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The Constantin Review, Volume IV, Fall 1993

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The Constantin Review

Volume IV

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THE CONSTANTIN REVIEW is a publication of the Constantin College of Liberal Arts at the University of Dallas. The College and this review are named in honor of Eugene Constantin, Jr., who served as chairman of the Board of Trustees and was a founder and generous benefactor of the College.

The Constantin Review is published each September under the auspices of the Phi Beta Kappa chapter of the University of Dallas. Its purpose is to promote student writing and to recognize students who have achieved a high degree of literary skill. Students are encouraged to submit papers to the editorial board, which includes but is not limited to Junior Phi Beta Kappa members. (Send papers to Dr. Mark Lowery, c/o the Theology Department, by March 1.)

After the *Review* comes out each Fall, a panel of Phi Beta Kappa alumni from the University judge the essays that are included in the *Review*, and a monetary award is given, toward the end of the academic year, to the two top pieces. Winners from 1992: Kristina Weisbruch and Melinda Dang.

The 1993 editorial board is: Dr. Mark Lowery (faculty advisor), Joseph Meaney (editor-in-chief), Kirk Besmer, Kristina Weisbruch, Brian Woods, Jean Kirwin and Julia Mitchell.

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KANT'S PROPOSAL FOR A HISTORY OF MAN

Robert Hanson

Immanuel Kant has written three essays that discuss the need to understand the goal toward which men's lives are directed and the reasons men must undergo all of the trials of their lives. Kant covers these topics in the seven theses of his essay Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent (published in November, 1784) in which he makes a plea for the composition of a history of man that would enable the thoughtful person to discern the rationale of nature and to discover the end to which nature continuously guides mankind. Kant expands his theses in two subsequent essays. In the essay An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment? (published in December, 1784) Kant delineates a method for man's escape from his "self imposed immaturity" which inhibits his journey toward the objective that nature has destined for him. Finally, in the essay Speculative Beginnings of Human History (published in January, 1786) Kant puts before his readers a brief examination of the development of morality of mankind as an example of a philosophical history of man. With these essays Kant expounds man's need to be aware of the direction of their lives.

Kant believes that a man who studies history will observe the steady progress that man makes toward an end. Kant hopes that, if someone were to compose a history that was not solely concerned with empirical knowledge of the past but that also would seek to comprehend the continuum from the past into the future, such a history would enable man to ascertain the ultimate objective that Nature has designed for him and with this knowledge, direct all of his efforts toward attaining that objective. Kant then delves into the topics that must be addressed in such a philosophical history: the nature of creation, the nature of man and his end, the means to man's end, and the paradoxes that are encountered in the effort to attain that end.

In the first of the seven theses in his Universal History Kant states that all creatures, and hence all men, have a specific purpose in Nature's plan. He says that this destiny is evident to all who closely observe nature. Kant adds, however, that it is also necessary to assume that man has a destiny; otherwise, man's entire existence is based on chance--a view that can lead man to despair of a purpose for his existence. Man's purpose, according to Kant's second thesis, is to attain the full use of his reason. Reason elevates man above the instinctive strictures that bind the animals. Adam, for example, existed as an instinctive creature until reason was awakened in him. With the use of his new-found reason, man is able to expand his knowledge beyond what he knows empirically. This new knowledge, however, often contradicts Nature because man's imagination has a powerful guiding role in the formation of that knowledge (B.H.H. 111.8). Such a knowledge often imitates the voice of Nature to create what seems to be natural desires for things that are actually not suited for man resulting in a disruption of Nature's order and causing man hardship (B.H.H. 112.3). Through the wisdom of succeeding generations, mankind will gradually build upon the experience of these hardships, and after a reflection on the successes and failures that he observes in history, man will eventually achieve the objective that was destined for him by Nature. Kant states that all of man's efforts must be directed toward nature's objective because man's natural abilities are wasted if they do not bring him to his end. Nature's objective is a topic that concerns many philosophers because by looking toward that objective they will discover "the guiding thread"¹ which will help them to understand man's conduct as history progresses.

Kant's third thesis in the Universal History states that nature is concerned only with man's being capable of achieving happiness and perfection. According to Kant, Nature actually desires that man not be contented in order that he may be stimulated toward his end (U.H.21.9). If man, therefore, is to actually experience happiness or perfection, he must secure it for himself through the use of the faculty of reason which nature has supplied.

Life in a society is the means for man to attain his end of perfection. In his fourth thesis Kant states that the competition among members of a society (what he calls man's "unsocial sociability") arouses an individual's desire to perfect his abilities so as to better his position in society. Without such stimulus, man would forever be contented with what Kant later calls "bovine contentment" -- the enjoyment of the simple pleasures of a life that is uncomplicated but not in conformity with Nature's designs. Kant therefore states with a bit of irony:

Thanks be to nature for the incompatibility, for the distasteful, competitive vanity, for the insatiable desire to possess and also to rule. (U.H.21.8)

For it is this fertilizer that enriches the soil in which are grown order and culture: the results of an individual's striving for personal perfection.

With society, however, comes paradox. Man is compelled to seek a society by his desire to attain perfection. The society he chooses must allow as much freedom as possible, however, because without freedom man will not be able to exercise his will, and Nature's designs will be thwarted. The paradox lies in the fact that inherent in any society is a sacrifice of freedom. The necessity for this sacrifice becomes apparent as soon as man is placed in community with his fellows--along with competition comes an abuse of freedom to gain personal advantage. In order that this abuse might be curbed, man in society requires a master to enforce conformity to the universal will of the society. Kant points out, though, that any master would have to be human and that this person (or group of people) would require another over him to prevent him from abusing his powers.

The need for checks on power is addressed in Kant's seventh thesis in which he advocates what can be called a society of societies. This league of nations is necessary and logical because the world community is a macrocosm of the local community. According to Kant, the societies of the world will gather into one great society for much the same reason that an individual binds himself to a local society: the desire for peace, prosperity, and perfection is sought through the mutual sacrifice of freedoms.

At this point in his Universal History Kant poses an important question: Is man truly benefitted by living in a civil state? In the state of barbarism, man, although entirely free, expended his energies defending himself and that which he possesses against other men; therefore, he had little opportunity left to advance himself. The desire for self-advancement forced man to congregate into civil societies but those societies similarly expend a majority of the communal resources preparing for war to defend itself against the aggression of other societies. This civil state, however, will be better than barbarism because even for all of its shortcomings, the civil state will eventually lead man to achieve perfection of reason through the cooperative interaction of intellects. In order to provide for this perfection, the state must allow the citizen to be as free as possible to pursue his own well-being in whatever way he may chose (provided that his pursuit does not infringe on the freedom of others). This freedom will develop through the minimization of all types of restrictions, including religious, resulting in an enlightened state that will grow in wisdom and perfection with each succeeding generation.

Kant's idea for a "universal history" provides for many laudable ends. It aids man's ability to understand the seemingly erratic flow of human events and, with this knowledge, man is able to anticipate future events with the comforting effect of allowing man to know that he has a special purpose in this world (U.H. 30.3). To its detriment, Kant's theory of history passes over the possibility of the intervention and influence of God in human events (although he does allow for the existence of an afterlife [20.1 and 27.1]). For instance, Kant, in his sixth thesis, laments the fact that a perfectly just master for man does not exist when it seems rather apparent that just such a position is filled by God, Who, for many people, is the guide to all that is good.² Admittedly this elimination

of the divine element may be necessary for a philosophical treatise but to ignore the divine in a history of mankind is to ignore a core element to practically every society that has ever existed.

Kant gives a strong impression throughout this essay of man's insignificance. The individual person is seen as if he were a cell within an organism that is thousands of years old. Kant also gives the impression that human beings exist as part of a potentially infinite progression--from the imperceptible, through what man considers the smallest particle that makes up what we experience as objects, to the point where, to some immense being we may be the most infinitesimal subatomic particle in the atom of what we call the universe.

In the second of these three essays, What is Enlightenment, Kant endorses Enlightenment as the means by which man can escape from mental and rational minority. In his view, most men have imposed this state of immaturity on themselves, not because of ignorance but because of their lack of resolve and courage to act on the knowledge that they do possess. As Kant writes:

It is so easy to be immature. If I have a book to serve as my understanding, a pastor to serve as my conscience, a physician to determine my diet for me, and so on, I need not exert myself at all. I need not think, if only I can pay: others will readily undertake the irksome work for me (W.I.E. 35.3).

Since man has lived with this attitude of dependence for so long, it has all but become his principal nature.

According to Kant, freedom is all that is required for man to be liberated from the bondage of his immaturity (W.I.E. 36.9). Kant states that the sort of freedom that is needed is the right to exercise the "public use of reason," that is, the sort of freedom a scholar should enjoy to express what he has deduced with his reason. Kant allows for restrictions of the "private use of reason" that is exercised, for instance, by a civic office holder or a priest when he is acting in the name of his superior or as the official functionary of the organization. Within a free society, the bold men who have already cast off their "yoke of immaturity" will have the freedom to "spread the spirit of a rational appreciation for both their own worth and for each person's calling to think for himself" (W.I.E. 36.3). This mature thinking will begin the transition into enlightenment which, according to Kant, must be gradual. This gradual transition will prevent the Enlightenment from becoming a movement of aroused emotion that would leave the whole of the people unenlightened and shackled to new prejudices (W.I.E.36.8). Kant indicates that although mankind is coming to his maturity, he is not yet truly enlightened.

In his essay Speculative Beginnings of Human History, Kant uses the book of Genesis as a foundation for a philosophical history of man's moral development. Ironically, The Fall itself is the beginning of this moral development. Kant sees the Fall as man's transition from the status of an immature creature bound by instinct to that of a free humanity guided by reason. In Kant's view, therefore, the Fall represents man's first step toward perfection, no matter how flawed his original reasoning. There are four steps in Kant's examination of man's moral development: the awakening of reason, social awareness, awareness of a future, and the realization that his is the end of all nature.

Once man began to utilize his ability to reason, his reason told him that he had to choose from among a multitude of options for each action. Man soon discovered that certain options had to be limited to promote the good of himself and others. The fig leaf, to Kant, serves as an instrument of discipline for man's animal nature by concealing that which might cause arousal. This concealment becomes an act of self-denial which is an "epochal" step in man's development as a moral, social, and loving being (B.H.H. 113.5). The next step was man's reflecting on (and anticipation of) the future. This reflection led man to choose in favor of long-term personal enrichment.³ The final step in man's moral development that Kant lists is man's realization that he is the "true end of nature." In this realization Kant supposes that man also develops the sense of the intrinsic worth of all men:

And so man became the equal of all [other] rational beings, no matter what their rank might be, especially in his claim to be his own end, his claim also to be valued as such by everyone, and his claim not to be used merely as a means to any other ends. (B.H.H. 114.5)

This sense of self-worth is the final step in the development of man's moral aspect.

When man examines the world that surrounds him, he will observe a seemingly random sequence of events. This apparent lack of order can lead man to conclude that he cannot plan for the future because at any moment his plans can be disrupted at the whim of some Fate. Kant's essays, however, show that, despite history's random appearance, man is guided along a path toward an end. Through these essays, Kant instills in his readers a confidence that, within the past and present, confidence in the future can be found.

Endnotes

¹ The guiding thread may be called Reason if this reason is in its truest form as it was created. This Reason does not exist in the individual but only in the whole of mankind.

² Kant does seem to allude to God in his sixth thesis when he speaks of the supreme guarantor. The description that Kant gives could be seen as a philosophical rationale for the existence of the single figure of Jesus with a dual nature of both God and Man (U.H. 23.7).

³ Ironically, this foresight also led man into his immaturity. When he realized the difficulty his future contained, he rejected reason because it was through reason that man fell from the ease of Eden (B.H.H. 113.9).

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ROMANTIC HEROISM IN THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER

Rufel Ramos

The heroic figures in most Romantic works follow one of two models: Romantic hero as a Byronic, or Satanic, hero (modeled after Milton's Satan); or Romantic hero as a wandering poet-prophet. A Byronic hero, such as Byron's Manfred or Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, transgresses a law of nature in an act of self-will--which is an act of domination over nature--and thus removes himself from nature. He suffers for his transgression and feels remorse, but he is not repentant. A wandering poet-prophet, such as Blake's bard in the Songs of Experience or Wordsworth's "I," acts in accordance with nature, who is his guide and teacher. The poet-prophet then teaches human society the lessons of nature. Most Romantic heroes are either one model or the other, but Coleridge's Ancient Mariner is a combination of both models: a Byronic hero who turns into a wandering poet-prophet.

As a Byronic hero, the Ancient Mariner transgresses the law of hospitality to all creatures, who partake in the same spirit in nature. This law obliges man to give his gratitude (hospitality) to nature when it gives its bounty to him. But when nature sends its supernatural gift, the albatross, to guide the Ancient Mariner's ship, the Ancient Mariner does "a hellish thing" (91) and kills the albatross (82) in an act of rebellious will against the law over him. Once he forsakes nature's gift and thus nature itself, the Ancient Mariner's suffering--isolation from nature and all creation--begins. The sea creatures, "slimy things" in the "slimy sea" (125), become vile to him. His shipmates ostracize him by hanging the albatross around his neck (140); the Ancient Mariner becomes more isolated from them as they die, cursing him with their eyes (215), and only he remains alive to suffer in his isolation.

But while a true Byronic hero endures suffering, with his rebellious will remaining resolute, the suffering of the Ancient Mariner affects his "Satanic" will. His suffering becomes an examination of conscience as his will turns into a desire to rejoin nature. He chooses to sacrifice his will to the will of nature and is able to love the water snakes, even blessing them "unaware" (282-287), "unaware" because he has more suffering to endure for his soul to return to nature. The Ancient Mariner is able to pray (290)--a gesture of gratitude to nature--and the albatross falls free from his neck (291). He accepts nature's gifts: sleep, (295); rain to sate his thirst (300); and good spirits, who inspire the crew's bodies to man the ship (349) and who blow the ship to home (465). The Ancient Mariner finally renounces Byronic heroism by repenting his transgression, by asking the hermit, one of nature's servants, to absolve him of his sin of killing the albatross (512), and by doing his life-long penance as a suffering servant to nature--a wandering wise man, telling his tale about the law of hospitality (590).

But unlike a true Wordsworthian poet-prophet, who is the center of human society, the Ancient Mariner is an outsider. He has greater stature than the Wordsworthian model because nature has facilitated many gifts to bring about the Ancient Mariner's conversion, and the Ancient Mariner exercises noble gratitude by yielding his will to its will. But he gains lesser freedom than the poet-prophet because his life becomes a penance: the Ancient Mariner most resembles Milton's Adam and Sophocles' Oedipus. Both recognize their sins of defying the natural order, and both accept life-long penance for their sins. The Ancient Mariner, akin to Adam and Oedipus, becomes a noble sufferer, noble because he neither curses nor grieves against the natural order that wills his suffering. In this manner, he is more noble than the Wordsworthian poet-prophet because he is more human in a Christian sense.

Thus, the Ancient Mariner is not a full Romantic hero: He is not a full Byronic hero because he renounces the will that causes him to transgress nature's laws, but he is not a full Wordsworthian nor Blakian poet-prophet because he suffers and is on the margins of society instead of the center of society, a place which is also where the traditional hero lies. The Ancient Mariner, as a wandering wise man or teacher, exhibits the characteristics of the Christian soul: ordered to a higher law, disordered through sin, and returned to order through contrition, absolution, and penance. Coleridge says that the Rime of the Ancient Mariner has too much of a moral (352, footnote), but this "too much" is relative to the other Romantic poets. The Ancient Mariner does not fit the two models of Romantic heroism, but he goes beyond the models and becomes a Romantic-Christian pilgrim-hero with whom the reader can sympathize and whose experience is hardly "too" moral.

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THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE BOND OF LOVE

Angela Raley

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God....The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us" (Jn 1:1,14). Jesus Christ is the Word, who has been with God from the beginning, who also is God, and who came to earth in the flesh to live among men. This concept of the oneness of being of Jesus Christ and the Heavenly Father, and the exact relationship between the two, is extremely difficult to grasp. In John, however, four main angles to the relationship are found. Understanding these four angles can lead to a comprehensive understanding of the relationship as a whole.

Evidence in John reveals that Jesus and the Father have a comparatively human father-son relationship. God loves Jesus in much the same way that a father loves his child (Jn 5:20, 3:35). Furthermore, the Son is dependent on the Father as a child is dependent on parents: "The Son can do nothing by himself; he can only do what he sees his Father doing..." (Jn 5:19). He imitates his Father, following in his footsteps, just as a child learns by the example his parents give him (Jn 5:19-20), and He responds to the commands of his Father with the eager obedience of a child who wishes to please (Jn 5:30, 8:29). As a loving Father, God hears and listens to his Son when He calls (Jn 11:41-42) and faithfully provides for Him. All that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son (Jn 16:15).

In the context of this loving relationship, sending the Son to die for the sins of the world was the ultimate sacrifice. God gave up his precious child so that we might be saved. Yet as a son returns home to his parents, Jesus returned to his Heavenly Father: "I came from the Father and entered the world; now I am leaving the world and going back to the Father" (Jn 16:28).

Jesus and God are also shown to stand together, as companions. Jesus states that He knows his Father, and that his Father knows Him (Jn 8:55, 10:15). They function as equals and work side by side, standing together, on equal ground (Jn 5:17, 8:16). Jesus has always been with God, since the beginning of time (Jn 1:2).

Jesus also relates to the Father in that He was sent of God to do his work on Earth. Through Him, and only through Him, can a man find God. Jesus said, "I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (Jn 14:6). Through Jesus God was revealed to men. He brought them the Spirit, and it is only through the Spirit that men can be saved (Jn 3:5-6, 34-36). So it was that the world was saved by Christ. He was "...the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!" (Jn 1:29, 1:4). The title, "Lamb of God" implies that Jesus was sent as a sacrifice to atone for the world's sin. Sending Him was the ultimate act of love on the part of the Heavenly Father: "For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life" (Jn 3:16). In accepting his mission, suffering and dying on the cross, and in so doing uniting believers with their Heavenly Father, Jesus glorified God (Jn 13:31).

Finally, we see God the Father as being one with Christ. Jesus said, "I tell you the truth, before Abraham was born, I am!" (Jn 8:58). "I am" was what Yahweh called himself in Exodus 3. God is Jesus and Jesus is God. Jesus was that part of God that became human in order to mingle with men and to introduce them to eternal life. He was in the world but not part of it (Jn 18:36, 15:19, 17:14). If a man has seen Jesus, he has seen God; if he

knows Jesus, he knows God (Jn 12:45; 14:9,7). These two persons of God are intertwined: "...I am in the Father, and the Father is in me..." (Jn 14:11). God is glorified in the person of the Son, a part of Him: "...God will glorify the Son in himself..." (Jn 13:22). Jesus explained the relationship clearly when he says, "I and the Father are one" (Jn 10:30).

In conclusion, belief brings a person in unity with Jesus, and unity with Jesus is unity with God: "...You will realize that I am in my Father, and you are in me, and I am in you" (Jn 14:20). "...The Father himself loves you because you have loved me and believed that I came from God" (Jn 16:27), and "...my Father will give you whatever you ask in my name" (Jn 16:23). Christ brings us into the love of God and the bond of love that is Christianity (Jn 17:23, 26; 15:9-10, 12-15). We are all brothers and sisters in Christ; we are the body of Christ (Jn 15:16, 5), chosen to do his work (Jn 15:8): "I am the vine; you are the branches. If a man remains in me and I in him, he will bear much fruit..." (Jn 15:5). Only in this union with Christ and bond of love can we find perfect joy (Jn 15:11).

ODYSSEY

Paul Schlaud

1

O divided Odysseus, tremble not in fascination,
confronted by your dark, terrible beast
and his black and powerful passions.

Must you be slapped awake
by the sharp cracking of skulls
against the cold rock floor?

But, why stare, Odysseus?
you know this beast, this cyclops,
who in furious feasting devours your men
two by two.
Don't you realize in your deepest heart
that the fire projects the monster's shadow
in such a way that even your resourceful eyes
must fail to find,
between the twisting shadows of man and beast,
any certain difference.

Is it the fascination of a man and a mirror,
when you gaze into that huge and baleful eye
and see there reflected
the image of consuming flame?
Can you help but think
of the ten long years you laboured
to sack the sacred Troy?
Can you help but see again
the brilliant, burning citadel,
and dying men,
and the banshee shrieks of women weeping?

And can you pretend to forget,
O divided Odysseus,
that power,
those dark and monstrous appetites,
and the rage, the consuming rage
that drove you like a frenzied slave
as you hacked and stabbed and burned?

Yes, Odysseus, you know this beast,
you have been this beast.
You have felt the fire in your veins
and tasted the brutal power
of man's secret and primal desires.

Do not stand making speeches
to a beast beyond reason.
You must subdue the beast
or be destroyed,
for the monster that drove you
is set to devour you.
The appointed hour is come,
you must descend into the tomb
and see if you are worthy
of liberation or destruction.

Courage,
indeed, Odysseus,
birth and death are not easy things.
You must face what man most fears,
the stone is set, your tomb sealed,
you must confront your Polyphemus,
dance with your shadow,
battle the ever hungry beast.
And you must overcome,
for the divided man dies.
In the end there can be only boys
and heroes.

2

Brilliant plans, and hard, fast actions
Willful prudence and clever treachery
Strong arms and a sharpened stake
And the eye is drained
The beast emasculated
And Man has overcome.

3

You are reborn, Odysseus.
In the dark and ancient cave
you won integration...
ascension...
initiation into divine life.

After three tumultuous days
spent at the hard labour
of death and life,
the stone is rolled back.
And you emerge, Odysseus,
into the fuller light,
larger than both man and beast.

Arise, Godlike Odysseus.
Stand ready to receive
the glory of Poseidon.

THE SWAMP FOX

Jean Kirwin, Winner of the 1993 Clodecott Award for Children's Literature

Many years ago, at a time when America was still trying to win its independence from England, there lived a patriot named Francis Marion. Marion was a great hero of the American Revolution. He fought the British in the swamps of South Carolina, the colony where he was born. Marion was so clever and cunning that he earned the title "Swamp Fox," and his deeds became legendary.

Marion didn't look as most people think a hero would. He was a small man, short, dark, and very thin. What he lacked in size, though, he more than made up for in courage. He had flashing black eyes and a strong will that held a small band of brave and hardy men to his side.

The men needed to be brave and hardy, for they were in a tough spot. The American Army in the South had been defeated, and all the land was under the control of the enemy. But Marion didn't let that stop him. He set up a hidden camp in the swamp and continued to fight the British with only a handful of men. The guards sat in the branches of the trees to watch for English soldiers. Marion and his men would attack by night and then disappear into the gloomy swamp. This was the beginning of the type of fighting called "guerilla" warfare.

Marion and his band had to survive on very little. They did not have houses or even tents for shelter. Marion slept with one blanket for a bed in summer or winter, but soon he lost that too. His band was a rag-tag bunch. Sometimes even their own allies made fun of them. They were so poor they had to make swords out of sawblades. One of Marion's men remarked that they had no need of pockets, because there was nothing to put in them.

Even though the British had more men and better supplies and weapons, they could not defeat Marion. His band became so good at disappearing into the swamps, people began to whisper that the trees themselves spoke to Marion and told him where the English soldiers were. Soon the cry of "Marion's men" was enough to strike terror into the stoutest British hearts. Once, a British general who had been chasing Marion for a long time finally declared in frustration: "the Devil himself could not catch this Swamp Fox."

Another time, Marion captured a British officer and brought him to his camp. Marion, always merciful and generous to a defeated enemy, offered to share his own meal with the man--a single potato. He cut it in two and gave the larger half to the officer. Amazed, the officer was moved to declare: "surely we will never defeat men who can live and fight off such fare!"

Marion continued to fight for several more years until his home was free to become a nation. At times, he single-handedly defended the South from the English army. He won battles at Black Mingo, Blue Savannah, and Tearcoat swamp. Marion was a man who loved freedom and his country more than his own life. On his hat he wore a pin that said "Liberty or Death!" Many more stories were told about the bravery, daring, fortitude, and kindness of Francis Marion. And the predictions of the British officers were right--the Swamp Fox was never defeated, and he was never caught.



STAGES OF CULTURE: A COMPARISON OF CLASSICAL GREEK AND ROMAN CULTURES AS MANIFESTED IN THEIR THEATRICAL SPACES

Tamar Alexandra Volk

One might say that immensity is a philosophical category of daydream. Daydream undoubtedly feeds on all kinds of sights, but through a sort of natural inclination, it contemplates grandeur. And this contemplation produces an attitude so special, an inner state so unlike any other, that the daydream transports the dreamer outside of the immediate world to a world that bears the mark of infinity. (Bachelard, p. 263)

To a great extent, the history of man in the world is a record of the stretch of the human mind to go beyond the ordinary experience to (or at least toward) the infinite, for infinity in many instances seems to be a mark of the truth. The first step in this journey toward truth is Ritual. Every culture exhibits the basic elements of ritual: Song, dance, costuming, mimetic action, and communal performance. Many cultures did (or do) not find it necessary to go any further than this point, but in certain cultures a rather remarkable juncture takes place, the marriage of ritual with creative and interpretive expression, forming what we call drama. Drama serves a variety of purposes: The joy of storytelling and listening, the witnessing of an achievement (even if in reenactment), the extension of thought beyond that of the everyday; and drama is the place where good and evil may be ruthlessly examined and pronouncements made. Thus can the wisdom of an entire culture be distilled into a relatively small, memorable opus. In the ancient world both the Greeks and the Romans excelled in this particular form of truth-seeking (though the ancients sought immortality, not infinity); indeed, their plays still hold meaning for the modern performer and viewer alike. However, if we are truly to understand what is meant by a culture's ritual, we cannot study only the text. The place where ritual is carried out both influences the ritual and is in turn influenced by its enactment. In understanding the cultural differences between the Classical Greeks and the Romans, this becomes particularly clear when comparing their architecture; and within the realm of architecture, the building form that is perhaps most heavily imprinted by the full spectrum of culture is that of the theatre.

In chapter four of his Poetics, Aristotle describes the genesis of Classical Greek drama:

It certainly began in improvisations - as did also Comedy; the one originating with the authors of the Dithyramb, the other with those of the phallic songs, which still survive as institutions in many of our cities. And its advance after that was little by little, through their improving on whatever was before them at each stage. (Poetics 1449a, 10-14)

Within this passage, Aristotle gives us the beginnings of the theatre arts as a communal event, moving from impromptu renditions of well-known folk compositions toward more circumscribed practice, involving original work by playwrights. He continues:

It was in fact only after a long series of changes that the movement of Tragedy stopped on attaining its natural form. (1) The number of actors was first increased to two by Aeschylus, who curtailed the business of the chorus, and made the dialogue, or spoken portion, take the leading part in the play. (2) A third actor and scenery were due to Sophocles. (Poetics 1449a, 15-19)

Within these few sentences, Aristotle chronicles what are probably the centuries that it took for ritual to take on the mask of classical drama. The architectural manifestations of much of this process are lost to us; however, much can be extrapolated from the careful study of a classical Greek theatre space, such as the theatre at Epidarus, built of limestone in the fourth century A.D., employing Ashlar masonry throughout.

Credit for the design of this late classical form is given to the architect Polyclitus the Younger (Plommer 211). The site is that of a natural depression in a hillside, into which two banks of limestone-faced seating have been terraced, fanning out beyond a hemicycle, measuring over 110 metres at its widest point. At the center of this array is the basis of the Greek theatre design: the Orchestra. Literally translated as dance-space, this circular flat area is the remainder of the fields and public squares where the beginnings of drama cited by Aristotle would have been declaimed, and festival-goers would have performed ritual dances. It is easy to imagine that as a populus grew, it would become more and more difficult to watch the action of the ritual if it took place upon a wholly flat space, and hillsides offered a good viewpoint if there was one near. As time passed, certain areas were so favored by both performers and spectators that improvements were made for both (Lawrence 365). Also, to the Greek mind, what was taking place was far from mere entertainment or pedagogy. Celebration in the theatre was still connected to celebration of religion and ancestry and to being a citizen of Athens. Theatre was not just connected to old rituals--it was philosophically identical to them. Performances were held at sacred times of the year, times which had been sacred since the late Paleolithic goddess cultures, and were linked to the seasons and the crop cycle. Everyone participated in some way in the ritual proceedings; the theatre of Epidarus holds over 15,000 viewers. Within the Greek culture, Dionysos accrued many of the old goddess religion's traits, and was the patron of theatre (ritual) as well as of wine and dance. At the center of the orchestra is an altar dedicated to this deep-rooted god.

As theatre became more elaborate, what probably started out as a shelter for the chorus to change into their costumes became a much more elaborate two-story structure known as the skene. Originally used only for storage of props and costumes, and for actors not performing, it gradually began to be used for entrances and exits as well as backdrop scenes, and was built permanently behind the orchestra, separated from the seating by an alley or panadas that was used by the chorus for entrances and exits. Eventually, the praskenian was also added, standing only a story off the ground. As more actors and action became part of the theatre, the roof of this lower building developed into usable space utilizing low ramps of built-up earth on either side. This meant an actor could access this space either from the skene or from the side walls (wings).

While these developing conventions seem very natural to the modern theatre goer, one aspect of the seating may seem, at first, ill designed. The auditorium is built in two sections, in order to split the ever-widening wedges of seats, the separation point creating a wider walkway between the upper and lower levels. This in itself makes sense, but the placement of the dividing aisles may not seem to, for the front-row center seat that is prized by the modern theatre is taken up by an aisle at Epidarus. This is only puzzling until the image of the sacred precinct of Athens is remembered. Access to the precinct was made at an angle to the Parthenon, which was itself designed to be viewed at an oblique angle. The Greek's predilection for oblique views is echoed in the theatre's design as well.

Another typically Greek trait is the theatre's comfortable existence with and in the landscape. Anyone seated in the auditorium not only saw the stage, but the land that surrounded it. Theaters were built outside of towns, utilizing naturally formed spaces as a base, in the holy places of the gods, just as temples often were. Dionysos, as an earthy god, was best worshipped and experienced in a rural setting, where one felt able to touch and experience the wildness, beauty, and power of nature. As a whole, the theatre is indicative of the Greek tendency toward a sculptural architecture, one that was in harmony with its location; just as Greek thought had preserved the ancient idea of the sacral nature of the Earth.

The Romans also loved the theatre, and borrowed the Greeks' basic theatre plan, but immediately some modification became apparent. The theatre at Pompeii is an excellent example of this transitory period in the theatre form's history. Like the theatre at Epidaurus, the Pompeian theatre is outside the city walls and utilizes a natural depression in the earth for its site. However, from this point onward the structure begins to take on a singularly Roman cast. The natural site for the auditorium (now more properly known as the caver) has been enhanced considerably with retaining walls, allowing for more seating than the original space would have provided under the Greek plan. All structures are now made out of stone and/or concrete. The orchestra is now only a hemicycle, and no longer holds an altar. The caver is now a perfect hemicycle as well, reflecting the switch to a frontal view that was preferred by the Romans. The skene is also far more elaborate. However, in order to get the full flavor of the Roman stage, it becomes necessary to enter Rome herself.

Within the city is one of the fullest manifestations of Roman architecture, the Theatre of Marcellus. Planned by Julius Caesar as a tribute to his nephew, it was not actually dedicated until 11 B.C. by Augustus (Ward-Perkins 279). This fact alone points at an important difference between the Greek and Roman cultures. While the theaters and the rituals acted therein had been dedicated to the gods alone in the Greek culture, the Roman theatre serves as an avenue of human representation and history. To make this point even clearer, the hemicircular orchestra space, once the home of an altar, is now used to seat dignitaries. The prized front-row-center seat has been created. The location of the theatre itself is also characteristically Roman, for it is within the city walls. A distinctly urban structure, the area behind the tri-tiered backdrop building has been closed off by a wall, allowing the theatre designers to create a totally fanciful environment without having to worry about the surrounding cityscape. The architectural execution of the structure is also typically Roman, for it is based upon concrete. As workers may be trained to pour and shape concrete quickly, this was the ideal building block for an empire whose plans were manifold, but where most of the available labor was relatively unskilled. Roman top-down style management is apparent in the relatively few skilled architects, craftsmen, and masons that were necessary to train and guide gangs of laborers. The execution of Ashlar masonry, where the blocks of stone are cut so precisely as to not need mortar, takes much time to learn, and skill to execute beautifully, making it more suited to a small, guild-oriented system.

The structure of the Theatre of Marcellus was designed upon that favored Roman building block, the arch. The building is constructed on two levels, wherein the massive substructure of radially placed barrel vaults was intersected by annular vaults at the center and perimeter. Within the top level, the barrel vaults were built upon great transverse architraves, one to each bay in the facade. This system ensured structural integrity, as the placement of the vaults results in mutual reinforcement while also providing a sound base for the caver above. This style of building also benefitted the spectators as they arrived and left, as the multiple egresses facilitated large crowds moving virtually en masse. The Romans loved order and economy (at least as far as architecture goes), and these ideas are borne out in this design, which takes in diverse utilitarian concerns and satisfies them all.

The Romans also had other purposes. Their predilection for memorial has already been demonstrated in the dedication of the building to Caesar's nephew, thereby ensuring that Marcellus would not be forgotten in future history; his memorial was quite sturdily constructed. Another facet of Roman purpose was to witness the glory of the state through any means possible; of course this idea is reflected in the Teatro. Already mentioned was the fact that dignitaries occupied the original sacred space, the orchestra. Viewers in the caver not only attended the play, they attended the dignitaries below, echoing the Roman tendency to identify the highest echelon of the ruling society as a form of proto-deity. Glorification of the Empire was also made manifest by the exuberant adaptation of the Hellenic orders upon the facade. The purely cosmetic trabeation follows the Vitruvian ideal in so far as the Doric order decorates the first level, while the Ionic order adorns the second. There is some question as to what the third floor looked like. The (currently) most widely held idea is that the third level was very plain and did not have a corinthian veneer. Within the stage area, the tri-tiered stage-building (judging by its depiction upon the Severan marble plan) echoed perfect Vitruvian ideals, though perhaps not so elaborately as in later theaters. Even so, the multi-ported building would have resulted in a rich backdrop of light and shadow, with multiple entrances and exits possible. The Roman hunger for elaborate, striking display would have delighted in this realm so rich in visual potential. In any case, the appropriation of the Greek orders and the basic design exemplifies the true genius of

the Roman mindset: the complex interweaving of portions of all cultures it conquered. This acceptance of many ways of life could be cited as a major reason for the longevity of the Empire itself. It also reflects the Roman ruling ideal--that of Imperial Rome as a sort of mystical envelope, both gathering together and protecting all those within, while being impervious to attack from without.

Drama may ultimately be seen as a communal declaration of faith, a cultural catharsis of all that is ignoble, mean, and base. This much is constant, and even stretches beyond classical times to our own. The differences lie in the ritual way of declaring that faith, and exactly what the culture holds up as good and ideal within society. The Greek ideals of piety towards both the gods and nature, and the realization that all human action occurs as a part of and within nature--the cosmos--and the resultant far-reaching implications of human action is perfectly encapsulated at Epidaurus. The theatre and the world seem in perfect, harmonious coexistence. In Rome, the Theatre of Marcellus looms as a monument to the technological perfection and innovation of the Empire, while also preserving forever the deific, egoistic yearnings of the empire's rulers. Each provides a place where the mundane world is forgotten, replaced by a world of immensity and grandeur. All architecture, even the most utilitarian, reflects the ideals and beliefs of those that conceived of and built it; like drama, it is a condensation of all the wisdom of a culture in compact form.

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THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

Joseph Meaney

The conflict known as the American Revolution incorporated much more than a simple rebellion of thirteen British colonies in North America. Its many facets included aspects of a civil war and of a world war as evidenced by the involvement of the French, Spanish and Dutch on behalf of the fledgling American colonies. The success of the Second Continental Congress in soliciting allies among England's continental rivals can easily be considered the most significant diplomatic victory of the war. It has even been suggested that without the alliance with France, the Revolutionary War would have ended in defeat for the American Patriots.¹ England possessed both the pre-eminent navy of the age and the financial strength to prosecute the war effectively. Conversely, the rebels lacked not only equipment and organization, but also the support of a united population. Up to a third of the colonists displayed loyalist leanings, roughly another third had no zeal for either side, leaving, at most, one third of the colonial population as ardent supporters of the Revolution.

Within this context, foreign aid for the Patriots was seen as absolutely vital for the successful outcome of the war. On November 29, 1775, the Second Continental Congress formed a Committee of Secret Correspondence, "the embryo from which the 'foreign office' of the United States developed."² It was instituted "for the sole purpose of corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world."³ Such veiled language concealed the committee's primary aim: to actively seek out foreign assistance. These allusions can be partially explained by the formality of diplomatic jargon and especially by the fact that the actual Declaration of Independence would only be proclaimed several months later.

After the battles of Lexington and Concord, the first thought of the newly declared independent American government was to obtain foreign aid in return for opening the North American market. These proposals reflected a belief in Mercantilism, the inspiration behind the Navigation System which Britain had attempted to enforce in its colonies. Mercantilists believed that exports increased a nation's wealth while imports served only to drain a country of its riches, as measured in terms of gold bullion. The ideal system, according to mercantilists, was a closed economy entirely self-sufficient with regards to imports, which nevertheless exported many products to other countries. Capitalizing on the widespread belief that England derived much power from her exclusive trading privileges with her colonies, the American rebels tried to entice England's rivals into helping them achieve their freedom by portraying U.S. independence as a severe blow to Great Britain's economic power.

The main efforts of the Committee of Secret Correspondence were directed towards the French who had long been the chief adversaries of the English on the continent. As logical as the alliance between these two nations seems in retrospect, the common cause of France and the United States in the Revolutionary War seemed incongruous at the time. The American Loyalists enjoyed pointing out the many ideological differences separating the two potential allies. While the French government consisted of an autocratic Roman Catholic monarchy, a great majority of the rebels professed not only Protestantism but also militant anti-Catholicism. Boston, the birthplace of the revolution, held a yearly celebration of Guy Fawke's Day in which models of the Pope and Lucifer, bearing striking similarities, were burned in effigy by large mobs. George Washington ended this practice during the war, but "Harvard College had the Dudleian lectures, the fourth in each series to be devoted to 'detecting, convicting, and unmasking the errors of the Romish church.'⁴ In the end, however, attempts at conciliation from George Washington and other revolutionary leaders proved successful. Stinchcombe captures the Patriot attitude towards religious differences during the war: "Clearly the clergy and their parishioners were virulently anti-Catholic, but they were not prepared to participate in a religious crusade against Catholicism when other issues seemed more important."⁵ The French and American Patriots put their common self-interests above sectarian and ideological differences and worked together.

Classical analyses of the motivations behind French aid stress the importance of France's overwhelming desire for revenge against the British. France's humiliation and diminished stature after the Seven Year's War

(1763) left it eager to re-establish a more equal balance of power. High officials with nationalist temperaments, such as the foreign minister Charles Gravier Count de Vergennes, had tremendous influence in the French court. Beyond the ill-defined national enmity towards Britain, Vergennes also added the perceived threat to the French West Indies as an additional reason for providing covert aid to the American rebels.⁶

The Count de Vergennes became convinced that aid for the American Revolutionaries would be in France's best national interest because such a course of action would presumably harm Great Britain, but he faced strong opposition from the Controller-General Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot on this issue. Turgot knew of the precarious nature of the government's finances and accurately predicted that a war with Great Britain, which would inevitably ensue from recognition and military aid for the colonies, would cause a financial disaster. The intellectual climate in France, however, was decidedly opposed to such logical reasoning. The idealism of the "philosophies," such as Voltaire and Condorcet, who supported the cause of American freedom, combined with the emotional and Machiavellian motives of Vergennes to create a consensus for French aid.⁷

As early as 1775, French foreign minister Charles de Vergennes expressed an interest in fostering the independence of the thirteen colonies by sending a secret messenger to the Continental Congress. Julien-Alexandre Achard de Bonvouloir arrived in Philadelphia in the early part of December, 1775 with "verbal instructions to assure colonial leaders that France did not want to get back Canada and was far from being unfriendly to the independence of the Old English colonies."⁸ The sending of three thousand French troops and several warships to the French West Indies had caused some disquiet in Patriot circles. Vergennes opened communications with the rebels in order to make sure that these preparations were perceived solely as defensive precautions against possible British attacks.

Despite his willingness to help the Revolutionary side and especially to fight the British, Vergennes realized that war could not be declared immediately because of the poor state of French military preparedness. His solution in the interim period before open warfare could be contemplated was to initiate covert aid to the rebels through the intermediary of a dummy trading firm.

This company, christened Roderique Hortalez and Company was loaned one million livres tournois in order to purchase obsolete arms at low prices from government arsenals. It then sold weapons, powder, and other military supplies to Congress on credit, anticipating repayment in American tobacco to be shipped to Europe.⁹

Caron de Beaumarchais, an avid supporter of the American cause, headed this venture. Thanks to the aid provided by the French government through this company, Vergennes was able to hasten the rebuilding of the French fleet.

There may have been other compelling reasons for French reluctance to openly ally with the American Patriots. George Washington had not proven himself a highly successful military commander in his first few engagements. Fear of embarking in a war on behalf of a losing cause could have influenced Vergennes's decision to wait before granting formal recognition to the new American government. Covert aid provided a relatively risk-free way of securing the twin objectives of French policy: keeping the American Rebellion alive and avoiding armed conflict with England until the French had built a sufficiently high level of military strength to successfully challenge the British.

Predictably, American leaders favored immediate French entry into the war. The Second Continental Congress drafted a model treaty in 1776 which provided for mutual commercial relations. Such promises failed, however, to secure diplomatic recognition abroad. The American commissioners sent to Paris, Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, obtained loans and assurance of support, but nothing more concrete from the French government. Even after an increasingly desperate Congress authorized a formal treaty of alliance, neither Franklin nor his colleagues were able to obtain a written commitment from France.

The threat of possible American reconciliation with Great Britain provided one of the few areas of leverage that the commissioners could use. Benjamin Franklin grew infamous for his habit of constantly insinuating that the colonists might very easily mend their differences with England. Franklin openly met with British agents in Paris.

None of these unofficial negotiations, or even private correspondence with influential Englishmen, was kept from the French ministers. By the winter of 1778 the two European powers, each fully aware of the American game, had bid as high as their estimates of the politico-military situation would permit them. France won the prize of a generous alliance.¹⁰

The Count de Vergennes looked upon the possibility of an Anglo/American entente as a veritable catastrophe. As American pressure mounted and French military preparations came to a close, Vergennes finally agreed to a Franco-American alliance.

The surrender of General Burgoyne's entire English army at the battle of Saratoga in October, 1777 occupies a prominent place in many accounts of the signing of the twin treaties of Commerce and of Alliance. At first glance, a simple chain of causation appears to link the two events. The French could hardly be blamed for being apprehensive about the Continental Army's numerous defeats. In light of this general climate of uncertainty, news of the Saratoga victory could easily be construed as the catalyst which gave France the necessary confidence to enter into a formal alliance. Closer investigation by recent scholars, however, has uncovered a more probable reason for the timing of the treaties. Quite simply, the naval buildup begun by Vergennes had been completed, making French entry into the war simply a question of choosing the opportune moment. Jonathan Dull remarks that "diplomatically Saratoga served not as a cause for France to abandon her neutrality, but as an excuse."¹¹

There can be no doubt, however, that the battle of Saratoga boosted the morale of the Patriots tremendously and contributed to the favorable terms of the treaties signed in France. Article Six of the treaty exemplifies the remarkable concessions made by the French.

The most Christian king renounces forever the possession of the islands of North America which, before the treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to belong to the United States heretofore called British colonies, or which at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the king and crown of Great Britain.¹²

In order to mollify any American fears of French territorial ambition, the king specifically promised not to attempt to regain Canada. The fact that France did not have the military and financial capability to retake Canada doubtlessly contributed to her magnanimity.

The treaty did place some unwanted obligations on the United States. In Article Eight, both sides agreed not to negotiate a separate peace, a stipulation which became problematic when the end of the war approached and differences in American, French, and especially Spanish interests became more apparent. Article Seven permitted France to conquer the islands in the British West Indies, and Article Eleven required that the United States defend French interests in the Western Hemisphere. Despite these concessions, the United States could not have asked for a more generous treaty.

Vergennes sent Conrad Alexandre Gerard as the first French minister to the United States with the two treaties for ratification by Congress, as well as a fleet under Vice Admiral D'Estaing. Although Gerard's personality caused tensions with his American hosts, this had little negative effect on the alliance. The unfortunate choice of Gerard became clear when he showed himself to be haughty and blundering, involving himself in such domestic disputes as the quarrel between American commissioners Arthur Lee and Silas Deane. His adamant support for Deane alienated much of the Continental Congress, and he was recalled in 1779 under the convenient pretext of failing health. Gerard was replaced by the more astute Chevalier de la Luzerne.

Having appointed a capable envoy to America, the French foreign minister then sought Spanish support in the war. Aware of France's relative weakness, Vergennes desired to create a larger alliance against the British. At first, his efforts proved unsuccessful chiefly because the Spanish foreign minister, Jose de Floridablanca, believed that the United States posed a greater potential threat to Spain's possessions in North America than Great Britain.

He objected to supporting rebels in any colony, especially one in the Western Hemisphere. In addition, he thought that a newly united nation would pose a greater threat to Spanish possessions in the Mississippi Valley than had British policy.¹³

Believing that the Spanish might be persuaded to go to war against England in order to regain Gibraltar, the two Floridas, and the island of Minorca, Vergennes conceded these terms at the secret Convention of Aranjuez in April of 1779. At the cost of ambiguously engaging himself with two nations of radically different views, Vergennes managed to obtain Spanish entry into the war.

As the war came to a close, conflicts emerged between the United States and France over the terms of the peace treaty. The Count de Vergennes saw, as the best possible scenario, the weakening of England and the continued dependence of the Thirteen Colonies on France. In pursuance of that policy, Vergennes consistently opposed U.S. claims to Canada, land in the Northwest, and fishing rights off of Newfoundland. The humbling of England rather than the welfare of the infant United States was Vergennes' primary goal. The French foreign minister sent Gerard instructions "that it was in the interest of France to see Canada remain in England's hands, since it would make Americans feel - to an even greater extent - the need which they have for the friendship and alliance with the king."¹⁴ The members of the Continental Congress, on the other hand, thought that the alliance would not last long, but were in poor positions to declare their independence from France because the war had been largely financed through French loans. Thus, Congress compromised on the issue of U.S. fishing rights on the Grand Banks, and agreed that Canada could be claimed only if the Revolutionaries were in actual possession of it.

Negotiation of acceptable peace terms with England proved divisive in the Continental Congress as France manipulated sectional rivalries to achieve its aims. France's task was greatly facilitated by the fact that each state Congressional delegation represented local, rather than national, interests. The combined opposition of the Spanish and French governments coupled with the indifference of the New England states forced Southern delegates, for example, to abandon their claims to the Mississippi River and Florida. In a similar fashion, the French were able to block New Englanders' demands for Canada and unrestricted fishing rights.

While French interference in the formulation of American diplomacy might lead one to question the value of the alliance, the truly enormous benefits received by the United States clearly outweighed the costs of U.S.-French cooperation. The colonies had always lacked hard currency, but the Revolution brought this crisis to new heights. The incredible rate at which Continental paper currency devalued would have taken on catastrophic proportions had the French not pumped millions of livres into the economy. French economic aid also included weapons and gunpowder. "There was then no factory in America where muskets could be made in any quantity, and it was almost impossible to obtain gunpowder."¹⁵ The amazing fact that 90% of the Continental army's gunpowder originated in France goes far towards justifying the oft-repeated claim that the success of our Revolutionary War was contingent on French aid. In addition to financial assistance, the French provided armed forces. Leaders such as the Marquis de Lafayette and several thousand French regulars served in the Continental Army and contributed to its land victories. French military forces were of secondary importance, however, when compared with their navy's ability to control the sea. Although the newly refurbished French navy was not the equal of the British fleet, it could establish temporary control of sea zones, providing the Patriots an entirely new tactical capability. The siege and capitulation of Lord Cornwallis and his entire army at Yorktown provides the best example of the decisive importance of French naval power. Unable to recover from their crushing defeat at Yorktown, the British sued for peace.

The contribution of such allies as the Spanish and the Dutch should not be underestimated either. Having to fight a world war, rather than a simple rebellion, proved to be an insurmountable task for the British. They

were forced to assume military commitments well beyond the power and capabilities of their navy. While the Dutch and Spanish fleets were not individually formidable, they nevertheless prevented the concentration of the Royal Navy's ships in the New World and were thus responsible for the lack of sufficient British naval reinforcements at Yorktown.¹⁶

When the war concluded, the importance of cultivating the French alliance rapidly declined, as reflected in the peace negotiations. Vergennes feared that America would pursue separate negotiation with English representatives and therefore obtained instructions from Congress mandating that peace commissioners consult with France before agreeing to any final treaty provisions. This arrangement flowed from Article 8 of the 1778 Treaty of Alliance which prohibited the signing of a separate peace. Such limiting instructions, however, did not deter Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens from conducting precisely such private negotiations.

By making major concessions in order to woo the Americans from the French, the British succeeded in shaking the cooperation between France and the United States. Benjamin Franklin produced a list of necessary and advisable conditions for a peace treaty.

The "necessary" articles were full and complete American independence, acceptable American boundaries and fishing rights off of Newfoundland and elsewhere. "Advisable" articles were an acknowledgement by Britain of her war guilt, compensation for damages, the transfer to the United States of all of Canada, and freedom from British customs duties for American goods and shipping.¹⁷

Richard Oswald, the Scottish negotiator engaged with Franklin, was inclined to accept the "necessary conditions" as was Lord Shelbourne, and thus the Treaty of Paris was approved. England gave up its exclusive fishing rights in New Foundland as well as all claims to the disputed land near the Mississippi. Congress overlooked the impropriety of the negotiators' failure to obtain French approval for the treaty because of the extremely favorable conditions obtained. The treaty was approved without difficulty.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris marked the effective end of the Franco-American Alliance that had subsisted from 1778 to 1783. What did France have to show for its efforts? Louis XVI's national debt had grown enormously, hastening the advent of the 1789 French fiscal crisis. The democratic and republican attitudes engendered by the American Revolution laid much of the ideological foundations for the forthcoming French Revolution. As for Vergennes' purported aim of weakening Great Britain and restoring the pre-1763 balance of power, the war for American independence had just the opposite result. "The British economy did not suffer from the loss of the American colonies--America long continued to be an economic satellite of Britain."¹⁸ The English economy boomed as Great Britain continued to be America's chief trading partner without having to assume the costs of their defense. After the war, Britain regained its position as a world leader, and France fell into the depths of revolution.

This melancholy portrait of French gains from the alliance becomes much brighter, however, when viewed from the American perspective. Without French money and warships, American independence would certainly have taken much longer, particularly in view of the fact that the Continental army had great trouble securing decisive victories. The obvious self-interest that the French pursued did not lessen the American debt of gratitude. This debt continued to be recalled as late as the First World War when American willingness to support France showed itself in such sayings as "Lafayette, we have returned!" While national feelings of gratitude are rarely the prime motivation for foreign policy, the United States had, with few exceptions, maintained surprisingly positive relations with France throughout the two centuries since the war for independence. The early cooperation between the two nations is surely one of the primary causes for this entente.

Endnotes

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¹⁰ Lawrence S. Kaplan, Colonies into Nation: American Diplomacy 1763-1801 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), 113.

¹¹ Jonathan R. Dull, The French Navy and American Independence: A study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 90.

¹² "Treaty of Alliance, Eventual and Defensive 1778," ed. Richard D. Brown (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1992), 206.

¹³ William C. Stinchcombe, The American Revolution and the French Alliance (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 35-36.

¹⁴ Lawrence S. Kaplan, Colonies into Nation: American Diplomacy 1763-1801 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), 119.

¹⁵ James Hosmer Penniman, Our Debt to France, ed. W. Lanier Washington (New York: The Washington Lafayette Institution, 1926), 53.

¹⁶ Jonathon R. Dull, A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 111.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

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AS KINGFISHERS CATCH FIRE

Kristina Weisbruch

As kingfishers catch fire, dragonflies draw flame;
As tumbled over rim in roundy wells
Stones ring; like each tucked string tells, each hung bell's
Bow swung finds tongue to fling out broad its name;
Each mortal thing does one thing and the same:
Deals out that being indoors each one dwells;
Selves--goes itself; myself it speaks and spells,
Crying What I do is me: for that I came.

I say more: the just man justices;
Keeps grace: that keeps all his goings graces;
Acts in God's eye what in God's eye he is--
Christ. For Christ plays in ten thousand places,
Lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his
To the Father through the features of men's faces.

Gerard Manley Hopkins was fascinated with the thought of the medieval philosopher Duns Scotus, whose notion of the individuating principle influenced Hopkins' own understanding of "design" or "pattern" in things, which he called "inscape." Hopkins' interest in the question of being is reflected in "As kingfishers catch fire," in which he addresses the being of all mortal things, and especially of man, whose being finds its purpose and fulfillment in light of the Incarnation.

Hopkins' use of the Italian sonnet form is essential to an understanding of "As kingfishers catch fire." The rhyme envelopes which form the quatrains emphasize the theme of being contained within individual things, and a relation between the two quatrains is apparent because their rhyme schemes are the same. Together the two quatrains form a simile. The first presents observations from the natural, physical world, and the words "as" and "like" suggest that what follows will be likened to these observations. The second consists of a generalization drawn from these particular observations.

Since a simile compares two similar things, there should be a likeness between the propositions of the first and second stanzas. This likeness is apparent: as all these things carry out the particular purposes of their natures, so "Each mortal thing...Deals out..." the being that dwells within it. However, a discrepancy arises between the two quatrains. The second quatrain emphasizes the importance of the particular nature of the thing in the accomplishment of its purpose by stating that mortal things "Deal out" the being within them. In the first quatrain, however, the kingfisher and the dragonfly "catch" and "draw" rather than "Deal out." The external agent of light acts upon the vivid plumage of the kingfisher and the iridescent wings of the dragonfly to produce the appearance of fire. In these images, it is not merely the thing which deals out the being within it; the act of the thing results

both from the properties of its own nature and the external agent acting upon it. The other images of the first quatrain are similar in that something must set the stones in motion, pluck the string, or swing the bell in order for these objects to accomplish their purposes. Thus, the simile of the two quatrains presents a metaphysical understanding which is essential to the full meaning of the poem, namely, that a thing has a particular end determined by its nature, and that it reaches this end not by means of its own properties alone but also by means of some external agent acting upon it.

"As kingfishers catch fire" exhibits the "turn" between lines eight and nine which is characteristic of the Italian sonnet. The turn is emphasized by the three consecutive stressed monosyllables, "I say more." These words are the direct response of the speaker to the voice of the "selving" things mentioned in the second quatrain which says "myself," and "What I do is me: for that I came." As a man, the voice says more than "myself"; what he does is more than "me"; and his purpose of being is more than just to "speak and spell" himself.

The words "the just man justices" sound like an example of dealing out being, but the next line brings in the element of grace. The just man acts in justice because he "keeps grace," a notion which is somewhat ironic since grace is a free act of God and not within man's power to keep. Therefore, like the light necessary for the kingfisher to "catch fire," God's grace is necessary for man to fulfill his purpose of being. In this way the man who acts with grace does "speak and spell" more than just himself.

In lines eleven and twelve, this idea is further developed. Not only is man just with the aid of grace, but the just man "Acts" and "is" Christ himself. To say that the just man is Christ in God's eye is to say that grace is a supernatural, metaphysical union of God and man, the mystery of the Incarnation. The word "Acts" suggests a theatrical meaning; the role that man is to play, his ultimate purpose for being, is that of Christ. This word also suggests action and an understanding that man's actions reveal this mysterious Incarnational union.

The first three lines of the sestet have described the action of man, and the last three describe the action of Christ in this Incarnational union. Such a division in the sestet further illustrates the synthesis of the action of God and man. The word "plays" suggests several meanings. First, it recalls the theatrical connotation of "Acts," pointing to Christ's role in this union. It also suggests playing a musical instrument, a joyful image of playfulness, or the play of light upon water and other surfaces. Christ plays in "places," in physical and temporal reality, in limbs, eyes, and faces, and this play is all directed "to the Father." In this final image of Christ playing through man to the Father, we see the ultimate purpose of man, which is to willfully give glory and praise to his Creator. As the purpose of the kingfisher is determined by his nature and accomplished by means of a combination of his being and the external agent of light, so this purpose of man is determined by his nature as a rational creature of God, and accomplished by means of his nature as well as the free act of God in imparting grace and uniting himself with man in the Incarnation.

In addition to use of the Italian sonnet form, the musical effects created through meter, alliteration, and repetition also contribute to the meaning of the poem. For example, the first quatrain which describes images from the physical world is appropriately rich in musical effects. In the first line, the "k" and "f" sounds of "kingfishers" are repeated in "catch fire," as are the "d" and "f" sounds of "dragonflies" in "draw flame." This precise use of alliteration emphasizes the notion that a thing acts according to its nature. After the slow-moving sprung rhythm of the first line, the iambic meter of the second line quickens the movement and creates a musical effect appropriate for tumbling stones. The repetition of the "t" sound, the word "tucked," and the four stressed monosyllables imitate the sound of a plucked string. And the consecutive stressed monosyllables combined with the internal rhyme of "hung," "swung," and "tongue" suggest the sound of bells ringing.

The second quatrain is less musical, appropriately, since its content is less physical and more abstract. With the repetition of "thing" in line five, the same word is used for the thing itself and what it does, again emphasizing that a thing acts according to its nature. In line seven, the stress and punctuation calls attention to the word "Selves," and the echo created by the use of "self" and "myself" demonstrates the importance of this concept

of selving. Finally, the regular trochaic meter of line eight provides a contrast to the three consecutive stressed syllables in line nine which announce the turn of the sonnet.

In the sestet, the use of repetition creates a particular effect. In each line except the last, words are repeated: "just...justices"; "Keeps grace...keeps...graces"; "God's eye...God's eye"; "Christ...Christ"; "Lovely...lovely." This repetition creates an audible effect of echo and a visible effect of a mirror image, both of which support the concept of Christ reflected in man.

Thus, Hopkins utilizes the sonnet form and musical techniques to present an understanding of the dignity and the purpose of the human person in light of the Incarnation, an understanding which is both theologically and metaphysically complex. It may be asked whether such material is the proper object of poetry, or whether such a work necessarily becomes a rhyming philosophy lesson. But in "As kingfishers catch fire," the verse is not employed at the service of philosophical teaching; rather, the deep metaphysical and theological truth of the work is achieved precisely through the act of poetic creation.

INNOCENCE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE NURSE'S SONGS

Kevin Saylor

Blake gave the subtitle Showing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul to his Songs of Innocence and Experience. Thus, innocence and experience in this context refer not to age or worldliness but to inner states of consciousness. One way to witness these different states would be to place two people (one in a state of innocence, the other in a state of experience) in a similar context and observe how they view and react to their surroundings. Blake does just this in the two "Nurse's Songs." In both songs a nurse is overlooking a group of children playing outdoors at that specific time when the sun has already gone down but it is not yet dark. However, the inner state of the nurses, the relationship between the children and the nurses, and the relationship between children, nurse, and surroundings differs vastly in the two poems.

As was just mentioned, the physical setting of these two songs is the same, and Blake emphasizes this by making the first line of each poem--which gives the setting--identical. The second line which relates each speaker's perception of the "voices...on the green" reflects the contrary states of their souls. The innocent nurse hears "laughing...on the hill," whereas the experienced nurse hears "whisperings...in the dale." (To be precise, each nurse hears two things: the voices on the green and the laughing/whispering. My point is that among the bustle of noises, one nurse perceives laughing, the other whispering.) They pick out different things from amid the same noises precisely because of their differing inner states. They are, in essence, listening for different things. Of course, the whisperings in the dale can be interpreted in a different way: namely, the children in this song are in a state of experience and so they whisper secretly amongst themselves rather than laughing joyously on the hill. But it seems to me that the identical first lines emphasize that the speakers are indeed confronted with the exact same situation, but their reactions to it are different. Lines three and four of each poem reveal even more clearly the inner consciousness of the two nurses. One can compare the peace of the innocent nurse,

My heart is at rest within my breast
And everything else is still

to the anxiety of the experienced nurse,

The days of my youth rise fresh in my mind,
My face turns green and pale.

The diction ("within my breast"; "in my mind") specifically deals with the inner states of the speakers. When confronted with the voices of innocent children, the one nurse finds inner peace, the other disturbing memories. The inner harmony of the innocent soul is emphasized by the inner rhyme of line three of the innocent nurse's song which is conspicuously absent in the corresponding line of the experienced nurse's song. Indeed, these lines display something quite striking about the experienced soul, namely, a suspicion, even a loathing, of innocence. We are

not told what specific childhood memories cause her to turn "green and pale." We might suspect, however, that this reaction stems from the remembrance of a time when she herself ceased "laughing...on the hill" and began "whispering...in the dale"; the remembrance of a lost innocence which she feels she can never recover causes a sickly jealous reaction in her as she watches the playing children.

Lines five and six which tell the time of day of the poem's action are also identical in these two songs. The sun has just gone down and it is time for the children to retire for the evening. But the manner in which the nurses call in the children is drastically different. The innocent nurse does not tell them so much to cease play, as to "leave off play...Till the morning." She does not begrudge the children's playtime, but she knows the dangers inherent in the night. These innocent souls do not exist in a completely friendly environment. And the innocence of the nurse does not imply a lack of knowledge--she is fully aware of the dangers present in the world. She calls the children in to protect them. Of course, the experienced nurse also realizes the dangers posed by the night. Furthermore, she too calls them in to keep them from harm. But she no longer sees any usefulness in their play. Instead of calling them to "leave off play," she scolds them for wasting the day:

Then come home my child, the sun is gone down
And the dews of night arise;
Your spring & your day are wasted in play,
And your winter and night in disguise.

She sees the danger not just in the night, but in the children themselves. She believes they will use the night as a disguise. Her distrust in the children is another example of the secrecy, deceitfulness, and suspicion of the experienced soul which is manifested earlier in her hearing "whisperings...in the dale."

The way in which the nurses call in the children also helps us to understand the relationship between the nurses and the children. The innocent nurse calls, "let us away" (emphasis mine). There is no separation between the children and the authoritative voice of the nurse; they will return home together. But the experienced nurse speaks of "Your spring & your day...and your winter." She cannot relate herself to the activities of the children. But the children respond to the innocent nurse's call. They plead, "No, no, let us play, for it is yet day/ And we cannot go to sleep." They trust in her fairness and benevolence. They are able to communicate with her because even though she is the voice of authority, she has an innocent soul. She is still sympathetic with the simple, honest, joyful pleasures of childhood. But the song of experience ends with the nurse's command; there is nowhere else for it to go. The command is issued with a sharp finality. The disassociation of nurse and children allows for no communication between them. The innocent children fear the stern voice of experience and do not respond.

The children are able to persuade the innocent nurse to let them play a while longer by appealing to the innocence of their surroundings:

No, no let us play, for it is yet day
And we cannot go to sleep;
Besides, in the sky, the little birds fly
And the hills are all covered with sheep.

"It is yet day," they claim. The sun has sunk below the horizon, but darkness has not yet set in. They appeal to the continued presence of the little birds and the sheep, both obvious symbols of innocence. In essence they are saying: "there is no danger yet, so let us keep playing awhile." The nurse relents, but with a stipulation: they can only play "till the light fades away." After all, she still must protect them and cannot expose them to the dangers of the night. But the children respect their nurse and agree that this is fair and go off leaping and shouting and laughing. Certainly no appeal like this could be made to the experienced nurse. To her all playing is wasted time, and she would not see the significance of the presence of birds and sheep.

The relationship between innocent souls and their environment, which has been implied throughout the song of innocence and had begun to take some definite shape in the children's appeal to the birds and sheep, is emphasized in the final line of the poem: "And all the hills echoed." As the children run off to celebrate their extended playtime, the hills echo with their shouting and laughing. But the syntax of line 16 makes it seem as if the hills themselves are joining in on the play and are adding to the noise of the children. The hills seem to "come alive" as it is commonly expressed. The inner harmony of the innocent soul seems to extend to the surrounding world. There is a sense of openness, honesty, and community in these echoes. The whisperings which preoccupy the experienced nurse could never resound in this sort of echo. The world of experience is concerned with isolation, deceit, and disguise. The innocent soul, on the other hand, is selfless. The innocent soul empties itself in a shout or a laugh whose echo can be enjoyed by the entire community, and even by nature herself.

Thus, the two nurse's songs reveal how the "two contrary states of the human soul" react to the same situation. The innocent soul displays an inner peace, a trust in the benevolence of people, and a harmony with the surrounding world. The experienced soul displays an inner anxiety, a separation of self from others, and a jealousy of innocence.



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