the official commander of the Scottish Rite in the northern United States, and several of Palmer's Northwestern Mutual employees were members of the Scottish Rite Supreme Council.<sup>28</sup>

Northwestern Mutual Life quickly grew to be one of the largest, richest companies in America; the largest life insurance firm west of New York and the fourth largest corporation west of the Alleghenies. The influence of an insurance company has to do with its power to choose those who will receive its loans and investments, and Henry Palmer was known as a particular friend of the railroads. This inclination had less to do with Palmer's technological persuasion than with the fact that Alexander

27. Current, Richard N., *The History of Wisconsin; Vol. II: The Civil War Era, 1848-1873*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1976, pp. 406-407.

28. See Williamson, Harold F. and Smalley, Orange A., *Northwestern Mutual Life: A Century of Trusteeship*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1957; and Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council: Alvin Blodgett Alden: Born Connecticut in 1818, hired by Palmer in 1878 as Nw. Mut. Life midwestern region field agent, Scot. Rite Supr. Coun. 1867-1882; (Baynard, Vol II, pp. 9-10, Williamson/Smalley, p. 81). Thomas Evans Balding: Born London, England in 1837, settled Milwaukee 1849. Grain broker. Secretary of the Executive Cttee, Northwestern Mut. Life, ca. 1890-1919; Scot. Rite Supr. Coun. 1882-84, 1895-1920; (Baynard, Vol II, pp. 137-138). George Henry Benzenberg, Born New York in 1847, Milwaukee City Engineer, Pres. Amer. Society of Civil Engineers, Trustee of Nw. Mut. Life 1904-1925, Scot. Rite Supr. Coun. 1899-1925; (Baynard, Vol II, pp. 213-214, Williamson/Smalley, p. 338). Herbert Norman Laffin, Born Wisc. 1869, Assistant Counsel Nw. Mut Life from 1896 to at least 1938, Scot. Rite Supr. Coun. 1928 to at least 1938; (Baynard, Vol II, pp. 389-391).*

Mitchell, a power in Palmer's Democratic Party apparatus, owned all the railroads in Wisconsin.

Mitchell had been sent to Wisconsin from Britain by a Scottish investment trust which owned the Northwestern Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of which Mitchell became the president. By the 1870s Mitchell had used his insurance company, allied to Palmer's, as a bank to consolidate Wisconsin's railroads and control all of the state's grain silos.

In 1874, Alexander Mitchell set up the Chicago-based Honest Money League of the Northwest and made Lyman Gage its treasurer.<sup>29</sup> Let us here mention a facet of Henry Palmer's business activities which relates to the strange world of spiritualist fakery in which Lyman Gage moved.

The Wisconsin state legislature, in a 1906 investigation of Northwestern Mutual Life, reported that the company maintained a nationwide agency of paid spies and unpaid informers. The spies' job, according to the legislature, was to tell the company when a policyholder got sick, so that his life insurance could be terminated at the first moment there was a technically legal pretext to do so.

But perhaps such an army of snoopers was useful as well for other purposes, such as the gathering of information on deaths, illnesses, and other intimate affairs of American families, information that could be useful to the networks of operatives, playing on superstition, associated with Lyman Gage and his friends.<sup>30</sup>

## Case Study No. 2: New York

Albert Gallatin Goodall was an exalted personage in Kilian Van Rensselaer's Scottish Rite organization. *Goodall was the personal representative of Britain's Prince Edward VII, the son of Queen*

29. Unger, *Greenback Era*, pp. 388-390.

30. For example, John I.D. Bristol, the Nw. Mut. Life General Agent and director of its sales force in New York City (Williamson/Smalley, pp. 106, 195), was a member of the American Society for Psychic Research (see Chapter 17, where the foreign intelligence functions of "psychic research" are discussed).

*Victoria, to America's freemasons.*<sup>31</sup> He was also the Scottish Rite's envoy to all Latin American countries, and a member of the Supreme Council.

Goodall's value to the British royal family was far from being merely symbolic. His relationship to America's monetary affairs was unique: he printed the money. During the 1870s fight over specie resumption, Goodall was president of the American Bank Note Company, whose rather disturbing corporate history<sup>32</sup> we will briefly sketch.

The company which became American Bank Note was formed in 1799 by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Perkins hired as an engraver a notorious traitor named Smithers, who had first printed the currency for the patriots' Continental Army; he had then joined the British and printed the counterfeit notes for the occupation army in New York, which helped make the American currency "not worth a Continental." A 1950s report of the American Bank Note Company features a copy of a British advertisement for Smithers' counterfeit money, available to anyone travelling out of occupied New York to the other colonies.<sup>33</sup>

31. "Albert Gallatin Goodall," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 388-389: "It was said of him in South America: 'President [sic] Goodall wields a mightier wand than many a crowned ruler.' . . . In addition to the honors already accorded him by the rulers of Russia and Brazil, he was signally recognized by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), Most Worthy Grand Master of Masons in England, in his appointment as representative near this jurisdiction."

32. See Griffiths, William H., *The Story of American Bank Note Company*, printed by the company, New York, 1959.

33. *New York Mercury*, April 14, 1777: "Advertisement—Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeit Congress notes for the price of the paper per ream. They are so neatly and exactly executed that there is no risk in getting them off, it being almost impossible to discover that they are not genuine. This has been proven by bills to a very large amount which have already been successfully circulated. Inquire of Q. E. D. at the Coffee House . . .," quoted in Griffiths, *American Bank Note*, p. 18. "Thomas Paine, in a letter to the President of the Continental Congress dated 11 April 1778, named the engraver [James

The Essex Junto-dominated Massachusetts legislature made Perkins' engraving method the only legal process for bank notes in the state as of 1809. The British ambassador to the United States, Sir Charles Bagot, asked Perkins' staff to visit England in 1818. Perkins remained in England for good, printing postage stamps for the government and currency notes for country banks.<sup>34</sup>

Perkins' associates returned to the United States in 1823 and resumed their company's operations. Over succeeding years the company was split up, but in 1858 its original four parts and all three other American engraving firms were brought together under the name American Bank Note Company.

President James Buchanan's Treasury Secretary Howell Cobb, a member of the Scottish Rite Supreme Council, gave the company the contract to print the notes of the United States. In 1861, while still printing the U.S. notes, the American Bank Note Company made the plates for the first Confederate money.<sup>35</sup> This New York-based Confederate operation was broken up by federal authorities, but the company continued printing Confederate currency in its New Orleans offices. When U.S. forces

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Smithers] as being a participant in forging Continental currency for the British. When the British abandoned Philadelphia and returned to New York, Smithers accompanied them, and on 15 June 1778 the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation ordering him to answer to the charge of treason." Scott, Kenneth, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America, with a Foreword by U. E. Baughman, Chief, U. S. Secret Service*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1957, p. 256.

34. Griffiths, *American Bank Note*, p. 26.

35. Hay, Thomas R., "Gazaway Bugg Lamar, Confederate Banker and Business Man," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, June, 1937, p. 105: "As the Confederate government began to take shape, Secretary of the Treasury C. G. Memminger sought Lamar's advice and help in floating the Confederate loan of \$15,000,000 authorized February 28, 1861 and delegated him to arrange for the engraving and printing of bonds and treasury notes. Lamar contracted with the American Bank Note Company to prepare the plates, which apparently were completed and delivered." See also the Company's own official story, Griffiths, *American Bank Note*, p. 40, which says the New Orleans branch did the Confederate work on their own.

took Louisiana in 1862, they found that the Confederates had already removed the company's equipment.

During the Civil War, Albert G. Goodall toured the world drumming up business for American Bank Note. He made contracts with Russia (his employees trained the Czar's printers), Greece, Italy, and many Latin American nations to print the money of those countries.<sup>36</sup> Eventually 105 nations had their currencies or postage stamps printed by the company.

Though President Lincoln had seen to it that two other engraving companies arose during the war to share in the printing of greenbacks, these two new companies were merged into American Bank Note in 1879. The Congress soon decided to set up a Bureau of Engraving to print U.S. notes, but the company continued to print America's postage stamps until 1894. Its most significant business in the later nineteenth century, however, was in the printing of stock and bond certificates, for which it attained to a virtual monopoly in collusion with the New York Stock Exchange.<sup>37</sup>

A most unusual feature of the company is that *it has always, and continues to employ professional counterfeiters in company laboratories*. The announced purpose of this arrangement is to keep a technological step ahead of criminal counterfeiters.<sup>38</sup>

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36. Griffiths, *American Bank Note*, p. 44; and "Albert Gallatin Goodall," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 388-389.

37. Griffiths, *American Bank Note*, pp. 44, 51.

38. *ibid.*, pp. 68-69: THE "HONEST COUNTERFEITER" [sic] TESTS COMPANY'S WORK

During the decades in which the broad usefulness of the Major Tint was being developed and utilized, the Company employed a man of exceptional ability. He was Joseph Ford, 'the honest counterfeiter,' as he was genially referred to throughout the Company. He devoted his long career to one of the most bizarre research operations ever known—testing the security of American Bank Note work by attempting to counterfeit it. His secluded quarters, which he always kept under lock and key, were in the tower of the New York plant. He had able assistants and was provided with all the chemical and photographic equipment he desired. . . . Any document beyond the reach of a man of integrity and genius operating with ample facilities in the light of day [sic] should be safe from twisted minds forced to work under cover. . . . It is interesting

Today the American Bank Note Company, with printing plant in The Bronx, New York, prints stock and bond certificates; certain lottery tickets; traveler's checks for the American Express Company, Bank of America, Citibank, and the First National Bank of Chicago; major credit cards; and the currencies of Mexico, Brazil, and many other countries. Its records, even the list of its clients, are desperate secrets of the company.<sup>39</sup>

Were it to fall into the wrong hands, a company of this sort would be an excellent instrument for purposes of "irregular warfare," terrorism, and drug smuggling, with capabilities for providing ready cash, credit cards, and high quality false identification papers.

In forthcoming chapters we will explore the evolution of ownership and control of this small company, which emerged in the twentieth century as the joint property of the Harriman and Dulles families.

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to note that his son, William F. Ford, is today the Company's and the world's foremost portrait engraver."

39. The client data given here are derived from interviews with New York journalists, confirmed by almost completely closed-mouthed Company officials.

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## The Pot and the Kettle

What is a liberal?

We might attempt to define him as "one who does not believe in conspiracies." Political assassinations, catastrophic events such as the Nazi holocaust, wars, depressions—in his view these things "just happen," as the *New York Times* assures him now and again.

But this definition would be a serious mistake. When Senator Harrison Williams and other congressmen were prosecuted for "conspiracy" by Abscam investigators, liberals applauded, though Senator Williams was one of the leading defenders of civil rights. When the Nixon administration collapsed under press attacks against the Watergate conspiracy, liberals cheered, though Nixon's Director of National Security, Henry Kissinger, walked away scot-free.

We may safely correct our definition of a liberal to "one who does not believe in conspiracies unless they are characterized as such by the *New York Times*." It has been precisely that way for more than a century.

In the early 1870s the world watched in fascination as New York City was caught in the grips of a Conspiracy Theory—promoted by the *New York Times*. The Conspirators had seized control of local and state government behind the scenes, were stealing people's money and destroying their liberties; they must be stopped before they expanded their Hidden Power.

The Times and its political allies succeeded in crushing the

Conspiracy and saved the people from *William M. ("Boss") Tweed* and his cohorts. The story of this crusade, the victory of the reformers and Tweed's destruction, has since been told and retold as the classic example of good government triumphing over corruption.

This standard account of the Tweed case is, to echo the liberals, simplistic conspiracy-mongering. The purveyors of this conspiracy tale deceived the public and used the Tweed scandal as a smokescreen for a power grab by the conspiracy-theorists and their friends.

The following, fairly typical description of the Tweed Conspiracy and its downfall is taken from *The Rise of American Civilization*, written in 1927 by Charles A. Beard, the revisionist historian, and his wife Mary Beard:

About the end of the middle period appeared a leader in Tammany Hall who was not hampered in his ambitions by any such moderations as stayed the hand of the English administrator in India. This man was William Marcy Tweed. . . . By 1869, the Tweed group had possession of the mayor, the common council, the district attorney, the municipal judges, the legislature at Albany, and even the governor of the Empire State.

With reckless indifference to all amenities, Tweed and his band scooped in the rewards of their labors, multiplying the debt of the city tenfold in a decade and putting no small part of the proceeds into their own pockets. . . . huge sums were fraudulently paid out of the city treasury under the specious title of 'general purposes,' enriching politicians, contractors and real estate speculators at the expense of the taxpayers.

. . . they might have gone on indefinitely if they had not fallen out among themselves over the division of the loot, creating dissensions which led to exposures in 1871. On the motion of a committee of indignant citizens formed to prosecute the malefactors, Tweed was arrested on a charge

of having stolen \$6,000,000, convicted and sent to prison. Escaping by connivance, he fled to Spain in 1875, only to be discovered, rearrested, brought back to New York, and kept in jail until his death soon afterward.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have a fine example of "revisionism" in action. The facts of Tweed's prosecution bear only a slight resemblance to this tale by Columbia University Professor Beard.

Tweed was indeed "arrested." He was also "charged with having stolen \$6,000,000." However, he was acquitted on this charge.

Yes, he was "convicted," but of a different charge, a misdemeanor involving not having done his duty as a member of an auditing board, in which there was no legal imputation of personal gain. With a controlled judiciary the prosecution got a 12-year prison sentence imposed for this misdemeanor, but a higher court threw out this travesty as unconstitutional.

The prosecution then filed a civil suit against Tweed, a judge imposed a \$3,000,000 bail (in a non-criminal case!), and under this pretext the bankrupt Tweed was, as Beard says, "sent to prison," to await trial of this lawsuit.

He was encouraged, apparently by a police agent, to escape from prison. He did flee to Spain, where he was kidnapped by the American ambassador, the former secessionist master-politician, Caleb Cushing. He was returned to America, where, in his absence, judgment had been rendered against him on the civil suit, and he was sent to prison when he could not pay this new debt. Tweed died in prison, a broken man.

As far as the public knew then, or knows to this day, the *New York Times* began a crusade against the Tweed Conspiracy (or "Ring"); a *Committee of 70* composed of indignant private citizens responded to the evidence the Times presented and mobilized various agencies to begin a prosecution; indignant

Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., *The Rise of American Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1944, Vol. II, pp. 309-310.

private citizen-attorney *Samuel J. Tilden* organized the prosecution, seeing to it that indignant private citizen-attorney *Charles O'Connor* was made a special deputy State Attorney and conducted the prosecution.

### The Motivations of Witch-Hunters

A recent, very valuable book by Queens College history professor Leo Hershkowitz, "Tweed's New York: Another Look," thoroughly discredits the Tweed prosecution as a shameful witch-hunt. While detailing the outrageous denials of due process in the case, Hershkowitz pictures the Times and allied reformers as motivated by bigotry and an anti-urban bias.

This is correct, as far as it goes. The reformers were indeed enraged at the "lower-class," immigrant population of New York.

William Tweed, Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, had created a powerful New York City political machine based on the organization and votes of hundreds of thousands of recent immigrants and their children, mostly Irish and German.

President Abraham Lincoln's wartime economic mobilization had continued after Lincoln's assassination, with government-sponsored railroads, the new government-protected steel industry, and government-promoted creation of new farms and cities in the west.

Immigrants streamed into the victorious republic, an annual average of 294,000 entering from 1866 through 1870, compared with 138,000 in the war years 1861 through 1864, and 175,000 during the chaotic and depressed years of 1855 through 1860.

What the "well-born" had to say about Tweed and his immigrant constituency is exemplified by Lord James Bryce in his 1888 book, *The American Commonwealth*. Bryce, as an English visitor to New York, had apparently been the first to propose a crusade against Tweed; he would later serve as British ambassador to the United States and confidential advisor to President Theodore Roosevelt.

I was in New York in the summer of 1870, and saw the

[Tweed] Ring flourishing like a green bay-tree . . . I inquired why such things were endured . . . I asked what . . . the respectable citizens proposed to do . . . [when] a robber should hold the keys of the public treasury, and a ruffian be set to pollute the seat of justice. . . .<sup>2</sup>

From the end of the [eighteenth] century . . . New York . . . [was] the seat of intrigues and the battleground of factions . . . These factions were for a long time led, and these intrigues worked, by men belonging to the upper or middle class . . . In the middle of the [nineteenth] century, however, there came a change. The old native population of the city was more and more swollen by the immigration of foreigners; first of the Irish, especially from 1846 onwards; then also of the Germans from 1849 onwards; finally of Polish and Russian Jews, as well as of Italians and of Slavs from about 1883 onwards. Already in 1870 the foreign population . . . constituted a half or perhaps even a majority of the inhabitants. . . . These newcomers were as a rule poor and ignorant. They knew little of the institutions of the country, and had not acquired any patriotic interest in it. But they received votes. . . . They were cohesive, influenced by leaders of their own race, and not . . . capable of exercising an independent judgement upon current issues. From among them there soon emerged men whose want of book-learning was overcome by their natural force and shrewdness, and who became apt pupils.

While these causes were transferring power to the rougher and more ignorant element in the population, the swift development of trade . . . had more and more distracted the thoughts of the wealthier people from local politics. The leading men, who fifty years earlier would have watched municipal affairs and perhaps borne a part in them, were now so much occupied with their commercial

2. Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, Macmillan and Company, New York and London, 1895 [third edition], Vol. II, pp. 390-391.



enterprises or their legal practice as to neglect their civic duties, and saw with unconcern the chief municipal offices appropriated by persons belonging to the lower strata of society.

Even had these men of social position and culture desired to retain a hold in city politics, the task would not have been easy, for the rapid growth of New York . . . brought in swarms of strangers . . . organizing these newcomers . . . was work not attractive to men of education, nor suited to them. It fell naturally to those who themselves belonged to the lower strata, and it became the source of the power they acquired.<sup>3</sup>

Lord Bryce's indicated contempt for the "lower strata" would later be translated into action by a powerful Anglo-American movement for "eugenics" (race purification) and immigration restriction. In the twentieth century this movement worked for the creation of Nazism in Germany, and continues today as an attack against "overpopulated" developing nations' "swarms" of wrong-colored people.

In order to gain useful insights into the methodology of *New York Times*-approved anti-conspiracy crusades, however, we must be able to determine why the reformers picked the particular target (Tweed) at the particular time (1871) they did so. To do this we will explore the political situation in New York leading up to the Tweed affair; the identity and background of the reformers and Tweed's relationship to them; and, to see who might have benefitted from Tweed's downfall, what were the political consequences of the prosecution. We must start with a brief excursion to earlier days.

### Aaron Burr's New York

When Aaron Burr created the Tammany Hall electioneering apparatus in the 1790s, he was the greatest power in New York State politics. He had been appointed attorney general and elected

U.S. Senator by the state legislature. He was the attorney for British, Dutch, and Swiss interests holding millions of acres of land on the frontier with British Canada. He had established himself through his marriage as a family member of a Swiss clan (the Mallet-Prevosts) operating on the very highest levels of the British secret intelligence service. Burr's Swiss clan had an intimate relationship with Albert Gallatin, the Genevan who would be U.S. Treasury Secretary from 1801 to 1814.

Gallatin selected Burr as Thomas Jefferson's running mate in the 1800 presidential election, and Burr used Tammany Hall to win the New York electoral votes and thus the national election.

When U.S. Vice-President Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in 1804, his seconds in the duel were Mathew Davis and William Van Ness. Davis continued as Burr's closest aide, and eventually took over as Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, running New York City's Democratic Party apparatus until 1826.

Burr had prepared in other ways to maintain his close associates in power in New York, despite Burr's own treason trials, exile, and disgrace. Martin Van Buren was his most successful political protégé, personally trained by Burr as a lieutenant in Tammany. The rumor that Van Buren was Burr's illegitimate son reflects widespread popular knowledge of Van Buren's actual *political* parentage.

Van Buren was New York's attorney general, U.S. Senator and governor between 1816 and 1829. He was Andrew Jackson's Secretary of State, but was not confirmed as ambassador to England because the Senate thought him to be too much of a slave to the British. He was elected U.S. President in 1836, following Jackson's closing of the Bank of the United States.

Upon his inauguration, the worst depression up to that time devastated the country. Van Buren declared it beyond his power to ameliorate the economic destruction in any way. He told Congress, "The less government interferes with private disputes, the better for general prosperity."<sup>4</sup> In that crash and

3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 377-379.

4. President Martin Van Buren's speech to a specially-called session of Congress, Sept. 4, 1837. The speech is in Richardson, James D. ed., *Messages*

depression, the fortunes of several well-connected anglophiles were made in the purchase of depressed property, including that of George Peabody, founder of the House of Morgan.

The man who was to organize the prosecution of "Boss" Tweed in 1871, Samuel Tilden, was a product of Van Buren's Albany Regency, the group that ruled New York State in the 1820s and 1830s. Tilden was a life-long intimate of Martin Van Buren, of the Van Ness family and of Edward Livingston—the latter Aaron Burr's partner in treason in Louisiana.

All of Tilden's training was as a warrior for Van Buren and Jackson, learning his trade authoring free-trade attacks on Henry Clay and the Bank of the United States.

### The Origin of the Slum System

One other product of Aaron Burr's malevolent influence remained to dominate New York's political and economic life for decades after Burr's heyday: the millionaire slumlord John Jacob Astor and the Astor family.

Before his ascent to the U.S. vice-presidency, Aaron Burr arranged to have the New York state legislature appoint him chairman of a committee to investigate the real estate affairs of Trinity Episcopal Church in Manhattan. In question were some lands owned by Trinity which were leased to others for 99 years from 1768. As a result of his "investigation," Burr came to hold the leases! He then sold these leases to John Jacob Astor for tens of thousands of dollars, along with some other lands he controlled. This financed Burr's escape from New York in the 1804 killing of Hamilton.

Astor paid Burr for this bargain with money almost entirely derived from his China trade—including the *first* substantial sale of opium to China by Americans. This was Astor's initial big break in New York real estate, for which he rewarded Burr handsomely. Astor money was again made available for Burr to

and *Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. III, pp. 324-346; quoted from *The Annals of America*, published by Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc, Chicago, 1968, Vol. VI, p. 315.

flee from justice on various states' charges relating to Burr's secession conspiracy in 1807. From Burr's return to New York in 1812, until his death in 1836, he served on several occasions as Astor's lawyer.<sup>5</sup>

The value of the Trinity lands is explained in the official church history, "Trinity: Mother of Churches":

By 1866 the property . . . comprised some 355 lots in twelve blocks of city streets . . . yet Trinity's total income from the ground lease (i.e. what Astor had to pay the church-owner) was only \$269 per year.

With the expiration of the lease, now held by [John Jacob's son] William B. Astor, the land reverted to the church, and the vestry received, in 1867, a net income from this property of \$138,586, with a similar or increasing annual amount in succeeding years.<sup>6</sup>

One other crucial source of bargain real estate boosted Astor into the status of lord of the city. The New York City government simply *gave* John Jacob Astor large amounts of land, much of it lying under shallow water just off dry land on Manhattan Island. The city then would fill in the sunken lots, place sewers, open and grade streets by them—most often at little or no cost to Astor. (The same generosity was extended to several of the old Dutch New York families which carried their colonial feudal outlook past the establishment of American independence—Astor clubbed with them in the Holland Lodge).

Expanding his base of real estate holdings throughout Manhattan Island, *John Jacob Astor and his family deliberately created the slum system in New York.*

Their tactic was simple. Astor would lease (or sub-lease) a parcel of land to a sub-landlord on a 21-year lease. By this

5. Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, Vol. II, p. 884.

6. Morehouse, Clifford P., *Trinity: Mother of Churches*, The Seabury Press, New York, 1973, p. 154.

arrangement the sub-landlord would build some sort of tenement apartment house, make as much money in rents as possible, and put as little as possible in improvements or maintenance into the building, because at the end of 21 years, the land and *any building or improvement on it would revert to Astor.*

This criminal system was constantly supplied with fresh crops of immigrant tenants, who generally lacked the knowledge, money, or contacts to seek shelter elsewhere.

Sometime early in his New York real estate career, John Jacob Astor turned over the management of his gigantic fortune—in the form of a family fund—to Albert Gallatin, former U.S. Treasury Secretary. Astor created the National Bank of New York—later called the Gallatin Bank—and made Albert Gallatin its president. For many years Astor made his primary residence in Geneva, Switzerland, near the Gallatins. Albert Gallatin's son James eventually took over from his father the management of the Astor family fund.

Astor tenement slum holdings continued to grow, making the Astors perhaps the richest family in the world. In 1879, well after the reform movement had cleaned out William Tweed, Board of Health inspectors investigated conditions in the Astor slums on the Lower East Side. Harvey O'Connor in his book, "The Astors," reports on the investigators' findings:

At the first Astor tenement . . . on each floor were four dark bedrooms. The hall was lighted from a skylight. Little water got to the upper floors because of low pressure. The water closet in the court was foul . . . [The second building] was neat and healthful—the lessee was conscientious. In the rear apartment at 138 East Fourth Street a man, three women and two children lived in three rooms, two of them dark bedrooms measuring eight by eight. [In] the kitchen . . . a woman with a broken leg, who had had no medical attention for weeks, lay upon an old lounge. Two pale children attended her. The rooms . . . were 'stifling,' polluted by the stench from the privies in the court. . . .

At 152 East Fourth [were] fourteen families with forty-one children and thirty-one adults. The hall, filled with women and children, had a skylight which "illuminated a scene of misery and dirt below. A pump in the hall was able to force a few drops of tepid water which the children greedily drank. . . . A sick child lay in a rear room gasping for breath while its mother stirred up a fire, the heat of which made the atmosphere terrible. The bedrooms were small and dark with windows 13 by 15 inches in size for ventilation. These opened on stifling hallways and admitted an atmosphere almost as bad as that within. The yard was unclean as were the closets [toilets—ed.] which gave forth terrible stenches . . ."

The Board of Health figures for 1880 showed 17,816 deaths in 10,609 tenements of which 10,101 had been of children under five . . . there had been [only] 7,538 deaths in 6,864 private houses, of whom [only] 2,999 had been children under five . . .<sup>7</sup>

As this system of organized death for immigrant families persisted over the decades, the Astor family's primary real estate attorney was *Joseph H. Choate, who in 1871 organized the "Committee of 70" for the crusade against the Tweed Ring.* Choate's partner Charles F. Southmayd was a trustee of the Astor estate, and the firm Evarts, Choate and Southmayd made a fortune representing the Astor real estate holdings.

### Insurrectionists in Power in New York

Before dealing directly with Boss Tweed, let us first review the political situation in New York during the decade or so preceding his rise to power. We will then inspect the challenge Tweed made to the political Establishment, and the organization of their counterattack: the prosecution of the "Tweed Ring." Finally,

7. O'Connor, *The Astors*, pp. 169-172.

we will discuss the political and social power relationships in New York after Tweed was gone.

The reader may then be in a better position to decide for himself whether Tweed, or the people who purged him, represented "the classic case of American municipal corruption."

Traitors and gangsters ruled the United States from 1853 to 1860. Virtually the first act of the administration of President Franklin Pierce (1853-1856) was the creation of a bloody civil conflict in Kansas though the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Dominated by Attorney General Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, the government contentedly watched New Englanders fight Missourians in Kansas.

The Knights of the Golden Circle, organized in 1853 under the supervision of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, pushed south from Cincinnati, Ohio, into the states on the Gulf of Mexico, recruiting armed men for the conquest of Latin America and the secession of the American South—a replay of Aaron Burr's 1807 program.

In New York City, the "Cuban Revolutionary Junta" planned an insurrection against the authorities in Spanish-ruled Cuba. Their stated object was to *prevent* possible Spanish emancipation of Cuba's black slaves; Cuba would have been added to the political base of the U.S. slave South.

The military chief of this "Cuban Junta" was John Anthony Quitman, a New Yorker who had moved to Mississippi and was now (1853) the tactical leader of the Southern secessionist movement. Quitman had been arrested by President Zachary Taylor and indicted for masterminding an identical plan against Cuba in 1850. With Taylor having immediately, conveniently died, the indictment was dropped and Quitman's operation was back in business in New York City.

To be certain that Quitman's gang would have no interference this time from meddling law officers, Pierce appointed *Charles O'Connor*, a fanatical, Northern, pro-slavery lawyer as the United States Attorney for New York City. New York was to be the Northern tactical base, in tandem with Charleston, South Car-

olina, for the creation of the Southern armed insurrectionary movement of 1861. For the crucial first 15 months of the Pierce administration Mr. O'Connor would serve Attorney General Cushing well in protecting this treason project.

The reader should bear in mind that Charles O'Connor is well known to American history, not for his relationship to the secession of the South, but as the *prosecutor of William M. ("Boss") Tweed in the 1870s*.

### The Times, the Pirates, and Cuba

From its initial publication in 1851, the *New York Times* founders Henry Raymond and George Jones had been crusading for the Quitman project. The Times kept a "pro-revolutionary" (i.e. pro-slavery) correspondent in Havana, sending back to New York dispatches under the pseudonym Ocator.<sup>8</sup> On February 28, 1853, a few days before the inauguration of President Franklin Pierce, the Times carried a snide article from Ocator, reporting on the lack of aggressive American response to Spanish self-defensive legal and military moves in Cuba. The Times asked, "Are the people of the United States ignoble enough to endure these continued insults? . . . We will see on the advent of a new administration."

On December 5, 1853, with Pierce and Cushing in power in Washington, with Charles O'Connor looking out for the Quitman gang in New York, the *New York Times* ran an "Address of the Cuban Junta to the People," occupying three full columns. The declaration warned of a

scheme for liberating the Cuban slaves . . . by England, France and Spain. . . . We are to be pitted against the savages of Africa—let there spring in our hearts the holy thirst for vengeance, and let us slay the Caesars [the Spanish] who desire to immolate us, let us shed our blood in torrents.

8. The present-day management of the *New York Times* contends that it has no way of knowing the actual identity of *Times* reporter "Ocator".

Let us hazard the Revolution as the only plank to preserve us from shipwreck . . . we'll certainly march in mass with the people, and we believe even the government of the United States, which already from the present moment, form common cause with those who . . . share the destinies which await them.

The following February a provocation was arranged which could serve as a pretext for the United States, under its pro-slavery leaders, to invade and conquer Spanish Cuba. The *Black Warrior*, a cargo ship bound from Alabama to New York, stopped in Havana. The Spanish officials looked into the hold of the ship and found undeclared cargo, and so they seized the ship and arrested its captain, James D. Bulloch of Georgia.

The ship captain was the brother of Martha Roosevelt, who would give birth to future President Theodore Roosevelt four years later. James Bulloch and Mrs. Roosevelt's husband, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., were political and business collaborators throughout the 1850s, spending long days together in the Roosevelt home in New York.

The cargo of the *Black Warrior* was being delivered to Charles Tyng, a Boston Brahmin merchant who was an intimate, lifelong friend of Attorney General Caleb Cushing and a grandson of Essex Junto member Stephen Higginson. Tyng's son would later be Cushing's private Secretary, when Ambassador Cushing was kidnapping William Tweed in Spain.

When the *Black Warrior* was seized, Cushing called for a naval blockade of Cuba, the President demanded immediate action from Congress, and all the "Young America" friends of the administration called for war.

In this episode, however, the American people were decidedly not in sympathy with the gangsters, and war never materialized. It would have to await another scheme, 50 years later in the Havana harbor, at the hands of Theodore Roosevelt and his friends.

In 1853, New York's "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt sent his agent, Cornelius Garrison, to San Francisco to run the Pacific Coast operations of Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit steamship line to Central America. When all was ready in 1855, adventurer William Walker and his mercenaries set sail from San Francisco in Vanderbilt's boats, his expedition financed and equipped by Vanderbilt.

William Walker conquered Nicaragua, reinstated black slavery, and proclaimed himself president; his regime was recognized by the Pierce-Cushing administration. But when he had a falling-out with Vanderbilt, the New York financier equipped and unleashed opposition Central American forces in a war against Walker that took over 10,000 Central American lives (see Chapter 12).

New York's Democratic Party was badly split in the early 1850s, reflecting that process of factionalization which would break up the party nationally by the end of the decade. But when President Franklin Pierce backed a candidate in the 1854 New York City mayoral election, the chairman of New York's Democratic State Committee, Augustus Schell, was able to unite the city's party apparatus behind the President's choice.

State Chairman Schell was a close friend of Commodore Vanderbilt, and would serve as Vanderbilt's broker, financial manager and representative on corporate boards for the next two decades. The choice of Schell and Pierce for mayor, Fernando Wood, was a former radical abolitionist who had served for a time as a Van Burenite in the U.S. Congress. Elected mayor in 1854, reelected in 1856 and 1860, Wood developed a reputation as a wildly corrupt city boss. But since *it was against Fernando Wood that William Tweed was to struggle in Tweed's rise to power* in New York, and since Tweed's relative reputation for corruption must be maintained at all costs by Eastern Establishment historians, Wood has been let off the hook. A paper published for a 1984 conference at the New-York Historical Society even praised Wood as a "progressive," while allowing

that he did have one minor flaw: he had, as we shall see, *strongly* overcome his earlier leanings towards the abolition of slavery.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, all accounts of New York's political scene in the 1850s show voting-place thuggery, election-stealing, extortion and official protection of vice as flourishing under Mayor Wood's supervision.

### Lamar's Slave Empire

A crucial question began to be asked in the late 1850s by American patriots in diverse sections of the country: what were the political leanings—the loyalties—of the citizenry, and what were the important leadership groups which might be pulling the citizens towards or away from support for the Union?

To begin to answer that question retrospectively for New York, one must begin with a look at the Lamar family. They were "chivalry," sir. Family histories now, as then, trace the Lamars (or *de* Lamars) back to French nobility. (Virtually all of our self-proclaimed American bluebloods locate their ancestors among the French-named Norman conquerors of England).

Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar was the out-front leader of the anti-American faction in Texas, opposing the American nationalists who were identified with Texas' first president Sam Houston.

9. Mushkat, Dr. Jerome, "Fernando Wood and the Commercial Growth of New York City," paper submitted to the New-York Historical Society, 1984; the paper begins: "Much of the historiography of nineteenth-century urban politics stresses the corruption involved in municipal government; the graft and kickbacks practiced by its leaders; the unethical political machines that exchanged favors for votes and formed alliances with criminals; and the failure of those machines to provide effective government. Very often, historians cite Fernando Wood, New York's three-time mayor during the 1850s, as the worst example of that system and the creator of its most notorious features. A closer examination of Wood's career suggests that he was an imaginative leader who was a forerunner of the Progressive movement."

The last sentence of the paper: "On the whole, Fernando Wood *was* a forerunner of the great reforms of the twentieth-century and well within the mainstream of political liberalism."

## The Lamar Family

John Lamar II

**Howell Cobb = Ann Lamar**

Governor of Georgia; U.S. Treasury Secretary and Cabinet Leader under President Buchanan, 1857-60; chairman of convention which established Southern Confederacy; Supreme Council, Scottish Rite; Secured financial operations in New York through Gazaway Lamar.

**Basil Lamar**

**Gazaway Bugg Lamar**

Business partner of James Hamilton, former South Carolina governor who organized Nullification movement. New York banker, organized Great Western Insurance Co. (board included J.P. Morgan and British and Swiss directors) to back his operations; Confederate intelligence chief in New York City; got American Bank Note Company to print Confederate notes; smuggled arms to South; organized slave trade revival out of New York in the 1850s; his heirs represented by Sullivan & Cromwell, Dulles law firm, got millions from U.S. to "recover property" confiscated during the Civil War.

**Mirabeau Lamar**

Second president of Texas Republic; plotted overthrow of Texas government in early years; tried to break up Republic of Mexico; sent James Hamilton to England to negotiate British control of Texas; affair with Jane McManus, former mistress of Aaron Burr; "New Washington Association" of Swartout, Morgan, and Treat under Lamar.

**John Lamar III**

**Lucius Q. C. Lamar**

**Lucius Q. C. Lamar II**  
University of Mississippi professor in "Moral Philosophy"; drafted Secession Resolution for state of Mississippi; appointed U.S. Interior Secretary and Supreme Court Justice by President Grover Cleveland.

As the second president of the Texas republic—before Texas joined the Union—Mirabeau Lamar dispatched the Texas navy to Vera Cruz to assist the separatist movement there in military attacks against the Mexican federal government. He sought constant war against the Indian tribes, countering Sam Houston's attempts at conciliation. He sent James Hamilton, nullificationist former governor of South Carolina, to England to work for British acquisition of Texas as a colony or satellite.

Mirabeau Lamar's political base of support was centered in the town of New Washington, Texas, a settlement owned by Samuel Swartwout of New York and Swartwout's Texas lieutenants including James Morgan and James Treat. Swartwout played a leading, behind-the-scenes role in Texas politics from the 1830s until the Knights of the Golden Circle arrived in the middle 1850s. In 1804 Samuel Swartwout's older brother John had arranged a site in New Jersey for his political boss, Aaron Burr, to hold a duel with Alexander Hamilton, and had awakened Burr on the morning of that encounter. After killing Hamilton, Burr fled to South Carolina with Samuel Swartwout, and later used him as a confidential agent in Burr's plans for insurrection and conquest in Louisiana and Mexico.

It was Swartwout's Texas machine—Treat, Morgan, and others—the continuation of Aaron Burr's anti-American apparatus in the American West, which made up the base of advisors, financial backers and political operatives for Mirabeau Lamar.<sup>10</sup>

Mirabeau's cousin Gazaway Bugg Lamar (1798-1874) was the most aggressive central figure in the secessionist conspiracy operating in the New York region. Beginning in the family's Georgia banking, shipping and slave-plantation enterprises, Gazaway Bugg Lamar wove a web of financial and political-intelligence contacts which were to put him in a unique position from which to wage war against the United States:

- He was a business partner and close friend of *James Ham-*

*ilton*,<sup>11</sup> cousin Mirabeau's minister to England, the prize politician of the Prioleau family and the British and Venetian banking circles which dominated South Carolina.

- He married, in 1839, the daughter of *Anthony Charles Cazenove* of Geneva, Switzerland. Cazenove's cousin Theophile Cazenove had managed the land purchases and all business affairs of the Holland Land Company in New York and Pennsylvania, working with Company attorney Aaron Burr. Anthony Cazenove was himself a business partner of Albert Gallatin, and Gallatin's personal agent and representative in the Washington, D.C. area. He served as the Swiss consul at Alexandria, Virginia, and negotiator for Switzerland of a commercial treaty with the United States.<sup>12</sup>

- In the 1840s Gazaway Lamar founded the *Bank of the Republic* in New York City, which would manage the New York financial affairs of the Southern secessionists. Richard Lathers of South Carolina then established the New York-based Great Western Marine Insurance Company, maintaining an interlocking directorate and joint political operations with the Bank of the Republic. In his memoirs, Lathers tells us, "At a dinner in London during the Civil War I was introduced to the president of the Bank of England, who . . . remarked [the Great Western] is one of the New York corporations in which I know personally or by reputation most of the directors."<sup>13</sup>

The list of the directors of the Great Western at that time is fairly representative of the trans-Atlantic oligarchical syndicate backing the secessionist movement in the United States and providing financial depth for Lamar's operations. It included Richard Lathers, president; J.J. Crane, president of the Bank of the Republic; W.C. Pickersgill of London and Liverpool; James M. Brown, of Brown Brothers & Co., bankers, New York and

<sup>11</sup> Hay, "Gazaway Bugg Lamar," pp. 91-92.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Lathers, Richard, *Reminiscences of Richard Lathers, Sixty Years of A Busy Life in South Carolina, Massachusetts and New York*, Alvan Francis Sanborn, editor, The Grafton Press, New York, 1907, p. 66.

10. See Bass, Feris A. Jr., and Brunson, B. R., editors, *Fragile Empires: The Texas Correspondence of Samuel Swartwout and James Morgan, 1836-1856*, Shoal Creek Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 9737, Austin, Texas 78766.

London; J.L. Aspinwall, of Howland & Aspinwall, commission merchants; Gustavus Kutter, of Loeschigk, Wesendonck & Co., Switzerland; Wm. M. Evarts, of Evarts, Southmayd & Choate; Robert M. Olyphant, of Olyphant, Son & Co., China merchants; J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., bankers; and George A. Phelps, Jr., of Chamberlaine, Phelps & Co., Sicilian merchants.<sup>14</sup>

The attorneys for the Great Western were partners in the Astor firm, Evarts, Southmayd and Choate. Joseph H. Choate, who was to organize the Committee of 70 to plan the prosecution of William Tweed in 1871, had his first commercial law case defending the Great Western.<sup>15</sup>

Thus honored with such a distinguished roster of international and inter-regional businessmen, New York City in the 1850s returned to a line of business that had been illegal and suppressed for many decades: the African slave trade. In his 1941 book, "Business and Slavery," Philip S. Foner presents the historians' consensus that the trade began in 1857 and that "from January 1859 to August 1860, it was conservatively estimated, close to one hundred vessels left the city for the slave trade."<sup>16</sup>

Tremendous fortunes were made by certain New York merchants and marine insurers, who backed expeditions from New York, to the African coast and back to the South or to Cuba with the kidnapped cargo. Just who these "certain New York merchants" were has remained something of a mystery to this day. One of them, however, has left us with a permanent record—a letterbook of Charles A.L. Lamar, son of Gazaway Bugg Lamar, excerpts of which were printed in the *North American Review*, volume CXLIII, in the late 1880s. In two of the included letters the young Lamar explains the profits to be made from a typical such expedition:

14. *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

15. *ibid.*, p. 67.

16. Foner, Philip S., *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1941, p. 164.

I propose to purchase the "Vigo," an iron screw-steamer of 1,750 tons, now in Liverpool for sale at £30,000 cash . . . G.B. Lamar can give you a good description of her. . . . If I can buy here, I will put six Paixhan guns on deck, and man her with as good men as are to be found in the South. The fighting men will all be stockholders and gentlemen. . . . My estimate runs thus:

Steamer \$150,000; Repairs, guns, small arms, coal, etc., \$50,000 . . . \$200,000 Supplies \$25,000; Money for purchase of cargo, \$75,000 . . . \$100,000

Cost of the expedition . . . \$300,000

Say we bring but 1,200 Negroes @

\$650 . . . \$780,000 Deduct 1st cost . . . \$300,000

Leaves nett profit and steamer on hand . . . \$480,000

Foner quotes from House Executive Documents, No. 7, for the 2nd Session of the 36th Congress, the insertion of a letter from the same Charles A. L. Lamar written in 1860, claiming that "the trade cannot be checked while such great percentages are made in the business. The outlay of \$35,000 often brings \$500,000."<sup>17</sup>

17. "A Slave-Trader's Letter-Book," in *North American Review*, Vol. CXLIII, No. ccclx, Nov. 1886, pp. 447-461. On page 448, the Review demonstrates C.A.L. Lamar's financial support and promotion for John A. Quitman's expedition to revolutionize Cuba. On Feb. 12, 1855, Lamar wrote to "John Dow, Esq.:

'Dear John: Don't you want some Cuban bonds? Trowbridge can give you all the information you want on the point. I am in \$1,000, Trow \$1,000, and I want you in \$1,000. It is a good egg.'

[and on Feb. 25, 1855, to] 'J. S. Thrasher, Esq., New Orleans,' Mr. Lamar alluded to a starting point he had in mind for the expedition:

'I mentioned Montgomery, a small summer retreat 11 miles back from Savannah [Georgia] on the Vernon River. The largest frigate, U.S.N., can pass in and out with perfect safety. . . . The Collector of the Port is a Lone Star Man [i.e. Knights of the Golden Circle], and can be sent away for a few days. The Judge (Circuit Court, U.S.) will not trouble himself, nor do anything more than his duty requires of him. I have no fear *myself* of the consequences of an infringement of the neutrality laws. Gen'l [i.e. President] Pierce and his whole cabinet, were they *here*, could not convict me or my friends. That is the advantage of a small place. A



According to his *New York Times* obituary October 8, 1874, Gazaway Bugg Lamar was the owner of the famous yacht *The Wanderer*, which was seized by a United States marshal for landing slaves at Brunswick, Georgia. His son Charles Lamar bought the seized ship at auction and put it right back into the slave trade, defying the U.S. government to arrest him.

In the late 1850s *New York* was, in fact, the center of the world's existing slave trade. Such trade was strictly illegal in New York. How then did Lamar and his fellow adventurers get away with it?

Part of the answer must lie in the fact that Lamar had two extraordinary friends in key positions within the regional law enforcement apparatus.

Augustus Schell, who had engineered Fernando Wood's mayoral election in 1854, was, with August Belmont, the principal New York backer of James Buchanan's bid for the U.S. presidency in 1856. The victorious Buchanan gave Schell the greatest available patronage plum, the job of Collector of the Port of New York. Thus Schell was in charge of the United States Customs operations for New York, and was in a position to notice, or not to notice, that ships were embarking from his bailiwick for the enslavement of tens of thousands of blacks, and the included, usual deaths of thousands of them in transit.

It will be important for the reader to keep this in mind as our story progresses, because *when the "corrupt" Boss Tweed was to be thrown out of Tammany Hall, Augustus Schell would be put in his place as Grand Sachem.*

The other official crucial for the protection of the New York-based slave merchants was the United States Naval Agent responsible for New York at the time, George Sanders.<sup>18</sup> This

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man of influence can do as he pleases. . . ."

The Lamars showed that men of influence could do as they pleased in New York as well.

18. To demonstrate the flavor of the relationship between the slave-smugglers and the *pre-Tweed* Democratic Party regime in New York, we return to the *North American Review* article, cited in footnote 17, which quotes a

gentleman had been the notorious American Consul in London who, in 1853, had made his house the headquarters for Europe's Mazzini-led revolutionaries; President James Buchanan had then been the United States Ambassador to England, and well understood Mr. Sanders' insurrectionist proclivities. Sanders' main public reputation a century later comes from his adventures as a Confederate spy, culminating in his wanderings as a fugitive wanted in connection with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

### New York's Treason Machine In Secession and Wartime

John Brown's October 1859 raid on the Harper's Ferry arsenal in Virginia gave a tremendous momentum to the drive for Southern secession. Meetings were held by Northerners anxious to placate the Southern fire-eaters; but in some instances the positions advanced at these meetings went far beyond "appeasement."

Take for example the speech given December 19, 1859 by Charles O'Connor, former U.S. Attorney for Franklin Pierce and Caleb Cushing, and the future prosecutor of William M. Tweed. The address, given the title "Negro Slavery Not Unjust" in its reprinting as a pamphlet, was delivered before some 20,000 persons at the Academy of Music.

I do not see anything unjust or unreasonable in the declaration often made by Southern members [of Congress]. They tell us: ". . . if you will thus create a spirit in your

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letter from C.A.L. Lamar, in Savannah, April 1, 1857, to George N. Sanders, Esq., Navy Agent, N. Y.:

"Let me congratulate you, and Fowler too, on your appointments. I'm glad to see it, independent of any selfish motive—and I am glad on that account too. I want none of the officers of 'Honor and Trust,' but want a contract for making money. You have the power of disposing of the contract for the supplying of timber and lumber at the Navy Yard, and I have the means and ability of supplying. Will you give me the point to enable me to get it? I have 11,500 acres of pine land which is just the 'ticket' . . ."

country which leads to violence and bloodshed among us . . . much as we revere the Constitution . . . we cannot longer depend on your adherence with its injunctions, or adhere with the Union."

I insist that negro slavery is not unjust. It is not unjust; it is just, wise, and beneficent. (Hisses, followed by applause, and cries of "Put him out.") . . . The people of the United States, at the formation of our Government, were, as they still are, in some sense, peculiar and radically distinguishable from other nations. We were white men, of . . . the Caucasian race. . . . As a white nation, we made our Constitution and our laws, vesting all political rights in that race. They and they alone, constituted, in every political sense, the American people.

As to the negro . . . He has ample strength, and is competent to labor, but nature denies him either the intellect to govern or the willingness to work . . . That same power [nature] . . . gave him, in our country, as a recompense, a master to coerce that duty, and convert him into a useful and valuable servant. . . . This is the ground that we must take, or abandon our cherished Union.<sup>19</sup>

When Charles O'Connor, a New Yorker who had never lived in the South, died in 1884, the *New York Times* was to laud him as a great and exemplary lawyer, who, to the end of his life, "seems to have ever enjoyed a conscientious conviction that the colored race, being the natural inferiors of the white, were not entitled to the same political rights or legal standing as their masters. He never abandoned this conviction."<sup>20</sup>

With the approach of the 1860 presidential elections, the insurrectionists' plans went into all-out operation. The secessionists walked out of the national Democratic convention in

19. 'Negro Slavery not Unjust': A Speech by Charles O'Connor at the Union Meeting at the Academy of Music, New York City, Dec. 19, 1859, a pamphlet in the Research Library, 42nd St., New York.

20. *New York Times*, May 14, 1884.

Charleston, and the convention chairman, Caleb Cushing, went with them. They then held a rump convention—again under Cushing's chairmanship—and nominated Vice-President John C. Breckinridge for President on a platform calling for expanding slavery into the western territories.

Massachusetts' Caleb Cushing was the campaign manager for the secessionists' ticket in 1860, operating out of the Buchanan White House. New York's *Augustus Schell* was the National Chairman of the secessionists' "wing of the Democratic Party," as a very complimentary nineteenth-century biographical sketch politely put it.<sup>21</sup>

Schell's pro-secession faction was a tiny minority in New York City, and the Democratic voters united behind the regular party nominee, Steven A. Douglas. Nationally, Douglas received 1,379,000 votes to 854,000 for Breckinridge and 591,000 for another, non-secessionist Democrat. Lincoln won the election with 1,867,000 votes.

Schell's unusual pre-election tactics had backfired. It seems that Schell, a stock broker and banker, and other opponents of Lincoln, had engineered a severe panic on the New York stock market, in hopes of convincing investors that a Lincoln victory would bring on an even greater disaster. Schell's boasts to the effect that the panic would convert everyone, that "one more turn of the screw will fetch 'em," were quoted in most of the newspapers.

The *Detroit Advertiser* remarked, "The efforts of a majority (sic) of New York merchants . . . to create a financial panic, and prostrate the whole business of the country, for the purpose of coercing the people of the north into the support of the disunionists, has created a feeling of deep, widespread and universal resentment at the west. It is looked upon by all classes of men . . . as a treasonable effort to encourage the south in their threats of secession should Lincoln be elected."<sup>22</sup>

21. "Augustus Schell," in *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. III, p. 464.

22. Quoted in Foner, *Business and Slavery*, p. 199.

The *New York Times*, which had now become a Republican newspaper, described the bearish plot in an editorial, printed October 10, 1860, under the headline, "Wanted—A First-Rate Panic!":

The Brokers and Stock speculators . . . join their howlings . . . to the croakings of the politicians, in the hope that between the two they may create a temporary panic in Wall Street. . .

Following the election of Abraham Lincoln, South Carolina's state government made known its determination to secede from the Union. The loyalty of the other slaveholding states, and of other areas of the country, was now the most important question before the population of the United States.

Of all the non-slaveholding sections, New York City and the Pacific Coast were the most in doubt, if the outlook of the areas' political elite is the primary criterion for judgment.

A large body of prominent merchants in San Francisco addressed an urgent appeal to the Secretary of War just after Lincoln's inauguration and the start of the Civil War, pleading that plans to move 5,000 troops out of California to Texas be scrapped. A majority of the state officers were disloyal and 16,000 armed Knights of the Golden Circle were operating unchecked throughout the state, said the merchants; moving the troops would leave California defenseless to the secessionists.<sup>23</sup>

The West Coast, inaccessible as yet by railroad, and thus out of range for any Union recapture mission, represented a potentially dangerous military problem for the Union. But New

23. Memorial addressed to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, August 28, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1902, Chapter LXII [in "Additions and Corrections to Series I-Volume L.], pp. 589-591. See also the wonderful book, Kennedy, Elijah Robinson, *The Contest for California in 1861: How Colonel E. D. Baker Saved the Pacific States to the Union*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1912, pp. 217-219.

York was a far greater strategic problem. The influence of its port, its money, its newspapers, and its role as the Northern headquarters of the Democratic Party, gave New York the potential for inflicting grave harm on the Union cause.

Just after Lincoln's election, the state of South Carolina arranged through Buchanan's Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, to buy 10,000 muskets from the United States arsenal at Watervliet, New York. But South Carolina needed a cover, and the purchase was made for the secession-planners by New York banker Gazaway Bugg Lamar, a close relative and confidante of the Buchanan Cabinet's leader, Howell Cobb. Following this shipment, Lamar hurriedly arranged other arms purchases and shipments south to Georgia.<sup>24</sup>

Lamar's arms supply operation increased in tempo until it ran into an unexpected snag. The Superintendent of the New York Metropolitan Police, John A. Kennedy, was employed by the New York State government and was thus *not* under the control of Mayor Fernando Wood or United States Customs chief for New York Augustus Schell, both national leaders of the secessionist movement. On January 22, 1861, three days after secession was proclaimed in the state of Georgia, New York Police Superintendent Kennedy seized 38 boxes of arms from a ship lying in New York's Harlem River, arms purchased by Gazaway Bugg Lamar for the Georgia insurrectionists. President Lincoln had not yet been inaugurated—Kennedy was acting on his own initiative.<sup>25</sup>

Georgia Senator Robert Toombs telegraphed an inquiry on the seizure to Mayor Fernando Wood, to which Wood replied by disclaiming responsibility for what Wood termed "the outrage" by Kennedy.

Kennedy, meanwhile, wrote to Republican political boss Thurlow Weed on January 24, "If something is not done by somebody

24. Hay, "Gazaway Bugg Lamar," p. 106.

25. *ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

to arrest this traffic, we shall be nearly destitute of small arms at the North in a short time."<sup>26</sup>

The governor of Georgia began seizing New York vessels in Savannah in retaliation for Kennedy's action, but Kennedy would not give up the captured weapons. Now Richard Lathers, President of the Great Western Insurance Company, swung into action to free up the arms shipment and prevent a precedent for pro-Union law enforcement from being set. Working with Great Western Vice President John A. Parker, Lathers coordinated the political mobilization of high officials in New York and Georgia on behalf of Lamar. The release of the seized weapons was finally obtained, as Parker put it, "by bringing a strong pressure to bear on Kennedy's security."<sup>27</sup> Arms shipments southward by Lamar and his associates now continued under the contented authority of Fernando Wood, Augustus Schell and Secretary of War John B. Floyd.

### The "Free City"

During the presidential election campaign, the "Union Electoral Committee," under the supervision of Augustus Schell and Rothschild family agent August Belmont, warned voters through the *Journal of Commerce* that a Lincoln victory would force New York City to secede from the Union:

Will not New York be driven to separate from New England and Pennsylvania to avoid their practically shutting up her harbor? There are a million and a half mouths to be fed daily in this city and its dependencies; they will not consent to be starved by any man's policy. They will sooner set up for themselves against all the world.

Belmont himself was very careful, confining his personal remarks on the subject to private correspondence. In one letter

26. Quoted in Foner, *Business and Slavery*, p. 299n.

27. Hay, "Gazaway Bugg Lamar," pp. 109-110.

published later in the century, Belmont wrote to a Southern business associate on the eve of Southern secession, "New York, in such a catastrophe, would cut loose from the puritanical East and without linking our fortunes with our kind, but somewhat exacting Southern friends, she would open her magnificent port to the commerce of the world. As an independent city state, New York would become to the Americas what Venice was once on the sluggish lagoons of the small Adriatic."<sup>28</sup>

On December 10, 1860, Richard Lathers, President of the Great Western Insurance Company, James T. Soutter, G.B. Lamar's second-in-command at the Bank of the Republic, Augustus Schell, Collector of the New York Port, William B. Astor, son of John Jacob Astor; and thirteen other men sent a circular letter to several hundred prominent New Yorkers, calling a meeting for the 15th of December to be held in the offices of the Great Western Insurance Company at 33 Pine Street. The proposed purpose of the meeting was compromise to save the Union.<sup>29</sup>

Known to history as the Pine Street Meeting, the gathering was chaired and opened by Charles O'Connor, who defended secession:

. . . when an utter detestation of the life and morals of the people of Carolina has become the basis of a political party in New York, and that political party acquires an ascendancy in the political affairs of the government, these two States cannot live together, except in the relation of oppressor and oppressed. The more powerful will trample on the weaker. . . . A political Union of distinct organized communities thus opposed in moral sentiment, can only be upheld by force . . . whilst I deplore secession as much as any man who breathes . . . I have looked upon it as an

Quoted in Black, David, *The King of Fifth Avenue: The Fortunes of August Belmont*, The Dial Press, New York, 1981, pp. 199-200.

Lathers, *Reminiscences*, p. 91.

inevitable event . . . It is the natural, the necessary, the inevitable consequence. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

The Pine Street Meeting did not completely agree with Mr. O'Connor's views, and opposing voices were heard. But this was apparently not the only Pine Street meeting of the day, but perhaps merely a cover for a more important one. The New York Herald reported on December 15, 1860, a plan for the removal of New York City from the Union: "A secret meeting of its promoters is to be held today. The object is in the event of a secession of the Southern states, to throw off the yoke of the Western part of the state, and make New York a free city."

On January 6, 1861, Mayor Fernando Wood made a formal demand to the Common Council that New York City secede from the United States, with these words:

It would seem that a dissolution of the federal Union is inevitable . . . It cannot be preserved by coercion or held together by force. A resort of this last dreadful alternative would of itself destroy not only the government but the lives and property of the people. . . . We must provide for the new relations which will necessarily grow out of the new conditions of public affairs. . . .

Being the child of the Union . . . when deprived of her maternal advantages, we must rely upon our own resources and assume a position predicated upon the new phase which public affairs will present. . . .

With our aggrieved brethern of the slave states we have friendly relations and a common sympathy. We have not participated in the warfare upon their constitutional rights or their domestic institutions. . . .

New York may have more cause of apprehension from aggressive legislation of our own state than from external dangers. . . . The legislature . . . has become an instrument

30. *ibid.*, p. 94.

by which we are plundered to enrich their speculators, lobby agents, and Abolition politicians. . . .

It is certain that a dissolution cannot be peacefully accomplished except by the consent of the legislature itself [which] is, in my judgment, doubtful. . . .

Why should not New York City, instead of supporting by her contributions in revenue two-thirds of the expenses of the United States, become also equally independent? . . . If the confederacy is broken up . . . it behooves every distinct community, as well as every individual, to take care of themselves.

. . . why may not New York disrupt the bands which bind her to a venal and corrupt master. . . . But I am not prepared to recommend the violence implicit in these views. In stating this argument in favor of freedom, "peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must," let me not be misunderstood. . . ."<sup>31</sup>

### New York in Wartime

The city council rejected Wood's proposal for treason, and it may be said with confidence that the vast majority of New Yorkers, merchants and workers, were loyal to the Union. Gazaway Bugg Lamar, however, stepped up his anti-government career. The Southern Confederacy's Treasury Secretary, C.G. Memminger, asked Lamar to have the engraving and printing of Confederate notes and bonds performed in New York. Lamar arranged for this to be done by the American Bank Note Company<sup>32</sup>—which was at the same time under contract to the United States government to print U.S. notes.

In the opening days of the Civil War, Gazaway Lamar was the chief New York recipient of the covert communications of

31. Quoted in *The Annals of America*, published by Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, 1968, Vol. IX, pp. 234-235.

32. Hay, "Gazaway Bugg Lamar," p. 105.

the Confederates. His New York and Georgia contact networks overlapped and complemented those of the Roosevelt family and Teddy Roosevelt's uncle, James D. Bulloch. Since Bulloch's adventures as the captain of the *Black Warrior* in Cuba, Bulloch had become the head of the Confederate Secret Service in Europe, with the special responsibility of working with the British to construct a raiding fleet for the Confederates. Lamar's agents in Georgia, North and South Carolina, the American West, London and Paris, were utilized by the Chief of the Confederate Ordnance Bureau, Josiah Gorgas, for European purchases of arms from 1863 through the end of the war in 1865.<sup>33</sup>

Forced to leave New York in May, 1861, Gazaway Lamar proceeded to Georgia, assumed the presidency of the Bank of Commerce of Savannah, and presided as chairman of the first and second Bank Conventions of the Confederate States in June and July. Lamar engaged, to his personal profit, in blockade-running, while his underling at the Bank of the Republic, James T. Soutter, toured Europe on Lamar's behalf, buying arms for the war against the United States.<sup>34</sup>

Before the war broke out, New York Mayor Fernando Wood and his brother Benjamin bought the *New York Daily News*, and were to keep the paper in their direct control for the rest of the nineteenth century. When Fort Sumter fell in April 1861, the *New York Daily News* attacked the Lincoln policy so vehemently that a federal grand jury returned a presentment against it, charging that its printed utterances were "calculated to aid and comfort the enemy." The publishers were not prosecuted, but for a time the U.S. Postmaster General prohibited the transmission of the paper through the mails.<sup>35</sup>

On January 18, 1864, the Woods gave editorial control of the *Daily News* to Phinias C. Wright, the Supreme Grand Commander of the Order of American Knights. This was a renamed version of the Knights of the Golden Circle, responsible for

33. *ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

34. *ibid.*, pp. 110-122.

35. Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, p. 243.

preparing sabotage and disruptions behind Federal lines. Wright sent the following circular letter to leading members of the order throughout the Northern states:

New York, January 18, 1864

New York Daily News  
Office 19, City Hall Square

Dear Sir:

I have this day connected myself with the editorial Department of the New York News. You will remember that the News has, from the first, advocated the principles inculcated by Jefferson and his illustrious compeers, and has fearlessly and openly denounced the usurpations of the power which have wrested from the citizen his cherished rights, and thrown down the last barrier between him and irresponsible Despotism.

The News will be *our especial organ* and will be a medium of the interchange of sentiments and opinions of the friends of peace touching the momentous concerns involved in the existing crisis.

I entreat your kind offices and influence in extending the circulation of the News throughout the entire field of our labour.

Yours sincerely,  
P.C. Wright<sup>36</sup>

During the Civil War, Samuel J. Tilden and August Belmont assumed a public posture of opposition to the "excesses" of President Lincoln in carrying out the war, while being careful to declare their loyalty to the United States. But early in the war, Tilden and Belmont organized the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, which was to serve as the main vehicle for the dissemination of anti-war propaganda within the ranks of the Democratic Party. Samuel Tilden was a director of the

36. *ibid.*, p. 244.

Society, and was its most consistent coordinator and leader. One of the Society's speakers, John Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, called for North and South to get together for the removal of President Lincoln from the presidency before the expiration of his term.<sup>37</sup>

On July 4, 1863, nine days before the opening of the New York offices for federal military conscription, Tilden's society organized a public meeting in the Academy of Music, on the subject of Lincoln's conduct of the war. The day was a proud and solemn occasion for the United States. The telegraph carried the news that federal forces had completed the conquest of the entire Mississippi River, and the Battle of Gettysburg had ended with a Union victory.

But our New York Democrats were not assembling to celebrate Union successes. Tilden's group paraded before the Music Hall audience a collection of anti-war speakers, the most threatening of whom was Horatio Seymour, the Governor of New York. Seymour warned Lincoln:

Do you not create revolution when you say that our persons may be rightfully seized, our property confiscated, our homes entered? Are you not exposing yourselves, your own interests, to as great a peril as that with which you

37. The Society, whose pamphlets are on microfilm at the Library of Congress, seems to have had a parent organization, or at least an inspiration, in a British organization by the exact same name, among whose founders in 1834 were Edwin Chadwick, employed as the assistant to radical game-master Jeremy Bentham; Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, financier of London University; George Grote, editor for Jeremy Bentham, co-founder with James Mill and Henry Brougham of London University and later its president, Greek historian who called the sophists champions of intellectual progress; George Cornwall Lewis, member of Parliament, later British Secretary for War, 1861-63, at the time Tilden's New York copperhead organization was set up; James Mill, director of intelligence for the British East India Company; and Nassau Senior, British economist.

The British founders are listed in *The Companion to the Newspaper; and Journal of Facts in Politics, Statistics and Public Economy*, Charles Knight, London, August, 1834, p. 168.

threaten us? Remember this, that the bloody, and treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government.<sup>38</sup>

Seymour then left town for a vacation, and was away when the draft was to begin on July 13. But the draft headquarters were destroyed as bands of rioters swept through the city; the office of the *New York Herald* was destroyed by a mob; blacks in the city were murdered and the negro orphanage was burned down; the telegraph wires connecting Superintendent Kennedy's police headquarters with local precinct houses were cut, by what could only have been professional saboteurs. Perhaps a thousand people died in the New York Draft Riots, and troops had to be redeployed from Gettysburg to restore order.

### Tweed's Drive for Power

William M. Tweed (1823-1878) was a minor New York politician before the Civil War. He began a slow political rise during the war, and at the end of the war he vanquished Fernando Wood and the bulk of the pro-Confederate cabal that had ruled local affairs for the previous decade.<sup>39</sup>

Tweed was not a great man, nor was he deeply cultured. The available evidence would show that he was only "moderately" loyal to the Union in any active sense. He, like other politicians, helped to raise troops for the war effort, and pushed through legislation to help pay for New York's enlistment quotas.

38. Page 5 of pamphlet No. 7, "Ovation at the Academy of Music," of the *Papers From The Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*, July 4, 1863, microfilm at the Library of Congress. This pamphlet contains an interesting little introduction presenting British Premier and intelligence chief Lord Shelburne as a great friend of civil liberties.

39. For details of Tweed's career, see Hershkowitz, Leo, *Tweed's New York: Another Look*, Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1978. Whether the reader agrees with Hershkowitz's viewpoint, he at least treats Tweed as a politician, with ordinary dates and facts to his life, rather than hysterically, as in most other, "Satanizing" treatments of the man.

But as a regular organization Democrat, he was at the Academy of Music applauding Governor Seymour's July 4th, 1863 speech; and he is not known to have protested, on the basis of the issues involved, against the outrages perpetrated by the traitors leading the Party before and during the war.

But from the time the war began, William Tweed was in a more or less continuous practical, political, power-seeking conflict with Fernando Wood and Wood's regulars in the City Democracy.

Tweed and other "moderately pro-war Democrats" sought to wrest control of Tammany Hall from the regulars in 1861. Tweed was nominated for Sheriff but lost to Wood's candidate. At this point William Tweed was in bankruptcy, with \$57,000 in debts, and assets of only his clothes.<sup>40</sup> Having been a one-term U.S. Congressman from 1853 to 1854, Tweed was now only a virtually powerless member of the New York Board of Supervisors, a quasi-oversight body to which he was reelected in 1862.

On January 1, 1863, Tweed was elected chairman of the city's Democratic General Committee. This position carried no real authority until Tweed began expanding the Committee membership the following year. But he was gradually consolidating control. Fernando Wood sought to run again for mayor in 1863, but Tweed was strong enough in Tammany to stop him, and Wood had to settle for a run for U.S. Congress.

Tweed was elected chairman of the Board of Supervisors in 1864.

Starting in 1863, and continuing until 1870, William Tweed was Deputy Commissioner of Streets, and, always employing large numbers of eager street builders and menders, Tweed wielded great powers of patronage.

In the post-Civil War period, men closely associated with William Tweed—A. Oakley Hall, Richard Connolly, and John

40. *ibid.*, p. 85.

Hoffman—won the offices of mayor and comptroller of New York City and governor of the state.

Even the most hostile accounts credit Tweed's reign in post-Confederate New York with being at least a moderate boon for the mass of the City's lower classes. Tweed built his political machine on the simple basis of services rendered to the largely immigrant masses, who were completely loyal to his machine politicians.

No one was to go hungry, everyone was to have a job if possible. The Irish were appointed en masse to the police and fire departments. Tweed used his simultaneous positions in the city government, the state legislature and on private corporate boards for the biggest outpouring of largesse New York had ever seen. The state paid for private charities for all religious denominations. The state, under Tweed's influence, subsidized Catholic schools, orphanages and hospitals, spending more on charities from 1869 to 1871 than for the entire period from 1852 to 1868. The City paid half the cost of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

As a leader of the state legislature, Tweed pushed through the funding of a teachers college, the prohibition of corporal punishment, the requirement of the teaching of German in grammar school, and salary increases for school teachers.

The aristocrats' attack against Tammany in the Tweed years combined vague charges that Tweed and his cronies were personally corrupt—credible enough because Tweed was becoming rich in office—with denunciations of the lavish spending of public monies on the mobs of undeserving immigrants. Of Scottish ancestry himself, Tweed's championship of the Irish, German, and Jewish immigrants drove the bluebloods, particularly the *New York Times*, into a constant frenzy.

Lord Bryce's earlier quoted remarks warning that the population of the city was being "swollen" by immigrant "foreigners" was representative of a sentiment constantly expressed in the *New York Times*, and in the cartoons of "reformer" Thomas



Nast, who frequently pictured Irish-Americans as ape-like creatures.

Following the Democrats' loss of the 1868 national elections, William Tweed made a bid to unseat Samuel Tilden from his chairmanship of the New York State Democratic Party.

Tilden's political views at the time are illustrated by the speech he gave at the September 1869 Democratic State Convention, in which he attacked the proposed Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Though the amendment was allegedly designed to give negroes the right to vote, Tilden declared, a half-million Chinese and a half-million African slaves might be brought into New York and allowed to vote without New Yorkers having any say in the matter. If the people of a state wanted to exclude certain groups from voting, that was their right, according to Tilden, who was just as unsuccessful in his bid against the 15th Amendment as Charles O'Connor had been in his earlier attacks against the 14th Amendment, granting citizenship to former slaves.

As it turned out, Tweed did not have sufficient political power to unseat Tilden.

### The "Free City"

Nothing daunted, Tweed immediately launched an attack on the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, August Belmont. Tweed proposed *himself* as Belmont's replacement for national party chief. He accused Belmont of being an anti-democratic, unreconstructed European aristocrat, loyal only to the interests of the wealthy foreign creditors of the United States. Tweed charged that Belmont had connived at losing the 1868 election for the Democrats, because he disagreed with the party platform when it didn't side with the bondholders against the taxpayers.

It has been said that this challenge was absurd, because Tweed lacked a base in the Democratic Party outside New York City. But the only "base" August Belmont could count on was Belmont's circle of New York financiers and the Rothschild banking

family of Europe, for whom Belmont was the official United States agent.

Tweed's assault on Belmont was, by the available evidence, quite popular. The public sentiment prompted a cartoon defending Belmont by Thomas Nast, published in *Harper's Magazine* (a publication whose editorial management overlapped with that of the *New York Times*). Nast's cartoon depicted the National Chairman as a pitiable scapegoat for the sins of the Democratic Party, attacked by a gang including ape-like Irish caricatures. In the background of the drawing was a chair in the Democratic National Committee, shown as "reserved for William Tweed."

The September 11, 1869 issue of the *New York Citizen and Round Table*, carried an editorial supporting Tweed's contentions and calling for Belmont's removal from the party leadership, on the grounds that

Mr. Belmont, as an agent of the House of Rothschild, was interested in securing the success of the ticket pledged to legislation looking to the payment of the United States debt, principal and interest both, in specie. That therefore he was interested in defeating the Democratic ticket, which was pledged to the taxation of government bonds and their early payment in greenbacks. . . .

That Mr. Belmont was under instructions from the Rothschilds at the time . . . that the house was last Fall interested in United States bonds; that it was opposed to any other policy than that looking to their full payment, principal and interest, in gold . . .

It is interesting that the author of this particular anti-Belmont editorial was Robert Roosevelt, brother of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and uncle of the future President. He apparently jumped on the bandwagon long enough to get Tweed's backing, as well as Belmont's, in the next year's Congressional elections. As a

congressman, Robert Roosevelt was to join the attack against Tweed.

The *New York Times*, on September, 21, 1869, responded immediately and forcefully to the attack against Belmont and the specie-resumptionists. They accused his detractors of anti-Semitism, but then defended Belmont with the taunt that "the great harvest of profit [on U.S. government bonds] was gathered by other eminent Hebrew houses in Frankfort and London."

But the *Times* was "above all surprised" to see Belmont attacked as "retaining foreign interests . . . allegiance . . . [and] bias toward European and aristocratic institutions." "*Without its 'foreign influence,' [i.e. its mass of Irish-American and other immigrants], we would like to ask what would remain of the so-called Democracy?*"

### What Was the *New York Times*?

It was perhaps true, as Lord Bryce indicated in his "American Commonwealth," that he had first given the word for a general attack to commence against "Boss" Tweed. It was certainly true that this attack was launched by the *Times* in 1870, with sensational charges of fraud on Tweed's part, while the *Times* was busy trying to contain Tweed's attack against the leadership of the Democratic Party.

We are so accustomed to the *Times* and similar news media playing judge, jury, and executioner against scandalized persons that we tend to shy away from inquiring *who it is* that has assumed these roles.

Since 1860, the principal owner of the *New York Times* had been Leonard Jerome. Mr. Jerome was known to take great pride in his newspaper, conferring frequently with his first editor, *Times* founder Henry Raymond, who died in 1869.<sup>41</sup>

41. Leslie, Anita [Jerome's great-granddaughter], *The Fabulous Leonard Jerome*, Hutchinson, Stratford Place, London, 1954, p. 75. and "Leonard Jerome," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. XXXII, p. 449. In Leslie, Anita, *Lady Randolph Churchill, The Story of Jennie Jerome*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1969, p. 15: "When the Civil War

Leonard Jerome was a "high roller." He was one of the richest of the Wall Street broker-private bankers. He backed certain speculations, and made several fortunes. At other times, when he thought it appropriate, he would give the word for a company to be destroyed, and its stock would be dumped and its owners bankrupted.<sup>42</sup>

Jerome's power derived from his unique combination of political, financial, and journalistic associations. In 1852 he was appointed American consul to the Hapsburg Court for the city of Trieste in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He and his wife revelled in the life of the court, emulating the Austrian dukes and duchesses. They became friends with the Hapsburgs, and with Archduke Maximilian, who was later to be imposed on Mexico as its Emperor by invading European colonial armies during the American Civil War.

In the 1850s the Jerome family established a kind of second

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broke out, Leonard Jerome, as owner of America's only serious newspaper, the *New York Times*, devoted himself to political issues. . . ."

42. Leslie, *The Fabulous Leonard Jerome*, pp. 62-63: "The Three Musketeers [Leonard Jerome, August Belmont and Henry Clews] exasperated Wall Street. They were ruthless, frivolous and a law unto themselves. In a luxurious room, high above the junction of Pine and Nassau Streets, the firm of Travers, Jerome inaugurated what it airily called its 'Observatory.' Here, in a setting of red plush and polished woods, Leonard entertaining his business acquaintances thoughtfully 'observed.' The luncheons and dinners served in this room were kept unhurried and the conversations stimulating . . . tycoons and businessmen seldom realized their views were being dissected as under a microscope. Among the most frequent visitors to the 'Observatory' were the financial editors of two New York papers, the *Herald* and the *Tribune*. . . . If these men wished, they could break a company, and in the instance of the *Cleveland and Toledo*, Leonard decided that such action would be beneficial. After careful research he knew the whole company to be rotten but only an unprecedented Press campaign could reveal its true state. Both the *Herald* and the *Tribune* started to publish the facts dug up by Leonard, and not only was this company exposed and smashed, but also the corrupt Michigan Southern (which Leonard had sworn to break even if it carried down the whole market) . . . during the panic that followed the Press exposure of these companies, Leonard made a far greater fortune than the one he had lost [by involvement with them]."

home in Paris, and had very close and mutually admiring relationships with the Emperor Louis Napoleon and his family, his court and his officers.

On Wall Street, Leonard Jerome was an inseparable companion, a virtual twin with one other "bon vivant" banker—Mr. August Belmont. Jerome, Belmont and British-born financier Henry Clews were known on the Street as The Three Musketeers.

Jerome and Belmont had a great deal in common. Belmont had been the Consul General for the Hapsburgs in New York until 1850. Belmont was the King of Fifth Avenue—he lived high and displayed his wealth, especially through his horses, as did Jerome. Probably no men did more for the establishment of race tracks and horse-gambling in the United States than August Belmont and Leonard Jerome; *Jerome Park* is no more, but *Belmont Park* is still with us.

And then there were their relations with the British.

August Belmont and Company was the official United States banking representative of the House of Rothschild, a combination banking and political-intelligence empire which was born and bred in the service of the British Crown. Mr. Jerome's status with the British will become evident as we proceed.

### The Battle Is Joined

In response to the Tweed faction's attack on the Democratic Party leadership, August Belmont wrote to New York attorney Samuel L.M. Barlow, "Enlist some of our prominent friends to counter Tammany's blows [and] you would render me a real and essential service . . . But pray be discreet."<sup>43</sup>

In its 1869 coverage of the fight in the Democratic Party, the *Times*, though defending Belmont, and describing the "Belmont faction" in its news stories as representing the respectable men of the community, maintained that "We have no inclination to take part in the family jars of the Tammany Democracy."

43. Quoted in Katz, Irving, *August Belmont: A Political Biography*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1968, p. 190.

But by mid-1870, Leonard Jerome and the *New York Times* were ready for battle. They had equipped themselves with a new editor-in-chief and a new political reporter; both could be counted on to "counter Tammany's blows."

The new editor was Louis Jennings, who was put in charge of the paper after a few months' stint as a specialist in exposés that "stirred up the animals," as the *Times*' own official company historian phrased it.<sup>44</sup> Jennings had previously been the special agent of the *Times* of London in India, the Editor of the *Times of India*, and the chief American correspondent of the London *Times* after the Civil War.

The new political reporter was John Foord, who had also come across from Britain in 1869, having previously served Scottish and English newspaper companies.

Jennings initiated the editorial attacks on William Tweed, with Foord providing street-level intelligence, both of them doing whatever was required to "get Tweed." Leonard Jerome's relative and biographer, Anita Leslie, tells us that "the *New York Times* . . . attempted to emulate that unique organ, the London *Times*, regarding politics and foreign affairs."<sup>45</sup> It succeeded admirably with Louis Jennings, who remained *Times* editor until 1876. Jennings then went back to England, mission accomplished, and became a Tory member of Parliament. He was replaced as *Times* editor by Foord, who served in that capacity for ten years.

In response to the opening gun from the Britified *Times*, a mass meeting was held at Cooper Union on September 4, 1871, to create a prosecution against William Tweed.<sup>46</sup>

44. Davis, Elmer Holmes, *History of the New York Times*, published by the *New York Times*, New York, 1921, p. 85.

45. Leslie, *Fabulous Leonard Jerome*, p. 75.

46. The names of the attendees at the cited meeting who formed the resultant Committee of Seventy were printed in Townsend, Hon. John, *New York in Bondage*, [the liberal style does not much change], privately printed, New York, 1901, copy in the New-York Historical Society, pp. 85-86. The personal benefits to Committee members from the purge of Tweed's

Presiding at the meeting was *William F. Havemeyer*, a former New York mayor whose family fortune had been made as the American representatives of a British sugar company.

*Joseph H. Choate*, lawyer for the Astors' slum holdings and the former legal spokesman for the transatlantic Confederate financial axis known as the Great Western Insurance Company, presented the resolutions calling for action. Choate proposed the creation of a Committee of 70, which was formed immediately.

Among the members of the Committee were

- *Edwards Pierrepont*, the prosecutor of John H. Surratt in the Lincoln assassination case; *he would be U.S. Ambassador to England in 1875 and 1876;*

- *Henry Clews*, financier, one of the "Three Musketeers" with Leonard Jerome and August Belmont, trained to be an Anglican priest before emigrating to the U.S.A.;

- *Robert Roosevelt*, uncle and next-door neighbor of future President Theodore Roosevelt (then 13 years old), president

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faction were also shown (pp. 86-87):

"Mr. Joseph H. Choate read the following list of names for officers of the Committee. . . . For President, Harry G. Stebbins. For Vice-President, William F. Havemeyer. Secretary, Roswell D. Hatch. . . . These gentlemen were very fortunate, for shortly afterward, Mr. Stebbins became President of the Park Board, Mr. Havemeyer became Mayor, and Mr. Hatch became Fire Commissioner.

"A working Sub-Committee, which was called the 'Committee on Remedies,' was also appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen: Jackson S. Schultz, George C. Barrett, John Wheeler, Joseph Blumenthal. These gentlemen were equally fortunate, for they were advanced as follows: Jackson S. Schultz to be a Health Commissioner, George C. Barrett to be a Justice of the Supreme Court, John Wheeler to be a Tax Commissioner, Joseph Blumenthal to be member of Assembly.

"Francis C. Barlow, Abraham R. Lawrence, George C. Barrett and Wheeler H. Peckham were employed as Counsel to this Committee. These gentlemen were likewise fortunate, as Mr. Barlow soon became Attorney-General, Mr. Lawrence was elected Justice of the Supreme Court, as was Mr. Barrett . . . and Mr. Peckham was appointed District Attorney."

of the Union Democratic Association, which was called "the Belmont faction" by the Times;

- *Frederick Schell*, banker, broker for Vanderbilt and Astor; brother of Augustus Schell, who had been national chairman of the secessionist wing of the Democratic Party;

- *Joseph Seligman*, private banker, member of the international banking syndicate which was to blackmail the U.S. government into resuming specie payments or face a syndicate-directed dumping of American securities on European markets; Seligman's bank soon merged into the Anglo-California Bank;

- *John Dix*, Assistant Treasury Superintendent for Franklin Pierce; Buchanan's last Treasury Secretary; supporter of secessionist Breckenridge campaign; Union general; *elected Governor of New York in 1872;* his son Morgan Dix married the daughter of Confederate financier, spy and weapons procurer James Soutter, and became the Rector of Trinity Church and the most powerful national leader of the Episcopal Church from 1862 to 1908;

- *Adrian Iselin*, private banker, American head of a Swiss banking family, Swiss Vice-Consul from 1853 to 1873, Swiss Consul from 1873 to 1883; the Iselin family later provided the Central Swiss backing for the I. G. Farben Company of Germany, before, during and after World War II.

The Committee pressed attorney *Samuel J. Tilden* into service to organize the prosecution. Tilden arranged for *Charles O'Connor* to be appointed special state deputy attorney general to carry out the prosecution; O'Connor had been the leading public spokesman for secession and slavery in New York, and had volunteered as lead attorney in the post-Civil War treason trial of the Southern Confederacy's President Jefferson Davis. O'Connor chose several lawyers, including Choate's partner *William Evarts*, to do the detail work.

Perhaps even more remarkable than the prosecution, in the case of the doomed "Boss" Tweed, was Tweed's defense staff. The chief of these was *David Dudley Field*, who had gone to England after the Civil War, to be commissioned by the British

Association for the Promotion of Social Reform. Field's assignment was to write a model set of laws for America and the British colonies; the Field code was adopted in India and, in part, in several of the states of the American union. David Dudley Field was president of the American Free Trade League, organized in London. He and his brother Cyrus Field, who laid the Atlantic Cable and built a stone monument to British spy-master Major André, were passionate devotees of the British cause in world affairs.

Field at first denounced Tweed as a scoundrel, then was "won over" to represent him as chief counsel. It remains good advice today, as it would have been in 1871, for someone who is under attack by the Eastern Establishment to pay careful attention to the actual loyalties of his own legal staff.

### They Go to Their Rewards

When Tweed ended up in jail, he was replaced by Augustus Schell as Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall. Under the new Grand Sachem, the other new Sachems or co-leaders for 1872 were Charles O'Connor, Samuel J. Tilden, John Kelly, Horatio Seymour, August Belmont and Abram S. Hewitt.<sup>47</sup>

Augustus Schell later took the place of August Belmont as national Democratic Party chairman. Immediately following the Tweed case, Schell served nineteen years as chairman of the executive committee of the New York Historical Society and was twice the society's president. Charles O'Connor served as the vice-president of the society.

It frequently occurs that persons who have played an active and somewhat messy historical role, insert themselves into the institutions for the preservation and consideration of the historical event in which they participated.

For Samuel Tilden, the reward was nearly the moon and the stars. He travelled to Switzerland in the summer of 1873. From

47. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Geneva he sent a letter to New York Democrats calling for the United States to be saved by a process similar to that of

the political revolution of 1800, [which had rescued the country from] Alexander Hamilton . . . [who] believed that our American people must be governed, if not by force, at least by appeals to the selfish interests of classes, in all the forms of corrupt influence. I recently met here—in the birthplace of Albert Gallatin—a son of that great man, and himself a distinguished American. . . . he said that the jobbery and corruption . . . were as great, proportionally, then [i.e. under George Washington and John Adams] as now. [But] Thomas Jefferson . . . [and his Treasury Secretary Gallatin] stayed the advancing centralism. . . . He repressed the meddling of government in the concerns of private business. . . .<sup>48</sup>

Tilden had been given introductions to the loftiest levels of British high society, including members of the "Apostles" group from Cambridge University, by letter from attorney William Evarts earlier in the summer.

This, his first tour of Europe, was apparently a great success; his reputation for vanquishing Tweed was spread among all the right people. *He was elected Governor of New York in 1874. He was the Democratic nominee for U.S. President in 1876*, but despite the assistance of the shameless British monetarist agent David Wells as his campaign manager, Tilden lost the race to Rutherford B. Hayes.

Joseph H. Choate, originator of the Committee of 70, continued his upward climb into the princely regions of Anglo-Americanism. He was U.S. ambassador to England from 1899 to

48. Letter published as "Mr. Tilden Resigns the Chairmanship of the Democratic State Committee, Dated Geneva, in Switzerland, August, 1873," in *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden*, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York, 1971 reprint of 1908 edition, Vol. I, pp. 320-321.

1905. At Choate's death in 1917, tributes poured into the elite Century Club, of which he had been president.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce said, "No American ever did more to make more close and more tender the ties of affection that bind Britain and America together . . . he passed from us happy in the knowledge that that for which he had so earnestly hoped and striven [the entrance of the U.S.A. into World War I] had been achieved."

Lord Balfour said "he perceived with unerring clearness the fundamental unity of ideals and of character which bind together America and Britain. Next to his own country, I believe he loved mine."

Former President Theodore Roosevelt said that the "fifty years' period during which the average American demagogue has sought publicity by being ill-mannered towards England" was ended "by the men of the caliber of Choate."<sup>49</sup>

### Lamar for the Ages

Gazaway Bugg Lamar, the capo di tutti Confederate spies in New York, fared rather well in the Great Cleanup of Corruption. Receiving amnesty after a short prison sentence for treason, Lamar began suing the United States government for the return of his seized property, the fruits of his slave-trading, blockade-running and arms-smuggling. With such unflappable nerve, Lamar recovered hundreds of thousands of dollars.

In the process he made a small fortune for a number of lawyers, who continued to represent the Lamar family heirs long after Gazaway's death, suing the American government for more and more money. The last set of these Lamar lawyers was the firm Sullivan and Cromwell, whose founder Algernon S. Sullivan had himself been briefly imprisoned during the Civil War for collaborating with the enemy.

It was not until the middle of the 20th century that the Lamar

49. John Hodges Choate Memorial Addresses, Delivered before the Century Association, January 19, 1918, printed for the Century Association, New York, 1918, p. 18 (Bryce), pp. 25-26 (Balfour), p. 30 (T. Roosevelt).

family's affairs were wrapped up by their last Sullivan and Cromwell lawyer, Arthur Dean, who was John Foster Dulles' successor as head of the firm. Arthur Dean later negotiated the anti-nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union, which was signed by Averell Harriman.

### The Atlantic Bridge

In the year 1880 a bill was passed by the New York State legislature to require tenement apartment houses to cover no more than two thirds of the surface area of their lots. New York State Senator William W. Astor, great grandson of John Jacob Astor, succeeded in amending the bill so that it could be entirely evaded.<sup>50</sup>

But the plunder afforded his family enterprises by such tactics must have been insufficient, because this Astor heir emigrated to England in the mid-1880s, renouncing his American citizenship—he called America "not a fit place for a gentleman." He bought the London Times, the Pall Mall Gazette . . . and a British Lordship for himself. William Astor's son Waldorf was a member of Lord Milner's Kindergarten; a founder of the Round Table and Chatham House, which spawned the New York Council on Foreign Relations; and master of the family home called Cliveden, which served as the base for the pro-Nazi element in England before World War II.

And what of our debonair horseman, Leonard Jerome, whose New York Times called the troops to battle against Tweed?

In 1873, Jerome's daughter Jennie was married to Randolph Churchill, the hereditary Lord Marlboro. Jerome's daughter thus became mistress of the massive Blenheim Castle, realizing the dreams of her youth among the feudal emperors of Europe. Randolph Churchill soon emerged as the leader of the radical feudal wing of the British Parliament, and for a time was the leader of the Tory Party. Churchill was thus the leader of Tory

50. O'Connor, *The Astors*, pp. 168-169.

member of Parliament Louis Jennings, his father-in-law's old employee as editor of the *New York Times*.

Included in the intimate family circle of the Jeromes and the Churchills were Lord Arthur Balfour, Benjamin Disraeli, Randolph Churchill's brother-in-law Lord Curzon . . . and Randolph and Jennie's young son, the future Prime Minister Winston Churchill.<sup>51</sup>

Leonard Jerome's other two daughters also married Britishers, one a landlord in Ireland, the other a world-roving intelligence agent of the British foreign office. Papa Leonard Jerome himself came to England to die among the Churchills.

We close our present chapter with a final word on the adventures of Augustus Schell, whose charmed political life extended from the treason of slavery, filibustering, secession, and insurrection, to the honor of replacing the corrupt "Boss" Tweed as Tammany's Grand Sachem.

In 1872 Schell's brother Richard approached a small-time Wall Street broker named Edward H. Harriman with a proposition. If he would agree to open up a first-floor office so that Schell "wouldn't have to walk up to the third floor," the Schell brothers would see to it that Harriman was brought in as a Wall Street insider, with Vanderbilt and Astor as his clients. This was done.<sup>52</sup>

Today, 112 years later, Edward Harriman's son Averell is married to the former wife of Leonard Jerome's great-grandson Randolph Churchill, son of the famous Winston. Pamela Churchill Harriman is the daughter of English nobility in her own right. Averell and Pamela, this archaic, feudal-minded couple, rule over the pro-Moscow wing of the Democratic Party; the liberal wing; the "anti-corruption" wing.

51. Leslie, *Fabulous Leonard Jerome*, pp. 214, 217, 224.

52. Kennan, George, *E. H. Harriman: A Biography*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1922, p. 15.

—16—

## Anthropologists Against Indians

The Germans have seen them before.

When Green Party members riot against an American military base, assault a civilian airport, or beat up their opponents on the street, they present themselves deliberately as an ugly mob. The painted hair sticks out crazily, the drugs are flaunted, the degree of contempt for civilization is itself a weapon, the terror weapon used by the Nazis before them.

It is a movement with worldwide ambitions. The World Wildlife Fund, through its president, Prince Philip of England, announces its determination to prevent the deforestation of the tropics.<sup>1</sup> The fund enlists the agencies of the United Nations *against* the efforts of underdeveloped nations to build cities, farms, and factories. They coordinate with population specialists whose clinics work relentlessly against childbirth.

The movement's goal of reversing "overpopulation" may be furthered through the death of millions of Africans, now starving in droughts which could have been averted by infrastructure such as canals, dams and reservoirs. The movement, sponsored by companies otherwise interested in oil, minerals, and real estate, condemns large-scale construction projects as unnatural tampering with nature. "Let us preserve the ecological balance"—with the death of impoverished humanity.

1. President's Message, in the *Twentieth Anniversary Review*, 1981, World Wildlife Fund International, CH1196 Gland, Switzerland.

America, a great prize sought by the movement, is half conquered. The very home of the Idea of Progress, the nation whose inventive genius subdued nature and made freedom practical, has allowed an aggressively hostile and alien philosophy to dominate American schools, news media and government agencies, while tragically restricting the work of nation-building and development Americans could be doing with the poorer countries.

We will outline here the origins of the environmentalist attack against the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From its roots in the concocted science of "anthropology," to its emergence as the Conservation of Natural Resources, the movement will be seen as a coldly calculated offensive against human progress, against Reason itself, run by a most bizarre collection of foreign agents and compulsive racists. The cult of Mother Earth has indeed laid its eggs in America; but it is hopefully not too late to step on them.

### TR's Counterrevolution

A unique statue of President Theodore Roosevelt has long stood in front of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. A visitor may well think it odd that such a statue has never been pulled down by an insulted public. Teddy Roosevelt, the enormous Anglo-Saxon hunter, sits astride an immense horse. On either side of him, walking in the dust, are half-naked figures, his guides, one a black African, one an American Indian. Nearby the words "soldier" and "conservationist" are carved in stone.

Historians have usually portrayed Teddy Roosevelt's regime (1901-1909) as a progressive era for the United States, while conceding that, for the tropical lands whose people Roosevelt held in contempt, this period may have been something of a setback. Historians have given us a TR as consummate American, who increased our national power and prestige, whose concern for the people's welfare is shown by his role as the great champion of Conservation. When they have been troubled by his obvious bullying tactics in foreign affairs, and embarrassed

by his racial attitudes, they have simply steered citizens' attention toward his domestic progressivism.

That TR's rule was in fact a disaster for our country, a virtual counterrevolution against the American System of Washington and Lincoln, is perhaps best *proven* by his Conservation activities. Let us return to the scene of this not-so-progressive movement. Let us view TR in action with the perpetrators, the midwives of the movement, and then follow the trails of these men and their collaborators back in time, and back and forth across the Atlantic, as they prepared the birth of the movement.

It is May 1908. A great meeting is in progress in Washington, D.C. The governors of all the states are gathered, at the request of the President, together with the entire cabinet, and a number of distinguished guests. Every member of Congress has been invited—but not the Congress as a body.

This is an extraconstitutional meeting, the first "governors' conference" ever called. It is a carefully stage-managed national conference on Conservation.

If any present are wondering about the legal status of the conclave, railroad financier James J. Hill sets their minds at ease: "It is in effect a directors' meeting of the great political and economic corporation known as the U.S.A. The stockholders are the 87 million people of this country; the directors are the state and federal officers."

This remarkable view of the American political system reflects the new corporatist experiment in national life, carried out in the Teddy Roosevelt years under the leadership of J.P. Morgan in the cartelization of industry, and under the Conservation leaders in the reorganization of the government. To get around the fierce opposition to his policies in the western states, Roosevelt created various policymaking commissions, under the direction of his Movement colleagues and completely out of the constitutional system whose representative Congress may check the activities of the executive branch. His administration also carried out a mass prosecution of his political opponents on a scale never equalled in American history.



Mr. Hill's speech, like many others of the invited guests, was actually written by one *William J. McGee*, a longtime Smithsonian Institution executive called by admiring chroniclers of the Progressive Era the "brains behind the Conservation movement."<sup>2</sup>

Now President Theodore Roosevelt speaks, also working from a draft by Mr. McGee. He performs a breathtaking leap in logic, whereby the Founding Fathers are transformed from developers and nationbuilders into Greenies:

Washington clearly saw that the perpetuity of the States could only be secured by union, and that the only feasible basis of union was an economic one; in other words, that it must be based on the development and use of their natural resources. . . . The prosperity of our people depends directly on the energy and intelligence with which our natural resources are used. It is equally clear that these resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity.<sup>3</sup>

But in George Washington's day the principal natural resources of the United States were wood, wind and waterpower. Now, within the living memory of the conference attendees, the resource base of the American economy had been transformed by science and invention. Coal and petroleum had entered the picture, as would uranium a generation later. Coal, which had been of little significance in 1776, was the dominant fuel of industry in 1908.

How could coal, or any other naturally occurring material or process be the "final basis" of national prosperity? Only if the development of science and technology, and the population growth which both compels and uses that development, were forever

2. Pinchot, Gifford, *Breaking New Ground*, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1947, pp. 325, 346.

3. *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Conference of Governors*, published by the authority of the United States Congress, 1908.

halted, and the nation were reduced to the horrible dilemma of slowly using up the fixed basis of its stagnant mode of production.

Such a fate for the American Union was precisely the goal of the international strategists of Conservation. Chief among these was *Gifford Pinchot*, the founder and director of the newly established United States Forest Service. Pinchot, who usually wrote TR's speeches on this subject, had planned the governors' conference with Mr. McGee.

### The Test Tube Movement

Gifford Pinchot relates in his autobiography that in the previous year, he and McGee together dreamed up the concept of "Conservation of Natural Resources" as the basis of a social movement to be created under their direction. The new propaganda word, "conservation," was itself designed by Gifford Pinchot and his assistant, Overton Price. As a result of immense public relations efforts of the Teddy Roosevelt administration, the word soon entered the dictionary with the connotations desired by its inventors. Actually the word had been lifted from the term "conservancy," designating an administrative regional unit of the British forest service in India.<sup>4</sup>

During the year of the governors' conference, the last full year of TR's regime, Gifford Pinchot's new Forest Service stepped up its propaganda campaign, deluging the country with pseudo-science and scare stories about limited resources. The Forest Service had a propaganda mailing list of at least 700,000 persons, concentrating on school teachers, newspapermen, large landowners, and government officials. The newsmen, the school teachers, and the politicians then regurgitated the phrases they had been fed, and the Conservation movement was born.<sup>5</sup>

The story was slightly different for the large landowners: they were the silent partners of the Movement. As we will see, an historic "deal" had been struck between the Roosevelt govern-

4. Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, p. 326.

5. McGeary, M. Nelson, *Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960, p. 88.

ment and western land barons, which undermined the remaining opposition to Roosevelt's zero-growth policies and sealed off more than a million square miles of the American west from further development. "Forest reserves" in permanent government restrictive ownership, and vast tracts under private trusts, would never be used for cities, industry or family farms.

The 1908 governors' conference was, in a way, the announcement of the end of the American frontier; it was Teddy Roosevelt dancing on the grave of the victim.

The question of whether the new American society would be allowed to expand west across the continent had been an important bone of contention in world affairs since the Virginia colonists began pushing beyond the first inland mountain range. The "Venetian" element in British aristocracy, the East India Company men, had tried to block the colonists' westward settlement drive while prohibiting the fledgling American manufacturing from developing the basis for practical independence. These had been among the principal direct causes of the American Revolution.

In later years southern slaveowners, spurred on by old Tory elements in Boston and by the British, had tried to seize the western territories—and Latin America—for the slave system. This was the principal direct cause of the Civil War.

President Abraham Lincoln's wartime leadership and economic program built the railroads and opened the west to massive settlement. Lincoln was conscious that the American experiment was "something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come"<sup>6</sup>. And the amazed world watched the successful post-Civil War industrialization, the building of the midwest and beginnings of migration still farther to the west.

But now, in 1908, the frontier was closed. The oligarchs of Europe exulted, "Our science has stopped the mad march of

6. Abraham Lincoln, address to the New Jersey Senate, Feb. 21, 1861, quoted in Melton, James, compiler/editor, *The Face of Lincoln*, The Viking Press, New York, 1979, p. 76.

progress. The American example will not be quite so dangerous."

How had Roosevelt done it? What was this oligarchical "science" which worked at cross purposes with actual scientific and technological development, which lent an aura of respectability to a movement for the crippling of civilization itself? As we shall see, it was the same non-science which today threatens to plunge the world into a nightmare of devoluted society, while perhaps ending the American experiment for good.

### The Savage Noble

To counter the American System's promise of universal human progress, the European oligarchy offered the "noble savage" of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Man in a state of nature was happier, they said. Urban civilization destroyed man's spirit. Better to be a superstitious peasant or barbarian, who knew his place and was content, than a citizen of the modern world, troubled by the noise and clamor of factories and constant change.

The notion of noble savagery was more than a political or social construct. It was an operational model in colonies, and former colonies, to prevent the spread of the American challenge to the old nobility.

British military commanders deployed their allies in the Iroquois confederation of eastern Indian tribes to raid and terrorize American settlers and frontier soldiers during the American Revolution, until well beyond the war's end. The British again deployed Indian warriors against Americans in the War of 1812. To the British, the treaties ending these wars meant only that covert methods would have to be found to accomplish the same objective, *keeping the settlers bottled up in the east*. This had been the aim, and the tested practice, of the Jesuits against the French settlers in earlier days. The Indian tribes were infiltrated, manipulated and guided to warfare for the defeat of the Jean Baptiste Colbert settlement and city-building policies.

But the Americans had different ideas, typified by the peace and assimilation program of William Penn and Benjamin Franklin.

Why should not the Indians share in the progress of civilization, and help to fulfill the Biblical injunction for all men, made in God's image, to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it"?

To the great embarrassment of the oligarchs and their supporters, it became evident to the Americans that the "savagery" of the Indians was not only the subject of British tampering and manipulation, but that *the Indians themselves had once had a higher civilization in both North and South America*, that this culture had to a great extent collapsed, and that this collapse was being worsened by the crimes of the Indians' British "allies."

On a trip through the South in 1765, William Bartram (1739-1823) of Philadelphia began writing about the ruins of ancient native society. His father, naturalist John Bartram (1699-1777), was a friend of Franklin's and a co-founder of the American Philosophical Society, originally a sort of executive committee for strategists of American development.

Following a visit to the artificially constructed Mount Royal, on the east bank of the St. Johns River in Putnam County, Florida, William Bartram noted a "very considerable extent of old fields, round about the mount; there was also a large orange grove . . . a noble Indian highway . . . led from the great mount . . . three-quarters of a mile [to] an oblong artificial lake. . . . This grand highway was about 50 yards wide . . . sunk a little below the common level . . . [with] bank[s] of about two feet high erected on each side."<sup>7</sup>

In 1773 Bartram found, on the east bank of the Ocmulgee River, near what is now Macon, Georgia, "monuments" and "traces of an ancient town, such as artificial mounds or terraces, squares and banks, encircling considerable areas. Their old fields

7. Silverberg, Robert, *Mound Builders of Ancient America: The Archeology of a Myth*, New York Graphic Society Ltd., Greenwich, Connecticut, 1968, pp. 36-37. Silverberg's entire effort is to warn readers away from the idea that Indians might have had a higher culture in the past, but the book has much worthwhile information.

and planting land extended up and down the river 15 or 20 miles from the site."<sup>8</sup>

As settlers poured into Ohio after the Revolution, they passed among thousands of mounds, forts, pyramids, highways, and earth sculptures built by an ancient society. Writers such as Caleb Atwater (1778-1867) gave the reading public an extensive description of the "mound builder" culture. Atwater wrote in 1820 about the original structures found at the site of Circleville, Ohio, where he grew up. There were two concentric circular earthwork walls, the outer one a thousand feet in diameter, adjoined by a square enclosure; the modern town had been laid out in the Indian circles.

The walls of the square, said Atwater, "vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west; but not more than the needle varies, and not a few surveyors have, from this circumstance, been impressed with the belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy. What surprised me, on measuring these forts, is the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in the measurement; we found that it was impossible, and that the measurement was much more correct, than it would have been, in all probability, had the present inhabitants undertaken to construct such a work."<sup>9</sup>

The Mound Builders had flourished in the Ohio Valley a millennium before. Modern historical investigators working with archeological data have reached certain tentative conclusions about the development of these and other native Americans.<sup>10</sup> North American progress depended greatly upon the advances made by those living in what is now Mexico, and the northerners' fall apparently followed on the collapse of the southern culture.

8. *ibid.*, p. 36.

9. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 64.

10. See Welsh, Richard, "Jefferson Vs. The Federalists: How the American Indians Were Destroyed," *Campaigner*, Volume XIV, No. 4, July 1981, pp. 36-42.

The Olmecs had built cities of several hundred thousand in Mexico. Around A.D. 800 they were superseded by the less advanced Toltec Empire, and later by the bloodthirsty cultish Aztecs. When the Spaniards arrived in the sixteenth century, they were able to use the hatred of surrounding people to aid in the overthrow of the Aztecs.

The earlier "Mexicans" had helped to build a more civilized society to the north. The art of maize cultivation spread up the Mississippi River. A culture based on trade and settled agriculture, with towns of many thousands, grew in the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf South.

At Poverty Point near Floyd, West Carroll Parish, in northern Louisiana, there is a cluster of six mounds. The largest of these, after centuries of flooding and other erosion, is now 70 feet high, flat-topped and T-shaped. The complex had been built with a set of six concentric octagons. It is estimated that the original complex, or fortified town, had an outer wall 6 feet high, 80 feet wide at the base and 11.2 miles in circumference, with a probable cubic content more than 35 times that of the Egyptian pyramid of Cheops<sup>11</sup>. This complex may well have served as a Mississippi trading post between north and south. Radiocarbon dating techniques suggest that this community flourished as early as 800 or 600 B.C.

The extent of the trade in the northern cultures may be simply illustrated by the find in just one burial deposit from the "Turner Group" in Hamilton County, near Cincinnati, Ohio: 12,000 whole pearls, 35,000 pearl beads, 20,000 shell beads, nuggets of copper and silver, sheets of hammered gold, and copper and iron beads.

In the American Southwest, what is now known as the Hohokam ("lost people") culture built extensive canals for irrigation in the area of present-day Phoenix, Arizona, permitting agriculture which fed about a quarter of a million area residents.

11. Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America*; New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1968.

These city-dwellers had apartment houses and ball courts. A four-story observation tower is still standing at Casa Grande National Monument south of Phoenix.

It is known that the southern people had astronomical knowledge and arts sufficient for calendar systems that charted the movements of heavenly bodies over millions of years. But the ancient northerners, in what is now Arizona, Wyoming, and Illinois, have also left evidence of astronomical culture. The flat-topped pyramid at Cahokia, Illinois, across the Mississippi from St. Louis, for example, may not be made of stone as are those of Mexico. But it is 100 feet high, 16 acres in extent (compared to 13 acres for the Great Pyramid in Egypt), and the top originally held a wooden structure for precise observation of the equinoxes, presumably for the purpose of regulating the planting seasons. Perhaps 100,000 people lived in the city and outlying farming areas for which it served as a capital.

The exact causes of the collapse are unknown to us, but the agricultural society of the ancient midwest dwindled in the period of around A.D. 1200 to 1300, and there was a climatic shift in the Great Plains area which may have contributed to, or been an effect of the cultural collapse. Nomadic tribes in dried-out areas were reduced to the expedient of chasing herds of buffaloes over cliffs for their food, and there occurred catastrophic wars in the region.

When Hernando DeSoto travelled through the Mississippi Valley in the 1500s, he found it still relatively thickly settled. It may well have been the Spaniards' introduction of disease against which the Indians had no defenses that finally crushed the remaining centers of the Indians' higher culture in North America.

The Indian assimilation policy of Franklin and the American System advocates also met with defeat. The nature of this tragedy is seen in the story of the Cherokees.

Despite having recently invented and learned a written language for their spoken one; despite cultivating the arts and sciences and proudly educating their children; despite, or pos-

sibly *because* of being a culturally advanced group of people in the state of Georgia in the 1830s and thus a threat to the ruling clique in South Carolina and Georgia; the Cherokees were torn from their homes and thrown out to the western territories to live among savages, by order of President Andrew Jackson. This was the Trail of Tears, with a tremendous death toll.

The Cherokee Nation printed in their newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, the following notice on September 11, 1830:

People of America, where shall we look? Republicans, we appeal to you. Christians, we appeal to you. We need the exertion of your strong arm. We need the utterance of your commanding voice. We need the aid of your prevailing prayers. In times past, your compassions yearned over our moral desolations, and the misery which was spreading amongst us, through the failure of game, our ancient resource. The cry of our wretchedness reached your hearts; you supplied us with the implements of husbandry and domestic industry, which enabled us to provide food and clothing for ourselves. You sent us instruction in letters and the true religion, which has chased away much of our mental and moral darkness.

Your wise president Jefferson took much pains to instruct us in the science of civilized government, and recommended the government of the United States and of the several states, as models for our imitation. He urged us to industry and the acquisition of property. His letter was read in our towns; and we received it as the counsel of a friend. We commenced farming. We commenced improving our government, and by gradual advances we have achieved our present station. But our venerable father Jefferson never intimated that, whenever we should arrive at a certain point in the science of government, and the knowledge of the civilized arts, then our rights should be forfeited . . . our

protection confiscated to lawless banditti, and our necks placed under the foot of Georgia."<sup>12</sup>

But there was still hope for a peaceful assimilation policy for the hundreds of thousands of Indians, given a good government in Washington, and a will for it in the American people.

### The Science of Extermination

The first systematic study of the American Indians from the standpoint of the old European oligarchy was carried out by one of these oligarchs in person—Albert Gallatin. An envoy to Revolutionary America in 1780 from a very powerful Swiss family at war with republican society in general, Gallatin had fought against the adoption of the new U.S. Constitution; had instigated the Whiskey Rebellion against the new U.S. government; had led the Congressional opposition to Hamilton's economic development plans; had selected his cousin Aaron Burr as Thomas Jefferson's vice-presidential running mate; had virtually dissolved America's armed forces when he was Treasury Secretary; had led the Free Trade party which destroyed the Bank of the United States under Andrew Jackson; and had been the longtime financial manager of slumlord John Jacob Astor and his family.

Having retired from his public positions in the late 1830s, Gallatin was now ready to do some *real* mischief. Accordingly, he devoted more than a decade to devising a "science" which could portray the American Indian as naturally savage, despite evidence to the contrary. It would have to be based on some method of *organized lying*, and avoid seemingly unavoidable questions of basic history. This science, as it was organized in America beginning with Gallatin, came to be known as "anthropology."

Albert Gallatin published, in 1836, *A Synopsis of the Indians*

12. Quoted in Young, *The American Statesman*, p. 525.

within the United States east of the Rocky Mountains and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America. He continued writing about the Indians, concentrating especially on compiling Indian languages, until he was 87 years old in 1848, the year before his death.

In 1842 Gallatin created and became the first president of the American Ethnological Society, a sister organization to European ethnological societies. The groups served as an adjunct to the Young Europe, Young Switzerland, Young Italy, Young Germany, Young England, and Young America projects of Britain's Lord Palmerston. The movement as a whole might be described as a strategic study of the "special needs" of various ethnic groups, insofar as these needs contradict those of other groups.

Prior to the founding, Gallatin had sent his assistant, Indian expert *Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*, to Europe for conferences of the international movement, and to speak before the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Schoolcraft was well-qualified as a stand-in for the elderly Gallatin. First dealing with the Indians on government treaty-making expeditions in the 1820s, Schoolcraft had moved up in the world by marrying an Ojibway Indian—who was the daughter of a Scottish nobleman, John Johnstone.<sup>13</sup> This gentleman, an intimate of the British military commander and governor general of Canada, Guy Carleton, maintained a British trading outpost at Sault St. Marie between Lakes Superior and Huron. Johnstone thus dominated the fur trade and associated intelligence activities over a wide area of the American upper midwest. During the War of 1812, Johnstone had commanded Indian and British armed

13. Osborn, Chase Salmon, and Osborn, Stellanova, *Schoolcraft, Longfellow, Hiawatha*, The Jacques Cattell Press, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1942. This features a wild attack against Edgar Allan Poe, because Poe nailed Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as a plagiarist; see also Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: with brief Notices of Passing Events, Fact, and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842*, Lippincott, Grambo and Co., Philadelphia, 1851, p. 107, entry for July 28, 1822.

forces in combat against Americans in Michigan<sup>14</sup>. The British assault in that area was greatly aided by the employees of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, who helped plan the attack on their own countrymen at Detroit. Henry Schoolcraft's aristocrat father-in-law, then, was both a commercial and espionage teammate of Albert Gallatin, manager of Astor's affairs, when Schoolcraft joined the family.

For the next several decades, Henry Schoolcraft would spend much of his time in the forest, swapping myths with Indians, and publishing various myths as authentic Indian cultural and religious data. His myths would be the basis for the poem *Hiawatha*, written by Harvard Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

### The Big Pow-Wow

In August of 1846 Henry Schoolcraft attended an extraordinary meeting of the "New Confederacy of the Iroquois" in Rochester, New York. There were no actual Indians present, only white men in Indian costumes. Besides Schoolcraft, another prominent guest and speaker was Giles Fonda Yates<sup>15</sup>, Lieutenant Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Jurisdiction. Yates was an archeologist, a newspaper editor, and the delegate of the Scottish Rite's Swiss grand master, J.J.J. Gourgas, for dealings with the secessionist underground in South Carolina.<sup>16</sup>

This strange assembly would launch Gallatin's new science

14. State Papers of the United States of America, 1815, regarding claims for the recovery of confiscated property.  
 15. Letter from Lewis Henry Morgan to John Jay, August 2, 1846; manuscript division, Columbia University Library.  
 16. Yates was an associate of the Van Rensselaer/Gourgas Scottish Rite in Albany, New York beginning approximately 1822, went south and became a "Special Agent of the Supreme Council at Charleston in 1824," and was then a member, successively, of both the Southern and Northern Supreme Councils, in 1825 and 1828. In the 1850s he was first the Sovereign Grand Commander and then the "chief ritualist" of the Scottish Rite Northern Supreme Council. See Baynard, *Northern Supreme Council*, Vol. I, pp. 231-233.

in America. In his keynote, Henry Schoolcraft called upon the "braves" to study America's "free, bold, wild, independent, native race." To create a new scientific and literary tradition, they must create an "intellectual edifice . . . from the broad and deep quarries of [our] own mountains."

"No people," Schoolcraft warned, "can bear a true nationality, which does not exfoliate . . . from its own bosom, something that expresses the peculiarities of its own soil and climate."<sup>17</sup>

Were these odd students of the Indian supposed to inquire into the *history* of the native people, to learn of their past accomplishments so that their future could be assured through assimilation? No—the Indian was dying, his *memory* was to be preserved by studying his present habits and his cults, as one studies the habits of animals who, after all, have no history in the human sense. In Schoolcraft's words, "America is the tomb of the Red Man."

What was this pretend "Iroquois Confederacy," thus commissioned by Messrs. Schoolcraft and Yates to start a new American science? The question is important because

1) the organizer of the group, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, went on to fabricate a theory of the social evolution of humanity, which was adopted by Karl Marx as the basis of modern Communism's view of world history; and

17. Schoolcraft's speech, *An Address, Delivered before the Was-Ah Ho-De-No-Son-Ne, or New Confederacy of the Iroquois*, by Henry Ro. Schoolcraft, a Member: at its Third Annual Council, August 14, 1846, printed by Jerome and Brother, Talman Block, Sign of the American Eagle, Buffalo-Street, Rochester, 1846, p. 6. The speech was printed by Leonard Jerome, a wealthy Rochester lawyer and publisher, whose closest friend and collaborator at the time was Lewis Henry Morgan (Leslie, *The Fabulous Leonard Jerome*, p. 37). Jerome was the publisher of the *Rochester-American*, a "Know Nothing" paper. Later, in the 1860s Jerome owned the *New York Times* and launched the purge against Boss Tweed, and against Tweed's immigrant base. Schoolcraft's speech is quoted and commented upon in Hinsley, Curtis M., Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C., 1981, p. 20. This is the Smithsonian's own official account of the origins of its peculiar science.

2) Morgan's method of simultaneously bullying and "advocating the savage's cause" was to be the treacherous method of the anthropologists, of whose science Morgan is generally considered the American founder.

Lewis Henry Morgan was born in 1818 in Aurora, New York, the son of a wealthy farmer, state senator and masonic leader. The western New York region during that period has been dubbed the "burnt-over district," because cult leaders swept through the area for many years, whipping the populace into hysteria for every conceivable sort of utopian, Spartan and mystical scheme.

At about age 15, Lewis Henry Morgan organized his first secret society among the students of his high school, then went on to Union College in Schenectady for some intensive training in radical Scottish nominalism. He emerged from school anti-Christian, anti-capitalist, and a partisan of what he called the "free, sincere" life of pagan antiquity over the "vanity and ostentation" of Greek civilization.<sup>18</sup>

His graduation in 1837, in the midst of America's worst economic collapse to date, meant that he could not get a job, but it did present him with a generation of aimless and embittered young men to work on. Over the next several years of depression, working sometimes as a lawyer for petty criminals, Morgan organized over 500 members into what he originally called the Order of the Gordian Knot. Morgan's initiates, sworn to secrecy, began by appropriating the building and costumes of Aurora's masonic lodge, which had been abandoned in the recent anti-masonic fury. From there they fanned out and built him a little secret empire in a dozen upstate New York towns.<sup>19</sup>

In the summer of 1843, Lewis Henry Morgan changed the name of his group to the "Grand Order of the Iroquois," the branches in the several towns took the names of the various

18. Resek, Carl, *Lewis Henry Morgan, American Scholar*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, p. 20.

19. *ibid.*, p. 6.

tribes of the actual Iroquois confederation, and Morgan himself became the chief, Skenandoah.

No later than 1844, Lewis Henry Morgan began serving more than petty criminals when the Ely family hired him as their family attorney.<sup>20</sup> Morgan dealt with Ely flour mills in Rochester, and became more and more deeply involved, through the 1850s and 1860s, in the development of the Ely railroad ventures in New York, Ohio and Michigan. Since the books that Lewis Henry Morgan was to write never made him any money, but actually cost him over \$20,000 to publish; and since his writings were to have a decisive impact on the modern world; the question of who financed his work assumes some historical importance.

Morgan's employers were a strange westward extension of the Massachusetts faction of British-allied Tory families; their interest in Morgan's literary ventures, and in what would be his counter-assimilation efforts among the Indians, continued in new theaters the old warfare of the British military intelligence establishment (and the earlier Jesuits) against America's frontier development. Let us briefly digress, to inspect the background of these pioneer sponsors of Anthropology. Morgan would not have appreciated the attention to his employers—he deliberately destroyed all detailed records of his business and law relationships with the Elys.

Justin Ely (1739-1817), was perhaps the richest merchant of his day in Springfield, Massachusetts, with large landholdings all over New England. He represented his area in the Massachusetts General Court (state legislature) on and off between 1777 and 1795, moving in a milieu increasingly dominated by the Tories of the Essex Junto.

His son Heman Ely (1775-1852), from the description in the Ely family's official history<sup>21</sup> can have been nothing other than a British military intelligence officer. Ostensibly, he was "en-

20. Benison, Saul, *Railroads, Land and Iron: A Phase in the Career of Lewis Henry Morgan*, dissertation, Columbia University, 1953, pp. 87-89.

21. Ely, Heman (1820-1894), compiler, *Records of the Descendants of Nathaniel Ely*, Cleveland, 1885.

gaged in commerce with European countries and the East Indies . . . he made several voyages, visiting England, Holland, France and Spain, mainly in the prosecution of his business . . . he gained much from close observation of men and manners.

"In France he remained long enough to acquire the language, for that purpose separating himself from pleasant friends and living wholly in French families. He was in Paris from July, 1809, till April, 1810. He saw the grand fete of Napoleon with Josephine . . . he witnessed the formal entrance into Paris of the Emperor Napoleon with the Empress Maria Louise. . . .

"At that time Europe was all under arms and it was no easy matter to pass from country to country, but Mr. Ely seems to have been ready for any emergency or adventure, running the blockade, shot at by privateers or sailing in tiny fishing boats when all commercial intercourse between the countries was strictly forbidden. Accompanied by only one friend, Mr. Charles R. Codman of Boston, he took passage from England to Holland in a Dutch fishing boat. Gendarmes patrolled the coast of Holland, and fired upon their little boat as they tried to land; they waited until later in the night, when they were quietly landed on the shores of an unknown country, neither of the gentlemen knowing a word of the Dutch language. For eight weary miles they carried their baggage, avoiding towns and fine mansions, till they found a peasant willing to give them food and to care for their baggage. They then walked to Rotterdam and soon found means to send a servant into the country for their baggage which the peasant had buried in the sand lest his house should be searched by officers. The travellers were closely questioned at Antwerp and other places, but finally reached Paris on the 9th day of July, 1809.

"During their stay in Paris they were one morning ordered from their beds to the police court on suspicion of speaking ill of Napoleon, but after some delay and annoyances were released. Spies were everywhere and caution and courage were necessary."

This Ely returned to America in 1810, surveyed the scene



of family holdings in Ohio, travelled to Canada, and finally returned to Massachusetts. The family history does not say what he did during the War of 1812, but it quotes the *Springfield Republican* in what it calls "an impartial tribute to his memory": "Mr. Ely was a Federalist of the School of *George Cabot, Harrison Gray Otis and Thomas Handyside* [sic] *Perkins*" [emphasis in the original].

In 1817, bringing "a considerable company of skilled workers and laborers," he moved to eastern Ohio and founded the town of Elyria, and the county he called Lorain. He was the actual initiator and prime sponsor there of *Oberlin College*, used in the 1830s and later as a recruiting base for the more violent of the abolitionist and other assorted radical movements.

Meanwhile his nephews Elisha Ely (1784-1854) and Hervey Ely (1791-1862) moved to Rochester, New York. Hervey Ely set up Rochester's biggest flour mill, Elisha Ely and his sons established railroads. Hervey Ely hired Lewis Henry Morgan as the Ely family attorney. One of Elisha Ely's sons, Heman B. Ely (1815-1856) founded the first leg, from Buffalo, of the Lake Shore and Michigan Railroad. He also ran the first telegraph line from Buffalo down to Cleveland, near the family seat of Elyria.

The British-affiliated Elyria founder Heman had a son also named Heman Ely (1820-1894), who in 1852 built the section of the family's Lake Shore and Michigan Railroad between Cleveland and Toledo. During the Civil War, beginning May 22, 1862, this Heman Ely was made a Sovereign Grand Inspector General in the Scottish Rite organization of Ohio-based Killian H. Van Rensselaer, who had supervised the creation of the treasonous Knights of the Golden Circle in Cincinnati in 1854. A month after Lincoln's assassination, Heman Ely joined the Scottish Rite Supreme Council, and from 1867 to 1891 he was the treasurer for the Scottish Rite, Northern Jurisdiction of the U.S.A.<sup>22</sup>

22. Heman Ely's son George Henry Ely (1844-1925) and his family in Elyria

Sometime during 1844, Morgan's biographers say, he accidentally made the acquaintance of a real Indian named Ely Parker<sup>23</sup>—and the game began.

Ely Parker was the grandson of Old Smoke, who under Tory direction had led the Indians in a massacre of Americans at Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, during the Revolution. His father was called Jo-no-es-do, a Seneca warrior in the War of 1812 . . . until a certain English traveller somehow joined the family and the family name became Parker. The "Parkers" had the same relationship to the British military and intelligence services as did Joseph Brant, the Iroquois chief whose raiders massacred the residents of Cherry Valley, New York; Brant was a brother-in-law of British Indian Commissioner and Masonic Grand Master William Johnson, and of Augustine Prevost, who with his father had founded the Scottish Rite in the United States.<sup>24</sup>

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played a regional power-broker role on behalf of their close friend Theodore Roosevelt and his presidential ambitions, especially in TR's 1912 independent candidacy which won the election for Woodrow Wilson.

Heman Ely, Scottish Rite Treasurer, had another son Albert Heman Ely (born 1860), who had a son, also named Albert Heman Ely (1894-1964)—thus Heman the Scottish Riter's grandson. This latter was a New York lawyer who joined Frank Buchman's pseudo-Christian pseudo-conservative organizing effort in 1937, at the height of the John Foster Dulles push for peace with Hitler through these circles in the U.S. and British churches (see Chapter 19). From 1941 till his death in 1964, Albert Heman Ely was the worldwide director of the Moral Rearmament (MRA) movement [Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Volume LII, p. 507]. He set up MRA's world headquarters in Caux sur Montreux, Switzerland. He brought German labor leaders and Communists together in Switzerland to engineer German acquiescence to Dulles-McCloy occupation policies. As the head of MRA, who personally paid for much of its activities, Ely travelled the world many times over for the Dulles faction. It has been alleged that the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church was created under the auspices of Moral Rearmament.

23. *ibid.*, p. 27.

24. Joseph Brant's sister Molly married Sir William Johnson; Joseph Brant married a daughter of British Indian agent George Croghan, another Croghan daughter married Major Augustine Prevost.

### How Anthropologists Gather Data

Now Lewis Henry Morgan applied the vise on his subjects of study. The Indians in the vicinity of Buffalo, New York, were at that time under tremendous pressure from the Holland Land Company, which hoped to acquire their valuable local landholdings. The Company, managed locally by the old Tory Ogden family, was nationally supervised by the family of Anthony Cazenove, a Swiss consul who was Albert Gallatin's business agent, lawyer and financial counsellor. Gallatin had been an original Company partner.

The Holland Company petitioned Congress to continue the Andrew Jackson Indian eviction policy by throwing the Senecas off their lands and exiling them to the west. Lewis Henry Morgan now appeared with his hundreds of secret society brothers-cum-anthropologists, and spoke up as a "friend" of the Indians in their time of trouble.

Morgan wrote to a friend at this time, "The Order must make the Indian the object of its benevolence and protection," and to Parker, "We must aid him to escape the devices of Satan and all such White folk." Morgan's group sang a song whose chorus ran,

"Then raise on high the battle cry,  
We scorn the white men's laws,  
We form a band,  
Called throughout the land,  
Grand Order of the Iroquois."<sup>25</sup>

The Buffalo area Tonowanda Chief Jimmy Johnson accepted the aid of Morgan and his strange pretend-Indians, and Morgan was adopted into the tribe.

Lewis Henry Morgan and Ely Parker went in 1845 to counter-

25. Morgan to William Stone, June 10, 1844, quoted in Resek, Carl, *Lewis Henry Morgan: American Scholar*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, p. 30; Morgan to Ely Parker, May 8, 1844, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 30; song quoted in *ibid.*, p. 24.

petition Congress on behalf of the tribe. On his way to Washington, Morgan stopped in New York City, at the request of Henry Schoolcraft. He addressed the New York Historical Society, sitting under its 84-year-old president Albert Gallatin, whose firm was seeking the destruction of Morgan's clients. At about this moment Henry Schoolcraft joined Morgan's secret society as Alhalla, the Iroquois prophet.

President James Polk, being no friend to what he considered inferior races, preferred the expulsion policy and hundreds of terrorized Senecas died on the exile trail westward.

Now Morgan and Parker together began, under the close supervision of Henry Schoolcraft, interviewing the softened-up tribesmen about their family customs and their religious beliefs. Morgan was to combine the jargon and lore learned or concocted in these interviews, with a certain amount of rewarmed Jesuit and British writing on the Indian subject, when he and Ely Parker co-authored the pioneering American volume of anthropology, *The League of the Iroquois*, in 1851.<sup>26</sup>

We may now return to the extraordinary meeting, in August 1846, where Schoolcraft and Yates, representing Albert Gallatin and Scottish Rite masonry, commissioned Lewis Morgan and his white Indians to start a new science. Eight days later, Henry Schoolcraft sent to the board of regents of the newly formed Smithsonian Institution his "Plan for the Investigation of American Ethnology." Soon the Smithsonian published its first paper, a lengthy study of the Indians commissioned by Albert Gallatin. The second, third, seventh and eighth publications of the Institution carried more Gallatin-commissioned articles. Over the coming decades the Smithsonian would be the central vehicle

26. Morgan, Lewis Henry, *League of the Ho-De-No-Saw-Nee, Iroquois*, Sage and Brother, Publishers, Rochester, 1851. "To HA-SA-NO-AN-DA (Ely S. Parker), a Seneca Indian, this work, the materials of which are the fruits of our joint researches, is inscribed [dedicated]" On pages 137-138, Morgan praises the Iroquois "oligarchy" as a perfect system, a liberal system, with a "happy constitution." On page 141 he lauds the Iroquois Confederacy's "three centuries of uninterrupted unity and peace."

for the new science, which would take on an increasingly open anti-civilization character as the work of Lewis Henry Morgan became the gospel of ancient social studies.

### Erasing History

How could the European oligarchs cover up the fact that the Indians had had a higher culture in the past, and that they, like all human beings, were susceptible of rapid cultural advancement?

Several theories were advanced. First, that the mounds, forts, etc. were so *marvelous* that these "dirty redskins" could not possibly have built them, so Vikings or some of the lost tribes of Israel must have come to America, built the structures, and gone away. The recent variant of that theory has it that aliens on flying saucers built the cities of the Latin American Indians, and perhaps even created mankind. Another theory stated that ancient Mexicans came north, did the construction, then left it to the lowly Indians.

The final, now hegemonic anthropological line was advanced by Albert Gallatin himself: the structures show nothing "indicative of a much more advanced state of civilization than that of the present" Indians. The public should simply pay no attention to the ancient monuments . . . which were, in any event, fast disappearing in the midwestern march of settlement.

Lewis Henry Morgan spent great time and effort trying to prove that Indians were and always had been savages. He popularized the story, now accepted as "fact," that the Indians wandered over a since-destroyed land bridge from Asia in pursuit of game some 10,000 years ago. Evidence of older habitation in the New World, and of ancient cultural contact, by boat travel, between the Americas and Asia or Europe, was seen as an enemy proposition to be defeated at all costs.

Morgan, with the encouragement of the Boston racist Henry Adams, made it his mission to discredit the accounts of Indians' accomplishments published by early Spanish explorers. After

the Civil War, Morgan was at the center of the literary-political fight against Mexico's President, Lincoln's ally, Benito Juárez, the full-blooded Indian who asked Mexicans to renew the city-building tradition of their Indian ancestors.

Morgan's close friend and longtime anthropological partner, the migrant Swiss banker Adolphe Bandilear, made his career in Latin America, pioneering that school of "Indian studies" there in which non-Europeans cannot, by definition, attain to a high mental culture; he was the great debunker of Indians' achievements.

Did citybuilding Asians and Americans intervisit and collaborate around 1500 B.C.? Was there extensive contact between meso-America and the Mediterranean area, until some disaster cut off contact 2,000 years ago? What was the nature of the cultural advancement or revolution the southern people brought to the ancient northerners?

These and similar questions of ancient *world history* as regards America, have no meaning for the school of anti-history founded by Lewis Henry Morgan and retailed in universities today as anthropology.

Generalizing from his tainted studies of certain Indian tribes. Morgan formulated a sequence of stages of culture through which all humanity supposedly must pass, by "slow accumulations of experimental knowledge." His scheme covered approximately 500,000 years, broken down roughly as follows:

Lower Savagery—200,000 years.

The club, the horde, animistic worship, fruit and root gathering, sexual promiscuity;

Middle Savagery—90,000 years.

The spear, fetishism, fishing, cannibalism;

Upper Savagery—70,000 years.

The bow and arrow, the tribe, matriarchy, roving, hunting;

Lower Barbarism—50,000 years.

The stone hatchet, ancestor worship, roots and grains, settlement in adobe brick and stone buildings;

Middle Barbarism—40,000 years.

The plow, nature worship, polygamy, private property in herds and flocks, soil cultivation;

Upper Barbarism—30,000 years.

Smelting iron, private property in land, family/concubines/prostitution, domestic worship;

Lower Civilization—20,000 years.

The alphabet, city gods, religion, mysticism, aristocracy, marriage, divorce;

Middle Civilization—the present.

The steam engine, dissolution of the traditional family, emancipation of women, public education, applied science;

Higher Civilization—the future.

Socialism.

This mechanical conception of man's fate was most fully developed in Morgan's book, *Ancient Society*, first published in 1877.<sup>27</sup> Frederick Engels, in *The Family, Private Property and the State*, published in Switzerland in 1884, extolled Morgan for providing the "key" to primitive society, an "independent, scientific" foundation for Engels' and Marx's materialist view of human history.<sup>28</sup>

But we are led much closer to the *purpose* of Lewis Morgan's work by reading a letter to Morgan from the post-Civil War literary editor of the *Nation* magazine, Wendell P. Garrison, son of the anti-Union abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison:

The only way to meet [those resisting Darwinism's su-

27. Morgan, Lewis Henry, *Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization*, reprinted by The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York, 1963.

28. Engels, Friedrich, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. A researcher in the Lewis Henry Morgan collection at Rochester University was recently surprised to see that the present Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, had personally signed out for the Morgan papers in the 1940s.

rival-of-the-fittest concepts] is to say outright that a theology resting on atonement called for by a supposed angelic creation of mankind and subsequent fall must take the consequences of building on the grounds of science. . . . [Our actual opponents] are the Paulists for though we should have the myth of Adam and Eve without Paul, he was responsible for connecting it with the mission and career of Jesus, and our theology is really not Christian but Pauline. The Jews have got along very well with the myth without persecuting anybody.

I am glad you are plying your axe at the root of that false growth. It must be done silently and indirectly for a while but I hope to live to see the time when the first chapter of Genesis will have no more defenders among intelligent beings than any of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>29</sup>

If, as Genesis tells us, man is made in God's image and was given, from his divine creation, the innate creative powers and curiosity which makes city-building, astronomy and world-culture his *natural* life, from which those in a savage state have fallen, then all peoples are to be included in the prosperity and the full human rights of advancing civilization.

Contrarily, Morgan provided a two-edged propaganda tool for empire, positing the "natural" climb through long ages of night, which each branch of the human family must make. In this view, if the Anglo-Saxons have made their half million year climb to civilization, while others such as the American Indians, or the people of Africa or India are reduced to backwardness, this is only their natural state, not a result of colonial or any other political factors. An imperialist who has falsified or buried the historical record may say with impunity, "the people of India will be ready for self-government in another 40,000 years, after they have gone through the appropriate stages. . . ."

29. Quoted in Stern, Bernhard J., *Lewis Henry Morgan, Social Evolutionist*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p. 25.

On the other hand, the people of the anthropologists' home culture are beguiled by the anti-historical study of the noble savages, whose ways are purer than ours, and perhaps we should learn to do without science, cities and excessive reason as they do? This became the theme of twentieth-century anthropology and its child, Environmentalism.

### The Jesuit Heritage

Violently, almost hysterically anti-Roman Catholic,<sup>30</sup> Lewis Henry Morgan nevertheless paid homage to the Jesuits. "The privations, and hardships endured by the Jesuit missionaries, and the zeal, the fidelity and devotion, exhibited by them, in their efforts for the conversion of the Indians, are unsurpassed in the history of Christianity. They traversed the forests of America alone and unprotected . . . they passed the ordeal of Indian captivity, and the fires of the torture . . . but in the midst of all, they never forgot the mission with which they were intrusted. The fruits of these labors of Christian devotion are yet visible among the descendants of ancient Iroquois; for the precepts spread among them by the missionaries are still in the Indian mind, and many of them have been incorporated by them into their own religious system. The intercourse of the French Jesuits with the Iroquois furnishes, in some respects, the most pleasing portion of their history."<sup>31</sup>

After all, the Jesuits were Morgan's predecessors and trailblazers in the work of manipulation. Jesuits had gone to live among the tribes in newly occupied colonial areas (Canada, Paraguay, Asia). They skillfully portrayed their religion as so value-free as to accommodate itself to any system of belief, and were adopted into the tribal leadership. They then played a mediating

30. Morgan, Lewis Henry, *Journal of a Visit to Italy, Bavaria and Austria, 1871*, Vol. III pp. 123-124, extracts in *Rochester Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XVI, Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, New York, 1937, pp. 285-286. Morgan sees the art in the Vatican as senseless and stupid, and describes the Church as "these lunatics."

31. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 23-24.

role with the outside world of fur traders, liquor merchants, and colonial military officials.

They educated the tribe about its "uniqueness" and hence unsuitability to be assimilated into Western scientific culture, or agricultural settlements. They formulated for the tribe plausible stories about its origins and the significance of its customs. The Jesuits' informants assumed increasing power and began to direct the tribe. They created a "native" oligarchy with a mix of former, Jesuit-filtered rituals and pseudo-Christian concepts. Jesuits in Paraguay set up an iron totalitarian system with Indian slave laborers.

Lewis Henry Morgan recommended Iroquois worship as "in many respects far above the highest conceptions of ancient philosophy," with an object less "vague and indefinable" than that of "Socrates and Plato"; while monotheism to him was only a slightly evolved variant of such pagan worship.<sup>32</sup>

But there is a fundamentally troubling aspect of this line of reasoning. The religious and other culture of the Iroquois seems to have been wholly reorganized under the European colonial regimes. The Iroquois confederation was armed by Europeans to become an imperial police force over other tribes throughout eastern North America. And certain forms of Mother Earth religion, such as the White Dog cult—atonement through the worship of a dead dog—first appeared around the year 1800!

Such pagan worship may, to some people, have much to be recommended. *But whose religion was it?*

### America Against Itself: The Smithsonian

The Smithsonian Institution first appeared before the American public with the Indian studies of Albert Gallatin and his ethnologists; now it sponsored and promoted the work of Lewis Henry Morgan. The Smithsonian's own history of its Indian operations<sup>33</sup> boasts that "it was 'Systems of Consanguinity,' his massive

32. *ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

33. Curtis M. Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists*; Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1981.

empirical work on kinship published by the Smithsonian, which established Morgan's inquiry as a science and himself as an institution." In the cited book, Morgan described Western civilization as a system of organized greed.

The Smithsonian, under the cover of being a semi-governmental organization, distributed questionnaires for Morgan to American diplomats in foreign missions. They were to collect data on the nature of family institutions throughout the world, to be used by Morgan and the Smithsonian to forge literary and academic weapons against the further spread of American System ideals.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the Smithsonian was a laboratory in which the surviving feudal nobility of Europe cooked up modern anthropology; it was from the Smithsonian Institution that the reactionary "scientific experts" were drawn, who, under President Theodore Roosevelt, launched the Conservation movement and shut America out of its own frontier.

Although the Smithsonian Institution was founded on a \$500,000 bequest to the U.S. government from an Englishman named James Smithson, it was not a foregone conclusion that it would be a "British" project. It was rather the subject of a spirited debate in Washington in the 1840s: what *kind* of scientific institution should be set up with the money, the benefactor having died more than a decade before.

In 1838 Secretary of War Joel Poinsett had sent a government-sponsored expedition inspired by Charles Reynolds to explore Antarctica and the world for four years. When the expedition began sending back thousands of biological and other specimens and cultural artifacts, Poinsett wanted them put on display in the National Institute for the Promotion of Science, with which he was closely associated, and he wanted the Smithson bequest to pay the bill. Poinsett's cultural viewpoint had been shaped in battle against British recolonizing schemes,<sup>34</sup> as the first U.S.

34. See Poinsett's Report to incoming Secretary of State Martin Van Buren,

ambassador to Mexico and as a general officer in South American independence wars.

Poinsett wrote in 1841 that the National Institute had a "special duty to inquire into [the history] of the people we have dispossessed," to study "the Indian races, now fading from the earth; their mounds and pyramids, and temples and ruined cities . . . and to assist in tracing this mysterious people from their present degraded condition up, through days of glory, to their origin."<sup>35</sup>

But Poinsett's was not the only plan that was advanced for the use of the Smithson bequest. What finally emerged from Congressional debate, and from behind-the-scenes fighting, was an establishment diametrically opposed to the outlook and purpose of Joel Poinsett, and to the interests of the young American republic. We will now provide, for probably the first time in print, a critical account of the astonishing origins of the Smithsonian.

Congressman John Quincy Adams, the 77-year-old former U.S. President, was a member of the Congressional Joint Library Committee considering the disposition of the Smithson money. He records in his diary on December 5 and 6, 1844, the visit of a British manufacturer-turned-communist:

Mr. Robert Owen came again this morning and mesmerized me for the space of an hour and a half with his lunacies about a new organization of society under the auspices of the two most powerful nations on the globe—Great Britain on the Eastern and the United States on the Western Hemisphere. . . . He has prepared a plan . . . for universal education, for which the Smithsonian Fund may provide

United States State Papers, 1829, on his political struggles against the monarchist Scottish Rite in Mexico.

35. Poinsett, Joel, Secretary of War and Senior Director of the Institution, *Discourse on the Objects and Importance of the National Institution for the Promotion of Science, Established at Washington, 1840, Delivered at the First Anniversary*, Washington, P. Force, Printer, 1841, pp. 42-43.

the means. . . . After the establishment of the system, there will be no war, and no such thing as poverty.

Three months earlier this visitor's son, Robert Dale Owen, had been elected to Congress and soon managed to obtain the chairmanship of the Joint Library Committee. Almost immediately upon taking his seat in the House he thrilled the chamber with a call for the annexation of Texas on the grounds of the inferiority of the Mexicans, thereby pumping up the hostile atmosphere that was to encourage President James Polk to commence the war with Mexico in the following year.

Meanwhile the younger Owen introduced a bill for the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution on the lines of his father's plan. This bill was denounced by John Quincy Adams as a "swindle," and Adams managed to eliminate in committee the bill's proposal for the government training of Owenite socialist teachers. But the substance of the bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Polk. Robert Dale Owen was appointed a Regent of the new Institution and a member of the executive committee, he took charge of the architectural planning, and he selected the first supervisor of the Smithsonian, executive secretary Joseph Henry.

### Owen's 'Lunacies'

The Smithsonian subsequently developed precisely as the Owens had planned. To understand the insanity of the Smithsonian's next half-century, and the Environmentalism that it hatched, we must trace out the odd career of Smithsonian founder Robert Dale Owen, and try to answer the question: who or what does this man represent?

The days of Robert Dale Owen's young manhood were a disaster for European civilization: in 1815 the monarchies of Russia, Austria, England, and Prussia, victorious over Napoleon, launched the Holy Alliance and crushed republicanism throughout the Continent. The unified princes, the undead feudal oligarchs of Europe, now attempted to reach into the Western

Hemisphere and with their combined force threatened to reinstall the collapsed Spanish colonial system, and to undo the American Revolution if they could.

John Quincy Adams' later contest with the Owen/Gallatin set over American science policy carried on Adams's earlier fight against the Holy Alliance—after his opponents had brought the Holy Alliance to America.

In 1815 Adams was the U.S. Ambassador to England, with enough patriotic spunk to be denounced in the diary of Albert Gallatin's son James: "Mr. Adams is really a thorn: he is absolutely 'Yankee' and of a common type. Why he is minister here I cannot understand. He is totally unfitted for the post."<sup>36</sup>

Appointed U.S. Secretary of State in 1817, Adams resisted the efforts of the British and the Russians to bring the United States into their reactionary alliance, and in 1823 he composed the Monroe Doctrine which proclaimed a ban on European colonial interference in the Western Hemisphere.

Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877) was born in Glasgow, Scotland. His father, Robert Owen (1771-1858), owned and managed the huge textile mill at New Lanark, Scotland, in partnership with radical philosopher Jeremy Bentham, a principal officer of Lord Shelburne's British secret intelligence service.

The Owens were visited in 1817 by *Charles Pictet*, the Envoy Extraordinaire of Switzerland to the Congress of Vienna which had set up the Holy Alliance. Pictet took Robert Owen on a tour of London, Paris, and Geneva. It is likely that they met in Paris with Albert Gallatin, then the American Ambassador to France, whose stepmother, Mlle. Catherine Pictet, was a member of M. Pictet's family of Anglo-Swiss bankers.

On their return to Scotland, Pictet took charge of the education of Robert Owen's children, who were sent to Switzerland. Charles Pictet, it seems, was the Historian and spokesman for a unique educational enterprise on the Howfyl estate of Emanuel Von Fellenberg near Berne.

36. Gallatin, James, *Diary of James Gallatin*, entry of May 17, 1815, p. 73.

This school was a special project of the Holy Alliance. It had been made famous in Europe after a lengthy memo singing its praises was sent to Czar Alexander by Count Capo D'Istria, the Czar's advisor and envoy to the Congress of Vienna. The Count, a Venetian nobleman, had written the new Swiss constitution after the defeat of Napoleon; he and Pictet were bound closely together as "insiders" among the policymakers of Europe's re-born feudalism.

Another important patron and vocal advocate of the Fellenberg school was England's Lord Brougham and Vaux. He was the financier of Jeremy Bentham's Radical Party, who in 1816 had aroused the ire of Americans by declaring in Parliament a British trade war to "stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States. . ."<sup>37</sup>

Young Robert Dale Owen and his brother William entered the Fellenberg college-level school in 1818. The curriculum and the disciplinary practices were of the design of Fellenberg's friend, Swiss anti-Renaissance educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Classical literature was eliminated as "irrelevant." (In Pestalozzi's next-door grammar school, history, geometry and the study of music were banned as "dangerous.") The students were given control of the school's management. Their teachers formed a "family" under "father" Fellenberg, which eased them into radical Rousseauvian feeling states.

Most notable were the students themselves, Owen's college chums. Among them were Max and Fritz Thurn und Taxis; three princes of Russia, as well as dukes, counts and princes of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, Holland, France and Greece.<sup>38</sup> This was an institution in which the European titled nobility, frightened by the spectre of *republicanism*, deposited their children to be equipped with new irrationalist philosophical and political weapons with which to fight it.

37. See Chapter 14.

38. Owen, Robert Dale, *Threading My Way, An Autobiography*, reprinted from the 1874 edition by Augustus M. Kelly, New York, 1967.

While the Thurn und Taxis boys spent much of their school time in princely revels at Swiss taverns, Robert Dale Owen became closest friends with classmate Hippolyte DeSaussure, of the preeminent Swiss scientific family. DeSaussure's cousin Henry W. DeSaussure, was at that moment (1820) introducing a regime of student rioting, anti-industrialism, and secession on the campus he controlled, the College of South Carolina.<sup>39</sup>

### Depopulation, Beginning with the Irish

After four years of this, Robert Dale Owen returned to Scotland where he took over the management of his father's and Jeremy Bentham's factory.

Bentham, East India Company intelligence officer James Mill, pamphleteer Richard Carlile, and others of the self-styled "infidels of Chapel Yard" were then (1818-1822) engaged in intensive strategy sessions on how to popularize the anti-population dogmas of Thomas Malthus among the working classes, especially, as Richard Carlile put it, the "filthy Irish."

Robert Dale Owen now became intimate with Jeremy Bentham, whom he called his "favorite author." Owen would later carry Bentham's torch by introducing Malthusian propaganda into the United States.

In 1824 the Owen family moved from Britain to Indiana, where Robert Owen and his Scottish friend William Maclure had purchased the buildings and land of a religious commune called Harmony. New Harmony, the communist mini-society which Robert Owen established there, became famous as an intended precedent for a new Rousseauvian world order, a world without cities, a human race broken up into agrarian communities of 1200 or so.

New Harmony, as a commune, was a typical failure and was dissolved after two years. But the Owens' establishment was more than simply a cult-farm. It was in fact primarily an edu-

39. See Chapter 11.



cational institution, and survived as such long after the commune per se was closed.

Owen and Maclure brought into this American frontier setting a collection of European scientists, nearly all geologists, who taught at the settlement, published articles and initiated others in Owenite science. Robert Dale Owen's brother, David Dale Owen, trained by Fellenberg in Switzerland and at Lord Brougham's London University, was hired by the U.S. government in 1837 and 1847 to carry out midwestern geological surveys, and was the state geologist of Kentucky and of Arkansas just before the Civil War.

The teaching at New Harmony was supervised by the Swiss Joseph Neef, who had been previously appointed assistant to Holy Alliance educational experimenter Johann Pestalozzi by the Swiss government. The Owenites thus planted a foothold in the United States for the British-Swiss current in *geology*, one of whose pioneers had been Horace de Saussure, grandfather of Robert Dale Owen's comrade Hippolyte.

### "Creation" Buried by "Sediment"

The Holy Alliance ideologists were concerned to counter the new geological breakthroughs of Alexander von Humboldt and others of his republican school, who had discovered that great, successive revolutions had occurred in the makeup of the earth, the seas, and in the nature of living creatures. Starting from the standpoint of a necessary Composer and Lawgiver in the universe, the Humboldtians inquired into the history of the marvelous transformations which they saw had instituted successively new regimes and new species on the planet, by which higher orders of existence had been achieved.

The implications of the Humboldtians' work were profoundly disturbing to the oligarchs. Seeing that God had so often reorganized nature in this peremptory fashion, man, supposing himself made in God's image, would be mightily encouraged to carry out an expansive reordering of nature, as Genesis said he

must. Progress, rapid explosive progress, was the nature of things!

The counterattack came simultaneously in biology, geology, and racist-oriented archeology. The oligarchs' scientists claimed to prove Genesis wrong by pointing to dinosaur bones older than 5,000 years, since this was the age of the world according to a neurotic-arithmetic reading of the Bible. By "defeating" the Bible, the Darwinians announced that a Creator and a Plan had been successfully removed from science. In place of revolutions in nature, the British-Swiss geologists postulated the gradual, sedimentary-erosional, ever-so-slow shifting of the Earth's features.

Such a nightmare world, formed only by the rules of arithmetic, is a natural setting for the accidental origin of the human being, whose gradual appearance onstage marks no special break with the dark, planless nature that went before.

If man, stirred to greatness by the American Revolution, refused any longer to be merely a peasant, why their lordships would make him a monkey.

Robert Dale Owen's Smithsonian Institution would apply such weapons against the continental expansion of the American System, and against the American Indians. Mr. Owen's later career is instructive for a better understanding of the bizarre institution that would give birth to Environmentalism.

After editing the New Harmony commune's newspaper, Robert Dale Owen moved to New York and became a leading socialist politician, and the publisher of a socialist newspaper concentrating on attacking religion. In 1831 he wrote *Moral Physiology*, the first important defense of Malthusian population concepts in this country. But New York's radical trade unionists could not understand how Owen's proposals for cutting down their population would benefit them, and his reputation among them was finally destroyed when he called for the government to take away all children from their parents for unrestricted Pestalozzian experiments. Leaving New York for good, Owen

returned to New Harmony, the family-owned town, and entered the Indiana state legislature, and, later, the U.S. Congress.

Swept out of Congress by the Whig victory in 1848, Owen was picked up by President Franklin Pierce in 1853. In the company of that administration's set of pro-slavery revolutionist-diplomats, Owen went abroad as the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples. There he began to apply in earnest a skill practiced in experimental sessions at the New Harmony commune: hypnosis, and the arts of mental conditioning on semi-conscious subjects. Owen, together with the Brazilian minister to Naples, Viscount de St. Amaro, and the Russian minister, carried out a series of *seances* on the credibility of the royal family of Naples. Owen now spent all his spare time studying the history of the occult, "magneto-psychology" and life on earth beyond the grave.<sup>40</sup>

Owen's greatest diplomatic achievement occurred when he and his Brazilian seance partner together intervened on behalf of an Italian-American prisoner charged by the Sicilian government with attempted "masonic" revolution, forcing Sicily's King Ferdinand II to release him.

Robert Dale Owen returned to the U.S.A. after Pierce left office and wrote a number of books on spiritualism. His first major such work, "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World," published in 1859, carried a questionnaire for readers to fill in and return to its originators, the Ghost Club of Cambridge University in England.<sup>41</sup>

This volume lays bare the inner core of the British-Swiss nineteenth-century irrationalism. As Owen perfectly expresses it:

If suspicions I incur, it will not be of sorcery, but of superstition—of an endeavor, perhaps, to revive popular

40. Owen, *Threading My Way*.

41. Owen, Robert Dale, *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World*, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1860. The circular of the Cambridge ghost club is Appendix A, pp. 513-516.

delusions which the lights of modern science have long since dispelled."

When John Quincy Adams had alluded to Robert Owen's "mesmerizing" him with lunatic plans, he knew whereof he spoke. Many years before, the teenaged Adams had lived in Paris with Benjamin Franklin and the American Revolutionary diplomatic team. He recorded in his diary on March 26, 1785, the visit of a French aristocrat who was angry with Franklin for having served on a commission which destroyed the magical-force pretensions of Austrian spiritualist Franz Mesmer. Adams, the "common-type Yankee," responded:

A sensible man, but very firmly persuaded of the reality of animal magnetism [i.e. hypnotism or "mesmerism"]. Mesmer, the pretended discoverer, has certainly as yet behaved like a mountebank, and yet he has persuaded a great number of people, and some persons of great sense and learning, that he has made an important discovery. An extraordinary system, a great deal of mystery, and the art of making people pay a hundred louis d'or for a secret which nobody receives, have persuaded half this kingdom that Mesmer really has the secret that he pretends to have.

—17—

## The Spooks

The false and bastard aristocracy that puffed itself up and dreamed of empire—that longed for titles of nobility, and sighed for the hated institutions of kings—is to pass away before the strong arms of American freemen. This fair land is to be renovated . . . New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, California, Oregon, and Washington are to furnish millions of happy homes. . . .

—Report to Congress by Commissioner of Patents D.P. Holloway, on plans for post-Civil War continental development, January 30, 1862.

. . . Any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of 21 years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such . . . shall . . . be entitled to enter one quarter section [160 acres] or less quantity of unappropriated public lands. . . .

—The Homestead Act of May 20, 1862.

What an immense geography has been revealed! What infinite hives of population and laboratories of industry have been electrified and set in motion! . . . North America is known to our own people. . . . Our continental mission is set to its perennial frame. . . .

—Address of William Gilpin, former pro-Union Colorado

governor, calling for mass migration and development of Western territories, July 4, 1868.

The sum of resources is simple and fixed. . . . The exhaustion of our coal supply is not in the indefinite future. . . . The iron industry tells a similar story. . . . No longer can we say that "Uncle Sam has land enough to give us all a farm."

—Financier James J. Hill, Address to Governors Conference on Conservation, calling for an *end* to Western development, May 14, 1908.

*Henry Adams* (1838-1918) moved back to Washington, D.C. in 1877. After seven years teaching Medieval History at Harvard, the grandson of John Quincy Adams set up a palatial residence, a salon, in the national capital, "the only place in America where society amuses me."

He had been there before. After coming to manhood in England during the American Civil War, Henry Adams had taken part, as a Free Trader, in the fight to overturn Abraham Lincoln's nationalist, growth-oriented monetary and tariff policies; and as a journalist, in the creation of an atmosphere of scandal and crisis in the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant.

With Grant politically destroyed, with the Specie Resumption Act set to give monetary control to an international banking syndicate, Adams was back in Washington to launch a direct assault on the still-functioning motor of American development—the settlement of the West with farms, cities, and industries. Adams was to organize a faction—a gang—to seize control of the U.S. government's apparatus for surveying the still-unsettled Western territories, and to wear down that outlook of cultural optimism which Americans still retained from the experience of total technological mobilization under Lincoln's leadership.

Henry Adams was, for these malevolent purposes, "the boss"—the chief of the Mugwumps (dissident Republicans).

Harvard University's own biography of Adams describes the unofficial order of rank then in effect in Washington:

During the winter of 1878 [President Rutherford B.] Hayes dropped in at the [Interior Secretary Carl] Schurz's, where [Senator, former Mississippi secession leader and future Interior Secretary Lucius Q. C.] Lamar, [Nation magazine editor, Englishman Edwin L.] Godkin and Adams were relaxing over cigars. The trio hardly looked up. Baffled, Hayes left after twenty minutes.

Encountering [New York Post reporter Charles] Nordhoff at the White House, he grumbled, "Nordhoff, I've just met two of your reformed Democrats at Schurz's—Godkin and Henry Adams. What dull owls they are!" Nordhoff, in ecstasy, hurried across the Square to share the Presidential *mot* [with Adams and friends].<sup>1</sup>

Henry Adams' grandfather John Quincy Adams had not only been the President of the United States, like his father, John Adams, before him. J. Q. Adams had been, for the last 30 years of his life, the intellectual and moral leader of American nationalists. How had his grandson been "turned"?

### Adams' Fall—Baring's Rise

President Lincoln had already smelled the corruption of Boston "Brahminism" back in 1861, when he appointed Charles Francis Adams (1807-86), Henry's father, minister to Great Britain. Secretary of State William Seward had ushered the appointee into the White House for the first time; Lincoln looked at him briefly, told him "Seward chose you, I didn't," and turned away.

Leaving the Boston of Transcendentalism and Anglophilia that had bred him, Henry Adams went to England as his father's private secretary. Having already thrown off the last vestige of

1. Samuels, Ernest, *Henry Adams—The Middle Years*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 32.

the religious feelings of his ancestors, the young man's greatest consideration was "getting on" in the world.

He later described his own initiation in *The Education of Henry Adams* (speaking of himself in the third person):

Socially he had but one relief; and, to the end of life, he never forgot the keen gratitude he owed for it. During this tedious winter [1861-62] and for many months afterwards, the only gleams of sunshine were on the days he passed at Walton-on-Thames as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Russell Sturgis. . . .

Old George Peabody and his partner, Junius Morgan [founders of the House of Morgan], were strong allies. Joshua Bates [Massachusetts representative of Baring Brothers Bank] was devoted, and no one could be kinder than Thomas Baring, whose little dinners . . . were the best in London; but . . . Mrs. Russell Sturgis was one of the women to whom an intelligent boy attaches himself as closely as he can. Henry Adams . . . knew enough to understand that a cub needed shape. The kind of education he most required was that of a charming woman [like] Mrs. Russell Sturgis, a dozen years older than himself. . . . Near her he half forgot the anxieties of Portland Place. During two years of miserable solitude, she was in this social polar winter, the single source of warmth and light.<sup>2</sup>

Russell Sturgis (1805-87) was an ex-American, who had made his fortune in the sale of opium to China. He was brought, as senior partner—chairman—into the firm of Baring Brothers, the English financiers of the entirety of the East Asian trade of Britain and its Boston partners. His family firm, Bryant and Sturgis, founded in 1810 by his cousin Captain William Sturgis, eventually carried perhaps half the U.S.-China trade.

2. Adams, Henry, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1974, pp. 137-140.

The Founder, Captain William Sturgis (1782-1863), had a granddaughter with whom he was particularly close, a virtual stepdaughter. This girl, Marian "Clover" Hooper, was to marry Henry Adams in 1872 (her brother Edward would be treasurer of Harvard from 1876 to 1898). At this point Adams had joined The Company—that very tight, inbred conglomerate of the Barings, the East India Company and their intelligence services, which had taken absolute power in England when Lord Shelburne became Prime Minister in 1782.

Adams's *Education* continued:

. . . Towards the close of [1862] he was flattered by an invitation from Monckton Milnes [Lord Houghton] to [his estate at] Fryston. . . . The third [of the party] was a man of thirty or thereabouts, whom Adams had already met at Lady Palmerston's carrying his arm in a sling. His figure and bearing were sympathetic—almost pathetic—with a certain grave and gentle charm, a pleasant smile, and an interesting story. He was Laurence Oliphant, just from Japan, where he had been wounded in the fanatics' attack on the British Legation. He seemed exceptionally sane and peculiarly suited for country houses, where every man would enjoy his company, and every woman would adore him. . . .

The fourth was a boy, or had the look of one. . . . He resembled . . . a tropical bird, high-crested, long-beaked, quick moving, with rapid utterances and screams of humor. . . . Milnes introduced him as Mr. Algernon Swinburne ["Pre-Raphaelite," pagan, homosexual poet of the New Dark Ages]. . . . In due course this party of five men sat down to dinner with the usual club manners of ladyless dinner-tables. . . . Monckton Milnes was a licensed libertine who let his guests smoke in Adams' bedroom . . . and there after dinner all sat—or lay—till far into the night, listening to the rush of Swinburne's talk. . . .

[Swinburne was] what the French call *moyenageux*, or

medieval with a grotesque turn. . . . The idea that one has actually met a real genius dawns slowly on a Boston mind, but it made entry at last. . . . What could a shy young private secretary do about it? . . . Adams could no more interest Algernon Swinburne than he could interest Encke's comet. To Swinburne he could be no more than a worm. . . .

Swinburne he saw [only once more]. Oliphant he met oftener; all the world knew and loved him. . . . Immediately afterward Milnes proposed Henry Adams for membership [in the St. James Club]. . . . the nomination was . . . endorsed by Laurence Oliphant and Evelyn Ashley.

Oliphant and Ashley, as will be explained momentarily, were in a position to open doors even beyond those of London's prime social clubs.

While the Civil War raged in the United States, Henry Adams was panting to be accepted by the British aristocracy. In a letter to his brother Charles, written Feb. 13, 1863, Henry describes a dinner given by the Duke of Argyll for the Adamases.

There was Lord Clyde . . . Charles P. Villiers, a friendly member of the cabinet . . . John Stuart Mill . . . I confess that I always feel a little self-satisfied in such society. I feel my self-respect increased by the fact of standing beside, and feeding with such men.

Again, to brother Charles, on July 17, 1863:

The atmosphere is exciting. One does every day and without a second thought, what in another time would be the event of a year, perhaps of a life. For instance, the other day we were asked out to a little garden party by the old Duchess of Sutherland. . . . Half the best blood of England was there, and were cutting through country dances and turning somersets and playing leap-frog in a way that knocked into a heap all my preconceived ideas of their

manners. . . . You may be certain that I took no share in it. A stranger had better not assume to be one of the Gods. . . . How much of this sort of thing could one do at Boston!

The young men whom Henry Adams was plugged into at Monckton Milne's estate, Laurence Oliphant and Evelyn Ashley, were at the nerve center of the British Empire's worldwide "black operations."

Evelyn Ashley, the son of Earl of Shaftesbury, was the private secretary (and probable grandson, through his mother) of Britain's Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. Lord Palmerston's family estate, Broadlands, would continue to be the headquarters for British strategic operations against America for many years after Palmerston's death in 1865. Here would be practiced those scenes of spookery, controlled illusion and hypnotism, pioneered by Laurence Oliphant, which would be spread to the American scientific community under the name of "spiritualism."

### Oliphant and The Company

Laurence Oliphant (1829-88), who became Henry Adams's friend and career counselor in British society, was Palmerston's most important confidential agent. His "favorite" uncle James Oliphant was chairman of the British East India Company.

One branch of his ancient Scottish family, spelling its name Olyphant, had moved across and made a crucial niche for itself in America—in the China trade. His admirer Henry Adams and the United States were thus Laurence Oliphant's particular assignments for reasons of family, and because of Oliphant's own wild espionage background, of which a brief summary follows. Henry Adams' consciousness of his position, as a diplomat in a nation which was arming his country's enemies in war, is made clear in a letter to his brother Charles, March 20, 1863:

I was put up for a club in St. James's Street by Mr. Milnes and seconded by Laurence Oliphant, a thorough

anti-American. . . . I'm thinking my character would not be raised in America if I were known to keep such malignant company.

Laurence Oliphant started out as private secretary to his father, the chief justice of the British colony of Ceylon who rather coldly mass-executed rebellious Ceylonese. Laurence entered the British secret service on his own account with assignments in Nepal in 1851 and Russia in 1852. He then joined the "American sector" team headed by Palmerston's son-in-law, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the expert profiler of American liberals, bankrolled by George Peabody. Oliphant became a favorite of Queen Victoria and a most personal agent of her son, Prince Edward VII.

After the treasonous Franklin Pierce administration took over in the United States, Oliphant was made private secretary to Canadian Governor-General James Bruce, Lord Elgin. On the pretext of negotiating a Canadian-U.S. trade treaty, Oliphant and Elgin moved into Washington in the summer of 1854, as the Southern secession movement was being cooked up.

Oliphant worked among South Carolina plantation owners and other likely subjects. "I said one day to my chief, 'I find all my most intimate friends are Democratic Senators.' 'So do I,' Elgin replied dryly."<sup>3</sup>

Lord Elgin then immediately made Oliphant superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada. Under this cover he traveled into the United States, up and down the Mississippi, onto Lake Superior and to Chicago. At that moment and in that region, certain Americans and Canadians were then establishing the secret society known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, which would arm 100,000 men for the Southern insurrection by 1860. Oliphant published an account of his travels in 1855, "Minnesota and the Far West," in which he declared Midwestern Americans

3. Taylor, Anne, *Laurence Oliphant*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1982, pp. 29-30.

were favorable to the extension of slavery and predicted a civil war.

After more than a year of service in British military intelligence on various Russian and Turkish fronts, Oliphant returned to the U.S.A. in 1856 on a supposed assignment for the London *Times*. He conferred in New York with British-trained American cultural experts, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and the mystic Henry James, Sr.

Making his way to New Orleans, he joined an expedition of the mercenaries in support of William Walker's conquest of Central America—after being assured of their intention to establish an Anglo-Saxon colony under European, not American, rule. Off the coast of Nicaragua, Oliphant was transferred onto the British warship HMS Cossack, toured the region and sailed back to England. Walker became dictator of Nicaragua and re-established black slavery, but was eventually executed.

In 1857 Oliphant became again secretary to Lord Elgin, now envoy to China, for the commencement of Britain's second Opium War. He proceeded directly to Calcutta to obtain troops, and returned to China for the bombardment of Canton, carrying 1,500 boxes of opium and lecturing on deck about spiritualism and the occult; he personally stormed Tientsin with his troops.

While Prime Minister Lord Palmerston's forces were ravaging China in 1860, an American named Ethan Allen Hitchcock joined the Oliphant firm in China, staying with them until 1872 and making a fortune as a partner. Nearly a half century later, Hitchcock would carry out a war against public officials of the American West as President Theodore Roosevelt's interior secretary.

After taking part in wars and insurrections in Italy, France, Poland, and Germany, and two years in Parliament, Laurence Oliphant moved to a spiritualist cult commune at Brocton on Lake Erie in upstate New York. According to Britain's official Dictionary of National Biography, the commune-master Thomas Lake Harris was in the habit of "casting out devils and forming magnetic circles among his disciples." Oliphant was now clearly

qualified to play an active role among the post-Civil War American reformers.

Between seances, Laurence covered Canada, England, and New York City. Over the next few years, he became an American commercial executive and entered into friendship with financier Jay Gould. After Gould's spectacular collapse set off America's worst depression in 1873, Oliphant published an article on the secrets of the U.S. commercial rings in Britain's *Blackwoods* magazine.

In 1879 he announced a plan for colonizing Palestine with Jewish immigrants. On behalf of Foreign Minister Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, he went to the Mideast and began negotiating with the Turkish Empire. In 1882 he and his wife moved to Turkey, then to Haifa in Palestine. There they gathered around them pilgrims from upstate New York and some of the Jewish immigrants, and wrote crypto-Eastern mystery books. The major philosophical concept expressed was the necessity for prohibiting sexual intercourse between men and women.

Oliphant's first wife died in 1887. The next year he went to the United States and returned with Rosamond Owen, daughter of Smithsonian Institution founder Robert Dale Owen. Oliphant died of chronic syphilis in 1888, shortly after Miss Owen became his second wife.

### The Psychology of Treason

Henry Adams returned to post-Civil War Boston, superbly equipped, psychologically, to teach medieval history at Harvard. As a rabid pro-feudalist and pioneer Teutonist, he picked up two important student disciples—Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. He was now prepared not only to betray his country, but to destroy the republican tradition of his most distinguished Adams ancestors.

Though he knew his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, to have been a great man, who had died at his desk in the Congress

fighting for humanity, Henry Adams had filled his mind with self-justifying hatred.

Years later he let the hatred spill out in lies about his grandfather:

[John Quincy Adams] loathed and hated America. . . . He never thought of going home without nausea, but he and his son and his grandchildren had to be trained to profess a passionate patriotism which very strongly resembled cant. . . . I knew that the old man was in a high degree obnoxious to me . . . but I had no idea how acute the antipathy would be. . . . The picture of this slovenly German *Gelehrte* [scholar] whose highest delight is to lecture boys about a rhetoric of which he never could practice either the style or the action or the voice or the art, and then gloating over his own foolish production in print, instead of rolling on the ground with mortification as his grandchildren would do—this picture grinds the colors into my esophagus.<sup>4</sup>

[In John Quincy Adams] you will see the same vein of feeble and commonplace sentiment [as he showed in politics in 1809 and 1829] mixed with a strange burlesque of Walter Scott and Lord Byron, calculated to turn me green with shame. Literally I groan with mortification at the thought of it.<sup>5</sup>

Henry Adams went to Washington in 1877 to organize the means to smash the American West and prevent people from settling there. But he did have one other, not unrelated, employment in Washington.

He had written an article praising the leadership of Albert

4. Henry Adams to his brother Brooks Adams, Feb. 18, 1909, quoted in Dusinger, William, *Henry Adams—The Myth of Failure*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1980, pp. 29-31.

5. Adams, Henry, Critique of Brooks Adams' manuscript biography of John Quincy Adams, quoted in Dusinger, *Henry Adams*, p. 31.

Gallatin's son James, the head of the tight-credit bankers of New York opposed to Lincoln during the Civil War. In the mid-1870s, Albert Rolaz Gallatin, Albert's only surviving son, invited Henry Adams to write the official, authorized biography of his father, and turned over to Adams the Gallatin family papers. Henry would have to find other papers for the biography in the National Archives. The book he would finally produce would laud Albert Gallatin as the noblest, the purest, the greatest American statesman. Thus commissioned, employed, seduced, and married by the very European oligarchs whom his family had fought against in the American Revolution, Henry Adams commenced his "salon" in the national capital.

### Is the West Inhabitable?

America's Western development program—government-commissioned railroads, free land for settlers, free education, government-aided mining and manufacturing—roared into motion at the end of the Civil War, despite the assassination of President Lincoln, whose program it was. Settlers pushed west, and began to occupy those largely uninhabited spaces between the 100th meridian, running through the middle of Nebraska, Kansas and Texas, and the eastern sections of Washington, Oregon, and California.

In the census of 1870, some 765,000 persons had resided in the area now comprising the states of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota, an area of 946,000 square miles. In the 20 years from 1870 to 1890, the population of this section would grow by 3,344,000, to 4,109,000, more than a fivefold increase.

The individual increases, from 1870 to 1890, were:

Colorado	40,000 to 413,000
Idaho	15,000 to 89,000
Montana	21,000 to 142,924
Wyoming	9,000 to 63,000



Utah	87,000 to 211,000
New Mexico	92,000 to 160,000
Kansas	364,000 to 1,428,000
Nebraska	123,000 to 1,063,000
The Dakotas	14,000 to 540,000

But in the following 30 years, from 1890 to 1920, the population in this massive area—nearly a third of the contiguous 48 states—did not even double; it increased by only 3,165,000, to 7,274,000. And it failed even to double in the next 60 years from 1920 to 1980, when the population stood at just over 13 million.

Today this region of massive untapped mineral wealth lies more or less uninhabited. To get an idea of its comparative emptiness, assume it had the same population density as, say, Indiana: It would then have 144 million residents. Montana and Idaho together, for example, would have 35 million people, instead of less than 2 million.

The westward movement was derailed as a result of a systematic sabotage, a concerted effort over a 30-year period to close off the frontier lands, an effort which reached its successful, malicious climax under President Theodore Roosevelt between 1901 and 1909.

In the decade following the Civil War, several geological and mapping surveys of the unsettled Western territories were commissioned by the authorities in Washington, D. C. Three of these surveys, and their leaders, the geologists Ferdinand V. Hayden, Clarence King, and John Wesley Powell, were of crucial importance in shaping the public outlook on the possibilities of Western development.

The report of Ferdinand V. Hayden, M.D., to the Secretary of the Interior, October 15, 1869, concerning Colorado and New Mexico, was a call for development:

... We may confidently assert that Colorado, at no very distant day, is destined to be one of the chief agricultural

sections in the Rocky Mountain regions, yea, we may say the most important. The mining region affording a home market, it possesses a completeness within itself not found in any other section of the Union, while New Mexico will be the great fruit and wine region. . . .

The coal formation along the base of the mountains was studied with great interest. With these coal beds are associated valuable deposits of brown iron ore. . . . The supply of both is quite inexhaustible and of excellent quality. . . .

Irrigation is necessary throughout Colorado and New Mexico. . . . That it is inconvenient and imposes a hardship upon the farmer of limited means, at the opening or settling of his farm, is true. But when his primary ditch is completed, if properly made, he may feel himself forever secure from loss through drought. . . .

Valuable ores abound almost everywhere in the granite and gneiss of the Rocky Mountains, and the economic question is not to find the material, but the capital and labor with which to work. . . . The country . . . is replete with those minerals [for fertilizer] which by their decomposition are found by experience to most enrich the soil, as it is with the before-mentioned minerals of commercial value. . . .

The climate is healthful and delightful, the country well supplied with water. . . . The communication with the East and West is becoming daily more easy. . . .

The land is being tilled and prepared to support the large population which must soon settle here, and everything smiles on that man who brings to the country intelligence and willing hands.

What stands in the way of the country's progress are the greedy speculators . . . and the system of grants . . . which . . . exercise a baneful influence on the prosperity of such a country. . . . Certain mines . . . have been hacked to pieces to produce ore . . . in the shortest possible time. . . . Valuable mines have been ruined. . . .

But the remedy will present itself, when Colorado and New Mexico shall be filled with citizens determined to own and occupy them. . . . It would be well for interested parties to consider in what way to manage their property out here so as to assure themselves against present possible loss, and of future increase in its value.

To do this without radiating prosperity on all around them, and building up the wealth and power of the country, is a problem which will tax their abilities to the utmost. . . .

### The Arid Lands

By 1878, Lincoln Republicanism was dying, and Major John Wesley Powell submitted to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz his "Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States." As may be guessed from the title, the report was an attack on the entire idea of settling the American West.

Powell announced that insufficient rainfall in the region west of the 100th meridian required the termination of Lincoln's land policy. Farmers who did use irrigation could effectively produce crops on smaller pieces of land—so each homesteading allotment should be cut in half. On the other hand, cattle ranches on drier land would require larger areas, so ranchers should be given 10 times greater allotments than before. While nothing could be done without irrigation first being secured, large corporations should not construct irrigation works—this would lead to Monopoly. Neither should the federal government do the work, through its Army Engineers—this would be too much of Big Government. Better to leave irrigation arrangements to the Little Man, to the local Community—where, of course, major water-moving projects could never be accomplished. And rather than have the West organized under the old, impractical U.S. Constitutional framework, new "regional" structures of government would need to be created. In any event, Powell claimed, nothing should be done, settlement should stop, until thorough, painstaking mapping of the land could be accomplished.

This report was a declaration of factional war by the neo-

feudalists, Henry Adams and company. Mr. Adams would direct the battle for its implementation.

John Wesley Powell had been schooled in the geological literature and outlook of Robert Owen's New Harmony community and the British empirical method in science by a tutor in his boyhood days on the farm in Ohio. His earliest political training had been in the abolitionism of family friends Charles G. Finney, Oberlin College founder and leader of frenzied religious revivals, and Salmon Chase, anti-Whig liberal who as Supreme Court Chief Justice would overturn the Lincoln easy-money greenbacks monetary policy.

Powell lost an arm in the Civil War, and went on to gain his fame in an 1869 exploring trip down the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. The aggressive, ambitious young geologist was noticed by a great power in the liberal journalistic establishment, publisher Samuel Bowles of the Springfield (Illinois) Republican. Bowles discerned Powell's potential for the anti-industrial cause; he proceeded to publicize Powell's "gallant" and "resolute" exploits to a national audience, and Powell's reputation was made. Powell's ambition was now firmly attached to the anti-development faction which was buttering his bread.

Publisher Samuel Bowles, in turn, was recognized for his services to the cause of British imperial economics by his election, in 1872, to the Cobden Club of London. Carl Schurz, another intimate of Henry Adams, was also elected in 1872. Adams himself was elected in 1873, joining his brothers Charles and John, elected previously.

As a national celebrity, with backing by Smithsonian Institution director Joseph Henry, Powell received Congressional funding in 1870 for continued Colorado survey work. By a "clerical error" in the bill, of which the Congress was unaware, his new survey was removed from the jurisdiction of the Interior Department and placed under the anti-development Smithsonian Institution.

### First Battle For The American West

John Wesley Powell's "Report on the Arid Lands" was presented on April 1, 1878, to Interior Secretary Carl Schurz, who promptly ordered it printed and distributed to the Congress.

The battle was now joined. The headquarters of the shut-the-West forces was the home of Mr. Henry Adams on H Street in Washington. Here gathered an intimate circle of anglophile strategists taking part in the showdown: Interior Secretary Carl Schurz; New York Congressman Abram Hewitt, the National Democratic Chairman, who guided the British-backed Specie Resumption Act through Congress; Clarence King, leader of one of the Western surveys; and Othniel C. Marsh, the nephew of Anglo-American banker George Peabody and a friend of the top racial ideologues in British science, Thomas Huxley and Charles Darwin.

On April 3, 1878, the 80-year-old Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry died. Henry had also been president of the National Academy of Sciences, where he was immediately succeeded by Othniel C. Marsh, who was notorious as an opponent of geologist Ferdinand Hayden.

On June 20, 1878, Congressman Abram Hewitt inserted a clause in a general appropriations bill referring the question of the Western surveys to the National Academy of Science for advice and suggestions to the Congress. In August 1878, Academy President Othniel Marsh appointed a committee to "investigate" the surveys; all committee members were opponents of Hayden, who stood for development of the West. Prominent on Marsh's committee was a close friend of Marsh and Adams, astronomer Simon Newcomb, of whom we shall hear more later on.

While Secretary Schurz and John Wesley Powell worked closely together to soften up the Congress, the Academy prepared a report calling for all the Western surveys to be consolidated under Carl Schurz's Interior Department, eliminating Hayden's role, and for the appointment of a Public Lands Commission to

implement Powell's Arid Lands concepts as the new national policy. The Academy report was ready on November 6, 1878.

On November 16 a formal organization of the anti-development forces was established under the name of the Cosmos Club. Harvard University's own biography<sup>6</sup> of Henry Adams describes the policy warfare:

Inevitably Henry Adams became involved in the rivalries arising from the overlapping of the surveys and the differences in their methods. There were differences also over the political and economic implications of their work, especially over Powell's revolutionary proposals for conservation of the Western lands. The clash of rival ambitions erupted into violent public controversy. . . . [Othniel] Marsh, sponsored by [Clarence] King and Powell, had just succeeded Joseph Henry as President of the National Academy of Science and Adams was drawn into his camp in opposition to Ferdinand Hayden. . . . Scientists leagued with their chiefs until the behind-the-scenes activities in the clubs of Washington resembled rival conspiracies, as they jockeyed for control of the proposed reorganization of the Surveys.

It was natural that King and his allies should gravitate into a scientific and social organization of their own, especially when it became obvious that their group would carry the day. . . . the Cosmos Club. Its purpose was "to bind the scientific men of Washington by a social tie and thus promote that solidarity which is important to their proper work and influence." Major Powell . . . became the first President.

Henry Adams joined the original promoters as an "author" . . . and was made a member of the first Committee on Admissions. Among the many notable founders, beside King and Powell, were men like Spencer Baird, [the new]

6. Samuels, *Henry Adams*, pp. 35-37.

Secretary of the Smithsonian. . . . Year by year the roster came to include many other distinguished friends and acquaintances of Henry Adams: Francis Walker, Superintendent of the Census. . . . [astronomers] Samuel Pierpont Langley, and Simon Newcomb. . . .

The excitement over the impending consolidation grew fiercer from day to day with Hayden's "spies" reportedly tracking down every rumor. King hurried in and out of town at frequent intervals, making his headquarters at the Adamses.

Why Hayden's American nationalist "spies" were to prove less effective than their British opposite numbers may be explained in part by the formidable connections of geologist/racconteur Clarence King. King was a real gentleman: "I wish it could be intimated in my life and engraved on my tombstone that I am to the last fibre aristocratic in belief, that I think that the only fine thing to do with the masses is to govern and educate them into some semblance of their social superiors."<sup>7</sup>

Clarence King's social superiority began with his grandfather, Samuel King, senior partner of the King & Talbot China-trading firm in New York. Around 1806, old Samuel King hired a cousin of his named David Olyphant (1789-1851) into the firm; David's father had emigrated from Scotland and changed his family name from that of his uncle, Lord Oliphant.

From the King firm, David Olyphant struck out on his own, eventually hiring Clarence King's father James R. King and uncle Charles W. King into his new Olyphant and Company, China traders. Clarence's father and uncle spent most of their lives in China, his father dying in Amoy in 1851. By all testimony, the Olyphant firm was the only American-based China trading company which did not traffic in opium. Rather, Olyphant and the

7. Clarence King in a memo to James D. Hague, quoted in Bartlett, Richard, *Great Surveys of the American West*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1962.

King brothers imported something possibly even more deadly into China, under the polite title of "missionaries."

These men of the cloth, chosen, sponsored and delivered by Olyphant and Company, performed for the British secret service precisely the same function as that of cousin Laurence Oliphant—"irregular" warfare against the central authority of the Chinese Empire, to open China for looting.

Following the success of the British in the 1842 Opium War, Boston opium syndicate representative Caleb Cushing negotiated a treaty allowing his friends the same privileges in China as the British had acquired. Cushing's "diplomacy," backed by gunboats threatening a new war, was carried out largely through the mediation of two Olyphant-imported missionaries, Peter Parker and Elijah Bridgman, as translators and advisors. In 1834, Reverend Bridgman had formed the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, along with co-director Rev. Karl Gutzlaff—a Prussian national who was otherwise the director of British military intelligence for the China Region. In the 1850s, Gutzlaff and his staff "converted" thousands of Chinese into an imitation-Christian communal cult, and directed them as a powerful army into battle against the Chinese Emperor; this was the Taiping Rebellion.

Clarence King's Uncle Charles had an ungentlemanly experience in 1837, when he sailed an Olyphant company ship toward Japan carrying Reverends Bridgman and Gutzlaff, hoping to land and somehow begin the process of opening up Japan as the British had done to China. The Japanese were rightly suspicious of such "religious" overtures, having suffered grievously at the hands of the Jesuits, and King's party was fired upon and driven away.

### Geology Meets the Noble Savage

On Nov. 26, 1878, ten days after the formation of the Cosmos Club, Othniel Marsh delivered the report of the National Academy of Sciences to the U. S. Congress. The expected violent reaction came from Western congressmen and the Western

press. The House of Representatives bills to implement the "reforms" bypassed the Western-controlled Public Lands Committee, being steered instead to the Appropriations Committee where Henry Adams' man Abram Hewitt was on the job.

The Senate defeated the reforms, while the House voted to consolidate the surveys and appoint a public lands commission. The Senate then voted to kill all other surveys but Hayden's. Yet on March 3, 1879, after months of wearing and confusing political combat against Abram Hewitt and the Cosmos Club, the Westerners were defeated. Congress passed the consolidation on March 3, 1879, terminating the work of Ferdinand Hayden and creating the United States Geological Survey (USGS).

Clarence King was appointed the first USGS Director.

By John Wesley Powell's own specific request to the chairman of the House Appropriation Committee, there was in the final bill an almost unnoticed item:

"For completing and preparing for publication the contributions to North American Ethnology, under the Smithsonian Institution: \$20,000." The artifacts collected during Powell's surveys of the Rocky Mountains were to be given a home in a new organization, the Bureau of American Ethnology. Thus Powell's survey was converted into a sub-department of the Smithsonian Institution, out from under Congressional supervision. Powell was now the chief ethnologist.

The gentleman, Clarence King, paid little attention to his new post and resigned in 1881 to pursue speculation in Mexican mining ventures, backed by Henry Adams, Boston's Lee, Higginson and Co., and British investors. John Wesley Powell was now appointed director of the U.S. Geological Survey, and directed both geology and Indian anthropology with the same goal in mind: stopping the westward march of American civilization.

### Smithsonian's Curious Mission to Indians

Under John Wesley Powell's leadership in its Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), the Smithsonian Institution intensified its anti-

civilization work among the American Indians. Powell's viewpoint is stated in his survey report of 1878 to the Secretary of the Interior:

... We must either deal with the Indian as he is, looking to the slow but irresistible influence of civilization . . . to effect a change, or we must seduce him to abject slavery. The attempt to transform a savage into a civilized man by a law, a policy, an administration, or a great conversion . . . in a few months or in a few years, is an impossibility clearly appreciated by scientific ethnologists who understand the institutions and social conditions of the Indians.

Powell's political standpoint becomes even clearer in the Smithsonian's own history of their anthropological engineering:

Through the BAE and as director of the U.S. Geological Survey from 1881 to 1894, he fought two of the most powerful, complementary dynamics in American culture: unplanned settlement, with its destructive impact on Indian peoples and the natural environment; and well-intentioned but ignorant efforts to "save" the Indian through conversion to Christianity and civilization.<sup>8</sup>

At least one of Powell's field agents perhaps began his work by honestly inquiring into the nature of the Indians' culture. James O. Dorsey, a former missionary, was "inclined to see civilized notions of monotheism in primitive religions." Thus,

Dorsey's investigations displeased the director, who ordered him to undertake a "special study" of anthropology—which meant reading Morgan's "Ancient Society." . . . Once accommodated to the Morgan/Powell framework, though,

8. Hinsley, Curtis M., Jr., *Savages and Scientists*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C., 1981, p. 150 ff., for this and the quotes immediately following.

Dorsey's empirical work yielded . . . confirmation of Powell's vision of primitive belief. . . . For three centuries, hasty observers had written of Indian belief in a single "Great Spirit." Taking this as a sign of preparation for Christianity, generations of missionaries had sought to impose their God on it. Now the work of the [reprogrammed] missionary Dorsey had finally exploded the myth: The savage mind knew no such concept.

Nevertheless, Dorsey was "never a member of Powell's inner group. . . ."

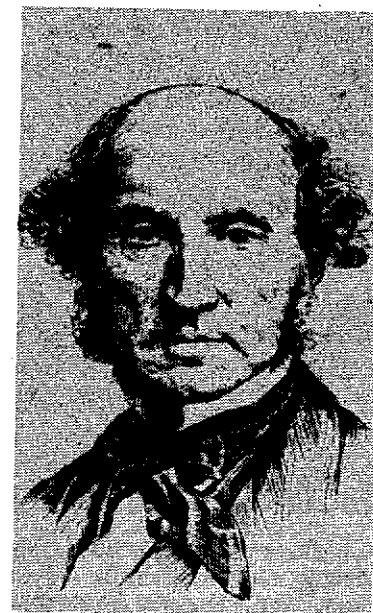
Two other Smithsonian agents, Frank Hamilton Cushing and James Mooney, did show that zeal for protecting—or promoting—savagery which the feudal minds directing them could really appreciate. As the Smithsonian chroniclers put it, "The age of science and industry left little room for imagination, mystery and romance. . . . From the forest and savagery [Man] learns the secret of regeneration and prosperity."

Frank Cushing became a Bow Priest among the Zuni Indians in New Mexico, and was written up in Eastern newspapers as the "White Indian."

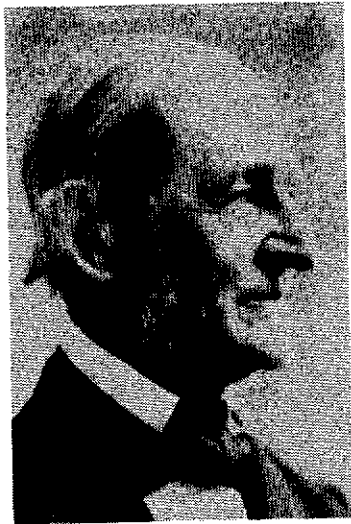
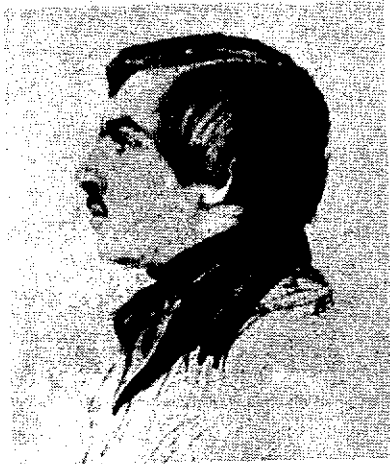
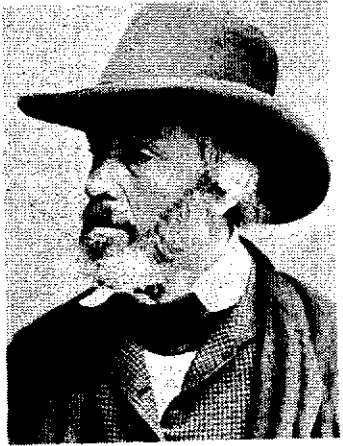
By virtue of his office . . . Cushing aligned himself with the traditional tribal leadership in battles against other Zuni families and "progressive" White influences, such as missionaries, traders, politicians, and *Army personnel* [emphasis added]. . . . There is no question that Cushing bullied the Zunis for information.

There was an especially painful dilemma for men [like Cushing] who sensed the barrenness and irreverence of their own civilization. In order to bring regenerating knowledge to their own people, they necessarily violated trusts to others. . . .

Cushing's . . . message was this: A truly rich culture must not deny the deep mythological . . . wellsprings of the soul. . . . The poetic and artistic powers of man exist



(Top) The Duke of Wellington in a contemporary caricature. He led the British conquest of India in the first decade of the nineteenth century; British rule destroyed native industry and starved millions to death. (Bottom) John Stuart Mill, the most celebrated of the "free enterprise" economists after Adam Smith, was the top intelligence officer in the British East India Company—a private monopoly which directly ran the subcontinent. Mill managed dirty operations against the United States, including cultural and economic warfare.



*John Stuart Mill supervised the piece-by-piece assembly of dark-ages crank Thomas Carlyle (above left) as a writer and public figure, with financing from the Baring family. Young Frederick Engels (above right), was a disciple of Carlyle in his anti-industrialism; Engels managed his father's British cotton mill, financing with its profits the career of his famous political partner, Karl Marx. (Below left) Ralph Waldo Emerson, introduced to Carlyle by Mill, was Carlyle's follower and business agent in America, and a British reform-manager in post-Civil War America. (Below right) Christopher Pearse Cranch caricatured and quoted from Emerson: "I become a transcendent Eyeball."*

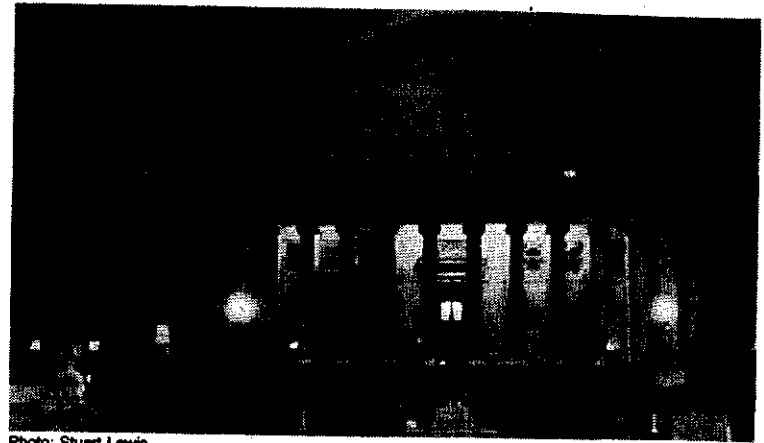
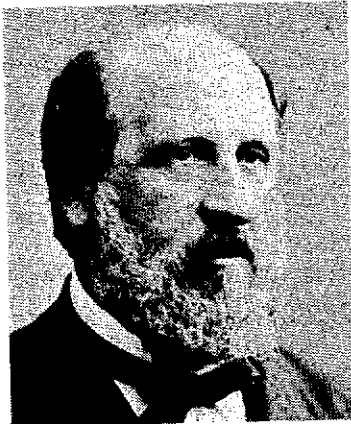


Photo: Stuart Lewis



*Low Library (above), the present administration building of Columbia University, was named for A.A. Low, multi-millionaire criminal opium smuggler and successor to John M. Forbes as confidential secretary to Houqua. Low's son, Columbia President Seth Low, thus commemorated father's gift of the present campus of the university. A.A. Low and Forbes together financed the drive for British control of America's currency, "Specie Resumption."*

*The American Bank Note Company printing plant (below) in the Bronx, New York. For two centuries a nest of treason, insurrection and foreign intrigue, the Company produces traveler's checks for American Express, credit cards, stocks and bonds. They also employ a full time counterfeiter.*



*William M. Tweed (above) in a photograph, and (below) a cartoon satirizing his corruption. The New York Times launched a crusade against Tweed's "conspiracy." Tweed was never convicted of a serious crime, but was judicially murdered. The Eastern Establishment continues such attacks today, in Abscam and other "sting" operations against selected targets of prosecution and frameup.*

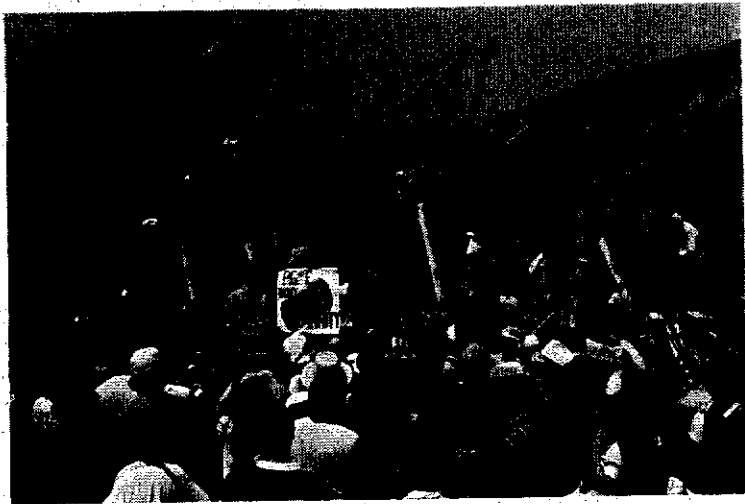


*(Top) Anti-draft rioters burning and looting a home on Lexington Avenue, New York. The disloyal wing of the Democratic Party, led in New York by Party Chairman August Belmont (below left) and Samuel J. Tilden, (below right) revived the slave trade, then promoted violence against President Lincoln's Civil War policies. Their more-patriotic opponent "Boss" Tweed got control of Tammany Hall, but they cried corruption against Tweed—and retook power in New York.*

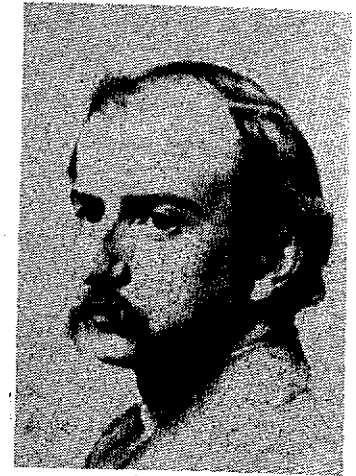




*Indians being hypnotized in the Ghost Dance religion, which spread in a few months to most of the west. The cult taught Indians that the shirts they wore in the trance would protect them from White men's bullets: they died en masse at Wounded Knee. Whose religion was it?*



*Environmental terrorists prepare for a physical assault on the Diablo Canyon nuclear power station in California. Begun by anthropological experimenters and foreign agents during Anglophile Teddy Roosevelt's administration, this feudal movement would reduce the United States to poverty and powerlessness. Whose movement is it?*



*(Above right) Henry Adams betrayed the republican tradition of his grandfather, President John Quincy Adams, whom he resented and despised. Henry yearned to be a British aristocrat, directed the anti-growth political forces as the British political overseer in Washington, D.C.*

*(Above left) William James, anti-rationalist Harvard psychologist, founded the American branch of Lord Balfour's Society for Psychic Research. He and his collaborators studied and practised the arts of mind-bending used by tyrants since Babylon.*

*(Below) The "medium" at right is in a trance, while the seance participants concentrate to help him to summon the dead. Foreign intelligence agencies (and common criminals) have used such farces for blackmail and control over suckers—including susceptible statesmen, princes and potentates.*



*Theodore Roosevelt shown as a conquering Teuton next to naked Indian and African. The statue outside New York's American Museum of Natural History reflects the racialism within: the Museum was the site for the Hitlerian race science conferences financed by Harriman in 1921 and 1932.*

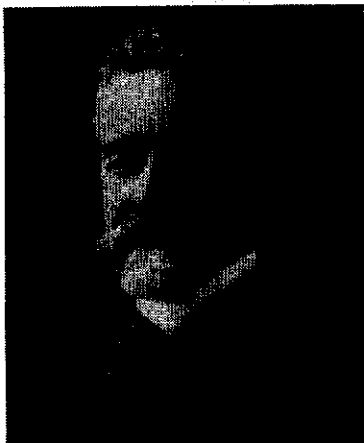
*President Theodore Roosevelt, 1905, on the steps of his mother's old home, the Bulloch plantation in Roswell, Georgia. Teddy learned certain theories of national loyalty, racial doctrines, and the use of a navy from his mother's brother James D. Bulloch. Uncle James, chief of the Confederate Secret Service in Europe, assembled the attack fleet which swept U.S. commercial shipping from the Atlantic in the Civil War; he was never pardoned and lived out his life in exile in England, with visits from nephew Teddy.*



*TR countered his appearance as a young asthma victim by blasting away with his father's shotgun, "killing, killing until he was exhausted." The Great Killer as President was famous for inaugurating "conservation of natural resources," a deliberate reversal of Abraham Lincoln's Western frontier development policy. Cartoon from Puck.*



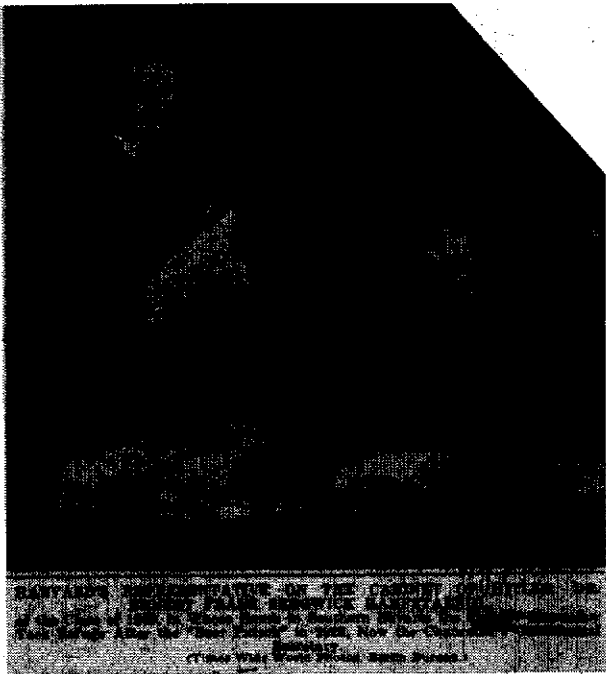
*165 horses and mules pulling five combined harvesters in one field in Washington State, 1890's. The state's pro-growth citizens petitioned TR to stop the government's shutdown of Western settlement; TR refused, scorning his opponents as fools and robbers. Most of the West has never been developed.*



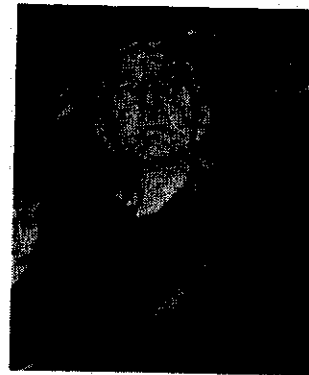
(Above left) Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a pupil with TR of racial-Teutonist Henry Adams, got Teddy into the Navy Department and the Vice-Presidency. An assassin's bullet in President William McKinley did the rest. (Above right) Theodore Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, age 38. When the Secretary left town, TR hastily ordered U.S. warships into action, pushing the nation toward war with Spain. (Below) President TR kept the Navy steaming from one Caribbean port to another enforcing debt collections for international bankers. A fanatical friend of the British empire, his Corollary reversed the pro-hemispheric Monroe Doctrine, which the British had viewed as arrogantly excluding them. His cousin, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, later renounced TR's Corollary in favor of hemispheric alliance.



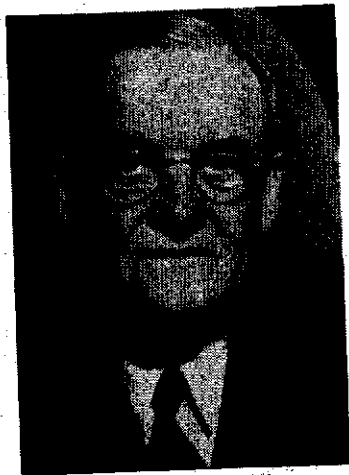
Theodore Roosevelt allowed Averell Harriman's father, railroad magnate E.H. Harriman, to finance his campaign for a second presidential term. Later he publicly "broke" with Harriman.



*(Above) Ernst Hanfstaengl in a New York Times photo February 26, 1933, just after Hitler's takeover, with the original Times caption. Half a Boston Sedgwick and a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, Hanfstaengl promoted Hitler's early career on assignment from the anti-American group in the State Department. (left) "Putzi" Hanfstaengl giving the Nazi salute at a Harvard reunion.*



*(Above) In a 1913 photo, the bewhiskered former Secretary of State John W. Foster, to his right grandson John Foster Dulles and his wife; at right, Robert Lansing standing next to his wife, Secretary Foster's daughter. Woodrow Wilson appointed Lansing Secy. of State, Lansing brought John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen into the State Department. Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency when brother John was Secretary of State, shown (below right) with President Kennedy, who fired him. Allen learned his craft from British masters, including Soviet agent Kim Philby. (Below left) Hjalmar Schacht in fur coat at Nuremberg trial. Chosen by John Foster Dulles and the British banking syndicate, Schacht organized Hitler's final rise to power and built the Nazi war machine. With British help he was acquitted at Nuremberg.*



## ONE WORLD



World Council of Churches philosopher Arnold Toynbee recommended "world dictatorship," "preferably" of the "Leninist" variety. The World Council (magazine cover, below right), headquartered in Geneva, works for that goal.

Conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937 brought together the pro-Nazi faction in western religion; they formed the World Council of Churches. (Above left) The Faith and Order Conference at Edinburgh, "Mt. Athos Greek" Archbishop Germanos, Archbishop William Temple of York, and Church of Scotland Moderator Dugald MacFarlane.

The German Nazis' U. S. lawyer John Foster Dulles (below left) said "the most desirable [should] succeed . . . some must be eliminated" but we should get "all the progress possible out of that elimination" to avoid "waste suffering." Dulles was a prime organizer of the world Council of Churches. Though as Secretary of State he spoke harshly of the Soviets, the pro-Soviet institutions he created have caused nearly fatal damage to America.



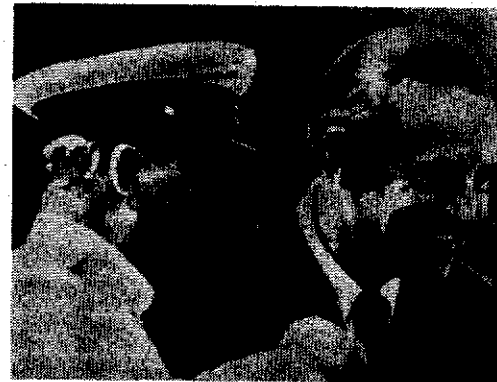
## MRS. E.H. HARRIMAN BACKS A GIGANTIC STEP IN EUGENICS

Would Curb Defectives by  
Hundreds of Thousands  
Over Series of Years.

TO MAKE RACE PERFECT.

Aid of Rockefeller and Carne-  
ge Hoped For in World  
Wide Campaign.

A world wide campaign for the sterilization of defectives is called for in a report to the Eugenic Society, which has headquarters at Cold Spring Harbor, L. I., and is generously aided financially by Mrs. E. H. Harriman, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie are expected to con-



When E.H. Harriman died, Mrs. Harriman (above left with him at ship rail) and their son Averell had \$100 million to spend on promoting "race science" and mass sterilization. The New York press (right) hailed the family's efforts, which built the fascist movement worldwide. Banker-shipper Averell Harriman boosted the new Hitler regime in 1933 by taking over management of U.S. imports from Nazi Germany. (Below) Harriman as Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. with Joe Stalin. Pro-Hitlerism was not contradicted by Pro-Sovietism; after World War II the Harrimans revived the eugenics movement in the name of environmentalism and population control.



*Averell Harriman (left) worked to "snuff out" the U. S. nuclear capability by negotiating the test ban treaty with the Soviets in 1963. His partner in the talks was Arthur Dean, who took over leadership of Sullivan and Cromwell from John Foster Dulles. Shown (below) with his wife Pamela Churchill Harriman and (to the left) New York's Mario Cuomo, Harriman has been the leader and symbol of the pro-Soviet wing of the Democratic Party. McGeorge Bundy (center), blueblood chieftain from the Lowell and Putnam families, in a moment of fun with fellow "nuclear freeze" leader Father J. Bryan Hehir.*



independently of positive rational knowledge, and they constitute an equally valid, necessary, and deeply satisfying mode of dealing with the cosmos. The scientific world of observation and deduction that was in the making with such fanfare . . . was tragically limiting and impoverished. . . .

James Mooney's first field work was among the Eastern Cherokees in North Carolina. Mooney

astutely but sympathetically took advantage of the social disintegration and economic poverty of the Cherokees. . . . He soon discovered that the combination of sincere interest and calculated flattery . . . opened the way to establishing the individual informant relationships . . . [such as when] priests form personal friendships and thus are led to divulge their secrets to each other for their mutual advantage . . . when one shaman meets another. . . .

What type of "shaman" was James Mooney? He asserted that "the religion of to-day has developed from the cruder superstitions of yesterday, and Christianity itself is but an outgrowth and enlargement of the beliefs and ceremonies which have been preserved by the Indian in their more ancient form."<sup>9</sup>

But his religious interest was quite action-oriented, as Mooney explains: "In the fall of 1890 [I] was preparing to go to Indian Territory, to continue researches among the Cherokee, when the Ghost Dance began to attract attention, and permission was asked and received to investigate the subject also among the wilder tribes in the Western part of the territory. . . . It soon became evident that there was more in the Ghost Dance than had been suspected . . . . The investigation . . . has ex-

9. Mooney, James, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report for 1886*, Washington, D. C., 1891, p. 319.

tended over a period of more than three years . . . the dance . . . is developing new features at every performance."<sup>10</sup>  
The Smithsonian historian tells some of what Mooney did

Among the Arapaho, Sioux, Kiowa, and Cheyenne. . . . [He] became one of the first ethnologists to use a gramophone in the field. . . . At the ceremonies Mooney carefully watched face and body movements, the gestures of the medicine men, and *the symptoms and timing of trances* [emphasis added]. His research . . . and his pilgrimage . . . to Wovoka, the Paiute prophet [the Ghost Dance "messiah"] . . . in Nevada, convinced Mooney that the dance was a ceremony of peace and brotherhood, a movement of cultural revitalization. . . . The Ghost-Dance religion was a "revolution" that came "but once in the life of a race" . . . the tribes . . . all shared the messianic faith as "the only viable alternative in a world of insufferable oppression."

The Ghost Dance religion was organized throughout the American West, from the Mississippi River to the West Coast, in a matter of months. The dancers were hypnotized and driven into a state of hysteria and shock, then informed by the practitioners that the shirt they were wearing during the dance had magical properties which would make the wearer immune to the white man's bullets.

During the "Ghost Dance troubles" of 1890, Sitting Bull, an acquaintance of James Mooney since at least 1872, was arrested for urging a renewed Indian war against whites. He had earlier escaped to Canada, and to British protection, after having served as medicine man for the Sioux in their battle with General George Custer's troops at Little Big Horn, Montana, in 1876. In 1890, however, Sitting Bull was arrested along with many armed fol-

10. Mooney, James, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report for 1893*, Washington, D. C., 1896, Part 2, p. 653.

lowers—Ghost Dancers. At Wounded Knee in South Dakota, the crazed, suicidal Indians began wildly shooting at the arresting troops, and scores of Indians, men, women and children were shot down by the soldiers.

As with the White Dog cult mentioned in Chapter 16, it is reasonable to ask about the Ghost Dance—whose "religion" was it? One's suspicions about the role of James Mooney (and others of his profession) in this Khomeini-like setup of the Indians for slaughter, are increased in view of Mooney's testimony before a Smithsonian internal investigating committee, where he betrays his hatred for assimilated Indians:

When I went to [the Kiowas] there were not a half dozen families in the tribe living in houses. They were all in tipis and in tipi camps. . . . There were not a dozen men who ever wore a hat. They had feathers in their hair, and they painted their faces whenever they went anyplace. The man with whom I made my home . . . had eight rings in one ear and five in the other. . . . He never went to a military post, or to a dance, or to anything else without spending a couple of hours to dress and paint up. Now he is in a house, and has chickens and a corn field, and stoves and clocks and beds; and he has taken out his rings and cut his hair, and he looks like a dilapidated tramp.

The Smithsonian historian praises Cushing and Mooney for being pioneers in the practice of modern anthropology, where "the anthropologist must suspend . . . inherited notions of social organization, scientific knowledge, artistic beauty, even moral categories. . . . It involved willingness to doubt and surrender . . . the hard-won certainties of industrial civilization."

The 1903 Smithsonian investigation at which Mooney testified was used by Columbia University Prof. Franz Boas to demonstrate that the profession of anthropology would be more efficient—and subject to absolutely no government scrutiny—if it were brought out of the Smithsonian and planted in the

universities. There it has remained until the present day, a "science of man" which opposes itself to the study of history, an academic endeavor whose professors on all continents are repeatedly found to be busying themselves with the intimate affairs of terrorist and radical separatist groups.

### A Ghost Dance For The Whole World?

Suspicious as to who was responsible for the criminal manipulation of the Indians, rise to the level of evidence for criminal prosecution, when the anthropologists and related personnel in and around the Smithsonian Institution are investigated.

During the 1880s, a certain very odd transatlantic club was formed, in England and America, which included in its ranks all of the leading individuals connected with the practice of anthropology in America. This club, using newly developed techniques of psychology and organization, would serve as an advance detachment in the war of the old European feudalists against the American System. Around its central core members, the British Foreign Office would construct a deadly transatlantic political machine to demoralize and divert the United States from its commitment to global technological development, and to close the American West to further settlement.

The British club in question was the Society for Psychic Research. Its early American members included:

*Simon Newcomb*, Canadian immigrant astronomer, Harvard professor of "British School" economics, a president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the first president of the American branch of the Society for Psychic Research;

*William J. McGee*, Simon Newcomb's son-in-law, assistant to John Wesley Powell, who took over from Powell as Smithsonian Ethnologist-in-Charge in the 1890s; founder and first president of the American Anthropological Association; founder of the 20th-century Conservation movement;

*Grove K. Gilbert*, geologist, Powell's right-hand-man on his Western surveys, president of the Cosmos Club in 1894;

*Samuel F. Emmons*, geologist, practical leader of Clarence King's Western survey team, Massachusetts neighbor of Henry Adams;

*Raphael Pumpelly*, Powell's assistant;

*James Kidder*, Smithsonian official, a Cosmos Club founder;

*R. W. Shufeldt*, Smithsonian official;

*Henry Holt*, publisher of Henry Adams;

*Samuel Pierpont Langley*, astronomer, aviation experimenter in competition with the Wright brothers, secretary (director) of the Smithsonian Institution from 1887 to 1906, simultaneously the second president of the American branch of the Society of Psychic Research;

*Frederick W. Putnam*, director of Harvard's Peabody Museum and professor of anthropology, co-sponsor with Smithsonian of Lewis Henry Morgan's work, the curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, created the anthropology program at University of California;

*Asa Gray*, Harvard botanist, champion of Darwinian evolution;

*Thomas Wentworth Higginson*, financier for Clarence King, organizer of the Massachusetts Disunion [sic] Convention in 1857;

*Frederick A.P. Barnard*, president of Columbia University (1864-89), president and chancellor of Mississippi University during secession;

*David Starr Jordan*, founding president of Stanford University, founder of the Sierra Club;

*Andrew D. White*, founder and first president of Cornell University, intimate of the Russian aristocracy, Venetian-trained theological expert, historian of the supposed war between "science" and "theology," a founder and the first president of the American Historical Association, the founder of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, regent of the Smithsonian Institution;

*Gardiner G. Hubbard*, regent of the Smithsonian Institution, founder and first president of the National Geographic Society,



the founder of the magazine *Science*, which became the organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, creator of the American Bell Telephone system, father-in-law and patron of Alexander G. Bell;

*Gifford Pinchot*, founder of the U.S. Forest Service;

*John Dewey*, Pestalozzian reformer of the U.S. educational system;

*Clarence Darrow*, attorney in Scopes trial regarding Darwinian evolution; and

*Theodore Roosevelt*, President of the United States (1901-09).

The purported business of the Society for Psychic Research was to hold seances, to talk to the dead relatives of invited participants, to command tables to float in the air, to render the mind blank and have spirits move one's pen in "automatic writing," to wander in haunted houses, and so forth. The practical theme of the Society's work was psychological experimentation, on two levels. First, to study the extent of power over men's minds that could be achieved with hypnosis and hysteria-induced trances. Second, to try to break down the subject-victim's faith in rationality, in the lawfulness of nature, and in the coherence of his own mind.

Swiss psychologist Carl Jung, an early-twentieth-century member of the Society, explained the logic of this experimentation:

If we plump a good physicist down in the deceptive, magical darkness of a spiritualist seance, with hysterical mediums plying their trade with all the incredible refinement many of them have at their command, his observation will be no more acute than a layman's. Everything will depend on the strength of his prejudice [sic] for or against. . . .

The twilight atmosphere is so essential . . . an integral component of any nocturnal, numinous experience is the dimming of consciousness, the feeling that one is in the grips of something greater than oneself, the impossibility of exercising criticism and the paralysis of the will. Under

the impact of the experience reason evaporates and another power takes control, a most singular feeling which one . . . hoards up as a treasure no matter how much one's reason may protest. That indeed, is the uncomprehended purpose of the experience—to make us feel the overpowering presence of a mystery.<sup>11</sup>

In his essay "On Occultism," Jung says,

Primitive superstition lies just below the surface of even the most tough-minded individuals, and it is precisely those who most fight against it who are the first to succumb to its suggestive effects. When therefore a serious experiment with all the authority of science behind it touches this readiness, it will inevitably give rise to an emotion which either accepts or rejects it with a good deal of affectivity.

Harvard experimental psychologist William James (1842-1910), the founder of the American branch of this British organization, wrote of a "hypnogogic" state in which the subject can be

Caught on the road to sleep and suspended—that is prevented from deep sleep. If the mind of the subject is caught at just this point and given a suggestion, it immediately acts on that idea.

Everything depends on the subject allowing himself to be entranced and hardly anything on the operator, except that he must engender the subject's trust and fix attention on the relaxed condition.

In his book *Principles of Psychology*, published by Henry Holt, William James asks us to

11. Jung, Carl G., "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle," in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, Bollingen Series XX, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1973, Vol. VIII, p. 25.

Put a man into a perfect chaos of phenomena—sounds, sights, feelings—and if the man continued to exist, and to be rational at all, his attention would doubtless find for him a way to make up some kind of rhythmic regularity, which he would impute to the things about him, so as to imagine that he had discovered some laws of sequence in this mad new world. . . .

The world of living realities as contrasted with unrealities is thus anchored in the Ego. . . . That is the hook from which the rest dangles, the absolute support.

A transatlantic organization was thus created, targeting the minds, the sense of identity, the rationality, of such individuals as scientists, statesmen, and Indian tribal leaders, reviving old methods for achieving the feudal goal of forcing an end to the dangerous American faith in unlimited progress.

### **Prelude: Henry James, Sr. Is 'Vastated'**

What kind of Americans would cooperate in such a project? The American side of the story begins with the unfortunate person of Henry James, Sr. (1811-82), the father of the Society's American founder William James. Henry James, Sr., was the son of immigrant landowner Billy James of Albany. The James family's considerable power and wealth was built up within the social and political orbit of the Van Rensselaers, whose patroon system held sway in the New York State capital region until well into the nineteenth century.

The Jameses were an important part of the local political machine built by Aaron Burr and the Van Rensselaers' Scottish Rite.

- A daughter of Billy James (thus an aunt of Harvard psychologist William James) married "Prince" John Van Buren, son of President Martin Van Buren.

- Billy James himself was the principal trustee, financier, and, with the Van Rensselaer family, the practical owner of Union

College, where anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan and young Henry James, Sr., both got their philosophical grounding.

- The family tutor for Scottish Rite leader Stephen Van Rensselaer was also hired to work with Henry James, and remained his lifelong intimate friend; the tutor was Joseph Henry, who was later chosen the first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Henry James was a somewhat spoiled, somewhat independent-minded young radical, who began falling away from his training for the Presbyterian ministry while in college. He became acquainted with Ralph Waldo Emerson and was charmed by Emerson's soulful talk and the exciting reach of his contacts in literature and society. When Henry's son William James was born in 1842, Emerson was his godfather.

In the spring of 1844, Henry James was visiting in England with East India Company intelligence officer John Stuart Mill, racist writer Thomas Carlyle, and other friends of Emerson's. As Henry James told the story, one evening after dinner in this company, he suddenly lost control of his mind and his will. He felt threatened by "malevolent spirits lurking in the room"; he was for no apparent reason "reduced to terror and fear." He felt the urge to run upstairs to his wife for help, but overcame this urge.

Mr. James was referred to certain physicians, who said he had "overworked his brain" and prescribed a rest at a particular "water-cure" spa. He later described his feelings just after

My catastrophe. . . . The curse of mankind . . . is its sense of selfhood, and the absurd, abominable opinionativeness it engenders. How sweet it would be to find oneself no longer man, but one of those innocent and ignorant sheep pasturing upon that placid hillside, and drinking in eternal dew and freshness from Nature's lavish bosom. . . . My studious mental activity had [been] a mere "castle in the air," and the castle had vanished in a brief moment of time. . . . I never felt again the most passing impulse, even,

to look where it stood. . . . Truth indeed! How should a beggar like me be expected to discover it?<sup>12</sup>

Relief from this tortured trance-like state came from a gracious lady who suddenly appeared at the water-cure spa. She explained to him that he had undergone a "vastation," that is, that his brain had been washed clean of arrogant male-type notions of selfhood. She introduced him to the spiritualist philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg, the eighteenth-century London-based Swedish mystic.

Henry James rushed off to London and was initiated into the selfless mysteries taught by Dr. Garth Wilkinson, a hypnotist, an Aryan master-race theorist, and a leader of the Swedenborg cult in England. Dr. Wilkinson was a friend and professional collaborator of the royal family's top espionage agent Laurence Oliphant, who would meet with Henry James and Emerson a decade later in New York.

From that time forward, Henry James, Sr., was devoted to the philosophy of his own "vastation": that men may be transformed through hypnosis, through giving up and defeating the Tyranny of Reason, into seekers after mystery and communication with dead people. Not surprisingly, he became also a socialist, a critic of the Arrogance of industrial capitalist development.

Henry James, Sr. had one son whom he named Wilkinson; another was William James, the Harvard experimental psychologist and founder of the American branch of the British Society for Psychic Research; and another son, the effete novelist Henry James, who lived abroad as an anti-American Englishman.

12. Austin, Warren, *The Elder William James*, Macmillan and Company, New York, 1934, pp. 56-57.

### The Project From Palmerston to Balfour

The "psychic research" project which dominated the Washington scientific community in the 1880s and 1890s was organized in the household of Mr. and Mrs. William Cowper-Temple (later Baron and Lady Mount-Temple): the Broadlands estate of Lord Palmerston, Cowper-Temple's stepfather.

Broadlands was the continuous setting for seances from the 1850s and 1860s, when Laurence Oliphant had brought back spiritualist "religion" to Prime Minister Palmerston from the British diplomatic corps in and around the Ottoman Empire. The Cowper-Temples were Oliphant's great patrons in the 1870s when he was based in the spiritualist commune in upstate New York.

Mrs. Cowper-Temple was as much of an avid patroness, a mother figure, to Pre-Raphaelite feudalist John Ruskin and his projects as she was to Laurence Oliphant. One day in 1874, the Cowper-Temples received at Broadlands a party of particularly enthusiastic spiritualists including: Edmund Gurney, Mrs. Cowper-Temple's nephew; Gurney's friend Frederick Meyers, the homosexual protégé of John Ruskin; the Rev. Stainton Moses, John Ruskin's psychic medium; and George Wyld of the Theosophical Society.

At this meeting a powerful spiritualist organization was projected. Frederick Meyers then went to Cambridge University professor Henry Sidgwick and proposed that such an organization be established in and about Cambridge, based on that university's recent decades of "spookery."

We saw the Cambridge Ghost Club, in Chapter 16, as the source for a questionnaire attached to an 1859 book on spiritualism by Robert Dale Owen. Not only spooks of the graveyard variety, but espionage agents for overseas British Empire work had long been cultivated at the school.

The elite Cambridge Conversazione Society, better known as The Apostles, was founded in 1820 at St. John's College,

Cambridge. Student-members of this radical nihilist group had gone forth to Spain in the 1830s under the close supervision of John Stuart Mill, to lead an armed insurrection against the Spanish king. In the 1837-38 rebellion in Canada, two Apostles crossed the Atlantic to deal with the troubled colony as military intelligence officials.

The host for Henry Adams' aristocratic initiation party, Monckton Milnes, was an Apostle.

The environment for such a group became even more congenial during the 1870s following the revolutionizing of St. John's College's curriculum and social life by the school's "freethinking" Master, William Henry Bateson.

Henry Sidgwick, Cambridge professor of moral philosophy, was well placed to inaugurate the Society for Psychic Research as its first president in 1882. He was an Apostle; he would eventually be the tutor and the great inspiration for the twentieth-century radical leader Lord Bertrand Russell. Sidgwick was also the teacher, the tutor and eventually the brother-in-law of Arthur J. Balfour (1848-1930).

Mr. Balfour himself was president of the Society for Psychic Research in 1893, and for about the first 30 years the Society's presidency was always in the hands of a member of Balfour's immediate family or the circle of his intimate friends. This transatlantic strategic project was logically Balfour's personal affair, since Balfour and his family, the Cecils, directed the foreign policy and the intelligence activities of Great Britain more or less continuously from 1878 to 1918.

Arthur Balfour's father, a Scot enriched by the East India Company, died early and Balfour was raised by his Cecil mother and her relatives. The mother's brother was Robert Cecil, the third Lord Salisbury. Uncle Salisbury was first made foreign minister in 1878, and leader of the Conservative Party in 1881; he was prime minister from 1885 to 1892, and again from 1895 until his death in 1902. Nephew Arthur, serving first as Salisbury's closest aide, entered the cabinet in 1887; he was Lord of the Treasury in 1891, Prime Minister in the crucial years

1902 to 1905, First Lord of the Admiralty in 1914, and Foreign Minister from 1916 to 1919 during World War I.

The Cecil family, known as one of the key "Venetian" elements in the British aristocracy, gained such power that in 1900 the British government received the popular nickname "The Hotel Cecil, Unlimited," recalling the family's similarly great power in the time of Queen Elizabeth I. At the turn of the twentieth century, under Prime Minister Salisbury, Cecils or their spouses ran the Treasury, the Navy, the planning in the foreign ministry, and the leadership of the Parliament.

### The Project's Motivation

Among the important members of the Society for Psychic Research in the 1880s, two in particular deserve mention as leaders in the mind-bending warfare which was the society's purpose:

*William Bateson*, son of the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; young William was a biologist and theorist of racial purification, or "eugenics"—he coined the word "genetics"; his son, anthropologist Gregory Bateson, became the prime organizer of the California LSD culture and the husband of anthropologist Margaret Mead, herself an American leader of the Psychic Research Society in the 1940s.

*John Ruskin* (1819-1900), a partisan of Venetian anti-Renaissance philosophy, who set the moral tone for the Society: ". . . The Americans, as a nation set their trust in liberty and equality, of which I detest the one, and deny the possibility of the other."

Ruskin's sense of the proper relationship between man and nature is today the background ethic of the environmentalist movement:

And in the case of the old families, which . . . however decadent, still truly are, the noblest monumental architecture of the kingdom, living temples of sacred tradition and hero's religion, so much land ought to be granted to them in perpetuity as may enable them to live thereon with all

circumstances of state and outward nobleness. . . . Their income must be fixed, and paid them by the state, as the King's is. . . . Their land . . . should be . . . kept in conditions of natural grace . . . [under] such agriculture as develops the happiest peasant life . . . agriculture which . . . must reject the aid of all mechanism except that of instruments guided solely by the human hand, or by the animal; or directly natural forces.

In his book "The Foundations of Belief," Arthur Balfour purports to explain the message of science. He puts forth without apology a viewpoint so alien to the American, so repulsive to the human way of viewing man's condition and prospects, that one must be struck with alarm: Consider that Balfour's siding with Nature, as against Man the "pretentious intruder," is the core philosophy of the environmentalist movement of the 20th century:

Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the universe, the Heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets. Of the combination of causes which first converted a dead organic compound into the living progenitors of humanity, science, indeed, as yet knows nothing. It is enough that it is from such beginnings—famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses for the future lords of creation—have gradually evolved, after infinite travail, a race [i.e., mankind] with conscience enough to feel that it is vile, and intelligence enough to know that it is insignificant.

We survey the past, and see that its history is of blood and tears, of helpless blundering, of wild revolt, of stupid acquiescence, of empty aspirations. We sound the future, and learn that after a period, long compared with the individual life, but short indeed compared with the divisions

of time open to our investigation, the energies of our system will decay, the glory of the sun will be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race which has for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit, and all his thoughts will perish. The uneasy consciousness, which in this obscure corner has for a brief space broken the contented silence of the universe, will be at rest. Matter will know itself no longer. Imperishable monuments and immortal deeds, death itself, and love stronger than death, will be as though they had never been. Nor will anything that is better or worse for all that the labor, genius, devotion, and suffering of man have striven through countless generations to effect.<sup>13</sup>

Compare these words of Balfour with those of another 20th-century European politician:

In attempting to rebel against the iron logic of Nature, man comes into conflict with the principles to which he owes his very existence as a human being. Thus his action in defiance of Nature is bound to lead to his own downfall. To this we hear the objection . . . "But man conquers Nature!"

Millions thoughtlessly babble this . . . nonsense, and end by really imagining themselves as a sort of conqueror of Nature. . . .

But quite apart from the fact that man has never once yet conquered Nature, but at most has caught hold of and tried to lift one corner and another of her vast, gigantic veil; that in fact he invents nothing but merely discovers things; that he does not rule Nature, but has only risen, by knowing certain natural laws and secrets, to dominate other living creatures that lack this knowledge. . . .

13. Quoted in Young, Kenneth, *Arthur James Balfour: The Happy Life of the Politician, Prime Minister, Statesman and Philosopher, 1848-1930*, G. Bell and Sons, London, 1963, pp. 56-57.

The latter quote is from Adolf Hitler, in "Mein Kampf"; we have deleted from the passage Hitler's obscene anti-Semitic epithets. We will not so edit the remarks of our more "stylish" Psychic Researchers.

In a letter to Harvard Professor Charles Eliot Norton on the subject of gnosticism, John Ruskin asserts: "I've become a Pagan, too; and am trying hard to get some substantial hope of seeing Diana in the pure glades; or Mercury in the clouds (Hermes, I mean, not that rascally Jew-God of the Latins)."

Lord Balfour's family-approved biographer relates that his Lordship "told [Chaim] Weizmann that he had once had a long talk with Cosima Wagner at Bayreuth and 'shared many of her anti-Semitic postulates.'" In an 1899 letter, Balfour complains about a party in which "the Hebrews were in an actual majority—and tho' I have no prejudices against the race (quite the contrary) I began to understand the point of view of those who object to alien immigration!"<sup>14</sup>

The views here expressed by the Psychic project leader are entirely in accord with his famous 1917 Balfour Declaration, pledging that the Jewish people will be welcome—in British-ruled Palestine, not in England. His sponsorship of Britain's immigration restriction laws ultimately had most evil consequences for Jews attempting to flee. This British gentleman, Dr. Richard Hodgson, had previously been assigned by the Society in England, and by the British authorities, to discredit the psychic claims of Madame Helena Blavatsky, leader of the Theosophical Society, when she began intriguing in India for a pro-Russian revolution against British Rule. Dr. Hodgson then came across the sea to manage all of the practical affairs of the Society in America, as its secretary, from shortly after its inception until his death in 1906.

In the late 1880s, the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Samuel P. Langley, was also the president of the American branch of Lord Balfour's Society for Psychic Research. Dr.

14. *ibid.*, pp. 257, 139.

Langley's sense of national and moral identity has been pinpointed for posterity by his biographer, aide, and closest personal associate, Cyrus Adler. We are told that Samuel Langley made a yearly trip to England, that he went often to the home of the crude feudal racist writer Thomas Carlyle, and that he would sit at Carlyle's feet for hours, drinking in the master's wisdom without speaking a word.

Back in the U.S.A., Dr. Langley's employees were busy in two crucial projects for the destruction of the American West.

First, Smithsonian ethnologists who the Institution admits were in "battles against . . . White influences" including "Army personnel," were studying how Indians could be put into trances, armed, and sent into suicidal warfare against U.S. troops. The Ghost Dance Religion, created in 1890, spread like wildfire across half a continent. After the disaster at Wounded Knee, Wovoka, the Paiute prophet taken up as the "messiah," made a sad national tour telling Indians that someone had twisted his words, had used his sayings falsely to spread the Ghost Dance religion. Perhaps today the Smithsonian Institution could tell us who was responsible?

At the same time, Smithsonian Ethnologist-In-Charge John Wesley Powell was still the director of the U. S. Geological Survey, attempting by political means to prohibit the settlement of the West.

Following a severe blizzard and drought in 1886, Western congressmen were anxious to get government help in starting up the irrigation projects necessary for the orderly development of the region. In March 1888, a resolution was submitted by Sen. William M. Stewart of Nevada, asking the Interior Department if a survey for reservoirs and canals could not be done. Senator Stewart had been the author of the final form of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, guaranteeing blacks the right to vote; he was fighting for the growth of his state through mining and agriculture.

Powell and the Anglo-American machine went into action—before the new states of Montana, Idaho, North and South

Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming, all admitted to the Union in 1889 or 1890, were represented in the legislative process. In October of 1888, a rider was attached to a general appropriations bill, giving Powell the right to conduct a grand irrigation survey. Just as in 1879, the move bypassed the pro-Western Public Lands Committee.

Included in the legislation was a clause temporarily withdrawing from settlement all lands "made susceptible of irrigation" by the reservoirs and canals whose locations the survey would select; this was intended as a guard against speculators' monopolizing the irrigated land in advance.

Powell now announced that there must be a complete topographical, hydrographical, and engineering survey of the whole region before any irrigation, or settlement, could occur. He said these could be accomplished in only six or seven years, at a cost of \$5 to \$7 million. But when congressmen asked him to start with a request for half a million, Powell claimed that there weren't enough trained men available to make use of so large an appropriation.

The administration of President Grover Cleveland ruled that by the terms of the congressional resolution, all land claims that had been filed after Oct. 2, 1888 were invalid, and then withdrew 850 million acres, or one and a third million square miles, two-fifths of the nation's area, from entry by American settlers.

The quandary the American nationalists now found themselves in has been aptly described in an anti-development Powell biography which is actually boasting of his audacity: "The President would obviously not restore any lands until they were certified to him [as ready for occupancy] by Major John Wesley Powell. Major John Wesley Powell would not certify any lands until his survey worked them over. And his survey was apparently going to take forever. . . . He could dictate . . . the precise pattern that future settlement [if any] would take."<sup>15</sup> It is in-

15. Stegner, Wallace, *Beyond the 100th Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1954, p. 319.

teresting to note that the land now resting under the absolute control of Powell's Survey was exactly the area of the spread of the Ghost Dance Religion.

Seeing that their legitimate demand for federal irrigation to spur growth had been turned into a complete shutdown of westward migration, the Western congressmen, led by Nevada's Senator Stewart, began a counterattack. A Senate bill in summer of 1890 reversed the land freeze. In their zeal to break Powell, the senators included an unfortunate clause ending all funding for hydrographic work. In 1891 the Geological Survey was cut back, and Congress for the first time took precise control over what the survey was supposed to do. By 1894, his land operations cut to the bone, Powell resigned from the Geological Survey.

In the 1890s, the new states of the West looked forward to the growth that could make them powerful contributors to the world position of the republic. Their advocates had won a battle, but they had not eliminated the enemy's operation. A decade later, a rising group of anti-development men, tied by money, philosophy and personal association to the feudal oligarchs of Europe, would see to it that the West would not reach its goal. Instead, the Conservationists would help to develop a political movement which the United States and the whole civilized world would have to fight against in World War II.

### **A Digression: How Henry Adams Falsified American History.**

It is always astonishing, while researching some of the turning points in American history, while investigating key individuals involved in directing crucial events, to find that historians have never trod on this particular ground before. Why not? The facts are there. Family records, correspondence and national archival materials are in most cases readily available for the pursuit of stories—despite the fact that influential people often resort to hiring their own biographers to obscure the record of their deeds.

With Henry Adams, we come closer to the answer to this question. We have seen that he was assigned by Albert Gallatin's family the task of presenting to the world a cleaned-up version of the life of that most insidious enemy of the American republic. Adams took on some other such assignments as well, involving particularly sensitive issues of emphasis and interpretation, founding a Harvard school of history which "reformed" America's story to suit the "reformers" of its political and economic system.

In a letter to anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, announcing that he would patronize Morgan's forthcoming book, *Ancient Society*, Henry Adams discloses certain racial views which throw a good deal of light on his historical method.

[Your work] must be the foundation of all future work in American historical science. . . . I have lost and shall lose no opportunity to impress on our scientific men and institutions the need of a careful scientific inquiry into the laws and usages of the village Indians. . . . Your influence might be decisive in organizing such an undertaking. You would find active sympathy from men like Prof. Marsh, Clarence King . . . [geologist Rafael] Pumpelly, and I doubt not the whole Smithsonian connection, as well as Major Powell and our various engineering or surveying parties. The work should be started at once, and its objects defined and explained so that inquirers and travellers may understand the aims proposed. If you will take the lead in it, I believe something might be accomplished. . . .

I noticed with pleasure a remark of yours . . . on the influence of domestic animals in developing the Aryan race. . . . The Aryans are the creators of civil law. The Aryan mind seems to have a natural bent towards it. . . .<sup>16</sup>

In other locations, Adams speaks of "A Polish Jew fresh from

16. Henry Adams to Lewis Henry Morgan, July 14, 1877, *The Letters of Henry Adams*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982, Vol. II, p. 312.

Warsaw or Cracow . . . a furtive Yacoob or Ysaac still reeking of the Ghetto, snarling a weird Yiddish."<sup>17</sup> "I have now seen enough of Jews and Moors to entertain more liberal views in regard to the Inquisition, and to feel that, though the ignorant may murmur, the Spaniards saw and pursued a noble aim."<sup>18</sup>

"Poor Boston has fairly run up against it in the form of its particular Irish maggot, rather lower than the Jew, but more or less the same in appetite for cheese."<sup>19</sup>

To keep "the ignorant" from "murmuring," Adams edited and published, concurrently with the Gallatin assignment, certain *Documents Relating to New England Federalism*; later he wrote detailed histories of the administrations of Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. In these volumes Adams presents the story of the elite Bostonians of the Essex Junto, their attempts to create a Northern secessionist movement before and during the War of 1812, and the patriotic actions of John Quincy Adams in countering this treason.

Henry Adams appears rhetorically to take the part of his grandfather. But by a clever device of dishonest narration, he rips the heart out of the story, a device supplied courtesy of England's Lord Salisbury.

Following the victory over the pro-development Westerners in 1879, Adams sailed for England. There he requested of the British Foreign Minister, Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, special permission to abrogate the British law banning inspection of historical documents later than 1802. When Salisbury made an exception for this safe individual, Adams responded with a letter to Salisbury's private secretary:

I . . . ask you to say to Lord Salisbury that I fully ap-

17. Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, p. 238.

18. Henry Adams to Sir Robert Cunliffe, Nov. 21, 1879, *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 381.

19. Quoted in Solomon, Barbara Miller, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, p. 37.



preciate the exceptional liberality of this favor. . . . Perhaps it has for me only one disadvantage; if I find [among the British archives] anything to rouse my patriotic indignation, I shall hardly feel equal to doing it justice. One can't properly abuse a country which is so good-natured about it<sup>20</sup>.

What Adams and the British archivist together found, was a carefully sanitized tale of espionage, involving a certain Canadian adventurer named John Henry. This individual came down to Boston on his own initiative to evaluate and manipulate the anti-government feelings of the Boston merchant crowd, then tried to blackmail the British government to keep him quiet about his activities.

Whether this story is true or false, the sensation and noise surrounding its telling diverts the attention of readers from what is properly the central question about the Essex Junto Bostonians: Were they, themselves, agents of the British empire? Since they had entered into very profitable criminal activities with the British, such as selling opium in China, were they not conscious, witting, traitors against their own country? What were the historical and continuing ties of the Boston "first families" to the British Foreign Office and other foreign oligarchical agencies? Adams carefully avoids all questions of family history that might lead to embarrassing answers.

Again, concerning the treason of Aaron Burr, historian Henry Adams appears to attack the villain—but the edge on the story is blunted by his invention of a "more guilty" party in the case. General James Wilkinson, who broke Burr's 1806-7 Western secession conspiracy by informing President Jefferson about it, was assaulted by Henry Adams as the lowest, vilest character, a paid spy of the Spanish, a double traitor who dragged down the "romantic" Burr to save himself.

20. Henry Adams to Philip Wodehouse Currie, July 11, 1879, *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 364.

Burr's family ties to the leading oligarchs and espionage-masters of Europe are not disclosed. Though this hyper-villification of General Wilkinson was begun in 1807 by Burr himself and his co-conspirator, British military intelligence officer James Workman, historians in the past century have unquestioningly taken Henry Adams' lead on the Burr case. As Adams lays down the line: "The conspiracy of Burr was a mere episode, which had little direct connection with foreign or domestic politics. . . ."

Henry Adams also set the tone for Eastern Establishment history on what is perhaps the central question of the American Civil War: Who created and led the Southern secession movement, and for what purposes? In his biography<sup>21</sup> of John Randolph of Roanoke, Adams attacks that pathetic Virginia congressional leader with unbridled fury.

Randolph's bitter oratorical contests with Northern congressmen, his role in turning John C. Calhoun from nationalism toward Southern separatism, and his personal eccentricities—even his reputed sexual impotence—became fundamental early causes of the Southern rebellion thanks to Henry Adams' pen. The fact that John Randolph was actually raised by a stepfather, St. George Tucker, whose nephew was Chairman of the British East India Company, and whose whole family connived at creating an anti-American movement in Virginia—Randolph was raised to despise America and worship the British aristocracy; and the fact that Randolph's flaming battles with his "arch-enemy," Boston's anti-South Congressman Josiah Quincy, were entirely for public consumption—the two Union-haters were privately so close that they exchanged and cared for each other's minor child-wards; these elementary facts of family business were not to be allowed to disturb the smooth fabric of what came to be

21. Adams, Henry, *John Randolph*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1883.

known as the great "sectional" North versus South tragedy of the Civil War.

The greatest crime was that Henry Adams betrayed his own family's republican heritage; he painstakingly covered up the uglier family-related truths of Anglo-American political history; but he was the prototypical blueblood, insisting that "family," or race, was so supremely important.

-18-

## How Environmentalism Killed the American Frontier

On February 21, 1907, a pathetic resolution from the legislature of the state of Washington was entered into the United States Congressional Record. The resolution protested the withdrawal of public lands into forest reserves, or what are now known as National Forests. The resolution was a last gasp of protest against the closing of the American West to settlement and development:

To His Excellency Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America; to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; and to the honorable Secretary of Agriculture [the newly created Forestry Service was a part of the Agriculture Department]:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled . . . most respectfully represent and pray as follows:

Whereas the people of the State of Washington, in common with the people of the other States of the Union, are free and liberty-loving; and

Whereas arbitrary power and despotism are abhorrent to them; and

Whereas the honorable Secretary of Agriculture of the United States of America has usurped the powers, duties and functions of the lawmaking power of the Government

of the United States of America in issuing an arbitrary edict, or *ukase*, promulgated as a criminal code for the government of Federal forest reserves; and . . .

Whereas said Secretary of Agriculture, in pursuance of his assumed and usurped autocratic power . . . now threatens to prosecute all citizens alleged to have violated his said criminal code; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has no constitutional power to delegate to any one man the making of criminal laws; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States passed an act entitled 'An act to provide for the entry of agricultural land within forest reserves,' approved June 11, 1906 [enacted to fool Westerners into believing they could still make farms within the withdrawn land] . . . ; and

Whereas . . . Under said act a prospective homesteader (who is generally a man of limited means) coming from the East to the West to make settlement upon lands within the forest reserve, is not permitted to select for himself . . . land . . . satisfactory for a permanent home, but is subjected to long delays, lasting months or years . . . whether or not he will ever be able to select the homestead . . . must be determined by some subordinate of the Agricultural department . . . and said prospective settler, rather than be subjected to endless . . . petty exactions . . . is compelled to migrate to Canada in search of a home of his own for himself and family; and

Whereas . . . tens of thousands of families have deserted their homes in the East and now find themselves in a new country among strangers, with limited means, and are confronted with the fact that hundreds of thousands of acres of public land suitable to be taken for homesteads have recently been withdrawn from settlement for forest reserves; and . . . now the serious question arises, 'What shall such citizens and their families do?'; and

Whereas it is a gross injustice to make wholesale with-

drawals of public lands from homestead settlement under the guise of "temporary withdrawals," with no regard as to whether or not such lands embrace timber or prairie lands or lands necessary for forest-reserve purposes . . . large portions of such lands so withdrawn are essentially agricultural lands; and

Whereas the making of forest reserves out of lands less than 4,500 feet in altitude above sea level retards and prevents the settlement of the West. . . .

Whereas in 1866 Congress passed an act . . . which grants a free right of way across the public lands for the construction of highways, and which enables citizens and local State authorities to speedily construct roads as the necessities of new and quickly growing communities require . . . said section does not apply to forest reserves; and

Whereas communities existing on opposite sides of a forest reserve are subject to intolerable delays in [building roads] . . . thereby retarding the development and prosperity of the country thus victimized; and . . .

Whereas if such lands were in private ownership, they would be subjected to State and local taxation, and thereby contribute to the support of government in new States and new communities where public revenues are generally inadequate to meet present needs; and . . .

Whereas the Congress of the United States, in pursuance of a wise and liberal policy, in 1875 passed an act granting to railroad companies generally rights of way across the public domain, with the right to take from adjacent land material, earth, stone and timber necessary for the construction of such railroads, etc., which act has aided materially in the upbuilding of the West; and

Whereas the [contrary] act of Congress of March 3, 1899 . . . does not grant the right to such railroad companies to take material, earth, stone or timber necessary for the construction of such railroads . . . and [negates the earlier act]; and

Whereas the needs of the people require the speedy building of electric railways; and

Whereas the great source of water power for the operation of such railways and the providing of electric lights and power for cities and towns and for the operation of mines is situated within the limits of forest reserves; and

Whereas the present Federal restriction tend materially to defeat the accomplishment of these benign purposes, on account of such forest reserves;. . .

Therefore we most earnestly and respectfully protest against the making of said temporary withdrawals permanent, and ask that they be immediately set aside and that the lands therein described be at once restored to the public domain.<sup>1</sup>

President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), to whom this plea was addressed, ignored it and condemned all critics of his Conservation policies as selfish robbers or ignorant fools. During his administration, the Western United States was largely closed against use by Americans for farms, factories, or cities. A great mass of territory was permanently frozen in restricted Federal holdings. Other massive land areas emerged from the Theodore Roosevelt years as the property of a few feudal-style landlords, railroad and timber operators who agreed with "TR's" program for ending the growth of the American West, reversing Abraham Lincoln's homesteading program, and closing the frontier.

### Who Was Theodore Roosevelt?

The fundamental economic and world-strategic outlook of the United States leadership underwent a catastrophic change between 1901 and 1909. To understand the change, and to realize the profound loss America has suffered because of it, one must know certain things about the background, the philosophy, and the character of the man who was the nation's President during

1. United States *Congressional Record*, February 21, 1907, pp. 3507-3508.

those years, and why he was very, very different from the Presidents who had preceded him.

During his first term in the White House, TR pleaded with the British government to make his friend and closest advisor, English career diplomat Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, their ambassador to this country. Sir Cecil (1859-1918) was TR's British "handler," and we shall first look at Roosevelt through his eyes.

In 1886 Teddy Roosevelt, still demoralized from the simultaneous deaths of his first wife and his mother two years before, lost badly in his election race for the New York City mayoralty. He took ship for Britain, the land of his closest family ties, to try to renew his life. On board he met Spring-Rice . . . who had been assigned to "spontaneously" make his acquaintance.<sup>2</sup> When they got to England, Spring-Rice introduced the young American reformer to the top ranks of the British nobility and government, including Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, scion of the Cecil family. Spring-Rice was then best man at Teddy's second marriage, in London.

2. Gwynne, Stephen, editor, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 46-48: "Theodore Roosevelt, having been defeated for the mayoralty of New York, sailed next morning for England in company with his sister, Mrs. Cowles. Spring-Rice had been told they would be on board, and that he should introduce himself, which he did. His note to his brother says:

I came over with Roosevelt, who has been standing for the mayoralty of New York against H. George and who is supposed to be the boss Republican young man. He is going to be married and then to be in England in February. . . . Here, for a curiosity, is the first letter written by Roosevelt to Spring-Rice: the beginning of a correspondence which if printed in full would fill volumes:

Brown's Hotel, Nov. 16 [1886]

My Dear Mr. Rice,

Thank you very heartily for your courtesy, which I assure you I appreciate. I will dine with you with pleasure at the Savile Club on Wednesday. Friday I go out to Buxton's. I shall see you this evening at 7:30.

Always truly yours,  
T. Roosevelt'

"The acquaintance must have ripened fast into friendship, for on December 2 of that year Cecil Spring-Rice acted as best man when Theodore Roosevelt married Edith Kermit Carow at St. George's, Hanover Square."

On Teddy Roosevelt's return to America, Cecil Spring-Rice was assigned to a post in the British embassy in Washington, where he could make good on their friendship. From the moment of their first meeting to the end of their lives, Spring-Rice provided Roosevelt with the emotional support TR always craved, with flattery and with sophisticated geopolitical advice.

At one point during Roosevelt's presidency, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice gave to his fellow British diplomat, Valentine Chirol, a letter of introduction to TR, in which Spring-Rice told the President: "I should like him to know the man who occupied the first position in the world and is the best suited for it." But Chirol afterward complained that he had not been able to fix Roosevelt's wandering attention in any continuous discussion. What the British "handler" thought of the American comes through clearly in Spring-Rice's reply:

*"If you took an impetuous small boy on to a beach strewn with a great many exciting pebbles, you would not expect him to remain interested for long in one pebble. You must always remember that the President is about six."*<sup>3</sup>

The England to which the unhappy young Teddy Roosevelt fled in 1886 was the permanent refuge of a very important member of Teddy's intimate family circle, whom he would visit in London. Georgia-born James Dunwoody Bulloch, brother of Teddy's mother, had been forced into exile at the end of the American Civil War as among the worst traitors to his country, ineligible for inclusion in Abraham Lincoln's broad amnesty for Southern partisans.

Bulloch had been the chief of the international secret service for the Confederate insurrection. Based in England and operating in Britain and France, James Bulloch organized the purchase, equipping and manning of a navy for the war against the United States. With mostly British sailors, Bulloch's "Southern" warships destroyed American vessels, killed American sailors and largely succeeded in sweeping U.S. commercial shipping from

the Atlantic Ocean during the war. He also personally supervised the running of munitions and other supplies of war past the U.S. naval blockade for use by Confederate troops. In postwar reparations talks and legal suits, it was the official position of the American government that the British and certain continental bankers, acting through Mr. Bulloch, had prolonged the Civil War to perhaps double the length it would otherwise have been without this intervention—drawing out the tragedy to make it the worst war in America's history, before or since.

Bulloch's role as a top "spook" against American republicanism had been a personal and family tradition from before the war. In 1854 Bulloch had been arrested by Spanish authorities in the harbor at Havana, while captaining the ship *Black Warrior* into a prearranged provocation. The Young America movement, in the financial and political orbit of the British Empire, had been making repeated attempts to "revolutionize" and grab Cuba for an extension of Southern plantation slavery. Demanding the release of Bulloch's ship, the pro-imperial faction in Washington, who would soon lead the Confederate secession from the U.S.A., had then tried unsuccessfully to interest the public in a war with Spain over Cuba.

For the next several years before the Civil War, James Bulloch had been a business and political confidante and house guest of his New York brother-in-law, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., the father of the future president.

Following the Civil War, Bulloch's exile in England placed him in congenial company. In the 1870s the feudal aristocracy—best represented by John Ruskin at Oxford—was breeding new theories of tropical empire bolder than the most bizarre racialist dreams of Anglo-"Confederate" leaders like Bulloch. The young Ruskinite Cecil Rhodes wrote, at Oxford in 1877:

If we had retained America there would at this moment be millions more of English living in . . . those parts [of the world] that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings. What an alteration there

3. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 437.

would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence. . . .

Why should we not form a secret society with but one object—the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilized world under British rule for the recovery of the United States for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire?<sup>4</sup>

Buoyed by the ascendancy of these Cecil-family-led Tories, James D. Bulloch followed the advice of his admiring, Harvard-graduate nephew, Theodore Roosevelt, and brought out his history of the Confederate secret service.<sup>5</sup> This two-volume work remains a classic, the standard (and possibly the only) published account of these operations.

For Teddy Roosevelt, his revered uncle, the Rebel in exile, was the practical authority on geopolitical matters of naval power—the use of a navy for the maintenance of imperial authority. Bulloch's anti-republican historical methodology was in line with Teddy's mentor and recent professor, Harvard Teutonist Henry Adams. As the embittered grandson of John Quincy Adams had taught a cynical, racist *Realpolitik*, so Bulloch, a "man without a country," moved the young Roosevelt further away from an identification with American republicanism, away from the American ideal of material progress and equal rights for all of humanity.

Teddy Roosevelt's core sense of nationality was classically expressed many years later, when he addressed Oxford University as a retired U.S. President: "No hard and fast rule can be drawn as applying to all alien races. . . . In the long run there can be no justification for one race managing or controlling an-

other unless the management and control are exercised in the interest and for the benefit of that other race. That is what our peoples have in the main done, and must continue . . . to do, in India, Egypt, and the Phillipines. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Under James Bulloch's prompting, Teddy Roosevelt wrote the first of his own dreadfully boring historical works—"The Naval War of 1812." Roosevelt's method is entirely Bulloch's: writing on certain technical details of historical contests which falsifies by evading or suppressing the political-economic issues being fought over.

Perhaps as a balance to his family's Confederate connection, Teddy Roosevelt married Alice Lee after graduating from Harvard. Young Roosevelt "glowed in the company of George Cabot Lee,"<sup>7</sup> Alice's father, a partner in the Boston Brahmin banking firm of Lee & Higginson. This extended family partnership had played a major role in financing and directing the anti-South terrorism of the radical abolitionists. The Lees and the Higginsons were proud descendants of the "Essex Junto" arch-Tories, who had originally tried to split the new American republic as early as 1796. The families' bitter hatred toward American egalitarian concepts bore tragic fruit in the early twentieth century, when the Lee & Higginson firm financed the anti-immigrant and "race purification" movements, the precursors of Nazism.

Another aspect of Roosevelt family life gives us a more precise understanding of the close identification of Theodore Roosevelt with the outlook of the British Empire. His mother's sister Anna Bulloch married New York banker James K. Gracie. The Gracie mansion, the height of fashion in anglophile New York circles, became famous when it was donated to the city to serve as the mayor's residence. Uncle James' father, Archibald Gracie II, was president of the Baring bank office in New York; Uncle

4. Cecil Rhodes' first will drafted at age 24 in 1877. It was copied by Rhodes' law clerk later that year, and is reproduced in Flint, John, *Cecil Rhodes*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1974, Appendix, pp. 248-252.

5. Bulloch, James D., *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or, How the Cruisers Were Equipped*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1884.

6. Roosevelt, Theodore, *The Romaines Lecture: Biological Analogies in History*, Oxford, England, 1910.

7. Schriftgeisser, Karl, *The Amazing Roosevelt Family, 1613-1942*, Wilfred Funk, New York, 1942, p. 215.

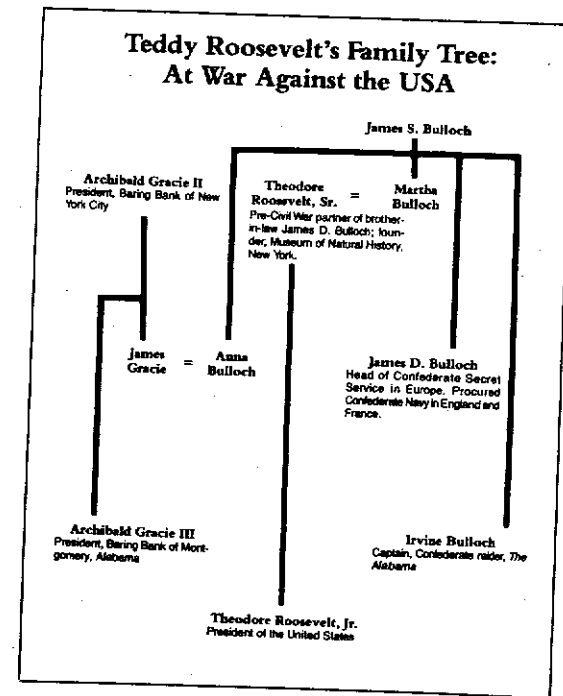
James' brother, Archibald Gracie III, was the Baring representative in Alabama, and a noted Confederate officer.

The Baring bank financed, and oversaw with espionage, the entirety of the British and Anglo-American trade with east Asia, the most profitable component of which was the illegal opium traffic to China. It was Sir Evelyn Baring (later called Lord Cromer), who went out to Egypt as dictator behind British troops in 1883, and personally introduced the new Ruskinite era of British Imperialism to the world. Under Baring's quarter-century of direct supervision, the anti-Western "Mother Earth" cults of Islamic fundamentalism and of ancient Egypt (Isis, for example) were harnessed to Imperial uses for the Middle East and beyond. For the first two years of Roosevelt's presidency, TR's British "handler," Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, advised TR from Egypt, where he worked under Baring/Cromer's direction.

The Uncle James Gracie connection certified the Roosevelts as top British Empire characters, as did Henry Adams' marriage to a cousin of the Baring chairman. But, unlike the Adams family, for the Roosevelts this was no radical departure. Though there had been some patriots both in the New York line and in the Bulloch family in Georgia, a considerable segment of the Roosevelts and their family connections had been Tories in the American Revolution, including the Barclays and the Van Shaacks.

A Roosevelt girl had married Frederick Phillipse, the reigning lord of the vast feudal estate north of New York which was later a regional headquarters for Tory intrigue during the Revolution. Cornelius Van Shaack Roosevelt, Theodore's grandfather, co-founded Chemical Bank in 1824 with his fellow real estate lords the Goelets, whose fortune derived (quite literally) from piracy and slave-trading based in the Phillipse estate.

A Roosevelt family concern built the clipper ships with which A.A. Low and Co. carried on opium smuggling into the 1850s; the proceeds from the smuggling financed the construction of the present campus of New York's Columbia University. And a Roosevelt family in-law in China, Mr. Warren Delano (grand-



father of F.D. Roosevelt), was the senior partner of the Baring-backed New England opium syndicate, Russell and Company.

These family connections are not hidden; their publication is not a new revelation. They are instead quietly celebrated, in the community of blueblood history-writing, as straightforward indications of "good breeding." A life consciously based on this kind of Imperial tradition, as was Teddy Roosevelt's, could only be called Progressive by historians who had neither understood nor sympathized with the American Revolution.

### The Strenuous Life!

Theodore Roosevelt, who introduced the fraud of "Conservation of Natural Resources" as a national goal, was the first self-

consciously aristocratic American President. It took, as we will see, much more than ordinary electoral politics to bring such a person into the executive chair of a democratic society.

Other Presidents, before and since, have been Harvard graduates. But none of the others has been recorded as choosing to be pulled around the Harvard campus in his own private dog-cart, as more in keeping with his dignity than walking.

Teddy Roosevelt was a delicate child, who seems to have been in the habit of using his regular asthmatic attacks as a means of forcing his parents to drop everything and devote themselves exclusively to his care.<sup>8</sup>

But did little "Teedy," as he was called, outgrow this infantilism? Could he live down such a pathetic reputation? Of course: he became a fearsome killer! Picture the young pre-adolescent, on an Egyptian holiday with his family. His father, the amateur naturalist (co-founder with J.P. Morgan of the American Museum of Natural History), gives Teedy a shotgun. The boy goes out, squinting in the sun—he was very nearsighted—and begins blasting away. He kills, and kills, and continues killing all living creatures in the area until he is utterly exhausted. He brings back to his family about 200 dead animals: many small birds, mice and squirrels, large insects, mostly blasted to pieces. But those which are repairable he works at with the tools of his curious hobby—and another dozen stuffed shot animals join his collection.

His naturalism was later developed under the discipline of his Harvard professor, Henry Adams. TR was elected to membership in Adams' Cosmos Club, which since 1879 had been the political headquarters for anti-development scientists in Washington. Along with the First Secretary of the British Embassy, Cecil Spring-Rice, and another product of Adams' anti-republican history teaching, Henry Cabot Lodge, Teddy Roosevelt was

included in a very intimate set of Anglophiles based in Henry Adams' Washington house.

In the late 1880s Roosevelt and a few friends started the Boone and Crockett Club. The men for whom the club was named, frontiersman Daniel Boone and Texas patriot Davey Crockett, may well have groaned from their graves. To be eligible for membership, a gentleman had to have killed in chase at least three different species of American big-game animals. The excitement of the club was in killing animals; the social goal of the club was to prevent the frontier from being developed with agriculture and industry. The world was to be a park, in which their lordships could kill, rest, and kill again. One of Teddy Roosevelt's protégés in the Boone and Crockett Club was Madison Grant, the developer of the Bronx Zoo, who dedicated his life to "saving" animals, sterilizing inferior humans, stopping immigration and extinguishing the non-Aryan races of men.

After his mother and first wife died, Teddy Roosevelt temporarily retired from his New York millionaire existence, and took up the life of a Western rancher. He bought a very expensive deerskin suit from Brooks Brothers, and with his silver buckles made a dashing sight for the national political photographers. His diary in the 1884 records his summer days spent in relentless killing, with a Colt revolver, a 10-gauge shotgun and three high-powered rifles.

Knocked the heads off two sage grouse. 12 sage hens and prairie chickens, 1 yearling whitetail . . . through the heart. Broke the backs . . . of two blacktail bucks with a single bullet. . . . 1 female grizzly, 1 bear cub . . . the ball going clean through him from end to end.<sup>9</sup>

### Killing His Way to The Presidency

In the mid-1890s, Teddy Roosevelt was a moderately unsuccessful politician. He had served for awhile as a New York State

8. McCullough, David, *Mornings on Horseback*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1981, pp. 90-108.

9. Quoted in Brooks, Paul, *Speaking for Nature: How Literary Naturalists from Henry Thoreau to Rachel Carson Have Shaped America*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1980, p. 111.



legislator and Republican leader, but his aristocratic airs had made him very unpopular. He had a certain reputation among the "British" party as an aspiring reformer, following his term as New York Police Commissioner and as a United States Civil Service Commissioner; but he had really accomplished almost nothing at all.

Through the intervention of his close friend Henry Cabot Lodge, now a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, President William McKinley was prevailed upon to appoint Teddy Roosevelt an Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This was a stage for action, albeit only the corner of the stage.

In 1897, as in James Bulloch's heyday before the Civil War, the project for the "liberation" of Spain's colony of Cuba was again hot. Senator Lodge, Teddy Roosevelt and their close friends ran the propaganda campaign. The "Cuban Revolutionary Junta," playthings of the Britain-Boston-New York merchant banking circuit as before, made it a habit of meeting at the home of Mr. Henry Adams in Washington. They were determined that the United States must be pulled into war with the Kingdom of Spain.

The issue, as President McKinley recognized, was not Spain or Cuba, but whether the United States would remain the leader and example for the world's republicans. McKinley said "no" to this war. He carried on in the tradition of President Abraham Lincoln, and of the great U.S. Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, maintaining high tariffs modified only by reciprocity treaties with various Ibero-American republics. In these proto-alliances, two nations could fix lower tariff rates between them, and guarantee markets for their manufacturing—without trade war, and without "free trade." McKinley was anxious that this lucrative development of mutually beneficial trade, this strengthening of the Monroe Doctrine's protection of the Western Hemisphere, not be damaged by the United States plunging into the role of imperialist.

At the same time, America's example of industrial development had been copied in Germany and Japan, whose industrial

and commercial power were growing immense. In Russia, Count Sergei Witte's faction intended to take the Czar and the nation as far as possible toward Americanization. Even Canada and Australia tended to look toward the United States for protection and development.

Britain's Imperial thinkers looked on these developments with great pain. Cecil Spring-Rice had written back to London on the trouble the Yankees were causing with these American System policies, when they were being carried out in 1891 under Blaine's leadership in the State Department: ". . . We must count on the present tariff for a year and a half at least . . . probably for much longer. We must reconcile ourselves to it and look for new markets. A serious aspect of it is the reciprocity clause, which drives us out of the W. Indies and S. America."

In his correspondence from his post at the British mission in Russia, one may observe Spring-Rice seething with hatred and resentment against Count Witte, who loved neither Russian absolutism nor British-inspired anarchism.

The American example was a terribly awkward thing. It could not be destroyed by war—that had been tried, and had failed, in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. America must be made to shed its republican colors, to renounce its passion for progress, to appear before the world as an armed branch of the East India Company.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt was ready for action. But was the time right? How would Britain react, and (what was even more doubtful), how would Germany react to an American move against Spanish Caribbean possessions?

These questions were answered in a letter from Cecil Spring-Rice to Teddy Roosevelt, written from the British mission in Berlin on November 3, 1897. In this letter, Spring-Rice hammered away at the theme he would pursue with Roosevelt for many years: that Germany is America's enemy, Germany is a tyranny of self-interested aristocrats; Germany benefits from chaos. At the same time America can end chaos in Cuba by

going to war with Spain and seizing Cuba; though loving chaos, the cowardly Germans dare not and will not intervene if you proceed to make war in the Caribbean; by implication, England will of course not object. You ("six-year-old"! ) are a mighty soldier, a knight of the old school, a real Anglo-Saxon hero:

I have been very much interested in watching the view taken here about Cuba. . . . To begin with there is the feud that every official German has with America . . . for teaching Germans English and making them Republican. Then there is the economical feud caused by [American tariff] measures. . . . All these feelings . . . make German comment on American affairs rather bitter. Then there is the sympathy with monarchical Spain. . . . If order is restored in Cuba and the normal amount of sugar produced, the sugar growers of Germany will naturally suffer. Chaos is in their interest. The sugar growers . . . belong to the old Prussian nobility which has for years been the mainstay of the throne. So the pull they have is considerable.

But with all these strong factors on the side of Spain, I should think it quite out of the question that Germany would move in favour of Spain. . . . The prevailing motive underlying German policy is peace and commercial progress. Anything which would endanger their enormous interests on your side [of the ocean], trade, shipping, investments—would be avoided with the most scrupulous care. They dare not go to war. . . . The press is admirably disciplined. . . . There can be no sort of doubt as to what the [German] Empire would like to see done in Cuba; but I don't think there is the slightest chance of Germany running the risk of being found out doing it. . . .

[Germany is] the country of the soldier and the Jew, but between the soldier and the Jew everyone else is crushed. Which side would you take? I would like to see you here for a time and hear your opinions. I believe you would go

on the side of the Soldier and drink the Kaiser's health with tears in your eyes.

Three months later, on February 15, 1898, another American ship ran into trouble in Havana harbor: The battleship *Maine* exploded and sank, and 260 American sailors died. No one has ever demonstrated who was responsible for the explosion. Old James D. Bulloch in London, recalling his 1854 arrest in Havana as a Young America revolutionist, must have read about the affair with great interest.

Bulloch's adoring nephew Theodore Roosevelt was anxious to take advantage of this inexplicable tragedy and to finally bring to a successful conclusion what his uncle's generation had failed to accomplish.

Despite immense pressure from the war party—who were identical ideologically with the "peace party" of the Civil War era—President McKinley still held out for a peaceful settlement with Spain. But on February 25, 1898, McKinley's Navy Secretary John D. Long was unfortunately absent from Washington; he had, as it were, turned his back. His Assistant Secretary, Theodore Roosevelt, *technically in charge of the United States Navy for the day*, ordered the American battle fleet under Commodore Dewey to steam into the Western Pacific to challenge the Spanish at the Philippine Islands. This overtly warlike action made war with Spain a certainty, and expanded it beyond the Caribbean when war came.

After President McKinley reluctantly asked Congress for a declaration of war in April 1898, Teddy Roosevelt resigned his post on the Naval Board and took a commission as Lieutenant Colonel. He and Colonel Leonard Wood raised a cavalry regiment of volunteer cowhands and Long Island polo players. In the battle of San Juan Hill, Roosevelt's Rough Riders suffered heavy casualties as they were forced to retreat. The fact that Negro regiments in battle there were significantly more successful has not been trumpeted about in the history profession since then.

In any event, Teddy Roosevelt's manliness against the Span-

ish was glorified—in perhaps the same fashion as in the case of Aaron Burr's supposed heroism in the American Revolutionary combat in Quebec. And this glory was parlayed into a successful run for the governorship of New York State.

But America had plunged a knife into herself; Roosevelt would push it in deeper.

Henry Adams' dearest friend, John Hay, by this time U.S. Ambassador to England, had received from British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury his direct approval for the Spanish-American war. Cecil Spring-Rice said it best, in a letter to Hay during the short conflict: "Therefore, as I say again, let us try while we can to secure what we can for God's language" [i.e. English].

Theodore Roosevelt, hero-killer of the hapless Spanish, had a very good press, and was perceived as temporarily popular with the electorate. He was nominated and elected governor of New York in 1898, after the conclusion of a deal with the state's Republican Party.

In 1900, after TR's mildly unpopular two years as New York governor, Massachusetts Senator Lodge proposed that he be nominated for the U.S. vice-presidency on the ticket with President McKinley, to replace Garret Hobart, McKinley's first-term Vice-President, now dead.

McKinley opposed Roosevelt's being made his running mate. National Republican Party chairman Mark Hanna despised Roosevelt. The party bosses in New York State, who had to deal with Governor Roosevelt, found him intolerable. Then how did he get there? We are informed by Roosevelt-friendly historians—liberals—that New York State Republican Party boss Thomas C. Platt pushed for TR's vice-presidential nomination in order to get him out of New York politics. According to this tale, the British-controlled trust empire of J.P. Morgan, which was then taking control of American business from the top down, was not involved in Roosevelt's ascent to power; they are even said to have opposed it.

Under nationally orchestrated pressure against the regular Republican Party apparatus, McKinley and Hanna finally caved

in at the Republican convention. Roosevelt, in his cowboy hat, was nominated. The McKinley-Roosevelt ticket was elected, and took office in March 1901. Six months later President William McKinley was shot and killed by an anarchist, and Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States.

It was under President Theodore Roosevelt, the "progressive" presidential benefactor of Conservation, that J.P. Morgan and his trusts achieved control over approximately one-quarter of all American businesses and, together with allied bankers, a veto power over the further development of the American economy.

The United States Steel Company, whose formation was announced on the day Teddy Roosevelt was inaugurated as Vice-President, was consolidated under TR's presidency to incorporate over 100 former steel companies. J.P. Morgan and his partner George W. Perkins formed the International Harvester trust by taking over all major American farm machinery companies. Railroads owned or controlled by J.P. Morgan, or by his selected friends, accounted for all important national rail lines. Other control had been previously achieved. Morgan's General Electric Company, which had formerly been Thomas Edison's business, made a cross-licensing agreement with Westinghouse in the late 1890s, freezing the nation's new electrical industry under their joint control and making Morgan the dominant power.

To make Roosevelt (and thus the Conservation he introduced) look clean, he has had to be somehow divorced from his status as a collaborator of the biggest, dirtiest multinational trust in history; thus, his oratory against the rich, and his undeserved reputation as a "trust-buster." We do have, however, a concise *piece* of evidence showing Theodore Roosevelt's actual relationship to the criminal trust activities of this foreign bank, J.P. Morgan and Company.

President Theodore Roosevelt's Commissioner of Corporations, Herbert Knox Smith, who was supposed to have been investigating International Harvester for the President, wrote the following letter for a Senate investigating committee:

On August 27, 1907, by direction of the President, I met George W. Perkins, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the International Harvester Company, and discussed the matter with him. On August 28 I saw the President and briefly stated my views, and upon his instructions I then, on the next day, saw the Attorney General. . . . The President had instructed the Attorney General to take no further action in this matter until a final conference could be held. . . .

I believe that industrial combination is an economic necessity; that the Sherman [anti-trust] law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is an absurdity and is impossible of general enforcement and, even if partially enforced, will, in most cases, work only evil. I believe the principle it represents must ultimately be abandoned; that combination must be allowed and then be regulated.

[Mr. Perkins told me] that the interests he represented, notably including the International Harvester Company but also the far-reaching Morgan interests generally, had originally favored the creation of the Bureau of Corporations and the policy of the President whom that Bureau represents . . . that if after all the endeavors of this company and the other Morgan interests to uphold the policy of the Administration and to adopt their method of modern publicity, this company was now to be attacked in a purely technical case[!], the interests he represented were going to fight. . . . I have no knowledge of any moral ground for attack on the company. . . . The attitude of the Morgan interests generally has been one of creative cooperation.

It is a very practical question whether it is well to throw away now the great influence of the Morgan interests, which up to this time have supported the advanced policies of the Administration, both in the general principles and in the application thereof to their specific interests, and place them generally in opposition.

The Stanley Committee of the U.S. Senate tried in 1908 to acquire the records of Smith's Bureau, but the President ordered the papers locked up in a vault under the White House and defied the committee to impeach him.

Herbert Knox Smith was truthfully echoing Morgan's own policy when he declared that trusts should take over the economy and then be regulated by the government. J.P. Morgan's two crucial underlying assumptions must not, however, be forgotten:

First, the trusts must be directed by Morgan and the British interest, not by Americans or people who think like Americans; and

Second, the government which then regulates the trusts and all other business must itself be committed to stopping that terrible American engine for the unlimited expansion of technology and production capabilities, before the British oligarchical system of financial and social control is broken throughout the world.

### **The Royal Forester, Or An Introduction to British Germany**

Launching the Conservation movement was the most significant achievement of the TR Administration, as he himself believed. . . .

Having just been born, the new arrival was still without a name. There had to be a name to call it by before we could even attempt to make it known, much less give it a permanent place in the public mind. What should we call it?

Both Overton [Price] and I knew that large organized areas of Government forest lands in British India were named Conservancies, and the foresters in charge of them Conservators. After many other suggestions and long discussions, either Price or I (I'm not sure which . . .) pro-

posed that we apply a new meaning to a word already in the dictionary, and christen the new policy Conservation.

During one of our rides I put that name up to TR, and he approved it instantly. . . .

Today, when it would be hard to find an intelligent man in the United States who hasn't at least some conception of what Conservation means, it seems incredible that the very word, in the sense in which we use it now, was unknown less than forty years ago.<sup>10</sup>

The foregoing words were written by the architect of the Conservation swindle, the first chief of the United States Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot. It is unlikely that more than a handful of American citizens are aware that "Conservation" was, as Pinchot proudly admits, cooked up early in the present century. The identities, the interests and the social philosophies of the creators of this movement are unknown to the general public today. It is thus an unfortunate fact that citizens of good will are unable to form a competent judgment of the validity of the claims of the "environmentalists," when these are given without a single challenge by the news media. The possibility that deliberate deception is involved, that very bad motivations are masquerading under "Save Mother Nature" banners—motivations that would frighten and enrage the normal citizen, this possibility is not considered if the sense of an artificially constructed "movement" is not known to the public.

If one observes that today's World Wildlife Fund, headed by Britain's Prince Philip, is sponsored by the oil multinationals, one might mistakenly conclude that these kinds of interests joined a worthy cause in order to look good.

It has always been their movement.

Gifford Pinchot was a tall, handsome son of a millionaire New York real estate speculator. He attended Yale University in the

10. Pinchot, Gifford, *Breaking New Ground*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1947, p. 326.

1880s. His family later created a forestry school at Yale in which Pinchot taught. While he was a Yale undergraduate, Pinchot and his father decided that the young man would become a "forester"—what that was to mean would be worked out under the appropriate tutelage, since there were at that time no "foresters" in the United States.

How Pinchot achieved his goal and became a "forester" is a fascinating mystery. The United States Library of Congress states that the files of correspondence and memorabilia they maintain on Gifford Pinchot are its largest on any single individual—some one million items. There are numerous Pinchot diaries and thousands of letters and memoranda, often on the most trivial topics imaginable.

But on the most crucial week of his life, there is an unfortunate gap. Having graduated from Yale, Pinchot sailed for England. According to a typed summary of his diary for October 18-24, 1889, Pinchot went to the India House and conferred with the top officials of the British Indian Empire. The actual diary for this week is missing from the Library of Congress, though a diary in the Library's possession goes for many months up to the week before the London visit.

This missing document might provide a marvelous detailed picture of precisely how a young American is mustered into the political army of his country's enemies.

According to the summary in Pinchot's Library of Congress file, the India House officials gave him introductory letters to the director and the former director of the British forestry service in India, and he was assigned to study forestry with the former director. He then visited the Fabian Socialist settlement house known as Toynbee Hall and the "People's Palace."

He spent three days at Cambridge, the home base for much of the experimental religious and social philosophy of the British aristocracy—including the Society for Psychic Research, which he would join back in the United States. The summary mentions a "Long discussion of Cambridge in diary."

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10. Pinchot, Gifford, *Breaking New Ground*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1947, p. 326.

"advised me to strike for reservation of National Forests for he does not believe that Arbor Days, etc., are of any practical use. As I learn more of forestry, I see more and more the need of it in the United States. . . ." [emphasis added].

From London, Gifford Pinchot was sent to the Continent and studied the theory and practice of forestry under Sir Dietrich Brandis, in Germany, Switzerland, and France. Brandis was a Prussian, hired by the British East India Company in the last days of its rule (1856) to supervise the forests of Burma, and India. Queen Victoria, upon taking personal possession of India, made Brandis the chief of the British forest service. Following his retirement he spent many years back in Europe teaching the cadres who would go out to India in the British colonial service. Curiously, after Brandis the British continued to use German nationals to run the forests of India. One of them, Berthold Ribbentrop, was the original for a fictional Chief Forester "Muller" in Rudyard Kipling's *Mowgli* story "In the Rukh."

When Gifford Pinchot was finished with his European training, he returned to the United States to manage a forest estate belonging to the Vanderbilt family in North Carolina. Here he was joined and advised by a strange visitor, the gruff Anglo-German Mr. Berthold Ribbentrop, who finally retired to England. Meanwhile, Pinchot kept in close touch with his mentor Sir Dietrich, and remained under his instruction as he entered the United States government and advanced his "forestry" project. Brandis eventually submitted a 20-page memorandum to Pinchot which provided the outlines for the United States Forest Service.

As Pinchot admitted in his autobiography, "Long before my training in Europe was over, it had become my chief ambition, timid at first but determined later on, to tread in the footsteps of Dr. Brandis. Thus I might hope to do for the public forests of the United States some part of what he had done for the forests of Burma and India."<sup>11</sup>

11. *ibid.*, p. 293.

Pinchot actively promoted the objectives he had learned in the British service, even before the Theodore Roosevelt presidency. By legislative trickery during the final months of Grover Cleveland's first presidential term (1885-1889), John Wesley Powell and the Henry Adams group had attempted to withdraw over one million square miles of public land from settlement by American citizens. This had been reversed by a still-alert Congress. Gifford Pinchot and his allies in the new generation later achieved a small permanent victory in President Cleveland's second term (1893-1897): Cleveland withdrew 21 million Western acres into forest reserves, most of it from the new states of Wyoming, Montana, Idaho and Washington. But it was not until TR's administration (1901-1909) that the full British program would be brought before the public and implemented. As a pro-environmentalist has put it, "An assassin's bullet had presented the chief of an obscure governmental bureau with an opportunity, almost unique in the country's history, to put into practice his cherished vision. Pinchot enjoyed a special relationship with the President. . . . In access to the President's ear and the influence that this position implies, Pinchot (Chief Forester in the Department of Agriculture) stood well above most Cabinet members."<sup>12</sup> In 1905, the Bureau of Forestry was converted into the United States Forest Service under Gifford Pinchot, and control over the forest reserves, or National Forests, as they were now to be called, was given over to the new Service. By the end of Theodore Roosevelt's administration the acreage of the National Forests had risen from 42 million to 172 million acres, near the present total growth area in the National Forest system of 230 million acres (as of 1983).

### The Origin of America's Inflation

We shall deal later on with the political movement led in the U.S.A. by Gifford Pinchot and his friend, anthropologist William

12. Graham, Frank, *Man's Dominion, The Story of Conservation in America*, M. Evans and Co., New York, 1971, pp. 105-106.

J. McGee, beginning with the New Imperial movement of which it was a part; in the end, we will encounter Forester Ribbentrop's more famous cousin.

But it is necessary here to present the simple economic logic of the Roosevelt-Pinchot Conservation program. It is said that the land withdrawn into National Forests, and the other massive areas now held by the government under the Bureau of Land Management, are necessary for preservation of mountain streams, for prevention of erosion, and for protection of harvestable forests from overcutting and fires, etc. This has some relevance for those areas in which tree-clad mountains exist, though much of the National Forests is neither mountains nor forests of any kind. But it raises the question: How much land is needed for this purpose; how much forest do we want, and where do we want forests?

The actual, historic Conservation program of Roosevelt and Pinchot was part of a much different economic process, having less to do with preserving resources than with disrupting human progress.

The victory of the Union in the Civil War opened the way for a government-directed development of the American West, which operated for the rest of the nineteenth century as the motor for mankind's most ambitious industrialization program to date. Homesteading on Federal land, state colleges built with Federal land grants, federally sponsored transcontinental railroads, and the highest tariffs in history combined to encourage an outpouring of new inventions which revolutionized industry.

Millions of immigrants and natives moved westward onto farms and into the agro-industrial complexes of the new Midwestern cities. The refrigerator car, invented in the 1870s, carried fresh meat and produce eastward to American workers, and for export to Europe; new harvesting machinery was in general use on hundreds of thousands of farms only months after its invention. The successful railroad project and the government-protected steel industry called forth a massive flow of the new bituminous coal, which then became the fuel for electrifying the cities and

factories with Thomas Edison's new power plants. *Cheap transport for food and raw materials, constantly more powerful machinery, and new resources coming into use, pushed down the cost of production, and prices fell almost continuously for a third of a century under American System economics.*

The wholesale price index shown in the graph on page 500 tells a dramatic story.

"Morganizing" the economy means a ballooning ratio of capital invested in business to capital actually invested in productive facilities. Watered stock, or money invested in takeovers of existing plant, creates as much credit and demands as great a return as the stock of productive enterprise. *This is monetary inflation.*

"Morganizing" the economy means that international bankers who are unsympathetic to the free play of inventive genius—which may undercut expensive plants and make them obsolete—control and can stifle or prevent the work of Edisons, Fultons or Morses. *The deflation of costs of production is halted.*

"Morganizing" the nation means closing the frontier, closing down the object of that creative investment which had been centered on great needs for capital formation and the growth of new families. It means that stagnant technology must stick with whatever is its present base of raw materials and power sources, and therefore must gradually exhaust them and *make them more expensive.*

The loss of the creative element, which was our ability to revolutionize technology and to constantly invent whole new modes of productive work, ensures that "Morganizing," and its servant Conservation, *cause inflation* and make it a permanent aspect of national life—until the American System takes back the economy.

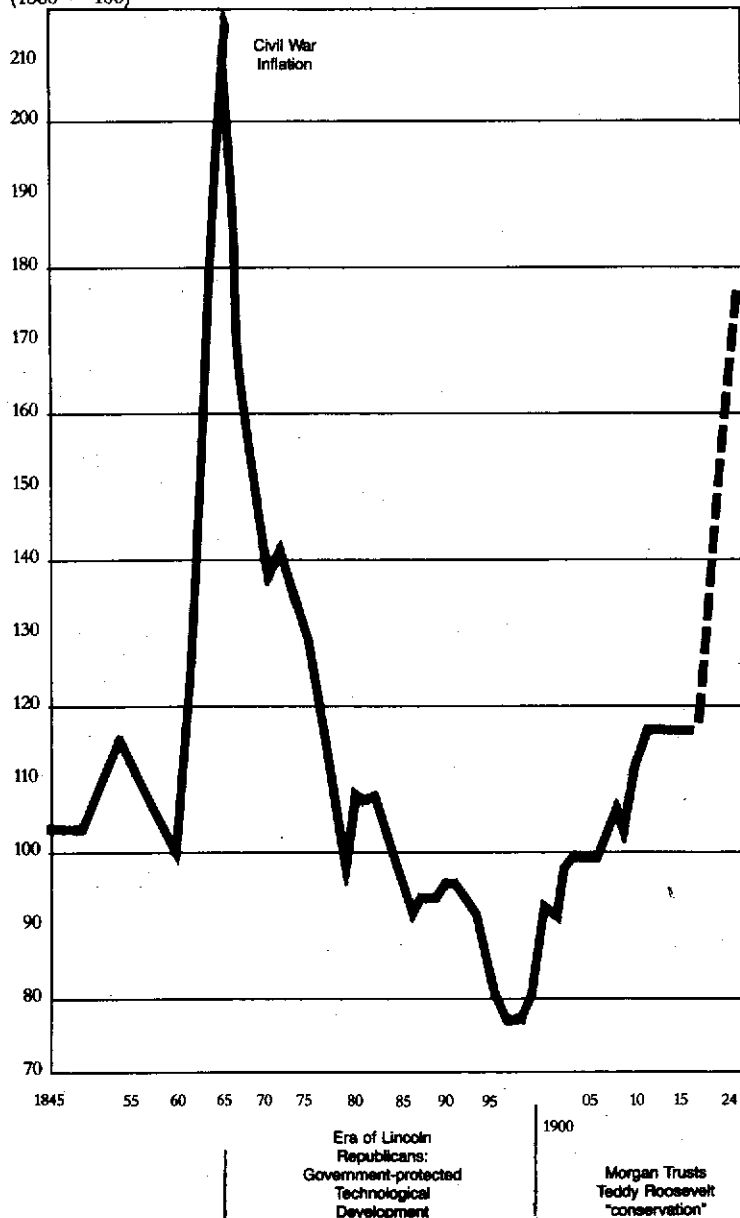
### Imperial Conservation

The British forestry chief who told the young Gifford Pinchot that he should "strike for national forests" was simply reiterating the age-old concern of the British merchant oligarchy that Amer-



## Wholesale Price Index for All Commodities

(1860 = 100)



icans not violate the Purity of the Wilderness, or disturb the Tranquility of the Indians native to those areas. The diary of Albert Gallatin's son James for August 8, 1814, describes the British sentiment at the opening of the peace negotiations during the War of 1812:

The British Commissioners, as a base of discussion re the treaty—demanded that the Indian tribes should have the whole of the North-Western Territory.

This comprises the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, four-fifths of Indiana and the third of Ohio. That an Indian sovereignty should be constituted under the guarantee of Great Britain: This is to protect Canada. Father mildly suggested that there were more than a hundred thousand American citizens settled in these States and territories. The answer was: 'They must look after themselves.'<sup>13</sup>

Though the "Indian sovereignty" demand was never realized, there was later created a huge undeveloped area further West, interfacing with Canada and buffering Canada from the spread of American politics and economics.

Gifford Pinchot's British Empire Conservation movement was born in the British East India Company and the analogous British merchant adventures in Canada itself, and in South Africa. When the philosophical and operational roots of the movement are thus located, it will come as no shock to learn that Pinchot and the other pioneers of Conservation went on to sponsor the project for race purification ("eugenics") and the Adolf Hitler movement.

In November 1897, Cecil Spring-Rice advised U.S. Assistant Navy Secretary Theodore Roosevelt that it would be safe to stage a war with Cuba—and thus draw the United States into a junior partnership status with the British Empire. At that moment, the British Empire was preparing for a bloody expan-

13. *Diary of James Gallatin*, pp. 27-28.

sion in South Africa, and was looking for some near-term backing from the Americans against Britain's new Imperial rival, Germany.

Cecil Rhodes, whose covetous will was quoted above, had financed and directed an abortive uprising against the Dutch-led South African Republic in 1895. In 1899 the British would be fighting a full-scale war against the Boers, the Dutch settlers, for control of the gold and diamond mines at the strategic tip of the African continent; they were also nervously looking over their shoulder to see if Germany would support the Dutch.

Cecil Rhodes personified the new era in British Empire political economy. From 1888, Rhodes was the chairman of the Rothschild-backed DeBeers Consolidated Mines, which had incorporated the Kimberly diamond mine; this was perhaps the largest corporation in the world. The British government of Lord Salisbury then granted Rhodes a charter in 1889 for the British South Africa Company, modeled on the old East India Company. Some of the territory under the new company's control, extending up to the Zambesi River, soon became known as Rhodesia.

The charters of the British South Africa Company and the DeBeers Company conferred virtually limitless powers on Rhodes and his imperial cohorts, powers to annex territories within or outside Africa, to raise armies, and to get and spend any monies necessary for the maintenance of government over their fiefdoms. The concept was identical with the East India Company's experience in India earlier in the nineteenth century: the ownership of countries or continents by a few private individuals.

When the British won the Boer War and conquered all of South Africa in 1902, the British High Commissioner, Alfred Milner, faced the continuing problem of a non-British voting majority among the settlers. His solution was to make life there attractive to potential British immigrants of the "better sort," by importing Chinese indentured servants—slaves—to do the unpleasant work in the mines. Eventually the cheap labor of

native black Africans became the mainstay of South Africa's wealth production.

It is crucial for Americans to understand that the project for raw materials extraction as the sole or main source of wealth of a vast territory is colonialism, whether the products come from mines or plantations. "Conservation" as a concept is derived from this colonial system, because it is not intended that a skilled labor force advance into ever-new modes of production, using ever-new resource bases. Education, science, and culture are dangerous to the looters, so they are unable to produce solutions to the resource crisis which must strike a stagnant technology. The colonial or fixed-mode economy must destroy itself; Conservation will delay the inevitable end.

Cecil Rhodes died in 1902, and his will, now wielding a gigantic fortune, governed a trust to be executed by his disciples. The two most significant Rhodes trustees were Viscount Alfred Milner and Albert, Earl Grey, both ardent proponents of the new Anglo-Saxon racist world empire—known in our time as One Worldism—called for in all the various updated wills of Cecil Rhodes.

(A full account of the internal political world of this unbelievably evil British group is given in the book "The New Dark Ages Conspiracy," by Carol White.<sup>14</sup> Here we can give only a partial view of the relationship between their New Imperialism and American politics.)

Viscount Milner was born in Germany of a British father and an Anglo-German mother; his English race-patriotism was always of the slightly hysterical, showy variety. Secretary of State for the Colonies Joseph Chamberlain, father of the future prime minister Neville Chamberlain, sent Milner out to South Africa as High Commissioner. Milner had earlier been a high official of the occupying government of Sir Evelyn Baring/Lord Cromer

14. White, Carol, *The New Dark Ages Conspiracy: Britain's Plot to Destroy Civilization*. New Benjamin Franklin House Publishing Company, New York, 1980.

in Egypt. He gathered around himself in South Africa a group of eager young Oxford-trained officials, who were proud to be referred to as "Milner's Kindergarten."

Earl Grey had been Milner's political ally since the 1880s, and his successor as British High Commissioner in South Africa. In 1904 Grey was appointed Governor General of Canada.

In many important ways the colonial areas themselves—India, South Africa, Canada—rather than England itself, have been for two centuries the home bases and staging areas for Britain's ugly racist faction, its imperial merchant grouping. Take, for example, the matter of the Rhodes Scholarships.

One provision of the Rhodes Trust, to be implemented by Viscount Milner and Earl Grey, was the annual sponsorship of college students from the various British colonies, including two from each state of the temporarily-fallen-away colony U.S. of A., to travel to Britain for training at Oxford after the model of Cecil Rhodes himself. It was essential that the political reintegration of America into the British Empire be managed from the traditional seat of subversive operations against the United States—Canada. The year Earl Grey arrived there as Governor General, 1904, a Canadian named George Parkin was appointed to begin supervising the worldwide selection of candidates for the Rhodes Scholarships. Parkin traveled to every major U.S. city getting this recruitment process under way.

The Canadian political environment at that time is well characterized by the following passage from a favorable political biography of Lord Milner<sup>15</sup>:

At this time Grey was one of those racial Imperialists who believed that Canada was in a position to become the dominating power in North America. He felt that the national authority of the United States was certain to decay because of the influx into that country of millions from

15. Gollin, Alfred M., *Proconsul in Politics, A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power*, Anthony Blond, Ltd., [London], 1964, pp. 143-144.

southern and central Europe. He imagined that the "best people" in the United States were emigrating to Canada and leaving their country in the hands of a degenerate and corrupt population which would soon reveal itself as inadequate in international affairs. Grey urged Milner to come to Canada in order to explain to Canadians the mighty significance of the New Imperialism.

Alfred Milner made his first organizing visit to Canada in 1905. He returned in 1908, establishing the notorious Round Table organization, first in Canada.<sup>16</sup> The following year, 1909, Milner set up the Round Table in England. This was later the core of the Cliveden Set, the pro-Nazi British aristocrats behind the "appeaser" Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

### The Problem With Canada

The Rhodes Scholarship official, George Parkin, was descended on his mother's side from loyalists to the British Crown who had fled the American Revolution and gone to Nova Scotia. Parkin taught school in New Brunswick and, becoming known as a fervent British Imperialist, was able to go to England and enter Oxford University as a non-collegiate student. Parkin spoke at Oxford on the need for Imperial federation. He met Alfred Milner, and, together with John Ruskin and Cecil Rhodes, is supposed to have greatly influenced Milner's thinking.

Before being chosen to organize the Rhodes Scholarship selections, George Parkin spent many years speaking throughout the Empire for the cause of the New Imperialism of which Rhodes became the symbol. He was appointed principal of the Upper Canada College in Toronto, applying the sentiments of the old United Empire Loyalists there to the new tasks defined by Viscount Milner and his friends. These "Loyalists" were the descendants, in geneology and philosophy, of the people who

16. See Quigley, Carroll, "The Round Table Groups in Canada, 1908-1938," *Canadian Historical Review*, September, 1962.

had gone north to Ontario and settled there with land grants from the English Crown, rather than stay in the southern colonies which had revolted to form the United States. The "Loyalists" thereafter defined their political creed on the basis of a hostility to republicanism.

That has been the problem with Canada.

The success of Cecil Rhodes' commercial activities in Africa required the brutal attack on republican institutions which Alfred Milner, Albert Grey, and the British authorities carried on at the turn of the century. The post-World War II apartheid policy in South Africa is a straight extension of this looting policy, a variation on the theme of the British East India Company's wars for the right to loot Asia.

Grey and Milner used Canada as a base to convert the momentum of their new African adventures into a worldwide racist movement. But Canada itself had already for two centuries been subject to the ravages of "merchant adventurers," whose entire political existence was a war against republican aspirations, in Britain, America, and elsewhere.

In 1670 King Charles II, sitting on the restored English throne after the fall of the Commonwealth, granted a charter to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay"—the Hudson's Bay Company. Its first Governor was "our dearly beloved cousin Prince Rupert," whose principal endeavor was to be "the finding of some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities. . . ."

Prince Rupert of southern Germany had come to England to help his uncle, Charles I, fight in the English Civil War (1642-1649) against the Commonwealth forces of Oliver Cromwell, John Milton and the Puritans. As the royal cause collapsed, Rupert went abroad, engaged in piracy against English ships, and made a fortune in stolen jewels. When the royalists reconquered England with the "Restoration" in 1660, a son of the beheaded King Charles I mounted the throne as Charles II. His brother, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert began the Royal African Company, the first full-scale English venture into African

slavery; their captured slaves were branded "DY"—Duke of York.

Prince Rupert was the first Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (1670-1683). The Duke of York, who afterwards became King James II of England, was the second Governor (1683-1685). James II's brother-in-law, John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough and ancestor to Randolph and Winston Churchill, was the third Governor (1685-1691).

The Hudson's Bay Company owned all but the southeast corner of what is now Canada, from 1670 until 1869; this territory more than half the size of Europe was known as Rupert's Land. The officially authorized Company history has characterized the Company's mission in the wilderness: "bartering, civilizing, judging, corrupting, reveling, slaying, marching through the trackless forest, making laws and having dominion over a million souls . . . the Great Fur Company."<sup>17</sup>

Of "civilizing," the Company did very little. The "million souls" were Indians subject to the "corrupting" and the "slaying" through liquor and robbery, as the East India Company had opium-poisoned the Chinese. The Company traded guns to selected tribes, maintaining them as nomad armies against the colonist-settlers, lest the spread of civilization into North America should deprive the Company of its full freedom to loot the continent. For two centuries, in Canada and in what became the United States' Pacific Northwest, the Company did everything in its power to retard the development of the West, to prevent the construction of means of transportation and communication with the Eastern Seaboard, above all to prevent Western migration and settlement.

Many Canadians sympathized with and joined the Union fighting forces in the American Civil War. The Union victory in 1865,

17. Willson, Beckles, *The Great Company, Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchant-Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay, with an Introduction by Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Present Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company*, The Copp, Clark Company, Toronto, Vol. I, p. viii.

and the American industrial mobilization begun by Abraham Lincoln, posed once more the possibility that Canada might be annexed by its powerful and successful southern neighbor. In 1867 the nervous British government created a semi-self-governing Confederation of their separate colonies north of the border, incorporating, with compensation, the holdings of the Hudson's Bay Company.

A strange rebellion broke out in the West, in what was to be the province of Manitoba. Led by a French-Indian "half-breed" Louis Real, the disaffected settlers of the Red River country north of Minnesota took arms, captured a fort and talked of joining their territory to the U.S.A. or proclaiming their independence. The Canadian authorities could not easily send troops to control the outbreak: There were no roads or railways from the East to this western area which had been under the Hudson's Bay Company for two centuries. They were forced to ask the Company's assistance. Their highest North American executive, Donald A. Smith, a Scotsman who had served the Company for 30 years in Labrador, was dispatched to Manitoba to calm the rebellion; this he accomplished with the exertion of the Company's influence over the region. Hudson's Bay thus demonstrated to the fragile Canadian Confederation that the Company's continuing power must be accepted, though its nominal title to vast areas of North America had been given up. These Merchant Adventurers would no more fade from the scene than had the ruling circles of the East India Company, after they gave up control of India to the British government in 1858. The East India nabobs continued to rule not only India, but England. And all of these imperial gentlemen, from India to Canada, were deeply concerned with the worldwide threat posed by the upstart American republic.

### Canada, Minnesota and The U.S.A.

Donald A. Smith, later a Baron of the Empire under the name Lord Strathcona, was to become the political and financial boss of Canada. Smith had already demonstrated his feelings about

the United States in 1864 during the American Civil War, when he directed some of the "considerable" investments by Company executives into financing blockade-runners, shipments of arms and equipment for the Southern Rebellion. A venture he admits taking part in returned a 150% profit.<sup>18</sup>

On his 1870 trip to Manitoba to stop the rebellion, Smith met and conferred with a 31-year-old merchant named James J. Hill, who had arranged with the Canadian government in Ottawa to do intelligence work in the rebellious area. Hill was a Canadian, but had lived in Minnesota for the previous 13 years. Before the Company settled the rebellion, Hill offered the Canadian government his services in transporting arms and equipment through Minnesota to the scene of the trouble.

In 1870 Donald Smith went to England and bought a majority of the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1872, James J. Hill became a partner in the Hudson's Bay Company's shipping agency on the Red River in Minnesota.

In 1878, Donald Smith/Lord Strathcona joined Hill in buying, for next to nothing, a bankrupt Minnesota railroad that had received heavy subsidies from the U.S. government. Backed by the Bank of Montreal, with his "American" partner Hill before the public, Smith directed the expansion of this rail property northward to Winnipeg, back down through the Dakotas, and then westward to the U.S. Pacific Coast at Everett and Seattle; this became known as the Great Northern Railway.

As this railroad company expanded into the sparsely populated northern plains, grain-handling companies were able to set up new silos for wheat storage directly beside the new rail lines, with the cooperation of the Canadians' railroad. The company which boomed and became a major power under this circumstance was Cargill, the Scottish family concern whose present policies as an oligarchic grain cartel are in line with the outlook of their early Hudson's Bay sponsor.

18. Willson, Beckles, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1915, Vol. I, p. 217.

In the early 1880s, James J. Hill and Donald Smith, with a few less active partners, built the Canadian Pacific Railway. Previously the only rail outlet to the East Coast from Minnesota led through Chicago, Republican-controlled hub of the U.S. industrial midwest. Shippers were now able to send cargoes directly overland to Sault Ste. Marie, thence by Canadian Pacific Rail and connecting lines to Boston, bypassing Chicago. Thus the ties between the Minnesota-centered grain trade and the financial and corporate powers of Canada were greatly strengthened.

James J. Hill's senior partner and financial controller, Donald Smith, took total control of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which received fabulous cash and land grants from the Canadian government; Smith also became president of the Bank of Montreal. From 1889 until his death in 1914, Smith—Lord Strathcona—was the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ironically, James J. Hill always boasted that he received no subsidies for his railroad enterprises from the American government!

In 1896, Smith was appointed the High Commissioner representing Canada in England; he was then created Baron, Lord Strathcona. Through his Lordship, the old Hudson's Bay interest was now The Establishment in Canada, in its Canadian Pacific and Bank of Montreal organizations. In the years to come, the mafia-linked Bronfman family's Seagram Liquors would emerge as an integral part of this Round Table Establishment, their affairs shaped by and completely interlocked with Lord Strathcona's Bank of Montreal.

When Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Milner, and Earl Grey went to war in South Africa in 1899, Lord Strathcona put up one million dollars to buy a company of "rough riders," recruited by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Strathcona's Horse, as they were called, sailed to South Africa to fight for British Imperialism.

When Earl Grey came to Canada as Governor General in 1904, it was to solidify the North American organization of the Imperial interest, of which Lord Strathcona was the continental

boss. Their Round Table group, using the services of racist writer Rudyard Kipling, and the campaign direction of Sir William Van Horne, ex-president of Strathcona's Canadian Pacific, defeated the Canadian government of Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier in the 1911 elections. Laurier had attempted to create strong trade ties between Canada and the United States. Never again would Canada be permitted to act so independently of the Imperial power.

Below we will present one other project of this Canadian Establishment, an immigrant German who caused the world a great deal of harm. Now we must finish the story of the great Canadian railroad man in the United States, James J. Hill.

J.P. Morgan, of the British House of Morgan, took on the sponsorship of Hill's further enterprises in the middle 1890s. Hill acquired control over the other railroad into the Pacific Northwest, the Northern Pacific, and the 50 million acres of land that road had gotten from government grants. This was finalized in the "London Agreement," signed at Morgan's London estate on May 10, 1895, among Hill, Morgan, and the Deutsche Bank of Berlin.

Lord Strathcona, as the Canadian High Commissioner in England, had directed a campaign to "counteract" the "tendency of emigrants to travel to America," supposedly as part of a drive to increase immigration to Canada.<sup>19</sup> While the latter goal was never seriously pushed, the New Imperial group used two approaches to its problem of U.S. immigration and population growth:

First, a movement to virtually outlaw immigration into the United States was finally able to pass racial and ethnic quota laws through the U.S. Congress in the 1920s;

Second, and more immediately, the very land on which immigrants or native citizens might have built farms and cities,

19. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 239; see also Vol. II, Chapter XXIII, "The Emigration Movement," pp. 279-315, for his Lordship's operations in Europe to counter U.S. recruitment of immigrants from Germany in particular.

the areas to the west of the 100th parallel, were closed to further settlement by the Conservation movement.

James J. Hill, who now controlled all the rail lines into the Pacific Northwest and massive acreage, began in 1906 a campaign of popular education in the wickedness and dangers of wasted resources. He spent nine months preparing an address to Northwest farmers, saying that America's future survival would depend on a permanent acceptance of Malthusian limited growth. In 1908 he was the main "business" representative at the Governors' Conference on Conservation, called by President Theodore Roosevelt and Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot.

James J. Hill's Northern Pacific Railroad had signed an important deal in 1900 with a close friend and neighbor of Hill's from St. Paul, Minnesota, F.E. Weyerhauser. (They appeared to have some friends in common—in 1893 Weyerhauser had sent a special shipment of lumber from the Pacific Northwest to Cecil Rhodes in South Africa for the construction of Rhodes' grape arbor in Capetown.) The German immigrant lumberman was allowed to purchase 900,000 acres of choice timberland at \$6 per acre, establishing the Weyerhausers as land kings in the states of Washington and Oregon. The Weyerhausers set up their corporate headquarters in the Northern Pacific building in Tacoma, Washington.

The Weyerhauser Company was an enthusiastic participant in Gifford Pinchot's Conservation movement. By the conclusion of the Theodore Roosevelt administration, the United States government was doing valuable commercial services for the private forestry holdings of the Weyerhausers; rules for timber cutting in the National Forests were so strict that no profitable large enterprises could regularly buy the government's timber, and smaller companies regularly went out of business making the attempt. As a result, there remained, in 1909, three giant landowners in the Pacific Northwest: James J. Hill, the Weyerhauser Family . . . and railroad man E.H. Harriman.

### The Subjugation of Oregon And the Theft of Panama

The case of the Harrimans, in particular Edward H. Harriman's son W. Averell Harriman, will be analyzed in depth in the next chapter. We need only explain here how E.H. Harriman became, for a time, the greatest owner of land in the state of Oregon.

Harriman bought the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1901. The Southern Pacific was then the owner of lands that had been granted much earlier by the United States to the Oregon and California Railroad, for the construction of a line from Portland to the California border. Congress had specified that these grant lands must be sold by the railroad to actual settlers, in lots of no more than 160 acres, at a price not to exceed \$2.50 per acre.

In 1903 Harriman withdrew from public use, and withheld from public sale, 2,891,000 acres, or 4,514 square miles of this Oregon grant land, to hold it for a rise in price. There was a furious public reaction; squatters occupied the land in Josephine, Douglas, and Jackson Counties, anticipating the federal government enforcing the law and getting the land back from Harriman to be sold to the public, as stipulated in the original grant. But Theodore Roosevelt was President; he stalled action against Harriman, while the nation was told that it must abandon its development goals. In 1916, when the federal government finally took the grant land back from Southern Pacific after massive litigation, it kept the land! It is now held by the Bureau of Land Management and the National Forest Service, not by settlers in farms or cities. In Oregon today, gangsters cultivate marijuana and opium with impunity on public land, and on the land of the Weyerhauser Company. Conservation has made them quite prosperous.

On June 28, 1902, in the Spooner Act, Congress authorized President Theodore Roosevelt to negotiate with the Republic of Colombia, to secure rights to construct a transoceanic canal through the Isthmus of Panama, then part of Colombia. Congress

directed that if no agreement could be reached with Colombia, the President was to proceed with a canal through Nicaragua, which had been the canal route preferred by previous administrations, including President McKinley's.

At this time a lawyer representing E.H. Harriman and J.P. Morgan, one William Nelson Cromwell, was very deeply involved in the affairs of Central America. He was the attorney for the old French Panama Company, which had failed to dig a canal. He was also the attorney for the Panama Railway Company, controlled by Harriman. Cromwell's "French" company—who actually owned its shares is still a mystery—offered to sell its worthless, rusting assets in the Isthmus for \$40 million. The President knew that Cromwell was a man of trust: He had played a big role in the creation of the United States Steel Corporation for J.P. Morgan. So Teddy Roosevelt agreed and signed a rather insulting treaty with some Colombian representatives to take the Isthmus.

When the Colombian Government refused to ratify this treaty, William Nelson Cromwell directed the secession of the Isthmus from Colombia. A "revolution," carried on by employees of Harriman's Panama Railroad, grabbed the Panama province. Teddy Roosevelt sent gunboats to the Isthmus to prevent Colombian troops from defending their territory—hence the expression "gunboat diplomacy." A new government was set up under Cromwell's orders, calling itself the nation of Panama. Cromwell's law partner, Philip Bunau-Varilla, was sent to Washington as the representative of this new nation, and signed a treaty with Teddy Roosevelt, 10 days after the "revolt."

Cromwell's "French" company was paid \$40 million by the United States. Colombia was paid nothing. Teddy Roosevelt refused ever to disclose just who it was who got the \$40 million, though it was known that William Nelson Cromwell received a fee of at least \$600,000. Cromwell later hired a young lawyer named John Foster Dulles into his firm; Dulles would become Sullivan and Cromwell's boss, and lead the firm into its position as chief legal representative for Adolf Hitler and the international cartels of the German Nazis.

One United States Senator in particular stood up to attack this outrage for what it was: a swindle of the taxpayers, a horrible setback to the republican relationship between the United States and Ibero-America, and a further takeover of American society by the Morgan interests. This man was Senator John H. Mitchell of Oregon.

Mitchell was without question the most popular politician in his state. He had come to Oregon from Pennsylvania in 1860, entered politics, and fought for Oregon to stay in the Union. Alongside Senator and U.S. General Edward Baker, John Mitchell fought against the Knights of the Golden Circle faction which agitated for a separate Pacific Coast Republic linked to the Southern Confederacy. Standing for the development of the West with Federal land laws, Mitchell built up a Lincoln Republican constituency and served as United States Senator from 1873 to 1878, from 1885 to 1897, and from 1900 to 1905.

In the 1902 debates on the transoceanic canal, Senator Mitchell said "I now propose to attract the attention of the Senate to the repulsive and disgusting history of both the old and the new Panama Canal companies. And with that history, with all its repulsiveness, before the Senate, I propose to inquire, in the name of the American people, whether the Senate of the United States can afford to link its fortunes with a scheme, the putrefying stench from which has filled the nostrils of the nations, and caused respectable business, social and political mankind to turn aside in disgust."

Mitchell then detailed the history of frauds and the multi-million-dollar bribes extended in the Panama adventure, and described the swindle perpetrated by an American financial "committee . . . composed of J. & W. Seligman & Co., Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., and Messrs. Drexel, Morgan & Co [the House of Morgan]."<sup>20</sup> This was the core of the international banking syndicate which had controlled the U.S. government debt since the 1870s.

To adhere to the U.S. Constitution, and to deter fraud, Sen-

20. United States *Congressional Record*, June 7, 1902, p. 6441 ff.



ator Mitchell demanded that the choice of routes in the construction of the canal be left strictly up to Congress, and he favored the Nicaragua route. Mitchell did not win, though the Spooner Act did make specific directions to President Roosevelt, which he flouted. But Mitchell kept fighting, speaking out against the fraud in 1903 and 1904.

Meanwhile, the United States Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allan Hitchcock, moved on behalf of the President. (Hitchcock is something of a mystery man, with no published biography and no known personal papers, though he served in both the McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt cabinets. His family has reported to the Dictionary of American Biography that he amassed his fortune as a partner in the China trading firm of Olyphant and Company, living in China for many years during and after the American Civil War. During that war his uncle, a U.S. general by the identical name, traveled to Paris as the head of the United States organization of "Rosicrucians." There the uncle met with the following other "Rosicrucians": Edward Bulwer-Lytton, British Secretary of State for the Colonies; Napoleon III, the pro-Confederate Emperor of France; and Confederate General Albert Pike, the Scottish Rite Leader in charge of Indian uprisings against Union forces.<sup>21</sup> The two Ethan Allan Hitchcocks—the strange general and the equally strange Secretary of the Interior, lived together in St. Louis with their close friend and spritualist colleague William Torrey Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education.)

Interior Secretary Hitchcock sent a secret service agent, William J. Burns, and a team of detectives to Oregon in 1903 to try to put together cases against leading politicians for land fraud. A crooked land hustler named Stephen Puter was ar-

21. Clymer, R. Swinburne, *The Book of Rosicruciae*, published by the Rosicrucians, Quakertown, Pennsylvania, 1946-1949, Vol. II, pp. 70-71, 123. General Hitchcock must have been somewhat apprehensive that American authorities would interpret this meeting as a council of war against the United States, rather than simply a festival of cultists; he went to Paris under the "philosophical initiate" name of "Count. . . ."

rested. Puter was in the habit of paying people to falsely swear they were homesteaders, then turning over their government grants to railroads and lumber companies for a fee. Puter was jailed, and asked to cooperate against Senator Mitchell.

The regular United States Attorney for Oregon John H. Hall was indicted, and "progressive" special prosecutor Francis He- ney was brought in by President Theodore Roosevelt. The Federal grand jury sitting in 1904 and 1905 indicted 100 people, including many public officials. Senator Mitchell was indicted on the testimony of convicted criminal Stephen Puter. Senator Mitchell was convicted on the charge that his law partnership had accepted \$1,700 in fees for helping to press claims to public land. Senator Mitchell appealed his conviction, but was not aided by anyone in Washington, was called a criminal in the press, and died in 1905, allegedly of a tooth extraction, before his appeal could be heard. His accuser, Stephen Puter, wrote a book in prison on the merits of Roosevelt and Pinchot's drive for conservation; he left jail early on a pardon from Theodore Roosevelt.

The Oregon land fraud cases, splashed across the nation's press, were used by Gifford Pinchot and his propaganda machine at the Forestry Service—with its 700,000-person mailing list—to push for the great reform of America's use of the land: locking up the West to further settlement.

From that time on, Oregon has quietly accepted the policy of Conservation.

### Conservation and The Hitler Project

Following their success in stopping the "wasteful" expansion of population into western North America, the Conservation leaders took their movement a step further. In 1912 an International Congress on Eugenics, or race purification, was held at London University in England.<sup>22</sup> At the inaugural dinner, chaired by

22. Records of the First International Eugenics Congress, London, 1912; Second, New York, 1922; Third, New York, 1932; in the New York Public Library Annex, 43rd Street, New York.

Charles Darwin's son Leonard, the keynote address was given by Arthur Balfour. His Lordship explained, "We do not say survival is everything; we deliberately say that it is not everything—that the feeble-minded man, even though he survives, is not so good as the good professional man . . . broadly speaking, man is a wild animal . . . man is to become a domesticated animal."

Dr. Alfred Ploetz, President of the German Society for Race Hygiene, warned the Congress: "The preservation of the Nordic Race is . . . seriously menaced." The low white birthrate "gives no favorable outlook for the white race, in its great combat for lasting supremacy. . . ." and so forth.

One vice-president of the Congress was Gifford Pinchot, the recent founder of the United States Forestry Service. Pinchot had also been, since at least 1907, a member of Arthur Balfour's international spook organization, the Society for Psychic Research.<sup>23</sup> His attempts to speak to the dead, and to prevent the unfit from living, have not made their way into any Pinchot biography.

Another vice-president was David Starr Jordan, the first president of Stanford University and the President of the Eugenic Section of the American Breeders' Association. Stanford was founded after a seance convinced railroad man Leland Stanford that his dead son wanted it founded; Psychic Researcher and Cornell University founder Andrew White then chose Jordan for its first president. David Starr Jordan used his position, and the new university, to push three overlapping projects: the international defense of the imperiled Nordic Race, communications with the dead, and the founding of the ultra-environmentalist Sierra Club. Jordan was a prime Sierra Club founder and the Club's publication editor.

A third vice-president of the Eugenics Congress was Charles B. Davenport, director of the Eugenics Records Office in New

23. Annual Reports of the Society for Psychic Research, 1884-1907.

York, financed by the Harriman family. Mr. Davenport would later lecture Benito Mussolini on the dangers of race-mixing.

The Second International Eugenics Congress was held in New York in 1921. Gifford Pinchot was there. Edward H. Harriman's widow paid for a good deal of the Congress with money delivered to the chairman of the finance committee, Madison Grant, the man Teddy Roosevelt had picked to start the New York Zoo.

The following year Benito Mussolini took power in Italy.

The Third International Eugenics Congress was held at New York's Museum of Natural History, in 1932. The President of the British Eugenics Association, Bernard Mallet, was an honored guest; he had been Arthur Balfour's private secretary in the 1890s as this movement was being designed; his father, Louis Mallet, had created the Cobden Club, which directed the post-Civil War free-trade movement.

The Third Congress warned that mankind was doomed unless the "unfit" were prevented from breeding, masses were sterilized, and nature were protected from man's destruction of natural resources. Dr. Davenport lauded "the mixture of north Europeans in the United States," including "many especially virile persons of which the Theodore Roosevelt family is a brilliant example," to "point the way to produce the superman and the superstate." The Congress elected Dr. Ernst Rudin to be President of the International Federation of Eugenics Organizations. Hitler took power in Germany the following year; Dr. Rudin wrote Hitler's race laws, and trained the personnel who murdered 400,000 mental patients in Nazi Germany.

In the autumn of 1895, the recently retired Inspector General of Forests to the Government of India, Bertholdt Ribbentrop, arrived in the United States to advise and visit with forester Gifford Pinchot. Herr Ribbentrop "had already supplied seed of many Indian forest trees for the Biltmore Forest" of the Vanderbilt family, which employed Pinchot. Pinchot gushes in his autobiography, "It was an immense satisfaction to me to know that one of the most experienced foresters in the world . . .

gave us his full approval and his blessing."<sup>24</sup> Ribbentrop retired to England.

Two years earlier, a cousin to the Forester had been born in Wesel on the Rhine, named Joachim Ribbentrop (later von Ribbentrop). According to Joachim's memoirs, his father was an army officer who was "critical of the Emperor's foreign policy and military staff policy. . . . A difficult situation developed. . . . he suddenly decided to hand in his resignation. . . . This created quite a stir. . . . After his resignation my father decided to settle in Switzerland."<sup>25</sup>

In Switzerland Joachim and his brother came to know Englishmen and Canadians and learned "about the English way of life." In 1909, the 16-year-old Joachim Ribbentrop went to London with his brother, stayed with an English family, and studied linguistics at London University. Ribbentrop said, "In London . . . we thought we felt the heartbeat of the world. How much experience, influence, capital and world-pervading efficiency combined to keep all this going! Later, in my talks with Adolf Hitler, I often expressed regret that he had never stood at the Mansion House where he would have understood the meaning of the British Empire. . . . I have always pointed out to Hitler the enormous strength of this empire and the heroic conduct of its ruling class."

Several years earlier, the Canadian High Commissioner to England, Lord Strathcona, had been traveling throughout Germany and Austria, seeking immigrants to Canada of the "right type." In 1910 young Joachim Ribbentrop found himself recruited, cut short his linguistics studies, and sailed to Canada. Albert, the fourth Earl Grey, associate of Milner in the Round Table, was then the Governor General. Young Joachim Rib-

24. Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, p. 67.

25. Von Ribbentrop, Joachim, *The Ribbentrop Memoirs*, (original German title *Zwischen London und Moskau*), Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1954. See also Schwarz, Dr. Paul, *This Man Ribbentrop: His Life and Times*, Julian Messner, New York, 1943.

bentrop spent three of his four years in Canada as an employee of Lord Strathcona's Canadian Pacific Railway.

In 1911, the Duke of Connaught succeeded Earl Grey as Governor General. Joachim Ribbentrop was unofficially adopted as a member of the Duke's household, playing his violin, performing in plays, and learning more about "the English way of life." Well, almost "English." Although the Duke was the son of Queen Victoria, he was also the son of the Coburg Prince Albert, and he was married to Princess Margarete of Prussia. The Duke spoke English and German, the rest of the household spoke nothing but German.

Ribbentrop was introduced to the cream of Society in the Empire. The most important center for such Society in those days was Lord Strathcona's Montreal house, among the visitors to which were the future King George V, another prince, 8 dukes, 7 marquesses, 21 earls, 6 viscounts, 6 governors general, 7 prime ministers, 4 archbishops, 14 chief justices, 31 mayors and 58 generals.<sup>26</sup>

In 1914, Germany went to war against England and Canada. Joachim Ribbentrop, who by law should have been interned as an enemy alien, easily went to New York and took ship for Europe. As Ribbentrop explains it, the ship was halted off the English coast, and "next morning a British intelligence officer arrived and announced that all Germans would be taken ashore and interned. . . . [he] told me he had once been aide-de-camp to the Governor-General [the Duke of Connaught] and we discovered that we had many mutual friends. . . . I told him that I was German, had no visa, but must get to Germany whatever happened. . . . he allowed me to stay on board and stamped my papers 'passed by military authorities'."

Having been passed through into Germany by British military intelligence, Ribbentrop went to work in the German War Ministry. After the First World War, Ribbentrop worked as a mer-

26. Newman, Peter C., *The Canadian Establishment*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1975, Vol. I, p. 263.

chant in international travel around Western Europe. In 1932, he acted as an intermediary between his friend Franz von Papen and Adolf Hitler, in negotiations which were held at Ribbentrop's house. This led to the selection, in January 1933, of Hitler as Chancellor and the creation of the Nazi dictatorship.

A few weeks later Hitler came to dinner with Joachim and his old father, and they talked of foreign affairs. Somewhat later Hitler appointed Ribbentrop Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, but Ribbentrop declined and got Hitler to make him Ambassador to England instead. His Ribbentrop Bureau was a sort of private Anglo-German Nazi intelligence agency from 1934 to 1938, aided by the British pro-Nazi set, including the short-term King Edward VIII. In 1938 he and Hitler concluded the pact with Neville Chamberlain to take Czechoslovakia without shooting. He negotiated the Anti-Comintern Pact, setting up the Axis of Germany, Italy, and Japan. He suggested and negotiated the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939. He was Hitler's Foreign Minister throughout World War II. He was hanged at Nuremberg, and never succeeded in bringing about "Hitler's . . . original idea, the creation of a powerful Reich of all Germans allied to Britain. . . ."

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## The Partnership of Harriman and Dulles

On October 18 and 19, 1945, a Swiss-based organization calling itself the World Council of Churches came into the war-wrecked city of Stuttgart, Germany, to meet with certain German church leaders. The meeting issued a statement declaring the collective guilt of the German people for the crimes of Nazism.

A month later trials began at Nuremberg: Twenty-two Nazi leaders were tried for conspiracy, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, crimes which had led to the deaths of 50 million persons during World War II.

The declaration of "collective guilt" was intended, among other things, to blunt the question of individual guilt at the Nuremberg trials, and has confused the central issue of actual criminal guilt since that time. Hjalmar Schacht got off without punishment. Many of the most important Germans, and foreign nationals, who helped Hitler rise to power, make war and carry out mass murder, were not even at Nuremberg, and were never tried for these crimes.

The chief failure of the Nuremberg trials was not insufficient hangings, but rather that there was no general *inquiry* into the disaster which had befallen the world: Who had backed the Hitler revolution and what were their strategic aims? Such an inquiry is still vital today, because the international gang which created Nazism and backed Hitler is active, and very powerful, in today's world.

What follows is the story of this gang as it operated in America,

centering in the political and commercial partnership of *Averell Harriman* and *John Foster Dulles*. As this chapter shows, Harriman and Dulles—two men, with their families, who have dictated so much American policy in this century—were central to putting Adolf Hitler in power. And, as we show, Dulles and Harriman in commercial partnership profited from Hitler's accession to power. Institutions and individuals associated with the pro-Soviet Eastern Establishment today, were architects of Nazism in the prewar period. Among those individuals and institutions, whose stories are bound up with the Harriman-Dulles combine, are the World Council of Churches, and the psychoanalyst Carl Jung—in his own lifetime a Nazi, now a symbol of "liberalism."

This narrative is a contribution to a second, more effective "Nuremberg," a process of inquiry which may help prevent an even greater disaster than the Holocaust of the 1940s.

### The Heritage of the Dulles Brothers

The Dulles brothers, Allen and John Foster, stood at the top of American policymaking in the 1940s and '50s. In the '20s and '30s, they helped create Hitler. Their family background prepared them well for this.

Allen and John Foster Dulles were brought into the U.S. State Department as intelligence agents by their uncle, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, just before the American entry into the First World War. Secretary Lansing and his young Dulles nephews perfectly exemplify the State Department's tradition of treachery to American interests and ideals, going back, with few exceptions, to the beginning of the Republic.

President Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, had made Robert Lansing chief counselor in the State Department, while the populist William Jennings Bryan was Secretary of State. When the war started in Europe in 1914, the Wilson government declared American neutrality, and the President announced his strong interest in ending the war.

But a powerful combination of American public figures acted

for the British to pull the U.S. into the madness of World War I as Britain's ally. The most prominent in the British party here were:

- Former president Theodore Roosevelt, who by family connections and personal inclination was "British Empire" to his very marrow;
- Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the anglophile Boston Brahmin who, with Teddy Roosevelt, had created the Spanish-American War in 1898;
- President Wilson's confidential adviser Col. Edward House, whose British father had run guns into Texas for the Southern Rebellion, and had taken young Edward back to England for a thoroughly anti-American education. House later returned to Texas and became the Texas political boss, in alliance with the Harrimans; and
- Robert Lansing, who had married a daughter of the anglophile former Secretary of State, John Watson Foster. Another Foster daughter married Rev. Allen Macy Dulles, and gave birth to Allen and John Foster Dulles.

While Teddy Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge campaigned openly for American entry into the war, House and Lansing betrayed and lied to the President,<sup>1</sup> misrepresenting themselves as neutral while carrying on continuous covert political operations on behalf of the British.

The British Navy enforced a blockade on the Atlantic, commandeering American ships for inspection and rerouting to stop American goods from going to Germany. Yet British ships openly sailed back and forth from legally neutral U.S. ports, carrying weapons and soliciting American passengers to ride alongside the guns being shipped. When the Germans protested the use of the British Cunard liner *Lusitania* as an arms supply ship, the German note went to Counselor Lansing, who ignored it. When a German submarine sank the *Lusitania*, Lansing persuaded

1. Lansing, Robert, *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State*, Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1935, pp. 15-26.

Woodrow Wilson to protest against the "cold-blooded murder" of American passengers. William Jennings Bryan resigned at this obvious and bloody manipulation of the American population, and Lansing replaced him as Secretary of State. Secretary Lansing and his allies, aided by increasingly gross attacks by the politically blind Germans, finally brought Wilson and the U.S. into the First World War. After trying unsuccessfully to provoke war between the United States and Mexico, Lansing was fired by President Wilson.

In the Dulles family biography, written with the cooperation of the Dulleses, author Leonard Mosley politely states:

One of the reasons why Robert M. Lansing knew exactly how flagrantly the British were breaching the United States neutrality laws was because he had become close friends with the two chief British agents in charge of the operation, Sir Courtney Bennet and Captain Alex Gaunt. Both were spies operating under the intelligence network run from London . . . [out of] the British Admiralty. . . . Gaunt . . . would keep Allen [Dulles] entranced for hours with stories of his prewar missions into Germany and eastern Europe. . . . Lansing . . . introduced [Gaunt] to American special agents and ordered one of them, Bruce Bielaski, to cooperate with Gaunt. . . . Bielaski . . . was chief of the investigative division of the Department of Justice. . . .

Robert Lansing was . . . so pro-English that he even took elocution lessons to perfect the English accent he was cultivating. Allen . . . thought Gaunt was one of the most exciting men he had ever met, and he made up his mind that one of these days he would become an intelligence operative just like him—except for the accent, of course.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the Dulles family is an epic of British Empire

2. Mosley, Leonard, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and their Family Network*, The Dial Press/James Wade, New York, 1978, p. 37-38.

intrigue and sensational aristocratic criminal activities. Two Scottish Dulles (originally "Douglas") brothers left Ireland around 1780: Joseph Dulles went to South Carolina, William Dulles to India as a soldier for the East India Company. While the Company army was conquering most of the Indian subcontinent in the years 1797-1803, William Dulles was making a fortune in his own side business providing financial and security services for the Company's officers, and for Indian and Persian princes who cooperated with the British conquest.

William Dulles came to South Carolina in 1807; his India loot bought the family a substantial slave plantation, which the Dulleses held through the American Civil War.

Joseph's son Joseph Heatley Dulles (1795-1876) joined many other young plantation gents at Yale University. He worked with some of the Connecticut organizers of the secessionist Hartford Convention in 1814, and became an intimate lifelong friend of New York lawyer Daniel Lord, founder of the Lord, Day and Lord firm which represented the Astor family and New York's financial elite. It was at this point that the Dulles money and investments moved primarily into the North. Joseph H. Dulles, having been a member of the secret "Society of Brothers in Unity" at Yale, emerged in the religion business as Secretary of the American Sunday School Union, a post he held for 40 years.

Joseph H. Dulles's son John Welsh Dulles (1823-89) went to British India as a missionary, later took his father's post as Secretary of the American Sunday School Union, and for 16 years was Editorial Superintendent of the Presbyterian Publications Board. He and his sons played major roles in the Presbyterian church; a close relative, William Dulles, was treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Before his missionary stint in India, John Welsh Dulles had attended the University of Pennsylvania (his uncle was Provost Charles Stille). It is likely that he befriended there one Grayson Mallet-Prevost, since both Dulles and Mallet-Prevost attended the Medical School in 1844, and Dulles's son Petit Dulles later

married Mallet-Prevost's daughter Julia Mallet-Prevost. Thus the Dulleses married into one of the premier families of treason in America.

Among the children of John Welsh Dulles were: Petit Dulles (1852-83), who married Julia Mallet-Prevost; Rev. Joseph H. Dulles III (1853-1937), who reorganized and supervised the Library of the Princeton Theological Seminary for 45 years; and Rev. Allen Macy Dulles (1854-1930), father of Allen, Eleanor, and John Foster Dulles. Reverend Dulles became director of Apologetics at the Auburn Theological Seminary in Auburn, New York. He and his son John Foster were to lead a "liberal" coup within the national Presbyterian church, preparing for John Foster Dulles's publicly obscure but historically crucial church leadership role.

Fresh out of Princeton University, John Foster Dulles was hired as a lawyer by William Nelson Cromwell of Sullivan and Cromwell, law firm to the Eastern Establishment financial oligarchy. The founder of the firm, Algernon Sydney Sullivan, was an early legal associate of John Foster Dulles's maternal grandfather, John W. Foster, who recommended young Dulles to Cromwell. Sullivan represented leading Civil War-era Virginia families and business interests. He served as an attorney for men captured as "Confederate" pirates for attacking American commercial shipping just after the outbreak of the Civil War. At one point, the U.S. government briefly jailed Sullivan, a Northerner, on treason charges because of this close relationship with the leaders of the Southern insurrection.

Sullivan's partner Cromwell came to represent the J.P. Morgan bank in its takeover of the American steel industry, and aided Edward H. Harriman in his railroad operations. In 1903 Cromwell organized the "revolution" which detached the Isthmus of Panama from the nation of Colombia, creating a new country ("Panama") and making himself and the Sullivan and Cromwell law firm the official counsellors to the new country. Cromwell used as his revolutionaries the employees of the Panama Railroad, which was controlled by his client Edward H.

Harriman. The secession—better, theft—was backed by gunboats sent to the Caribbean by President Theodore Roosevelt, who broke off congressionally authorized negotiations with Colombia for the *purchase* of canal-building rights through the isthmus.

William N. Cromwell was a director of one of the strangest instruments for the penetration of Central and South America, and southern and eastern Europe: the American Banknote Company. American Banknote's Albert Gallatin Goodall (director, 1863-87) arranged with Russia, Greece, Italy and many Ibero-American governments to have his company print the money and securities of those countries. This was no "American" operation: Mr. Goodall was the personal Freemasonic representative of Britain's Edward VII; Company employees had previously printed counterfeit American money for the British troops in the 1770s, and currency and bonds for the Southern insurrection in the 1860s.

J.P. Morgan's early partner, the Austrian-American banker Joseph W. Drexel, was a Banknote director in the 1880s; the company became the chief printer of the securities traded on the New York Stock exchanges. Sullivan and Cromwell became the corporate attorneys for American Banknote, and successive S.&C. chief executives (Cromwell, 1900-48; Alfred Jaretski, 1906-25; John Foster Dulles, 1925-49; and Arthur Dean, beginning 1952) sat on the Banknote board. Allen Dulles left the Banknote board in 1951 to become director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

The old Cromwell-Harriman commercial tie was officially renewed in 1937, when E.H. Harriman's son Roland, brother of Averell Harriman, joined John Foster Dulles on the American Banknote board of directors. By this time, as we shall see, the Harrimans and the Dulleses had long been engaged in a joint political venture which was to bring tragedy and chaos to the world.

When young John Foster Dulles was called into Central American intelligence work for the State Department by his uncle,

Robert Lansing, he was gaining experience as a neophyte lawyer in a region which was in some ways Sullivan and Cromwell's private preserve.

### The Mind of John Foster Dulles

On Aug. 18, 1911, John Foster Dulles sent a statement summing up his philosophical standpoint to his father for review. It is the worldview of Darwin, of the eugenicist Harriman—and of Hitler: a bald declaration of war against Judeo-Christian moral principles, the principles of Western civilization itself.

We read that Joshua commanded the sun and the moon to stand still, and that "the sun stood still and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies."

A good many legislators are attempting to imitate Joshua and to arrest the working of a natural law. Joshua did not succeed for very long, and it is doubtful if the commands of our present day legislatures will have even as much effect as this temporary staying of Joshua's.

The natural laws to which I refer are biological and economical laws which produce disagreeable results. And in an attempt to eliminate these consequences, man is generally found opposing himself directly to the natural law which creates them. . . .

Under natural conditions all species tend to increase with great rapidity. . . [after] a few generations the world would be literally crowded with life. . . . There is a check, however. . . . the limited capacity of the world to sustain life. As the numbers of a species increase it becomes more and more difficult for each individual to find means of sustenance. . . . some must perish, and what is known as the law of natural selection says that the ones who will perish will be the weakest. The strongest will survive. . . .

With man, as with every other form of life, there is this same tendency for the birth rate to far exceed the death rate, with the inevitable result of an overcrowded population

*in which some must be eliminated* [emphasis added]. Who those to be eliminated are depends upon who are weakest and who are strongest in the competition which necessarily ensues.

Biology tells us that it is only by means of this competition and elimination that progress is made. *For the tendency of a race is to retrograde and it is only by eliminating the lower members that a higher average is maintained.* . . . [Emphasis added.]

The impelling power which has led to a great part of our laws has been sympathy. . . . In England people saw men starving because of the high price of bread. . . . they must have a given amount of money or starve. . . . So . . . a law was passed that bread should not be sold at more than a certain sum a loaf. . . .

In this kind of legislation. . . . man has been acting in a more or less unconscious manner. . . .

Human society can be likened unto a wheel. One section is always down, in the mud, if you will. . . .

Laws should not. . . . have for object, the doing away with all poverty and distress; but rather in so determining the conditions of competition that the most desirable [sic] find themselves best adapted to succeed, while the least desirable find themselves the least adapted to succeed. To have progress some *must* [emphasis in original] be eliminated, but let us scrutinize conditions carefully so that we will get all the progress possible out of that elimination, and that there shall not be any waste [sic!], suffering and misery.

. . . It is among the poor that the process of elimination takes place.

They are not killed outright, but they do perish indirectly. They do not have sufficient shelter, their food is insufficient and perhaps. . . . impure.

Consequently they and their children fall an easy prey to disease. . . .

Legislation may do somewhat to keep down in a more



humane way this sector of population only born to perish. Some efforts have been made, and it would seem that more might be made to restrict the increase of population among the less desirable [sic] class of our population, particularly among those classes where any children would be apt to inherit the same defects which have made their parents unable to successfully adapt themselves to circumstances. Any legislation which would prevent the increase of population among those persons who are diseased, insane, criminals, etc. would be *economically wise* [emphasis added]. . . .

There is of course the fundamental problem of whether we want to progress. Whether it is worthwhile that we should have so much pain and misery simply in order that our part of the human race may not be eliminated by another part some generations hence. . . . If we do not want progress, we can do away with it and the suffering which it involves by preventing the increase of our population, or by reducing it. . . .

Another remedy, though one that is only temporary, is a kind of communism. This too destroys progress. But if all the resources of a country are divided up equally among all the population more will be able to be maintained than if the division is unequal. . . . As the population keeps increasing each one's share becomes smaller and smaller, until at last it becomes insufficient for him, and then elimination with its attendant misery *must* recommence [emphasis in original]. But in a wealthy country like our own, such a division would postpone this time for a considerable period.<sup>3</sup>

With these views, John Foster Dulles was later to become

3. Handwritten letter and typescript in Dulles papers, Princeton University library.

an international representative of American Protestant Christianity—and to turn that position into a forum for promoting the politics of genocide.

### Divergent Objectives in World War I

The Dulles brothers were involved from the period of the Versailles Treaty onwards, in the attack on Germany which created the conditions for Hitlerism. During World War I, Allen Dulles was posted by his uncle, Secretary Lansing, to Switzerland, the home base for the Dulles cousins, the Mallets; he took the job of chief of intelligence in the American legation at Berne. Among his fellow operatives was a young code clerk named Robert Murphy, who, as we shall see later, had a role to play in the Hitler project. Dulles family biographer Mosley retells the following story from Allen Dulles's own lectures and his private discussions with Mosley.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in exile in Switzerland, was accustomed to talking over Russian affairs with diplomats at the American mission. On April 11, 1917, after Lenin was informed that the Germans were about to send him back to Russia to overthrow the government, he telephoned the legation and asked to meet immediately with an American to confer on this momentous occasion. Allen Dulles spoke with Lenin and told him to forget about coming in that day. Lenin said he could only come today, that tomorrow would be too late, Dulles terminated the conversation, and Lenin decided to go ahead to Russia.<sup>4</sup> Six months later, he directed the Bolshevik revolution there.

At the end of World War I, Secretary of State Lansing brought both his Dulles nephews into the Paris peace treaty negotiations. Lansing had not even wanted President Wilson to attend the negotiations. Mosley says that Lansing "saw the forthcoming Versailles Conference as an occasion where wile, guile, and maneuver [Lansing's] would be more important than high ideals and lofty aspirations [Wilson's]."

4. Mosley, *Dulles*, pp. 45-48.

Despite Wilson's presence and "high ideals," the British, with French urging, bulled through a treaty calling for drastic reparations payments from Germany. The British delegation was headed by Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who insisted that Wilson's famous Fourteen Points for peace were inadequate because they had no provision whatever for reparations damages.

But the Conference in fact was guided by members of a British organization known as the Round Table, one of whom was Lloyd George's private secretary, Philip Kerr, Lord Lothian. It was the Round Table, including Lothian, which later promoted Hitler. At Versailles, Lothian drafted the amendment to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points to call for reparations.<sup>5</sup> Lloyd George later told the House of Commons that the leaders of the Conference treated Lothian "not as a Prime Minister's Secretary, but as if he were an emissary to the Conference, and a very important one."<sup>6</sup>

The Round Table had been organized by Lord Alfred Milner in the tradition of Oxford feudalist John Ruskin, and was designed to fulfill the yearning of Cecil Rhodes for a new kind of white racist world empire, in which the independence of the republican United States in particular was extinguished. The core of the Round Table group was assembled from among the "Kindergarten" of Oxford-trained aides to Lord Milner in South Africa. Lord Lothian was the first editor of the "Round Table" quarterly, and one of the spiritual leaders of the group—he moved from early training for the priesthood at the (Benedictine) Oratory School at Edgbaston, into Christian Science. Lothian was the chief executive of the Rhodes Trust, administering the Rhodes Scholarships to bring Americans and other "colonial" students to Oxford.

5. Lord Lothian to Edgar Abraham, Jan. 31, 1934, quoted in Butler, Sir James R.M., Chief Historian for the Official Military History of the War of 1939-1945, *Lord Lothian (Philip Kerr), 1882-1940*, Macmillan and Co., London, 1960, p. 73.

6. House of Commons, Dec. 19, 1940, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 71.

At the peace conference, Allen and John Foster Dulles made the acquaintance of the principal members of this faction, and were all but formally inducted into the Round Table group. In a letter to Round Table founder Lionel Curtis, Lord Lothian expressed the crucial difference between the British Round Table's racial views—shared by the Dulles brothers, as we have seen in John Foster's letter to his father—and the viewpoint of the American System:

The real problem is going to arise from the treatment which must be accorded to politically backward peoples.

The difficulties which I foresee will arise from the fact that there is a fundamentally different concept in regard to this question between Great Britain and South Africa on the one side and the United States and Canada . . . on the other. I need not of course expound our view as to the necessity of civilized control over politically backward peoples. . . . The inhabitants of Africa and parts of Asia have proved unable to govern themselves . . . because they were quite unable to withstand the demoralizing influences [i.e. desire for self-sufficient modern industry] to which they were subjected in some civilised countries, so that the intervention of an European power is necessary in order to protect them from those influences. . . . The American view . . . is quite different. . . .

The extent of this work after the war, sometimes known as the white man's burden, will be so vast that it will never be accomplished at all unless it is shared. . . . Yet America not only has no conception of this aspect of the problem but has been led to believe that the assumption of this kind of responsibility is iniquitous imperialism. They take an attitude towards the problem of world government exactly analogous to the one they took during the first three years of the war toward the problem of the world war [emphasis added].

. . . [It makes] an immense difference . . . whether

America comes to learn its responsibility in regard to this matter quickly or slowly. If they are slow in learning we shall be condemned to a period . . . of strained relations between the various parts of the English-speaking world. [We must] get into the heads of Canadians [sic] and Americans that a share in the burden of world government is just as great and glorious a responsibility as participation in the war.<sup>7</sup>

To continue the relationship they had established at the peace conference with Americans who agreed with these objectives—including ending American national sovereignty—Lothian, Curtis and the other Round Tablers set up two organizations: in England, the Royal Institute for International Affairs, and a sister organization in America, the Council on Foreign Relations.<sup>8</sup> John Foster Dulles was to assume great responsibility for the development of the latter British-initiated group in New York.

A 1953 CFR publication on the problem of "Intimate Cooperation by Two Democracies" (i.e., Britain and the U.S.) described the relationship: "The Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations were founded in 1920 as a result of discussions between members of the British and American delegations at the [Versailles] Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. The two institutions, though completely independent, have developed their work along parallel lines in Britain and the United States."

The officers of the CFR, in 1953, included R.C. Leffingwell, a partner of J.P. Morgan, Jr., Chairman; Henry M. Wriston, chairman of First National City Bank, President; David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, Vice-President; George S. Franklin, Jr., the protégé and inductee of John Foster

7. Lothian to Lionel Curtis, Oct. 15, 1918, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

8. Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, *Peace and Counterpeace, From Wilson to Hitler*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, pp. 4-6.

Dulles, Acting Executive Director; Allen Dulles and Averell Harriman, Board Members; and Arthur Dean, chief executive of Sullivan and Cromwell, member of the Committee on Studies.

### The State Department and the Hitler Project

At Versailles Allen Dulles met and professionally fused himself to a man through whom he could fulfill his early desire to "become an intelligence operative just like" British spy Alex Gaunt: T.E. Lawrence, "Lawrence of Arabia." The world of British intelligence which Dulles entered, which through the Dulles brothers was amalgamated with the American service, was not in the philosophical sense a Western agency.

- T.E. Lawrence was chief of the Arab Bureau, using British-run radical Arab movements such as the Islamic fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood to reorganize power in the Middle East.

- The "idea man" for the British Intelligence Arab Bureau at that time, and head of Saudi Arabian operations, was Harry St.-John Philby; his son and disciple Harold "Kim" Philby was to take official charge of coordinating the American and British intelligence services beginning in 1949. He trained the American officers for the Central Intelligence Agency then being formed, and was in "close, almost daily contact with Allen Dulles."<sup>9</sup> Kim Philby finally defected to the Soviet Union as a "lifelong communist."

- Director of British Intelligence for the Balkans and the Middle East in the post-World War I period was Oxford historian Arnold Toynbee, the pro-feudalist who would become chief of the combined British intelligence services for World War II.

The official history of Allen Dulles's career path in the post-World War I era is as follows. By mid-1920 he was First Secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin, where he could help set in motion the operations for a New Germany in which older brother John Foster would play such a large part. In 1920 he was posted to Turkey, where he wrote back reports on T.E.

9. Mosley, *Dulles*, p. 487.

Lawrence's entire gamut of interests: Arab nationalism; Britain's rivalry with the French in the Near East; and the problem of Turkey's "dictator" Kemal Ataturk, who moved to free his country of the entire British-Islamic fundamentalist priestcraft. From 1922 to 1926 Allen Dulles was head of the Near Eastern section of the U.S. State Department.

Allen Dulles was in post-Versailles Germany (1919-20) as First Secretary (day-to-day operations chief) of the U.S. diplomatic mission in Berlin; the American chargé d'affaires in Berlin was Ellis Loring Dresel, who had worked on intelligence and counterespionage with Dulles in Berne, and before that with Dulles at the Versailles Conference. Both Dresel and Allen Dulles were appointed and closely supervised by Dulles's uncle, Secretary of State Robert Lansing.

While Dulles and Dresel worked out of Berlin, a young American captain, 25-year-old Truman Smith, was rapidly gaining contacts and sophistication as the chief political assistant to the Office of Civil Affairs in the U.S. Army occupying Germany. Smith hailed from an old Connecticut establishment family: A brother of his great grandfather named Nathaniel Smith had been a principal organizer of the Hartford Convention for the diehard Tories in 1814; his grandfather, Connecticut Senator Truman Smith, was the national manager of the Whig Party when it collapsed and disintegrated in the 1850s.

In June 1920, Smith was brought into the Berlin diplomatic mission to be "military observer," a post he held on and off until 1939. In mid-July 1920, Allen Dulles was back in Auburn, New York at his parents' house, announcing that he would marry Clover Todd, the daughter of a Columbia University professor, and a very close friend of Truman Smith since 1915.

In 1921, Robert Murphy, who had served under Allen Dulles in Berne, Switzerland, during World War I, was called in to serve as consul in Bavaria.

These were the State Department representatives on the scene as the Weimar Republic was born in Germany.

On October 30, 1922, Benito Mussolini's fascist Black Shirt

army entered Rome and seized power in Italy. British diplomat Ivone Kirkpatrick revealed later that Sir Samuel Hoare, a British "staff officer in charge of certain branches of military intelligence," had instructed Mussolini to beef up his fascist gangs for use against anti-war elements during World War I, and that British intelligence had begun paying Mussolini at that time.

Two weeks after Mussolini took over Italy (November 15-22, 1922), Truman Smith was dispatched to Munich by the new U.S. Ambassador to Germany, Alanson B. Houghton. In Bavaria, Smith set himself to the task of helping spread the fascist revolution into Germany. Smith gave only this report of the visit in his memoirs:

I talked at length about National Socialism with the Munich consul, Mr. Robert Murphy (later a very distinguished American ambassador), General Erich Ludendorff, Crown Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria, and Alfred Rosenberg. The latter became the political philosopher of the Nazi party.

On this visit I also saw much of Ernst F. S. Hanfstaengl, of the well-known Munich art family. "Putzi" was a Harvard graduate and later became Hitler foreign press chief. Hanfstaengl states in his 1957 memoirs, *Unheard Witness*, that it was I who brought him into contact with Hitler. This may well be so, but the actual facts of this introduction are not firmly fixed in my memory.

My interview with Hitler lasted some hours. The diary I kept in Munich indicates that I was deeply impressed by his personality and thought it likely that he would play an important part in German politics. I must confess, however, that I did not see him as the future ruler of most of Europe.<sup>10</sup>

10. Smith, Truman, *The Facts of Life*, memoirs dated 1964, printed in *Berlin Alert, The Memoirs and Reports of Truman Smith*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, California, 1984, pp. 17-18. Smith's faulty memory of having deployed Hanfstaengel was rudely refreshed, as related in *Berlin Alert*, p. 47:

"Fourteen-and-one-half years later—on March 3, 1937—he accom-

On November 25, 1922, the Military Attache's Office in Berlin filed Smith's report to the Division of Military Intelligence in the War Department in Washington. In that report, Smith pitched in to help "sell" Hitler to the Americans, as the necessary stern medicine to ensure Germany's responsibilities for its debts despite public opinion, to stop Communism, and to break labor resistance to austerity.

[In the] World War [Hitler was] wounded several times, he was given the Iron Cross, 1st class, for bravery. . . . His ability to influence a popular assembly is described as uncanny. In private conversation he disclosed himself as a forceful and logical speaker, which, when tempered with a fanatical earnestness, makes a very deep impression on a neutral listener.

Smith paraphrased Hitler:

His basic aim is the overthrow of Marxism . . . and the winning of labor to the nationalist ideals of state and property. . . . The clash of party interests has proved stronger than love of nation . . . demonstrat[ing] the impossibility of Germany's rescue from her present difficulties through democracy. His movement aims at the establishment of a national dictatorship through nonparliamentary means. Once achieved, he demands that the reparations demands be

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panied Mr. Hugh Wilson, our newly appointed ambassador to Germany, to the chancellor's palace . . . for his initial reception by Adolph Hitler. . . . Smith together with other members of the embassy staff entered a large formal reception hall to be presented to the führer-chancellor. The embassy staff . . . passed down the reception line . . . When Smith's turn came, he shook hands with Hitler and was about to pass on, when he felt a hand grasp his sleeve. 'Have I not seen you before?' Hitler asked. I was somewhat surprised but answered immediately, 'Yes, Mr. Chancellor, in Munich in 1922.' 'Oh yes,' replied Hitler, 'you introduced me to Hanfstaengl.' Then, another member of the embassy staff stepped up to shake hands with the chancellor. I never spoke to Hitler again."

reduced to a possible figure, but that done, the sum agreed on be paid to the last pfennig, as a matter of national honor. To accomplish this, the dictator must introduce universal reparations service and enforce it with the whole force of the state. His power during the period of fulfillment cannot be hampered by any legislature or popular assembly. . . . He believes that the "war of revenge" preached in certain national circles is an utter absurdity. . . .

The question whether Hitler's National Socialists can play a role in Germany equivalent to that played by the Fascisti in Italy can still not be answered with any degree of certainty. . . . It is believed that not only in Munich, but in all Germany, there is a fertile field even among the factory workers for a national movement. . . . The discipline of the German laborer to his union is a well-recognized fact. The breaking off of this relationship is fundamental for the success of any nationalist labor movement.<sup>11</sup>

Smith's report echoed an entry in his diary for November 19, 1922. General Erich Ludendorff, who had first deployed Corporal Adolf Hitler as his political spy and in 1919 directed him into the tiny Nazi Party, told Smith "America must understand that only a strong nationalist government in Germany can preserve the country from chaos and insure reparations being paid to the Allies."<sup>12</sup>

In a draft magazine article prepared in June 1924, Smith reports: "Preaching a gospel of work and attacking labor leader and socialist agitator as false friends of the German people, the Hitler doctrine has done its share to resurrect again the old will to love in their work, formerly so deeply embedded in the German. The results have become more and more noticeable to the foreign traveler in Germany in recent months. . . . It is perhaps a pity, but if merely the tremendous tasks bound up

11. *ibid.*, pp. 62-63; 65.

12. *ibid.*, p. 59.

with the execution of Germany's reparations obligations are considered, much can be said for the necessity of Germany's adopting a dictatorial form of government for the next decade."

Smith relates how useful anti-Semitism may be in drawing the ire of the German population away from those Round Table bankers responsible for the Versailles Treaty, and the plunder and collapse of the German economy that followed from it. ". . . More serious, is the charge that an undue percentage of Germany's wealth has passed during the war and the period of inflation into Jewish hands. This cannot fail to stir the German middle-class citizen who has not been financially acute enough to save his little wealth from submergence. . . . The success or failure of the Racialist movement is, however, unimportant in comparison with that dim, scarcely yet felt, reawakening of the patriotism of the German people, of which it is but an excrescence. . . . The probability of a patriotic, nationalistic Germany of the future must still be faced."<sup>13</sup>

We may now see if perhaps Truman Smith was less than candid when he called Nazism "but an excrescence" of "the reawakening of the patriotism of the German people."

### 'Putzi'

Indeed, it was Truman Smith who introduced Hitler and Hanfstaengl—deployment which Hanfstaengl, as we shall see, viewed as an assignment from "American" intelligence to work for the Nazis.

A recent slogan in Boston politics had it that "before Hitler there was Harvard." Its truth is borne out in the person of Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl. Putzi's father was a fancy art dealer in Munich, catering to the art-trading aristocratic flotsam and jetsam from eastern Europe who tended to collect in Bavaria. The Hanfstaengls had been privy councilors to the Coburg Princes. Putzi's mother was a Sedgewick from Boston, a "Boston Brahmin." Thus, around the turn of the century Hanfstaengl came

13. Quoted in *Berlin Alert*, pp. 70-74.

to America and entered Harvard University. At Harvard Putzi became close to a son of President Theodore Roosevelt, and was invited to the White House. He and Teddy Roosevelt hit it off, and their friendship continued until Roosevelt's death in 1919. After Harvard, Hanfstaengl went to work managing his family's bookshop-to-the-aristocracy on New York's Fifth Avenue. When World War I came, he would normally have been interned along with other German aliens, but he was kept free by a well-connected lawyer—Elihu Root, who had been Teddy Roosevelt's Secretary of State. Around 1920 Hanfstaengl returned to Germany. Wanting it to be understood that he did his work as an "American agent," Hanfstaengl recorded in his memoirs<sup>14</sup> his assignment by U.S. military attache Captain Truman Smith, during Smith's fateful visit to Bavaria in 1922: To link up with a rising young politician who seemed certain of success—Adolf Hitler. Under the watchful eye of Consul General Robert Murphy, Putzi Hanfstaengl joined Hitler's Nazi movement. He personally financed the conversion of the Nazi newspaper into a daily. He introduced Hitler to the top ranks of the Bavarian aristocracy, the friends of the Hanfstaengls, who opened their purses for the mustachioed Corporal. Among these family friends were the Bruckmanns, the publishers of British-linked geopolitician Karl Haushofer. In 1923 Hitler made his first attempt at revolution, the "Beer Hall" putsch. Personally, physically on hand, throughout the entire affair, was U.S. Consul General Robert Murphy in the Beer Hall and in the streets when the shooting started.<sup>15</sup> So was Putzi Hanfstaengl, at Hitler's side as the Führer's representative to the foreign press correspondents who gathered in Munich. The coup attempt collapsed. Hitler fled Munich and was driven to Hanfstaengl's country house, where Putzi's wife and sister hid and nursed him. Hitler was arrested there after two days, and sentenced to prison for trea-

14. Hanfstaengl, Ernst, *Unheard Witness*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1957, pp. 32-33.

15. Murphy, Robert D., *Diplomat Among Warriors*, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1964, pp. 21-22.

son. There he wrote *Mein Kampf*, and there Putzi and his aristocratic circle visited him to plot the future of the Nazi movement.

As the Nazi movement grew, Hanfstaengl with his American connections remained Hitler's spokesman to the foreign press, most importantly the New York and London papers. He held this job until 1937. But Hanfstaengl had other talents. When in Boston, he had composed marches to be played at the Harvard football games. He explained to Hitler how the masses were in this fashion whipped into mindless enthusiasm, and suggested he should do the same for the marching band of the SA, the Nazi private army. Hitler agreed, and Hanfstaengl composed new marches, including the one the Nazis played as they marched through the Brandenburger Gate after Hitler finally became Chancellor. Hanfstaengl reports that what was first "Harvard, Harvard, Rah Rah Rah!" became "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!" Ernst Hanfstaengl eventually fled Germany, in the late 1930s. He was interned in a British prison camp, but was released with the help of "London friends in high places," and was eased into a job with American military intelligence—"interpreting the Nazis to the Americans." This lasted only a few months, however, until President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that Putzi was an unregenerate Nazi and dumped him back in prison.

### World Government: First Approximation

While the Hitler project was being assembled and pumped up in Bavaria, John Foster Dulles was helping to fashion an international political and financial system which could use the services of a Hitler. In post-World War I Europe, attorney Dulles officially represented the British banking group—the Bank of England and the J.P. Morgan firm—to which the victorious Allies had given the power to arrange Germany's reparations payments.

Just after Versailles, John Foster Dulles roamed chaotic Germany gathering intelligence, wandering in and out of areas controlled by communist rebels, while his brother Allen put together

the Berlin mission which included Truman Smith. In Germany, like his younger brother Allen, John Foster made connections which turned out to be central to the Hitler project: among them, a minor official of the Allied-created German banking authority, Hjalmar Schacht—the man who later organized financing for Hitler, from American, British and German oligarchs, and ran the Nazi economy for Hitler.

On March 20, 1922, the minor official Schacht addressed a proposal to John Foster Dulles, Esq., for a new international system.<sup>16</sup> Schacht and Dulles were already on the same team; Schacht's father had been an employee of the Equitable Life Assurance Society from 1885 until 1919, and had been made the co-director of Equitable's German branch in 1914 when J. P. Morgan owned Equitable.

Hjalmar Schacht proposed:

... A solution of the reparation problem . . . to give Europe a couple of years—say five—to restore . . . steady conditions in the different countries. . . . Germany must find a loan of say 5 billions of gold marks, proceeds of which have to be handed at once to France. . . . My idea is, not to issue a state-loan but a loan of private corporations. I want to form, say, four private German corporations; to each of these 4 corporations the German government has to grant the monopoly of exports of some bulk articles as for instance coal, potash, sugar and cement, each corporation controlling the export of one of these articles. The monopoly has to be granted for 20 years. The inland producers have to deliver their production to the corporations. . . .

The corporations are to issue loans at a total amount of 5 billions gold marks. . . . As the total export of the 4 corporations can be estimated at 500 million gold marks, the amount of the loan will be repaid within 10 years. . . .

16. Schacht to John Foster Dulles, March 20, 1922, Dulles Papers.

The loan which I propose is not . . . based on any political treaty. . . . The repayment of the loan is under control of first [sic] industrial and commercial people of the highest standing. . . .

This letter was forwarded by its addressee, John Foster Dulles, to Thomas W. Lamont, partner of J.P. Morgan, with Dulles's plaudits: "Dr. Schacht is one of the ablest and most progressive of the younger German bankers, and it seems to me that his plan may contain some thoughts which may have some merit."<sup>17</sup>

Two weeks later Dulles responded enthusiastically to Schacht's proposal: "If a period of political stability could be assured, I have no doubt that bonds issued by such monopolistic corporations as you mention would command the confidence of the investing public." Dulles added his own suggestions: "I assume that if the bonds were tax exempt in Germany quite an amount could be raised in Germany."

Over the next several years, the years of the Weimar Republic, the essence of this Schacht-Dulles-Morgan plan was put into effect. Hjalmar Schacht was appointed President of the German national bank, the Reichsbank; he carried out austerity programs and shut down productive investment, to "save money" that could go for debt payments. Certain German corporations, attaining monopoly status, were linked with foreign concerns in world-spanning cartel arrangements.

The most famous cartel was the fusion between the I.G. Farben chemical company and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Others involved metals and primary agricultural and industrial commodities.

In such a cartel, the parties set certain world price structures and production limits for their industries, pooled their patents, and agreed to block or destroy any parties outside the agreement, in any country, who set competitive pricing or production policies, or who came out with new inventions or technology

17. John Foster Dulles to Thomas Lamont, April 1, 1922, Dulles Papers.

which might disturb the cartel's control. The cartels were simply the extension onto a world scale of the "trusts" built up by J.P. Morgan to control and police American industry during Teddy Roosevelt's presidency. With massive credit flows associated with reparations going into and out of Germany, the entire arrangement amounted to a British-directed, German-centered police apparatus over the world's business—a first approximation of the world government spoken of by Lord Lothian.

John Foster Dulles had been, since 1919, the lawyer for Richard Merton, founder of I.G. Farben. In 1924 attorney John Foster Dulles was selected by J.P. Morgan to draw up the Dawes Plan, for reshaping Germany's reparations payments; that same year, Thomas Lamont arranged official loans from J.P. Morgan to bail out the new, shaky dictatorship of Benito Mussolini over Italy.

John Foster Dulles became in 1926 chief executive of Sullivan and Cromwell—the law firm by which all the cartels were represented. After Hitler's 1933 takeover in Germany, *the cartels provided the main industrial and commercial underpinning for the Nazi rearmament of Germany*. Among the clients of Sullivan and Cromwell were:

- *I.G. Farben*, the chemical giant which ran the factory at the Auschwitz death camp, under a cartel agreement with Jersey Standard. I.G. Farben was also fused in a cartel with International Nickel of Canada, of which John Foster Dulles was part owner and a director. When I.G. Farben's workers at the Auschwitz factory grew exhausted, they—with masses of Jews and other prisoners—were exterminated with I.G. Farben's poison gas, Zyklon B.

- *Steel baron Fritz Thyssen*, who confessed his financial backing for Hitler in a famous book called *I Paid Hitler* (perhaps Dulles should have written a foreword titled, "I Brokered the Deal").

- *Gestapo General Kurt von Schroeder* and the Anglo-German Schroeder Bank. Allen Dulles was a director of the Bank throughout the 1930s, as Schroeder's shamelessly supported



Hitler's election efforts and backed his dictatorship's commercial ventures.

- *Schroeder, Rockefeller and Company* investment bank of New York.

- *The North German Lloyd shipping line*; Dulles represented this company in a 1933-34 New York court case, when its New York office was the location of a Nazi Party recruiting and espionage cell involving 500 individuals.<sup>18</sup>

- *International Telephone and Telegraph Company of Germany*, of which Dulles's law partner Gerhardt Westrick was Chairman. ITT ran Germany's telephones and produced fuses, radar and other equipment for the Nazi army throughout World War II.

- *Ford of Germany*, of which Dulles's law partner Heinrich Albert was chairman. Ford built cars, trucks, and armored vehicles for the Nazis. and

- *General Motors of Germany*.

### Filling the Strange Gap in Averell Harriman's Biography

In 1930, Dulles's correspondent Hjalmar Schacht resigned from the presidency of the Reichsbank, to spend the next three years recruiting support for a Hitler dictatorship. After Hitler took power in January 1933, he made Schacht the Nazi economic czar, with special responsibility for the creation of a war machine.

Then, at the outset of 1933, Germany was bankrupt, masses of its workers were unemployed, and the country had no significant military power. In these early months the entire Nazi enterprise was vulnerable to outside intervention, which could have crushed it. It was at this point that the commercial and

18. Rollins, Richard, *I Find Treason: The Story of an American Anti-Nazi Agent*, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1941, p. 17-23; Riess, Curt, *Total Espionage*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1941, p. 55; Rogge, O. John, *The Official German Report: Nazi Penetration 1924-1942, Pan Arabism 1939-Today*, Thomas Yoseloff, New York, 1961, p. 23-25 (for Captain Friederick Carl Mensing of North German Lloyd).

political partnership of Averell Harriman and John Foster Dulles played a central role, with the British Round Table faction, in cementing the Nazi regime in power.

In May 1985, the 94-year-old Harriman received a medal from the government of the Soviet Union commemorating what is, in the Soviet view, his exemplary work for peace; Harriman has been for many years the "elder statesman," the power center of the Democratic Party's pro-Soviet wing. But Harriman also had another political career: pro-Nazism, which entirely coheres with pro-Sovietism.

To situate Harriman's pro-Nazism, and the Harriman-Dulles partnership, it is necessary to fill what has been a large gap in the heretofore published biography of Averell Harriman: his international political and racial—pro-eugenics, pro-Nazi—activities in the decades before World War II.

W. Averell Harriman's father, Edward H. Harriman (1848-1910), was a small New York stock broker who was boosted into wealth and powerful connections by association with managers of the old-line pro-slavery wing of the Democratic Party—the Schell brothers, August Belmont, and so forth—and through them the Astors, Vanderbilts and other British-linked financiers.

Great fame came to E.H. Harriman as an owner and monopolist over railroads. His most consistent financial backing came from the Kuhn Loeb investment banking firm.<sup>19</sup> Kuhn Loeb's chief executive, Jacob Schiff, was himself a lifelong partner, in fact a disciple, of the British financier Sir Ernst Cassel. Schiff and Cassel interested themselves in the railroad investments of many nations, but Cassel's trips to America were not merely for the purpose of talking business, as business is normally understood. Ernst Cassel was the personal banker for the British Round Table, for their Fabian Society, and for many of the Round Table's investment schemes in the Middle East. Another partner

19. Kennan, George, *E. H. Harriman*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1922, p. 15. Kennan also points out the practical working relationship between Harriman and the Stillman-Rockefeller group at National City Bank (later "Citibank"), financiers of Standard Oil.

of Jacob Schiff, and the eventual chief executive of Kuhn Loeb, was Felix Warburg, whose brother Max ran the M.M. Warburg banking firm in Germany. These family connections were crucial for E.H. Harriman's son Averell, in his career as an American representative of the British Round Table faction.

Late in his life E.H. Harriman became very much involved with the racist "Conservation" movement, and with the affairs of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. After his death in 1910, his wife and children used considerable sums from his immense fortune to finance the new work of the "Conservation" movement: eugenics, or Race Purification.<sup>20</sup>

Widow Mary A. Harriman donated 80 acres of land and buildings in 1910 to establish the Eugenics Records Office (ERO) and the Eugenics Research Association in Cold Spring Harbor, New York. Mrs. Harriman, her daughter Mary Rumsey Harriman, and her son Averell invested over \$500,000 in the eugenics center over the next several years, making it the international center for race science.

The monthly *Eugenical News*, put out by the ERO director Charles Davenport and superintendent Harry H. Laughlin, was circulated to top policymakers throughout America, and its articles were translated into German for use by the fledgling Nazi Party.

The ERO's Committee to Study and Report on the Best Practical Means of Cutting Off the Defective Germ-Plasm in the American Population released its final report in 1914. It called for the forced sterilization of "defectives" including paupers, the

20. Material on Harriman's eugenics is largely developed from the research of Robert Zubrin. See also Chase, Allan, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1980; this is a valuable, impassioned, but curiously flawed book. Alan Chase being a "leftist," he cannot attack favorites in the Left pantheon, such as Charles Darwin and Averell Harriman. The Harriman family only *financed* eugenics; according to Chase, in a telephone interview with the present author, the Harrimans didn't really understand what they were doing and didn't much participate in the movement they paid for.

blind, the deaf, criminals, the feeble-minded, epileptics, the weak and people with tuberculosis and "hereditary laziness."

The Harrimans' ERO report, mass-distributed to American legislators, clergymen, editors and professors, is identical in viewpoint to the philosophical statement written by John Foster Dulles in 1911—and to *Mein Kampf*:

It is held by some schools of social workers that better schools, better churches, better food, better clothing, better living and better social life will remedy almost any social inadequacy in individuals. The studies of this committee point strongly in the opposite direction. They prove conclusively that much social inadequacy is of a deep-seated biological nature, and can be remedied only by cutting off the human strains that produce it.

The Harrimans' Eugenics Records Office wrote an implementation report in 1915,<sup>21</sup> calling for 15 million Americans to be sterilized—to produce "the perfect man" by 1980.

The Second International Eugenics Congress was held in New York's American Museum of Natural History in 1921. Averell Harriman, a member of the Museum's board since 1918, gave \$1,000 of his own money and served on the Museum Executive Committee hosting the conference; his mother and sister were the primary hostesses. Members of a congressional Committee on Immigration were transported from Washington to view the racist eugenics exhibits, and to hear tirades against allowing continued immigration of "inferior" ethnic groups such as Italians and Jews.

Also in 1921, the Harrimans' Eugenics Records Office issued its "Model Eugenical Sterilization Law" drafted by ERO superintendent Harry H. Laughlin, which added to the earlier can-

21. The report was widely publicized in the daily press; see Harriman clippings file, New York Public Library, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, New York City.

didates for forcible sterilization "orphans, the homeless, ne'er-do-wells, and tramps."

The Third International Eugenics Congress was held in 1932, again at New York's American Museum of Natural History. It was also financed by the Harrimans and hosted by Averell's mother and sister. This conference elected Dr. Ernst Rudin of Germany the president of the International Federation of Eugenics Societies and gave him a medal. It was Rudin who, in 1934, wrote the law "For the Protection of German Blood and German Honor," implemented by the Nazi regime to remove citizenship from Jews. Rudin also wrote the Nazi sterilization law "For the Prevention of Hereditary Diseases in Posterity," lifted almost word-for-word from the Harriman ERO text. Two million Germans and millions of conquered foreigners were sterilized by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945.

While he and his family were financing the fascist movement in America, Averell Harriman became very interested in Germany. He formed a partnership with the Hamburg-American shipping line after the First World War, developing the largest merchant fleet owned by an American. He renewed his father's financial partnership with the Warburgs, underwriting the bonds of the new Soviet regime along with M.M. Warburg.

### Harriman, Dulles, and Hitler

We now review the sequence of events in 1933, involving Harriman, John Foster Dulles and Hjalmar Schacht.

Adolf Hitler took power in Germany in January 1933, after the Nazis scored a surprising success in the elections in the state of Lippe. Hitler put Dulles's friend, Hjalmar Schacht, in charge of the Nazi economy. Schacht declared that in most cases payments of German private and public debts to foreigners would be made in "blocked marks," or scrip which had no international value except to exchange for German exports under Schacht's rules.

On May 19, 1933, a note (signed "R.M.") on the stationery

of Brown Brothers Harriman<sup>22</sup> was addressed to John Foster Dulles, referring to instructions, advice and information Harriman's firm was giving Dulles for his imminent trip to Germany.

On Saturday, May 20, 1933, the following article appeared in the *New York Times* financial section:

#### Importers to Use 'Blocked' Mark Balances; Syndicate Formed for Trade With Germany

The formation of a company to provide means for the liquidation of German blocked mark balances through the financing of imports to the United States from Germany was announced yesterday. The new company is to be called the Syndicate of American Creditors Owning German Blocked Accounts.

The Harriman International Company is to be syndicate manager.

. . . It is estimated that about \$800,000,000 of American short-term capital . . . is locked up in Germany and cannot be withdrawn. The syndicate plans to use these "blocked" marks, with the consent of the German Exchange Control, for partial payment by American importers for German goods.

About 150 firms and individuals holding from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 of blocked marks are expected to become members of the syndicate.

The *Times* article carried the byline of no reporter, and mentioned no names—other than "Harriman International." How Harriman had worked out such a sweet arrangement with Hjalmar Schacht—to be manager of exports from Nazi Germany to America, under Schacht's dictatorial control—has never been revealed.

On May 21, 1933, John Foster Dulles sailed to Germany as the representative of Brown Brothers Harriman, Dillon Read,

22. Dulles Papers, Princeton University Library.

Kuhn Loeb and all private investment banks and Wall Street firms. Accompanied by a Sullivan and Cromwell subordinate and three employees of Chase bank, John Foster Dulles negotiated in Berlin with Hjalmar Schacht on the financing of the new Hitler government. British, Swiss, Dutch and Swedish investors were also represented.

A large pile of correspondence from that trip, between Wall Street and Dulles in Berlin, some of it in code, gathers dust in the Dulles papers at Princeton University.

By the end of June 1933, Dulles, Schacht, and the others had worked out a deal for looting the German population and stopping payment to American holders of German bonds, while paying the Swiss their due.

In November 1933, the father of the present author, Jacob Chaitkin, filed suit in New York municipal court, to compel the North German Lloyd company to pay a client of his \$30 they owed her. Jacob Chaitkin's opponent in the court case was John Foster Dulles, representing the shipping line, claiming that North German Lloyd under German government decrees (which Dulles himself had personally arranged) was unfortunately forbidden to pay its American debts.

Jacob Chaitkin argued that Schacht had not declared a legal debt moratorium, because his decrees were discriminatory between the creditors: against the Americans and for the Swiss. The suit had a desperate political motivation—to block the financial operations which Hitler was using to consolidate his regime of terror and to arm the Nazi state for war.

Dulles lost the \$30 case; a writ was issued to tie up a 30,000-ton Lloyd liner in New York harbor until the coupon was paid, and a precedent was set that Jacob Chaitkin and others used to stop millions of dollars from going to Hitler.<sup>23</sup>

23. In New York Municipal Court, Jacob Chaitkin, representing Katherine Perry, versus Sullivan and Cromwell, representing the North German Lloyd Co. The court records for this period are supposed to have been routinely destroyed, but the case was covered in the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times* beginning Nov. 1933. Judge James S. Watson's

But Dulles, Harriman, and their allies stepped up the trade between Nazi Germany and the United States. American Jews and others including the American Federation of Labor organized a boycott of German imports. In 1934 the American Jewish Congress hired Jacob Chaitkin as the legal director of their Joint Boycott Committee. Chaitkin negotiated with Macy's and other department stores; Macy's and others stopped selling goods from Nazi Germany under threats of demonstrations and boycott.

With the news of increasing terror against German Jews, Americans paraded and held mass protest meetings to mobilize support for the boycott and other actions against Hitler. While the Jewish War Vets, Hadassah, many Zionist organizations, orthodox Jewish groups and Eastern Europeans participated in the boycott, two Jewish organizations opposed the boycott and warned Jews not to take any public action whatsoever against the Hitler regime. These two anti-boycott groups were the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, whose leaders were deeply involved in the politics, commerce and—to the extent Jews were allowed—the social life of the pro-Nazi Harriman-Dulles circle, and the Venetian-German-“Jewish” Warburgs.<sup>24</sup>

### Nazis and the World Council of Churches

There was another avenue the pro-Nazi faction in the West used to promote Hitler. Like his forefathers, John Foster Dulles, with the Round Tablers who had groomed him and his younger brother, used religion as an entry point. The form of that religious entry point was another approximation of a world government.

decision against Dulles and the Nazis was covered in the *Times* of January 10, 1934, page 31, col 3.

24. Chaitkin, Anton, “Hitler, Dulles and the B’Nai B’Rith,” in *New Solidarity*, March 30, 1984. See also Gottlieb, Moshe R., *American Anti-Nazi Resistance, 1933-1941: An Historical Analysis*, Ktav Publishing House, New York, 1982. The boycott files of the American Jewish Congress were later placed in the custody of the anti-boycott American Jewish Committee, at whose New York City headquarters such boycott records as they have chosen to make accessible may be studied.

A spectacular meeting of delegates from Europe and America was held in the summer of 1937 at Oxford, England, to establish the World Council of Churches. The conference was organized and directed by Anglican churchman J. H. Oldham. The gathering was opened and greeted by the Chancellor of Oxford University, the dean of British appeasers, Lord Halifax.

The World Council of Churches numbered among its leaders, the leaders of the appeasement-of-Hitler faction in the West: Halifax, Dulles, Lothian. It was to further that appeasement, and the Nazi racialist view, that the WCC was formed.

A committee was formed, chaired by Willem Visser 't Hooft, to study the Christian attitude towards war. The committee reported that pacifism—in the face of Hitler aggression—was Christian, and so was fighting in unjust “patriotic” wars—as the Nazis were preparing to do—and these attitudes were just as Christian as the notion that justice should be done (that is, that Hitler should be resisted).

Visser 't Hooft explained in the official account of the World Council's formation<sup>25</sup> the origin of the social and ecclesiastic ideas of the conference organizer, J. H. Oldham:

Oldham used the expression “league of churches” because in those days [1920s] he was profoundly interested in the process whereby the League of Nations had come into being in January 1920. He was in touch with the “Round Table” group, in particular with Lionel Curtis and Philip Kerr, later Lord Lothian, both of whom had taken an active part in the elaboration of the plan for a League of Nations, Curtis as a member of the Peace Delegation at Versailles and Kerr as Lloyd George's private secretary. Both men were also in close touch with [South African] General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil. On 20 September 1952, Oldham wrote to me: “The Round Table group were my great

25. Visser 't Hooft, W.A., *The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches*, published by the World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland, 1982, p. 11.

educators in matters of *constitutional principle*. They clarified my thinking in these matters. I saw clearly that though the Continuation Committee was an organization of church boards it was in principle an entirely new development in church life and that it might lead in the future to new relations *between the churches themselves*. [emphasis in the original]

The 1937 Oxford Conference published several reports, among them a book—*The Universal Church and the World of Nations*—expressing the new organization's views on the need for the reordering of the world's political affairs under a world government. The lead article was written by Lord Lothian, under the title “The Demonic Influence of National Sovereignty.” Another was written by American delegate John Foster Dulles. Lothian and Dulles argued that national sovereignty—like the political and juridical independence of the United States—*causes* wars.

Lord Lothian had met privately with Adolf Hitler in 1935 and again in 1937. Since the Führer was then building a war machine that might overthrow that very national sovereignty which Lothian decried, among nations of continental Europe, their discussion centered around ways of overcoming opposition within the West to Hitler's efforts. In the transcript of the 1935 meeting, Adolf Hitler tells Lord Lothian:

Germany, England, France, Italy, America and Scandinavia . . . should arrive at some agreement whereby they would prevent their nationals from assisting in the industrializing of countries such as China, and India.

It is suicidal to promote the establishment in the agricultural countries of Asia of manufacturing industries. From these countries we should rather take raw materials in return for manufactured goods. Unless some such arrange-

ment is made, England, Germany and America will lose their export trade.<sup>26</sup>

Hitler's view precisely coincided with the order the British Empire had imposed on colonies across the world. In years to come, Hitler repeatedly cited to his intimates the example of British depredation in India as his model for what he meant to do to Eastern Europe. Lothian and Hitler could agree entirely on this pure Nazi, pure British colonial dogma: that the underdeveloped, or non-"white" countries, must not be allowed to develop independent modern manufacturing industry. This genocidal prohibition against development has been as well, from its beginning, the exact viewpoint of the World Council of Churches.

The transcript of Lord Lothian's 1935 meeting with Hitler includes this exchange:

Lothian: Best thing I can do is to inform the PM [prime minister] [Sir John] Simon, and [Stanley] Baldwin of this talk, and to emphasize that Anglo-German conversations can be conducted with a view to a plan designed to stabilize Europe for 10 years.

Hitler: Agreed. . . . The best means of preserving peace would be for England and Germany to make a common declaration that anybody who breaks the peace shall be punished by these two Powers.

Lothian: Quoted [Cecil] Rhodes' view—USA, England and Germany would together preserve peace of the world. . . . He agreed with Führer that cooperation between Germany, USA and England provided solid foundation for a League of Nations.

In their meeting just before the founding conference of the

26. Transcriptions of the conversations excerpted in Butler, *Lord Lothian*, pp. 332, 337.

World Council of Churches, Lothian assured Hitler that "Britain had no primary interests in Eastern Europe. . . . Germany's role in this sphere was clear."

Lord Lothian, whom the World Council of Churches selected in 1937 to represent its views to the world, was in 1938 one of the most intimate advisors to the new British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain. Another Chamberlain intimate was a member of the cabinet, Sir Samuel Hoare, who had arranged the original financing of the fascist movement of Benito Mussolini. Another insider was Lord Halifax, who had opened the World Council of Churches conference and had represented British Catholics at the conference (the Vatican, on the other hand, refused to be represented there). He was Neville Chamberlain's foreign minister, and went to Germany to arrange the Munich sellout of Czechoslovakia to the Nazis.

It is remarkable that Winston Churchill, when he finally took over the British government from the pro-Nazis, had the gall to appoint, first Lord Lothian, and, after Lothian died, Lord Halifax, to be the British ambassadors to the United States. Even while asking for the U.S. to join in Britain's war with Germany, these two men continued to work for an alliance of Britain and the Nazis in Europe.

Halifax kept a staff of 5,000 at the British embassy in Washington during the war, while he lived in a former slave plantation in Virginia. He revealed to his biographer<sup>27</sup> why his own religious philosophy was perhaps so different from real Roman Catholicism that he could officially open the World Council of Churches founding conference, while the Catholic church boycotted it:

As they stood looking at the garden . . . [Lord Halifax's] eye had fallen upon the slave quarters:

"I regret that there are no slaves," he said; "this would be my hour for visiting my slaves. I should talk affably with

27. Smith, Frederick Furneaux, 2nd Earl of Birkenhead, *Halifax, The Life of Lord Halifax*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1965, p. 485.

them. I should visit the sick and aged and read the Bible to them, and when gross impropriety or misconduct demanded it, I should correct them, and every now and then I should bend to pat a little head. Finally I should make them all sing Spirituals to me."

No German churches were represented at the WCC conference at Oxford in 1937, because the Hitler government would not give passports to any delegates. But a Committee of 14 was selected at the end of the conference, to carry out the actual setting up of the World Council of Churches organization. For representation on this Committee, the World Council leaders paid special attention to the factional situation within German Protestantism.

The official Evangelical (Lutheran) Church was at that time an instrument of the Nazi state; there existed an opposition faction called the "Confessing Church" with many thousands of adherents. But the World Council of Churches specifically invited only the pro-Nazi leadership to join the WCC organization planners. Anti-Nazis—even those who simply did not cooperate with the Nazis—were specifically disinvited. Bishop Heckel, head of the foreign affairs department of the Evangelical Church, who was described by World Council executive director Visser 't Hooft as having "close relations with the Foreign Office of the Third Reich," was brought into the Committee of 14, so that the World Council during its period of organization could "maintain relations" with the official Nazi church.

John Foster Dulles, the chief international attorney for the Nazis, was a delegate to the World Council founding conference, in his capacity as head of the International Department of the American ecumenical group, the Federal, later National, Council of Churches.<sup>28</sup>

28. How did John Foster Dulles, whose philosophical viewpoint was so violently divergent from Christianity, come to represent the major American Protestant denominations in international affairs? In 1922 the liberal New York City preacher Harry Emerson Fosdick was attacked by fundamen-

This, then, was the leadership of the peace movement of the 1930s—the peace-with-Hitler movement. This message was spread through the churches and their youth groups by Dulles-style Christians.<sup>29</sup> It was spread by coercion through the Jewish community, against the boycott of Nazi Germany, by Dulles-

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talists for advocating Darwinian "survival of the fittest" evolutionary concepts from his Presbyterian pulpit; Fosdick was ensured by the Presbyterian General Assembly. At that time the father of Allen and John Foster Dulles, the Rev. Allen Macy Dulles, was Director of Apologetics at the Auburn Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian institution in upstate New York.

Reverend Dulles swung into action and organized a defense of Fosdick, circulating the "Auburn Affirmation" advocating "liberty of conscience" within the church. Reverend Dulles's Auburn Affirmation was signed by 1,293 Presbyterian ministers; the Reverend and his son, attorney John Foster Dulles, worked for a national liberal counterattack, and their faction took over the national leadership of the Presbyterian church on this issue. The 34-year-old John Foster Dulles, building his reputation as a liberal church leader, was serving as counsel to the "progressive" Federal Council of Churches as early as 1922. John Foster Dulles's views on Evolution and survival of the fittest have already been seen to be anything but "progressive"; no more so than those of Charles Darwin himself. Why couldn't the Presbyterian conservatives ever mount a public campaign to unmask Dulles as a fraud, a pagan, a barbarian feudalist? We may see their problem in the person of a major leader and bankroller of the mainstream of the church, John Howard Pew. Around 1950 Pew was simultaneously chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian General Assembly, Chairman of the Lay Committee of the National Council of Churches, and owner of the Sun Oil Company ("Sunoco"). Pew accuses the church liberals of trying to force an end to poverty by governmental interference in private affairs. See the authorized Pew biography—Sennholz, Mary, *Faith and Freedom*, Grove City College Press, Grove City, Pennsylvania, 1975. On page 107-108, for example, Pew approvingly quotes a co-thinker of his, that the Social Security program has "placed the premium upon irresponsible, shiftless, spendthrift living"; it is a program in which a man will have "his property [i.e. taxes] taken from him for the benefit of the shiftless, indolent wastrel [i.e. the elderly Social Security recipient]". Pew's view is essentially that if people are hungry, Christians should try privately to help them, but if this help is insufficient . . . the misery or death of the poor may be God's way. His difference, if any, with John Foster Dulles, his main Presbyterian liberal opponent, is that Dulles wants a world dictatorship to finish off the poor, while Pew thinks private enterprise can do the job unaided. After World War II, the Pew family slipped into their family-financed College at Grove City, Pa., an entire department of neo-fascist (and some old fascist) economists

style Jews such as the Sulzbergers, the owners of the *New York Times*, who ran the B'Nai B'Rith and the American Jewish Committee. It was spread through government and political circles by Dulles's Council on Foreign Relations. It was spread through the business world by Averell Harriman, who was Chairman of the Business Advisory Council to the Commerce Department throughout the 1930s. After World War II another peace movement, representing another totalitarianism, using the same methods, with the same targets to influence, would be led by the same people in the same institutions.

Today, those who sold out the West to the Nazis will do the same for the Soviets, if they are permitted to do so.

### 'Collective Guilt' and the Postwar World

Throughout the Second World War, the World Council of Churches executive, headed by Willem Visser 't Hooft, was based in Geneva, Switzerland. When Visser 't Hooft descended upon Stuttgart, Germany, in 1945, he and his cooperating German churchmen—most prominently Martin Niemöller—published the famous declaration of the Collective Guilt of the German people for the crimes of Hitler, with which this narrative begins. The doctrine of Collective Guilt had a dual purpose: To impose upon Germans, by virtue of their birth—in true racist style—the lie that all were guilty of the crimes of a dictatorship which had ruined Germany as surely as it did any other nation. Second, to cover up. The men who developed and extended the Col-

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from Austria. They must have cooperated in this venture closely with that illustrious economist, Eleanor Dulles, sister of Allen and John Foster, who was the postwar director of Austrian reconstruction for the State Department.

Is it possible that Presbyterians never noticed that Dulles and his allies ran both "right" and "left" wings of their church?

29. See, in the Dulles Papers at Princeton, Walter W. Van Kirk, national director of the Federal Council of Churches and Director of the National Peace Conference, inviting Dulles to join the National Committee for a World Conference for the appeasement of Hitler. Dulles accepted. A long list of major religious organizations adorn the letterhead.

lective Guilt dogma, were the men who themselves had been (and continued to be)—Nazis.

The doctrine had been worked out with precision by the famous Swiss psychiatrist, Carl Jung, who wrote, in an essay published immediately after the war:

Without guilt, there can be no psychic maturation, and no widening of the spiritual horizon. . . . Germans today . . . might make amends for a sin of omission of which our whole civilization is guilty. . . . Science has been refined to an almost unimaginable extent, technical achievement has reached an almost uncanny degree of perfection. But what of man. . . ? He sets about enjoying these dangerous playthings, completely oblivious of the shadow lurking behind him. . . . Who has had a more immediate experience of the feeling of helplessness and abandonment to the powers of darkness than the German who fell into the clutches of the Germans?

If collective guilt could only be understood and accepted, a great step forward would have been taken.<sup>30</sup>

Carl Jung already had considerable experience with the "powers of darkness." He was a lifelong student of Gnosticism and pagan superstitions of every kind. His central religious concept was that the God of the Bible is evil, because he denies man the "freedom" that Satan gives; and that man can only be free by himself doing greater evil in return.

When, in 1934, the president of the German Psychiatric Association resigned his post rather than let his work be used by the new Nazi regime, Carl Jung, who was not even German but Swiss, took his place. His published writings throughout the Nazi period justify Nazism as the natural excrescence of the "collective unconscious" of the German people—a notion only

30. Jung, Karl G., "After the Catastrophe," excerpted in Twitchell, Kenaston, *Regeneration in the Ruhr*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981.



slightly more sophisticated than the Nazi "excrement of patriotism" reported by Captain Truman Smith. "Collective unconscious" and "collective guilt" are twin products of Jungian Science. In the late 1930s Dr. Jung gave a series of lectures to the Tavistock Psychiatric Clinic in England, laying the basis for the methods of postwar German "re-education" implemented by the British and the U.S. State Department faction. During the war Jung spun a web for intelligence-gathering and influence from his Swiss base, on behalf of his Round Table and Gnostic comrades.

And one of Jung's disciples and agents was Boston Brahmin Mary Bancroft, who was at the same time an official agent of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services and the mistress of Allen Dulles. Allen Dulles was then running OSS operations in Switzerland.

Miss Bancroft was blunt about how "collective guilt" was substituted for actual denazification—which would in fact have hit hard at the interests and the involvements of Dr. Jung and the Dulleses: "Jung said . . . [Martin] Niemoeller is someone with whom something might be done.' He thought that Niemoeller might be useful in helping straighten out some of the religious and philosophical turmoil in which so many Germans found themselves, as well as helping them to face up to the problem of collective guilt which was so acute in Germany at the time. Niemoeller and his wife finally did come to Switzerland."<sup>31</sup>

31. Bancroft, Mary, *Autobiography of A Spy*, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1983. During a telephone interview in which questions about the national loyalties of the Dulles brothers raised some hackles, Mary Bancroft delivered an unusual insult to the present author: "Your trouble is, that you are very, very, *rational*."

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was also subject to the Harriman-Dulles partnership. The London OSS bureau was run by David K.E. Bruce, an employee and protégé of Averell Harriman from the 1920s. Through Bruce and other connections Averell Harriman dominated all "American" intelligence functions in wartime Britain.

Bruce was the husband of a Pittsburgh Mellon heiress. Allen Dulles

The World Council of Churches, as an extra-legal, quasi-official occupation authority in postwar West Germany, enforced its "collective guilt" doctrine in a very simple way. Another Swiss gentleman, the Rev. Dr. Karl Barth, the guru of Council executive director Visser 't Hooft, certified German churches as "denazified" if they consented to Collective Guilt and agreed to combat "German revanchism"—the Russian propaganda formulation which was already present in the 1945 World Council proclamations.

### Philosophy and Purpose of the WCC

As the World Council of Churches was an avenue in the West for Nazism, during the 1930s, today, it is an avenue for Moscow. The appeasers of the 1930s, are the appeasers of today.

The Russian Orthodox Church and certain Russian-oriented patriarchs of the Greek church—representing the monastery at Mt. Athos—played important roles in the 1930s deliberations for the founding of the World Council of Churches; since then, the Russians have made this organization their main Western base. In 1948 the Council held a World Assembly, in which John Foster Dulles again played a leading role. There the Council was launched on its present course as center of the Soviet-directed peace movement, and the ideological and organizational wellspring of many anti-Western movements: in particular, the West German Green Party.

John Foster Dulles got a reputation as a Cold Warrior against the Soviets, when his brink-of-war and massive retaliation policies were exhibited in his 1950s tenure as President Eisenhower's Secretary of State. But the World Council, which decries all defense of the West as war-mongering, held its own theatrical funeral service for Dulles when he died in 1959, eulogizing him as a great Christian.

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had been the lawyer for the Mellons' big international oil ventures, and Sullivan and Cromwell took over the management of the entire Mellon family fortune after Carl Jung psychoanalyzed Paul Mellon and his wife in Switzerland.

A glimpse into the "Eastern" philosophical orientation of the World Council of Churches will help solve the apparent contradiction. Visser 't Hooft reports that the Russian "blood and soil" fascist Nicolas Berdyaev served as a consulting philosopher in the formative years of the Council; Berdyaev continued to set the moral tone for the group in his regular lectures at the Council's ecumenical training center at Bossey, Switzerland, after World War II.

Berdyaev was the son of an almost comically degenerate Russian aristocratic family. He explained that his upbringing was so precious that he could never stand the company of males, and, while he would sit up all night talking to the ladies, he found women to be "sexually repulsive."<sup>32</sup>

He started his anti-Western rebellion as a Marxist, then gravitated to the Russian Orthodox Church.

After Mussolini took over Italy in 1922, Berdyaev celebrated the new movement in a book called "The New Middle Ages," in which the World Council of Churches' resident philosopher wrote:

We are witnessing the end of the Renaissance. . . . Minds gifted with some power of intuition would readily go back to the middle ages [i.e. before the Renaissance] to seek

32. See Lowrie, Donald A., *Rebellious Prophet, A Life of Nicolas Berdyaev*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1960, pp. 23, 27 and 73-80. In *Dream and Reality, An Essay in Autobiography*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, Berdyaev himself says (pp. 17, 23):

"My family was particularly prone to nervous disorders, and my mother used to say that . . . the Berdyaevs were not quite normal. My brother was distinctly neurotic, and some considered him quite abnormal. I suspect that this background must have affected my subconscious. . . .

"I dislike so-called 'life'; and my dislike is not physiological or even psychological [!], but spiritual in origin. I had a strong and well-formed body, yet I was always conscious of a feeling of revulsion against its physiological functions. . . . I always dislike stories about the sexual side of people's romantic adventures, and could not avoid a feeling of distaste for them. . . ."

there the real roots of human life—to find man once more . . . . Man is tired to death and is ready to rest upon any kind of collectivism that may come; and then human individuality will vanish once and for all.

I look to the thought of a world which is to begin, the world of the new middle ages. . . . The rationalist day of a past history declines; its sun sets and night is upon us. . . . The old worn out world to which we can never go back is precisely the world of modern history: a world of rationalist prophets, of individualism and Humanism, Liberalism and democratic theories, of imposing national monarchies and imperialist politics, of a monstrous economic system compounded of Industrialism and Capitalism, of vast technical apparatus, of exterior conquests and practical achievements, a world of unbridled and endless covetousness in its public life, of atheism and supreme disdain for the soul, and, at last, of Socialism, the end and crown of all contemporary history. We gladly echo the words of the revolutionary song, "Down with the Old World". . . .

As things are we can regard individualism only as utter reaction, though it still flatters itself that it is the pioneer of liberty, light and progress. Liberalism, parliamentarism, constitutionalism, juridical formalism, rationalism and empirical philosophy, so many fruits of the individualist spirit and of humanist self-affirmation, are all reactionary. They have had their day and their original significance is played out. . . . Now [man] moves toward generality, an epoch of universality and collectivity. . . .

Fascism is the sole innovation in contemporary European politics and it belongs to a middle age as much as does communism. [Its] principle of force in the insurgence of suddenly united groups, is typical of a new middle age. Fascism does not know in what name it acts, but it abandons juridical forms for life itself.

The end of capitalism is the end of modern history and

the beginning of the new middle ages. The imposing humanist enterprise has failed and the remains ought to be scrapped.<sup>33</sup>

Another philosopher, an associate of Berdyaev's, and the most important consultant to the postwar policy-planning of the World Council of Churches, was Arnold Toynbee. Toynbee looked forward to the practical implementation of Lord Lothian's drive for the elimination of "demonic" national sovereignty, or man's sovereignty over his own will:

The people of each local sovereign state will have to renounce their state's sovereignty and subordinate it to the paramount sovereignty of a literally world-wide world government. But this revolution in mankind's political organization can be brought about only as a consequence of a far more radical and more profound revolution, a revolution in our fundamental ideas and ideals. For a true and lasting peace, a religious revolution is, I am sure, a *sine qua non*.

Certain technologies may be helpful.

It is evident that the television screen would be an invaluable instrument for use in securing the acquiescence of people who disliked the prospect of submitting to a dictatorial world government, and even more valuable for conditioning the masses to accept the kind of regime that such a world government would impose on them.

And, if tampering with minds is not enough. . . .

Now that our progress in technology has armed us with

33. Published in English as Berdyaev, Nicolas, *The End of Our Time*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1933, pp. 13, 15-16, 70, 78-79, 86, 90, 95.

annihilating weapons, it is conceivable that we may come to the conclusion that we cannot any longer afford to let nature take its course in the production of human beings; that we cannot afford to have anti-social behavior. . . . We might decide that we must sterilize all human males and females before the age of puberty, and must breed children exclusively from test-tubes out of selected genes, from which we shall have eliminated those genes that generate self-centredness, aggressiveness, pugnacity, and anti-social behavior of all kinds.

If I am right in forecasting that a world dictatorship is likely to be the way in which we shall avoid liquidating ourselves in an atomic war, and if I live to see this development, I should on the whole be optimistic, because I should not expect the dictatorship to be permanent. . . .

Surely our paramount objective now ought to be the negative one of taking care not to liquidate ourselves. . . .

It is most unlikely, I fear, that it will be established by the will, or even with the acquiescence, of the majority of mankind. It seems to me likely to be imposed on the majority by a ruthless, efficient, and fanatical minority, inspired by some ideology or religion. I guess that mankind will acquiesce in a harsh Leninian kind of dictatorship as a lesser evil than self-extermination or than a continuing anarchy which could end only in self-extermination. If the reluctant majority does accept this dictatorship on this ground, I think they will be making the right choice, because it would enable the human race to survive.

Toynbee also wrote:

It is true that some present-day Americans profess to take an almost Graeco-Roman or Asian view of suicide when they say 'better dead than red.' But I am not convinced

they really mean it. I cannot see the American people preferring mass-suicide to submission to political servitude. . . .<sup>34</sup>

### The Mystery of Harriman and Dulles

Averell Harriman and the Dulles brothers achieved their greatest notoriety for their political roles in the 1940s and 1950s. Harriman was U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union during the later period of World War II. He arranged for President Franklin Roosevelt, by then seriously ill, to be dragged to Yalta in Russia for a conference with Josef Stalin and Winston Churchill, a conference whose details were under Ambassador Harriman's close supervision. At Yalta Roosevelt signed a pact which guaranteed free elections and a new democratic government to postwar Poland. FDR died just after the Yalta conference, and Ambassador Harriman remained to see to Yalta's implementation. Poland never got its free elections.

Franklin Roosevelt's vision of the postwar world was not shared by Stalin, Churchill, or Harriman. Roosevelt proposed to Churchill that India would fight harder for the Allies if Britain promised India postwar independence. Harriman explained Churchill's alarm at the proposal and lectured the President on the divided interests of India's population. FDR replied that during the 1780s, newly independent Americans thought they had conflicting regional and political interests, but the federal Constitution showed the conflict was only apparent—perhaps the American experience could be utilized in India?

Roosevelt also proposed giving independence to the peoples of French-ruled Southeast Asia. He spoke at the wartime conferences on behalf of a massive postwar reconstruction effort, using America's energy to bring modern industry, technology

34. Toynbee, Arnold Joseph, *Surviving the Future*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971, pp. 54, 66, 113-114, 117-118, 131.

and education to North Africa and other backward colonial areas. Harriman, Churchill, and Stalin busied themselves in dickering and plans for the postwar rearrangement of the world map into new "spheres of influence." The Yalta process continues to the present day.

In an attempt to fill the immense gap in Averell Harriman's biography—the Nazi period of the 1920s and 1930s—the present author made an official request to inspect the correspondence and other papers of Mr. Harriman. The guardians of the papers, the family banking firm Brown Brothers Harriman, requested the author fill out a form specifying the reason for wishing to see the papers, which are stored in a warehouse in Brooklyn, N.Y. The author complied by describing his father's work in the anti-Nazi boycott of the 1930s, pointing to Harriman's central role in German-American commerce of that time, and reporting his hope for an eventual official inquiry into the creation of the Hitler regime. The law firm of former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, representing the 94-year-old Harriman, called the author to announce that no one sees the papers under any circumstances.

Yet *Los Angeles Times* reporter Rudy Abramson has been working in the Harriman papers for the past three years preparing an authorized biography; Abramson told the present author that his biography will focus on Harriman's Soviet activities—his "peace" activities.

What secrets does the Brooklyn warehouse contain? Perhaps the exact nature of the massive political favor Harriman must have performed for the Nazis, putting him in the position to manage all of the "blocked-mark" imports into the United States.

Selected papers of the Dulles brothers lie in the Princeton University library. Access to even the uncensored papers of Allen Dulles require a special application to the "Allen Dulles Committee." Access to the papers of Sullivan and Cromwell is sealed to all.

But there is a Dulles family matter which ought to give us

special insight into the nature of those private transactions through which the Dulleses were positioned to do such powerful evil to humanity. It is the Mallet connection, to one of the most evil families in this country's history, which we pick up again here.

### The Mallets: Centuries of Evil

Theologian Allen Macy Dulles, father of Allen and John Foster, reformed the entire Presbyterian church in America. It was his brother, Petit Dulles, who married into the Mallet family by marrying the Swiss-American Julia Mallet-Prevost. The remarkable family connection thus established gave the Dulleses a powerful welcome in Switzerland. The Mallets, the Prevosts and the combined Mallet-Prevosts have already figured largely in the unfolding of our series, "Treason in America." Let us now briefly describe the story of this unique family grouping, as far as it is presently known.

The Mallets and Prevosts were two of the oligarchical families which held hereditary seats in the "Council of 200" ruling Geneva, Switzerland. In alliance with the British royal family, this ruling set constituted a kind of Swiss-based grand committee of the feudal aristocracy's spymasters in 18th-century Europe; other families on the Council were the Gallatins and Du Pans.

The first book of the German romantic movement—*Danish Antiquities*, which counterposed the supposed virtues of the wild forest ancestors of Nordic Europeans to the milder Mediterranean heritage, was written by Paul-Henri Mallet in 1750. This first anthropologist, a paid spy of King George III, was the teacher and political guide of Albert Gallatin, the future U.S. Treasury Secretary. Paul-Henri Mallet served as adviser to the Landgrave of Hesse, and Hesse's ambassador to Switzerland. His cousin Jacques Mallet du Pan was a professor of religion and literature in Hesse; he vowed to "eradicate the work of St. Boniface in Germany": to restore pre-Christian barbarism to northern Europe. It was undoubtedly the Mallets and the Gallatin family which arranged the sale of Hessian mercenaries to the British to fight against the American Revolution.

British forces invading South Carolina during the American Revolution were led by Gen. Augustine Prevost and his brother Col. James Mark Prevost. When James Mark Prevost died, pro-Tory Aaron Burr married his widow and joined British intelligence. Augustine Prevost and his son of the same name set up the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in the United States.

In the 1790s Jacques Mallet Du Pan, whose uncle Jacob Du Pan was a banker in the household of the Duke of Orleans, set up the continental European intelligence service for Great Britain based in Berne, Switzerland. He cursed the American Revolution for having released a "swarm of fanatics" into Europe. He predicted "disturbances" in America upon George Washington's death. Washington died in 1799. The following year Thomas Jefferson was elected President. Aaron Burr became Vice-President and Albert Gallatin Treasury Secretary; Gallatin dissolved the U.S. Army and Navy, and Jefferson arrested Burr for treason and secession.

Paul Henry Mallet-Prevost, an immigrant from Switzerland to New Jersey, was compelled to answer charges at the time of Burr's trial that he supplied the guns and money for Burr's treason from Europe. It was his grandson who went to school with John Foster Dulles's grandfather, and the Dulleses married into the Mallet-Prevosts, as Aaron Burr had done.

From 1807 to 1860 the leader of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in the United States was J. J. J. Gourgas Du Pan de Rengers of Geneva, Jacques Mallet Du Pan's cousin. His organization spawned the "Knights of the Golden Circle," recruiters of the armed secessionist movement in the American South, leading to the Civil War.

Jacques Mallet Du Pan's grandson, Louis Mallet, was the creator of the British intelligence organization, the Cobden Club, which led the fight to overturn Abraham Lincoln's dirigist economics program in the late 19th century.

Louis Mallet's son Bernard Mallet was the private secretary to Britain's Lord Balfour, and became president of the British Eugenics organization. He was the honored guest at Averell

Harriman's race science celebration at the American Museum of Natural History in 1932, just before Hitler's Nazis took over Germany—on the program of Bernard Mallet's forebears.

At the World Council of Churches funeral service for John Foster Dulles, the law firm of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost,<sup>35</sup> founded by Dulles's first cousin Severo Mallet-Prevost, was represented by Mallet-Prevost partner Ernest Gross. Mr. Gross's speech was a high point of the funeral—he had replaced John Foster Dulles as head of the International Department of the National Council of Churches.

35. Curtis, Mallet-Prevost today represents the government of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi in international affairs.

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