

CARROLL QUIGLEY LIFE, LECTURES & COLLECTED WRITINGS

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DISCOVERY PUBLISHER

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CARROLL QUIGLEY AN INTRODUCTION

arroll Quigley was born in Boston and attended Harvard University, where he studied history and earned B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees. He taught at Princeton University, at Harvard, and then at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University from 1941 to 1976. After teaching at Princeton and Harvard, Quigley came to Georgetown University in 1941 and became an on-line resource for Washington. He lectured at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Brookings Institution, the Stare Department's Foreign Service Institute and consulted with the Smithsonian and the Senate Select Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

In addition to his academic work, Quigley served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Navy, the Smithsonian Institution, and the House Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration in the 1950s. He was also a book reviewer for *The Washington Star*, and a contributor and editorial board member of *Current History*. Quigley said of himself that he was a conservative defending the liberal tradition of the West. He was an early and fierce critic of the Vietnam War, and he opposed the activities of the military-industrial complex.

To those duties and to his teachings, he brought his holist philosophy: the belief that knowledge cannot be divided into parts, that the world can be viewed only as an interlocking, complex system. This philosophy complemented his life: he had reveled in the traditions and contrasts of his neighborhood, eschewed fame in favor of keeping his emotional and social development on track, and applied himself to science and economics as well as history. His passion to consider the "big picture" never cooled.

Quigley had no small regret that some of the best minds of his generation insisted on treating the world in a 19th Century fashion by tinkering with its problems as a mechanic looks at an engine: spreading the separate parts on the floor and considering each one to find the malfunction. "This reductionist way of thinking," Quigley maintained, "had gotten Western civilization into all kinds of trouble."

In an age characterized by violence, extraordinary personal alienation, and the disintegration of family, church, and community, Quigley chose a life dedicated to rationality. He wanted an explanation that in its very categorization would give meaning to a history which was a record of constant change. Therefore the analysis had to include but not be limited to categories of subject areas of human activity—military, political, economic, social, religious, and intellectual. It had to describe change in categories expressed sequentially in time—mixture, gestation, expansion, conflict, universal empire, decay, and invasion. It was a most ambitious effort to make history rationally understandable.

On such views, in 1961 Quigley published the book *The Evolution of Civilizations*. It was derived from a course he taught on world history at Georgetown University. One of Quigley's closest friends was Harry J. Hogan. In the foreword to *The Evolution of Civilizations* he wrote:

The Evolution of Civilizations expresses two dimensions of its author, Quigley, like for most extraordinary historian, philosopher, and teacher. In the first place, its scope is wide-ranging, covering the whole of man's activities throughout time. Second, it is analytic, not merely descriptive. It attempts a categorization of man's activities in sequential fashion so as to provide a causal explanation of the stages of civilization.

Quigley coupled enormous capacity for work with a peculiarly "scientific" approach.

He believed that it should be possible to examine the data and draw conclusions. As a boy at the Boston Latin School, his academic interests were mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Yet during his senior year he was also associate editor of the *Register*, the oldest high school paper in the country. His articles were singled out for national awards by a national committee headed by George Gallup.

In 1966, Macmillan Company published *Tragedy and Hope*, a work of exceptional scholarship depicting the history of the world between 1895 and 1965 as seen through the eyes of Quigley. *Tragedy and Hope* was a commanding work, 20 years in the writing, that added to Quigley's considerable national reputation as a historian.

Tragedy and Hope reflected Quigley's feeling that "Western civilization is going down the drain." That was the tragedy. When the book came out in 1966, Quigley honestly thought the whole show could he salvaged; that was his hope.

During his research, Quigley had noticed that many prominent Englishmen and outstanding British scholars were members of an honorary society:

[...] The powers of financial capitalism had another far-reaching aim, nothing less than to create a world system of financial control in private hands able to dominate the political system of each country and the economy of the world as a whole, this system was to be controlled in a feudalist fashion by the central banks of the world acting in concert by secret agreements arrived at in frequent private meetings and conferences. The apex of the system was to be the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, Switzerland, a private bank owned and controlled by the world's central banks which were themselves private corporations....

It must not be felt that these heads of the world's chief central banks were themselves substantive powers in world finance. They were not. Rather, they were the technicians and agents of the dominant investment bankers of their own countries, who had raised them up and were perfectly capable of throwing them down. The substantive financial powers of the world were in the hands of these investment bankers (also called 'international' or 'merchant' bankers) who remained largely behind the scenes in their own unincorporated private banks. These

formed a system of international cooperation and national dominance which was more private, more powerful, and more secret than that of their agents in the central banks; this dominance of investment bankers was based on their control over the flows of credit and investment funds in their own countries and throughout the world. They could dominate the financial and industrial systems of their own countries by their influence over the flow of current funds through bank loans, the discount rate, and the re-discounting of commercial debts; they could dominate governments by their own control over current government loans and the play of the international exchanges. Almost all of this power was exercised by the personal influence and prestige of men who had demonstrated their ability in the past to bring off successful financial coups, to keep their word, to remain cool in a crisis, and to share their winning opportunities with their associates.

At the time, Quigley had no way of knowing he had just written his own ticket to a curious kind of fame. He was about to become a reluctant hero to Americans who believe the world is neatly controlled by a clique of international bankers and their cronies. Quigley learned of the country's great appetite for believing a grand conspiracy causes everything from big wars to bad weather.

Tragedy and Hope is not all juicy conspiratorial material. Most of it is straight diplomatic, political, and economic history. All of it is brilliant. His insights on such otherwise ignored (and crucially important) topics as Japanese military history and its relation to family dynasties is fascinating. But it did not gain its notoriety or its sales because of these non-conspiratorial insights.

Quigley never claimed he was a conspiracy theorist; on the contrary:

You can't believe what people think. Some believe it is all a Jewish conspiracy, that is part of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion which we now know were perpetuated by the Czarist Russian police force in 1904. And that this conspiracy is the same thing as the Illuminati, a secret society founded in 1776 in Bavaria. And that the Illuminati are a branch of the Masons. There are some people who say the Society of Cincinnati, of which George Washington was a member during the American Revolution, was a branch of the Illuminati and that's why the Masons built their monument in Alexandria to George Washington, since he was

a Mason and head of the Illuminati before he helped start the Society of Cincinnati.

I generally think that any conspiracy theory of history is nonsense for the simple reason that most conspiracies that we know about seem to me to be conspiracies of losers, people who have been defeated on the historical platforms of public happenings. Now, there is not the slightest doubt that the international bankers have tried to make banking into a mystery. But we are dealing with two different things. I don't think that is a conspiracy; because something is a secret does not mean it is a conspiracy.

In essence, the message of *Tragedy and Hope* is that the last century was a tragedy that could have been avoided. Quigley believed that the tragedy would not have happened if we had given diligent heed of warnings. In other words, unless we carefully study his book and learn the untold history of the twentieth century and avoid allowing these same people, their heirs and associates—the rulers of various financial, corporate and governmental systems around the world—to ruin the twenty-first century, his work and the work of countless others will have been in vain.

Tragedy and Hope received mixed, though generally favorable, reviews. Opined the Library Journal: "Mr. Quigley ... has written a very remarkable book: very long, very detailed, very critical, very daring and very good... His coverage of the world is amazingly encyclopedic and well-balanced." Saturday Review was less flattering: "For those who approve of this way of writing history, his rambling volume may have a certain excellence." The New York Times: "The book provides a business-like narrative in which an incredible amount of information is compressed—and in some cases presented—with drama and distinction."

After it sold 8,800 copies, and for reasons not clear to Quigley (but he did not attribute it to any conspiracy), Macmillan stopped publishing *Tragedy and Hope* and subsequently destroyed the plates:

The original edition published by Macmillan in 1966 sold about 8,800 copies and sales were picking up in 1968 when they "ran out of stock," as they told me. But in 1974, when I went after them with a lawyer, they told me that they had destroyed the plates in 1968. They lied to me for six years, telling me that they would reprint when they got 2,000 orders,

which could never happen because they told anyone who asked that it was out of print and would not be reprinted. They denied this until I sent them Xerox copies of such replies to libraries, at which they told me it was a clerk's error. In other words they lied to me but prevented me from regaining the publication rights by doing so (on out-of-print, rights revert to holder of copyright, but on out-of-stock, they do not.) Powerful influences in this country want me, or at least my work, suppressed.

[...] Macmillan never got in touch with me offering the plates. I learned in March of this year [1971] that they destroyed the plates, of *Tragedy and Hope*. I learned in the summer, 1971, because my wife got mad and called Macmillan on the phone, every week, while I was in England, and finally got from them a letter in which they said the plates had been destroyed. They said 'inadvertently destroyed.'

That, there's something funny. They lied and lied and lied and lied to me. On everything. And I have letters to prove that.

Tragedy and Hope was never republished.

In the last 12 years of his life, from 1965 to 1977, Quigley taught, observed the American scene, and reflected on his basic values in life. He was simultaneously pessimistic and radically optimistic. Teaching was the core of Quigley's professional life and neither his craving to write nor his discouragement with student reaction of the early seventies diminished his commitment to the classroom:

For years I have told my students that I have been trying to train executives rather than clerks. The distinction between the two is parallel to the distinction previously made between understanding and knowledge. It is a mighty low executive who cannot hire several people with command of more knowledge than he has himself. And he can always buy reference works or electronic devices with better memories for facts than any subordinate. The chief quality of an executive is that he has understanding. He should be able to make decisions that make it possible to utilize the knowledge of other persons. Such executive capacity can be taught, but it cannot be taught by an educational program that emphasizes knowledge and only knowledge. Knowledge must be assumed as given, and if it is not sufficient the candidate must be eliminated. But the vital thing is understanding. This requires possession of techniques that, fortunately, can be taught.

[...] I am sure that you will enjoy teaching increasingly, as I do. It is the one way we can do a little good in the world. The task is so important, the challenge so great, and the possibilities for improvement and for variation as infinite that it is the most demanding and most difficult of human activities. Even a virtuoso violinist can be made to order easier than a good teacher.

[...] It will be obvious to you that I have enjoyed my work, although at the end of my career I have no conviction that I did any good. Fortunately, I had a marvelous father and a marvelous mother, and we were taught you don't have to win, but you have to give it all you've got. Then it won't matter.

Unlike his underlying faith in the efficacy of teaching, Quigley found little basis for optimism about the future of American society. A journal asked him in 1975 to write an upbeat article on the country's prospects:

I told the editor that would be difficult, but I would try. I wrote it and they refused to publish it because it was not optimistic enough...

In 1976, Quigley wrote congratulating Carmen Brissette-Grayson's husband for his decision to give up any idea of leaving state politics for the federal arena. Quigley concluded:

It is futile, because it is all so corrupt and the honest ones are so incompetent. I should not say this, as students said it to me for years and I argued with them.

It was more than the institutionalization of the American political system which concerned him:

We are living in a very dangerous age in which insatiably greedy men are prepared to sacrifice anybody's health and tranquility to satisfy their own insatiable greed for money and power.

He feared that these values had virtually destroyed the roots of the Western outlook and had made the creation of a satisfying life in contemporary America a hazardous undertaking:

I am aghast at what selfishness, and the drive for power have done to

our society... I worry as I find the world so increasingly horrible that I do not see how anything as wonderful as your life can escape.

Less than six months before Quigley passed away, he advised:

The best thing you can do is to keep some enclaves of satisfying decent life.

Much of the joy of teaching left Quigley in his last years. He complained bitterly that his 1970s college students were woefully under-educated and ill-prepared for college level work and that too many of them had their minds elsewhere, fixated more on bringing about a social revolution than on achieving an education.

Helen Veit, the person closest to Quigley during the last ten years of his life, wrote in reply to a student who had so strongly opposed Quigley's "tough grading standards":

[...] Impatient he may have been; arrogant he was not. His emphatic manner derived from his experience of teaching large classes and the need for catching and retaining their attention. But he never believed that he had "answers"; what he taught was methods of approaching problems. He often stressed how little we know about the important things of life, especially human relationships. What he sought above all was to help people to become mature, by realizing their potentials and understanding that material things, however necessary, should never be ends themselves, while what is important is seeking the truth in cooperation with others, with the knowledge that one will never find it.

Nor was he ever cynical, much as he deplored inefficiency and ignorance. His beliefs and principles were of the highest order; his greatest joy came from finding people who could meet his standards, and from whom he could learn.

Quigley's impatience came from his deep awareness that a man who wants to do so much can never have enough time. He was a man in a hurry—events have proved him right.

Yet pessimism about American society did not weaken a radical optimism rooted in his essential values: nature, people, and God:

The need for others is present on all levels; the physical, emotional, and intellectual. Indeed, every relationship has in it all three aspects. The desire to help others experience these things and to grow as a result of such experiences is called love. Such love is the real motivating force of the universe and is, in its ultimate nature, a manifestation of the love of God. Because while God is pure Reason and man's ultimate goal is Reason, it cannot be reached directly and must always be approached step by step, not alone but in companionship with others, and thus through love. Thus love of others, ultimately love of God, are the steps by which man develops reason and slowly approaches pure Reason.

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LIFE

- Some things are important, but most things are only necessary.
- Necessary things are only important when you do not have them and are generally ignored when they are amply supplied. These include oxygen, food, drink, shelter, and all physical needs.
- Important things are important all the time whether you have them or not, whether you realize it or not.
- People who regard necessary things as important are unhappy and frustrated even when they get them and even if they are quite unaware that the important things exist.
- Important things are those which can be made ends in themselves, worth
 seeking and worth having. Necessary things, since they are not important
 for their own sakes, should never made ends in themselves, but must be
 permitted only to be means to important ends. Thus, material wealth, power,
 popularity, and prestige should never be ends but only means to ends,
 because however necessary they may be they are never important.
- THE ONLY THING WHICH IS IMPORTANT IS TRUTH—that
 is the total structure of reality. The meaning of anything arises from its
 relationship to that total structure. The reason that material things are not
 important is because of the subordinate position they hold in that total
 structure.
- From this point of view, important things may exist on any level of reality. For example, physical health, exercise, and coordination are important on the physical level, but are not as important as things on higher levels, even though they can be made ends in themselves.
- On the higher levels are such things as feelings and intellectual awareness.

- The important things are those concerned with the realization of the potentialities of an individual because such realization brings the individual in closer contact with the total structure of reality—that is, with TRUTH.
- Each individual is so inadequate that there are only a few things he can do
 to help realize his potentialities. Among these few are will—the desire to do
 this and the determination to do it.
- Because of the inadequacy of the individual—that is, his basic need for
 other persons and his inability to direct his efforts unless he has recognition
 of his relationships with the rest of reality, the individual can achieve nothing
 by seeking to obtain things for himself, because this makes him the center of
 the universe, which he is not. Thus, selfishness achieves nothing.
- Thus the chief immediate aim in life of each individual must be to help others realize their potentialities. This is what Kant meant when he said that others must never be treated as means to be used, but always as ends in themselves. It is basic in human experience that those things a person seeks for himself directly are never obtained. They are only obtained indirectly as a by-product of an effort to obtain them for others. Thus the man who seeks only wealth for himself never feels rich, as the man who seeks power never feels secure, and the man who seeks pleasure never feels satisfied. But the man who seeks important things for others often feels rich, secure, and satisfied.
- The need for others is present on all levels, the physical, emotional, and intellectual. Indeed, every relationship has in it all three aspects. The desire to help others experience these things and to grow as a result of such experiences is called love. Such love is the real motivating force of the universe and is, in its ultimate nature, a manifestation of the love of God. Because while God is pure Reason and man's ultimate goal is Reason, it can not be reached directly and must always be approached step by step, not alone but in companionship with others, and thus through love. Thus love of others, ultimately love of God, are the steps by which man develops reason and slowly approaches pure Reason.

Carroll Quigley, August 1967

THE IMPROBABLE DR. QUIGLEY

Austin hyde COURIER, Vol. X, No. 2, October 1961, pp. 12-13

A close friend of Dr. Carroll Quigley defines the fact in the legend about one of the most outstanding of the Georgetown faculty.

Images of people who are at all controversial are in most cases dreams based on few or no facts at all. Our minds delight in dwelling on the fantastic. It really does not matter how we feel about the individual, whether it is admiration or dislike, the dreaming tendency is there nevertheless. To a great extent, such is the situation of Dr. Carroll Quigley. Being the extremely intense person that he is, particularly in his approach to life, many stories and wishful dreams have developed around his person. This, then, is an attempt to set the record straight.

Dr. Quigley was born in Boston in 1910. He attended the Boston Latin School from 1924 to 1929. His scholastic record there was one of an honor student who was dedicated to his work. For example, in his Senior year he took seven courses. This meant that he had no study periods, had to cut his military drill, and do his homework during his lunch time. The extra course was a science; thus he was at once taking physics and chemistry. His best subject had been mathematics, in which on several occasions he received a score of one hundred on the monthly reports sent home. During his senior year he was Associate Editor of the Register, the high school paper which is the oldest in the country. For three of his articles Carroll Quigley was awarded highest individual honors in the country by a committee of the Quill and Scroll headed by George Gallup (of the U.S. opinion polls) which had examined the writings of over fifty thousand high school journalists.

As a result of this contest and his extremely high scores on the English Achievement Examination, he received credit for most of the required English courses that he was to take later at Harvard. This proved to be very important, as it enabled him to spend more time on the courses of his direct interest.

Bio-Chemistry was to be his major. In his freshman year he took, among other things, experimental physics and calculus. In the latter he turned in a perfect final examination, for which he received an "A+". But there was a problem, since he also was required to take something in the social sciences.

He chose a history course called "Europe Since the Fall of Rome" (receiving a "C" as a final grade) which was given by a professor who opened for him a new horizon in history. In his sophomore year he changed his major to history and then somehow managed to spend more time on political science (a total of thirty hours) than in any other field. When asked why he did this, he said that he was interested in the development of ideas.

In his junior year he took three courses, one a graduate course in History of Political Theory with Professor Charles Howard McIlwain. This he took by special permission, the only junior to have done so. In his senior year there were only two courses, but as an Honor Student he was obliged to write a thesis; his concerned "The Influence of the Romantic Movement on Political Theory." In 1933 he was graduated by Harvard University *magna cum laude* and as the top history student of his class. As a result of his fine record he was awarded the Dillaway Fellowship.

He got his master's degree in one year and at the end of the second year of graduate work he stood for his oral examination for a Ph.D. His areas of study were, to say the least, varied. Included among them were Russian History, Constitutional History of England, and the History of France (1461 to 1815). The Chairman of the examining board, Professor McIlwain, a trustee of Princeton, was most impressed with the examination, especially with Mr. Quigley's ability to answer his opening question with a long quotation in Latin from the writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in the 13th Century. As a result of his proficiency, Dr. Quigley was given a job at Princeton, where he taught for two years.

At the end of the two years Harvard granted Carroll Quigley a travelling fellowship to go to Europe to write as a doctoral dissertation a study of the Napoleonic public administration of the Kingdom of Italy (1805 to 1814). He took with him his nineteen year old bride, Lillian Fox Quigley. In Paris they lived for five months with a French viscount and his wife, their daughter and son-in-law, the count of Brabant. Because of these connections most of their associations in France were with monarchists and nobles, a strange experience during the first "Popular Front Government." In January, 1938, they went to Milan where they stayed several months while he examined the manuscripts in the rich archives. The finished thesis, bound in three large volumes (by an Italian who embossed the author's name in gold on the cover as "Qiugley"), was delivered to Harvard by messenger. The Ph.D. was awarded in absentia in June 1938. The diploma, which Dr. Quigley picked up that September, has yet to be unrolled!

While returning from Europe on the Île de France, he received a telegram

from Harvard University offering him a job. He accepted the offer and thus tutored honor students in Ancient and Medieval History. While at Harvard he took advantage of its vast and extremely rich collection on Italian history (among the best in the country) to continue his study on the subject.

In 1941, the late Father Walsh invited Dr. Quigley to come to Georgetown to lecture on history. Dr. Quigley accepted because he felt he needed experience in lecturing, as all of his work thus far had been in the preceptorial work at Princeton (directing round tables of seven students) and tutoring honor students at Harvard, with but an occasional lecture.

He certainly has obtained all the experience he wanted at Georgetown!

"Development of Civilization" was his first course, and he is now delivering it for the twenty-first year. It was first worked out in 1934 as the first version of his recently published book, *The Evolution of Civilizations*. The second version of the book was produced in 1942 in a suite of rooms at Princeton (this was to be his last summer off from teaching in eighteen years). The third and last revision of the book was written in the space of about five weeks in the fall of 1958.

In the spring of 1943 the School of Foreign Service dedicated itself in full to the war effort. In one week under the personal direction of Fr. Walsh the Foreign Area and Language Program was established as a part of the Army Specialized Training Program. In the fall of 1943, Professor Quigley had close to 700 students in one class, held in Gaston Hall. In this course Dr. Quigley lectured five hours a week continually for nine months on the "History of Europe in the Twentieth Century"—without finishing what he wanted to say on the subject. Most of the students for this course were college graduates and fifty-five had Ph.D.'s.

Early in the war the School recognized that its graduates had difficulty getting commissions in the Navy because of their poor background in mathematics. So Dr. Quigley gave an elective course in college algebra to Foreign Service students, most of whom have had little inclination in that direction.

At the end of the war, when the School of Foreign Service enrollment felt the tidal wave of veterans, the student body was over 2,200. In the fall of 1947 Dr. Quigley had 1,307 students, including two sections of about 400 each (at present in his four courses he has a total of 400).

In this period he taught courses on the Fascist state, Public Administration, Government Regulation of Industry, and United States History (which he taught from 1942, when almost everyone in the department was called for duty in the army, until February of 1946, when Dr. Jules Davids joined the faculty of Georgetown).

Dr. Quigley is a consultant in American History for the Smithsonian

Institution. His chief work there has been to draw a detailed plan for layout of the new Museum of History and Technology now under construction. He has been consultant on numerous occasions to the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at Fort McNair, his work being particularly connected with questions of curriculum reform. For the last twelve years Dr. Quigley has annually lectured to the Industrial College (usually on the History of Czarist Russia).

In addition, he was consultant to the Select House Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration, which set up the present space agency. It was in connection with this work that Professor Quigley made his first flight in an airplane—Washington to San Francisco—to inspect the Ames Laboratory at Moffett Field.

Professor Quigley's versatility may be judged from the fact that during the last week of October 1961, he had planned to lecture to a government agency on Russian History, lecture at another local University on African History, testify before the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopoly Committee on American business practices, and spend five days in Boston as an invited delegate to the UNESCO Conference on Africa.

Dr. Quigley, in a unique way, bears out Henry Adams' observation that, "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops." There are no means available to measure the intellectual impact and the far-reaching effects of his influence on the minds of his students. For this reason it is impossible to give Dr. Quigley recognition commensurate with his value to thousands of Georgetown students since his arrival here from Harvard in the Fall of 1941.

"QUIGLEY... MAKING BIRCHERS BARK"

An article by Wes Christenson in Georgetown Today, Volume 4, Number 4 (March 1972), pp 12-13.

Georgetown Professor Carroll Quigley, doing some writing on his West Virginia farm, picked up the ringing telephone and answered it. The man on the other end of the line said he was from Dallas and wanted to ask the Georgetown historian "a few questions."

He did. For 40 minutes. When Dr. Quigley begged to be allowed to get back to his books, the caller said: "Just one more question, Professor. Why is Governor Nelson Rockefeller a Communist?"

Dr. Quigley has been plagued by hundreds of letters and telephone calls from the American political spectrum's far right since he wrote his well-known *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* in 1966.

The John Birch Society, the Liberty Lobby, the Phyllis Schaffy Report and the telephone outlet known as "Let Freedom Ring" are among the groups which have been titillated by the book but strangely have denounced the author.

The far right-wingers claim that Dr. Quigley's 1,348-page book, which sold some 8,000 copies and is now indefinitely out of stock, reveals the existence of a conspiracy by international capitalists on Wall Street and in London to take over the world and turn it over to the Communists. What's more, Dr. Quigley is an "insider" in the scheme, they charge.

The Georgetown historian says that's nonsense, that he never wrote as much, and that he is not, as the right-wingers charge, a member of this group of super rich and elite "pro-Communist insiders."

One right-wing author, in particular, has been giving Dr. Quigley a hard time. He is W. Cleon Skousen, a teacher of religion at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, whose background, Dr, Quigley said, includes 16 years with the FBI, four years as Salt Lake City's police chief and 10 years as editorial director of the magazine *Law And Order*.

Professor Skousen, who wrote *The Naked Communist* in 1961, has followed it up with *The Naked Capitalist: A Review and Commentary on Dr. Carroll Quigley's Book, Tragedy and Hope*, a 121-page treatise which has 30 pages of direct quotations from Dr. Quigley's book.

Meanwhile, the Utah professor has sold more than 55,000 copies of his book,

and the Washington office of Liberty Lobby estimates it sells 25 copies a day now at \$2 each. What's more, Dr. Quigley is less than happy with Professor Skousen's "lifting" 30 pages of his quotations without permission and, Dr. Quigley thinks, in violation of copyright laws.

"Skousen's book is full of misrepresentations and factual errors," Professor Quigley said. "He claims that I have written of a conspiracy of the super-rich who are pro-Communist and wish to take over the world and that I'm a member of this group. But I never called it a conspiracy and don't regard it as such. "I'm not an 'insider' of these rich persons," Dr. Quigley continued, "although Skousen thinks so. I happen to know some of them and liked them, although I disagreed with some of the things they did before 1940."

Skousen also claims, Dr. Quigley believes, the influential group of Wall Street financiers still exists and controls the country. "I never said that," Dr. Quigley said flatly. "In fact, they never were in a position to 'control'it, merely to influence political events."

The influential Wall Street group of which he wrote about 25 pages in *Tragedy and Hope* ceased to exist about 1940, Dr. Quigley claims. He also faults Skousen for saying that *Tragedy and Hope*'s intention was, in Dr. Quigley's words, "to reveal anything, least of all a purely hypothetical controversy. My only desire was to present a balanced picture of the 70 years from 1895-1965. The book is based on more than 25 years of research."

Meanwhile, *Tragedy and Hope* is becoming a rare commodity following the publicity from right-wing groups. Copies often aren't returned to libraries around the country, although some right-wingers claim that left-wing librarians are removing it to "suppress" Dr Quigley's "revelations."

Some rightists are claiming that Macmillan, *Tragedy and Hope's* publishers, won't reprint it because Macmillan allegedly has had second thoughts and now wants to hush up Dr. Quigley's "findings."

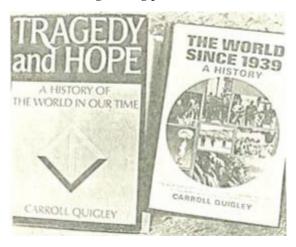
Second-hand copies are being sold in bookstores now at \$20 and up, with waiting lists of 12 to 20 persons seeking copies. Classified advertisements seeking the book are not uncommon in varied periodicals.

Dr. Quigley says *Tragedy and Hope*, priced at \$12.95 five years ago, never could be sold for that price today because "it was underpriced then. It cost less than a penny a page, when most hard-backed books now sell for at least two cents a page. I doubt if a reprinted version could be priced at \$20 or more."

The Georgetown historian, who has been taking the whole thing in a combination of stride and amusement, is nevertheless irked because the controversy takes up so much of his time.

School of Foreign Service alumni regularly write, wanting to know more. (Dr.

Quigley's "Development of Civilization" course was named their favorite in a recent survey of SFS alumni of 1955-69.) People from all over the U.S. send in clippings about him from right-wing publications.



Ironically, the parts of *Tragedy and Hope* from which Professor Skousen quotes most freely are in the second half of the volume, still available at \$3.95 in paperback from Collier Books under the title: *The World Since 1939: A History*." Georgetown alumni who have lost their copies of *Tragedy and Hope*," Dr. Quigley said, "can buy the 676-page paperback if they want to check my quotations."

His eyes twinkled and his accent from his Boston Latin School and Harvard days became even more pronounced: "You know, if enough people buy the paperback, maybe I will be rich. But not as rich as the right-wingers think I am, with all my supposed 'inside' Wall Street connections."

THE PROFESSOR WHO KNEW TOO MUCH

The Washington Post Sunday Magazine 23 March 1975

Borrowing a few crucial pages from his book, the ultra-right made a scholar an unwilling hero.

By Rudy Maxa Collage (below) by Allen Appel, based on a photo by Matthew Lewis.

Greetings, Dr. Quigley: With reference to your book, *Tragedy and Hope*, at which I am presently directing much of my energies, I would appreciate a short explanation as to why you generally approve of the conspiracy. I enclose a self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

—from a letter postmarked Rahway, N.J.

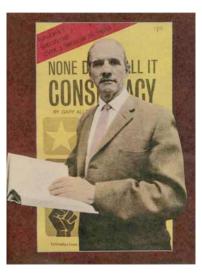
In 1966, Macmillan Company published the history of the world between 1895 and 1965 as seen through the cool, gray eyes of Carroll Quigley, a professor of history at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service. The 1,348-page tome, called *Tragedy and Hope*, was a commanding work, 20 years in the writing, that added to Quigley's considerable national reputation as a historian.

But though he had no way of knowing it, Quigley had just written his own ticket to a curious kind of fame. He was about to become a reluctant hero to Americans who believe the world is neatly controlled by a clique of international bankers and their cronies. He was about to learn of the country's awesome appetite for believing a grand conspiracy causes everything from big wars to bad weather.

Strangers would soon call to bend Quigley's ear about secret societies. Insistent letters from Rahway, N.J., among other places, would clutter his desk. And eventually, *Tragedy and Hope* would be pirated by zealots who would sell the book in the same brochures that advertise such doomsday products as "Minutemen Survival Tabs," concentrated vitamin tablets to help patriots survive sieges by foreign enemies.

It was the John Birch Society that really catapulted — or dragged — Quigley front-and-center into the conspiracy picture. Just before the 1972 primary, voters

in New Hampshire opened their mail and found copies of a breathlessly-written paperback, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*. The book, researched, written and recommended by Birch Society members, warned that public figures as different as John Gardner and Henry Kissinger were part of a conspiracy centered around the Establishment's unofficial club, New York's Council on Foreign Relations.



For identifying "a power-mad clique (that) wants to control the world," Quigley was labeled "the Joseph Valachi of political conspiracies."

None Dare Call It Conspiracy used exclamation points, charts of power networks and heavy rhetoric to awaken Americans to their diminishing freedoms. And much of the hoopla was based on a mere 25 pages from Quigley's book which, None Dare Call It Conspiracy said, "revealed the existence of the conspiratorial network" of a "power-mad clique (that) wants to control and rule the world." Quigley was "the Joseph Valachi of political conspiracies" for fingering the bankers and power brokers—the Insiders." And a photograph of Quigley shared a page with no less than financier J. P. Morgan.

John Birch Society President Robert Welch predicted distribution of 15 million copies of *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, part of a "gigantic flare from educational materials called forth by the emotions and events of a crucial election year." As copies began to spread across the country, Quigley began to grasp what the selective, unauthorized quotation from his work could mean. The approach to history taken by the authors of *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* offended Quigley's scholastic sensibilities. Worse, he found he could not fight back against the misinformation he felt was being disseminated with the aid of

his research and his name. "It blackened my reputation," Quigley said, "amongst scholarly historians who are going to say, 'Oh, he's one of those right-wing nuts."

Professor Carroll Quigley—B.A., M.A., and Ph.D., all from Harvard in the '30s—is a trim, engaging man who points to his good-sized nose and broad, high forehead with some pride. The physical characteristics mark him as a Carroll and a stroll past the statue of Georgetown University's founder, John Carroll, points up the resemblance.

Quigley does not descend directly from those Carrolls, the landed Marylanders who were influential enough in the Revolutionary years to have a signature on the Constitution. Instead, Quigley's maternal ancestors were the less affluent Carrolls left behind in Ireland who only got around to making it to Halifax a few generations ago. On his father's side, the Quigleys were so poor they couldn't even wait for the potato famine to leave Ireland for Boston in 1828.

Quigley talks genealogy with a historian's precision, spins family stories like a true Irishman, and more: he understands, and tells his listener he understands, how his past shaped him. Young Carroll Quigley lived on the edge of the Irish ghetto in Boston and mixed it up in the streets with Yankees, Italians, Russian Jews and a few blacks, a melting pot of a childhood that Quigley says cast a strong base for his adult writings and teachings.

He cultivated the spirit of the Irish and honed the intellectual interests of the Yankees while attending the Boston Latin School, whose list of distinguished graduates stretches from Benjamin Franklin to Leonard Bernstein. Harvard came next in a natural sort of way and Quigley intended to go into science until he decided "there were a lot a good people in science but nobody good in history."

He kept current in science but formally attacked history; he was no slouch in either. Quigley's Harvard tutor in medieval and ancient history, the late Donald McKay, told him he could be Harvard's first *summa cum laude* graduate in history in seven years—"You could be a summa!" he exhorted Quigley—but the undergraduate chose instead to settle for a magna cum laude for fear of shortchanging his emotional development.

After teaching stints at Princeton and Harvard, Quigley came to Georgetown University in 1941 and became an on-line resource for Washington. He lectured at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Brookings Institution, the Stare Department's Foreign Service Institute and consulted with the Smithsonian and the Senate Select Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

To those duties and to his teachings he brought his holist philosophy, the belief that knowledge cannot be divided into parts, that the world can be viewed only as an interlocking, complex system. The philosophy complemented his life: he had reveled in the traditions and contrasts of his neighborhood, eschewed the summa in favor of keeping his emotional and social development on track, and applied himself to science and economics as well as history. His passion to consider the "big picture" never cooled.

Quigley has no small regret that some of the best minds of his generation insist on treating the world in a 19th Century fashion by tinkering with its problems as a mechanic looks at an engine: spreading the separate parts on the floor and considering each one to find the malfunction. This reductionist way of thinking, Quigley maintains, has gotten Western civilization into all kinds of trouble.

We cluck our tongues about inflation while stores offer expensive Christmas goods with liberal credit schedules that don't call for a first payment until spring. We bellyache about accumulating trash and energy shortages but spend precious little discovering how garbage can become an energy source. That kind of small thinking annoys Professor Carroll Quigley. It annoys him almost as much as if someone took the narrow view that a clique of "Insiders" controlled the world.

The historian's mind remembers the summer of '43 well: the temperature topped 90 degrees 59 days that year, and one stretch lasted 15 days. Quigley, still so Boston formal that he kept his suitcoat on during lectures, was charged with teaching the history of the world to 750 military personnel who had just finished their heavy mid-day meal. Five days a week, for one year, Quigley stood in Gaston Hall and prepared the soldiers for the military occupation of the countries in the European theater that the Allied forces expected to conquer.

From those frenzied months of preparing for his crash courses grew Quigley's eight-pound *Tragedy and Hope*. The title reflects his feeling that "Western civilization is going down the drain." That is the tragedy. When the book came out in 1966, Quigley honestly thought the whole show could he salvaged; that was his hope. He will not say as much today.

The section in his history that was to fascinate the political right concerned the formation of the Council on Foreign Relations and the actions of several famous banking houses. Quigley broke some new ground in his research in the late 1940s; 20 years later the right seized Quigley's findings and drew some broad conclusions.

Quigley had noticed that many prominent Englishmen and outstanding British scholars were members of an honorary society called Fellows of All Souls College. While Quigley was studying the 149 members, a former Fellow visited Washington to speak with Quigley. Quigley began chatting with him about the Fellows of All Souls College: "You mean the Round Table Group.",

the visitor said. What Quigley asked, "is it the Round Table Group?" After considerable research, Quigley knew.

"I learned the Round Table Group was very influential," Quigley says. "I knew they were the real founders of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and I knew they were the founders of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I knew that they were the godfathers of the Council on Foreign Relations. So I began to put this thing together and I found that this group was working for a number of things.

"It was a secret group. Its members were working to federate the English-speaking world. They were closely linked to international bankers. They were working to establish what I call a three-power world: England and the U.S., Hitler's Germany and Soviet Russia. They said, 'We can control Germany because it is boxed in between the Atlantic bloc and the Russians. The Russians will behave because they're boxed in between the Atlantic bloc and the American Navy in Singapore.' Now, notice that this is essentially a balance of power system," Quigley says.

None Dare Call It Conspiracy, using Quigley's data, attributed to the Round Table Group a lust for world domination. Its sympathies were pro-Communist, anti-Capitalist, said the Birch Society book.

"They thought Dr. Carroll Quigley proved everything." Quigley says. "For example, they constantly misquote me to this effect: that Lord Milner (the dominant trustee of the Cecil Rhodes Trust and a heavy in the Round Table Group) helped finance the Bolsheviks. I have been through the greater part of Milner's private papers and have found no evidence to support that.

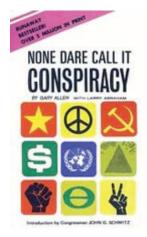
"Further, *None Due Call It Conspiracy* insists that international bankers were a single bloc, were all powerful and remain so today. I, on the contrary, stated in my book that they were much divided, often fought among themselves, had great influence but not control of political life and were sharply reduced in power about 1931-1940, when they became less influential than monopolized industry."

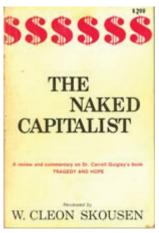
Tragedy and Hope received mixed, though generally favorable, reviews. Opined the Library Journal: "Mr. Quigley . . . has written a very remarkable book: very long, very detailed, very critical, very daring and very good.... His coverage of the world is amazingly encyclopedic and well-balanced." Saturday Review was less flattering: "For those who approve of this way of writing history, his rambling volume may have a certain excellence." Said the New York Times: "The book provides a business-like narrative in which an incredible amount of information is compressed—and in some cases presented—with drama and distinction."

But from the right, Quigley earned kudos for nailing the seminal data on the Round Table Group that helped found the Council on Foreign Relations. His

dispassionate presentation, however, did not sit so well. While Quigley's findings earned him pages of quotation (in apparent violation of copyright laws), *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* sniped: "... the conspirators have had no qualms about fomenting wars, depressions and hatred. They want a monopoly which would eliminate all competitors and destroy the free enterprise system. And Professor Quigley of Harvard, Princeton and Georgetown approves!"

"You see," Quigley says, "originally the John Birch periodical had me as a great guy for revealing everything. But then they became absolutely sour and now they denounce me as a member of the Establishment. I'm just baffled by the whole thing."





None Dare Call It Conspiracy The Naked Capitalist

Quigley was first quoted by Gary Allen, the author of *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, in a 1968 book called *Nixon: The Man Behind the Mask.* Then, an instructor at Brigham Young University in Utah, a Cleo[n] Skousens, wrote *The Naked Capitalist* and again quoted Quigley extensively. But *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* was the big seller. Nearly five million copies of the book have been sold to date, according to the publisher, Concord Press in California, and a new German language edition is selling well.

Author and Birch Society member Gary Allen is one of Quigley's biggest fans, but he laughs a huge laugh when told Quigley is the most reluctant of heroes. Of course, says Allen good-naturedly, the Establishment could not be pleased Quigley revealed so much about a Council on Foreign Relation, which prefers to swing its weight quietly.

"They don't like this thing talked about because it is the real power structure," Allen says from California. "Dr. Quigley let the cat out of the bag. He had the liberal academic credentials. I'm sure a lot of people are very unhappy with him

for telling tales out of school.

Allen did not talk to Quigley before he began quoting from *Tragedy and Hope* because Allen understood from "some intelligence people in Washington" that Quigley was arrogant and unapproachable. "So I took him at his word that he had had access to the private records of the Round Table Group," Allen says. "Now he's trying to duck the importance of what he wrote by saying we picked only a few pages out of a 1,400-page book."

After the books came the letters. Brother Nelson Goodwin, a self-styled Nevada "hobo" evangelist was moved last summer to take pencil in hand and write, "Brother Carroll: I have heard somewhere that 'Snake Eyes Joe Enlai' and 'Mousey Dung' and 'Snake in the Grass Fidel Castro' all received their poison atheistic doctrine in the Universities and Colleges of America. Thank God for Men like you who love our Beautiful United States, the finest nation on the earth. Others, like the writer from Rahway, wanted to know why Quigley "approved of the conspiracy." Quigley has gotten handy at fielding the curve balls.

"You can't believe what people think," he says. "Some believe it is all a Jewish conspiracy, that is part of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion which we now know were perpetuated by the Czarist Russian police force in 1904. And that this conspiracy is the same thing as the Illuminati, a secret society founded in 1776 in Bavaria. And that the Illuminati are a branch of the Masons. There are some people who say the Society of Cincinnati, of which George Washington was a member during the American Revolution, was a branch of the Illuminati and that's why the Masons built their monument in Alexandria to George Washington, since he was a Mason and head of the Illuminati before he helped start the Society of Cincinnati. See what I mean?"

If he chose to, Quigley could probably spend the rest of his life battling the people who are using his research to bolster their own conclusions. But he has narrowed the battle to stopping the illegal publication of *Tragedy and Hope*.

For reasons not clear to Quigley (but he does not attribute it to any conspiracy), Macmillan stopped publishing *Tragedy and Hope* alter it sold 9,000 copies. Suddenly pirate editions began appearing, almost exact photo-reproductions with identical dust jackets and binding. The original book had yellow-edged pages, a touch either missed or considered too costly by whoever decided to begin offering *Tragedy and Hope* on the sly. Carroll Quigley quickly became a right-wing underground sensation.

"We have discovered a limited quantity which we offer to informed patriots on a first come, first served basis for only \$20 each," read one brochure offering the pirate copies. "For the first time, one of the 'insiders' of the international 'elite' gives a candid account of the world of monopoly capitalism. Not easy

reading, but it is essential reading for those who consider themselves in-depth students of the conspiracy."

Quigley hired a lawyer who managed to stop at least one of the pirate presses. Then, working through an intermediary, Quigley sold a West Coast press the right to re-print 2,000 copies of his book to retail for \$25 each, from the Georgetown University bookstore. As long as the right insists on selling his book, Quigley reasons he might as well get his piece of the action. He has no such interest in jumping aboard the conspiracy bandwagon.

"I generally think that any conspiracy theory of history is nonsense," Quigley says, "for the simple reason that most conspiracies that we know about seem to me to be conspiracies of losers, people who have been defeated on the historical platforms of public happenings. The Ku Klux Klan had its arguments destroyed and defeated in the Civil War but because it was not prepared to accept that, the KKK formed a conspiracy to fight underground.

"Now, there is not the slightest doubt that the international bankers have tried to make banking into a mystery. But we are dealing with two different things. I don't think that is a conspiracy; because something is a secret does not mean it is a conspiracy."

The seductive beauty of believing the world is in the grip of one conspiracy or another, however, is that any argument against a conspiracy is simply proof of how clever the conspirators are; red herrings are only a mark of the cunning of the conspirators, says the true believer.

Quigley is weary of tilting with conspiratorial windmills. He is 65 and intends to retire after this academic year. He has books unfinished. None of which, he hastens to add, have to do with conspiracy.

On his farm in West Virginia, Quigley is working on a book on the relationship of weapon systems to the stability of the world. He rests there on weekends and gardens between writing. But still the calls come, many from Texas, Florida and California, Quigley notices. One conspiracy hound called and talked for 20 minutes. Quigley finally said he had to return to his work.

"Just one more question," the caller said. "Just tell me this: why is Nelson Rockefeller a Communist?"

"I don't know," replied Quigley evenly. "I don't think he is but if you know he is and you want to know why he is, why don't you call him up and ask him."

QUIGLEY: ANOTHER SIDE OF A REFLECTIVE MAN

by Helen E. Veit (Introduction by Terrence Boyle) Washington, D. C., SFS '69

Helen Elizabeth Veit was the person closest to Carroll Quigley during the last ten years of his life. No one living today has a better understanding of the man and of his thinking.

Sadly, the last few years of Dr. Quigley's life as a teacher coincided with the late 1960s and early 1970s, when student unrest and anti-intellectualism unsettled college campuses all over this country. In 1969-70 that spirit came violently to Georgetown University and focused especially on the very few teachers like Prof. Quigley who adamantly refused to lower academic standards, no matter what political *cause du jour* was being offered as a reason.

When, therefore, in May 1970, Dr. Quigley and a very few other G.U. professors refused-with, by the way, no support from the craven University Administration of the day-to accede to demands that all classes and examinations be canceled in supposed support of "a nationwide protest" against American military involvement in Indo-China, a band of student activists vowed to prevent classes and examinations from being held, no matter what. Several of these protesters invaded Dr. Quigley's classroom, physically roughed him up, and prevented his final examination from being given that day.

Much of the joy of teaching left Carroll Quigley in the next few years. He complained bitterly that his 1970s college students were woefully undereducated and ill-prepared for college level work and that too many of them had their minds elsewhere, fixated more on bringing about a social revolution than on achieving an education.

And then, when a few years later Dr. Quigley died suddenly, just months after retiring from teaching, some remaining leftist students at G.U., who had so strongly opposed Quigley's tough grading standards, his teaching of the detested "canon of dead white males," and especially his insistent reliance on logic and reasoning, rather than on emotion and intuition, decided they would

have the last word on this man by writing in the school newspaper a shallow obituary criticizing Quigley for not having been more a part of their "real" lives.

Helen Veit wrote a most fitting and irenic reply, which we reproduce here:

To the Editor:

As a student, academic assistant, and friend of Carroll Quigley, I am unhappy to think that Bob McGillicuddy's article, "Carroll Quigley: A Student's Elegy" (the Voice, Feb. 8, 1977), should be the Georgetown student's last picture of this man.

Surely, after his long and dedicated service to Georgetown and its students, he deserves a more sympathetic understanding in the personal sense, to complement McGillicuddy's insights into his thought. I do not seek to make excuses for him. He would be the last person to want that: accepting personal responsibility for one's actions was one of his first principles. But a better perspective may be gained by viewing recent events in the context of his whole career.

Until 1969-71, teaching Georgetown students was one of the most important and rewarding aspects of his life. Then came the campus disturbances, which, for reasons related more to his dynamic and outspoken personality than to any substantive grievance, focused disproportionately on him. At that point, he did, indeed, "turn inward," to concentrate on his writing and live his private life. After more than thirty years of almost uninterrupted teaching, it seems only reasonable that he should want time for other things, for activities made difficult or impossible by his commitment to lecture to hundreds of students a year.

It is understandably difficult for a student to see that teaching was not the only thing in Carroll Quigley's life, but anyone who listened to him must remember his frequent references to the books he wanted to write when he had time, and must know how much he loved and learned from his West Virginia farm. As an undergraduate, I, too, believed teaching was all-important to him; later I learned that he wanted his retirement to be virtually a second career, during which he would write books summing up a lifetime of intense study and experience. Sadly, in the event, his life of teaching was his only life.

Impatient he may have been; arrogant he was not. His emphatic manner derived from his experience of teaching large classes and the need for catching and retaining their attention. But he never believed that he had "answers"; what he taught was methods of approaching problems. He often stressed how little we know about the important things of life, especially human relationships. What he sought above all was to help people to become mature, by realizing their potentials and understanding that material things, however necessary, should never be ends themselves, while what is important is seeking the truth in cooperation with others, with the knowledge that one will never find it.

Nor was he ever cynical, much as he deplored inefficiency and ignorance. His beliefs and principles were of the highest order; his greatest joy came from finding people who could meet his standards, and from whom he could learn.

Students should grant to others the same degree of understanding they ask for themselves; they should realize that even professors have private lives and the need for intellectual activities outside the classroom. Carroll Quigley's impatience came from his deep awareness that a man who wants to do so much can never have enough time. He was a man in a hurry—events have proved him right.

THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS

by Harry J. Hogan to the second (1979) edition of Carroll Quigley's The Evolution of Civilizations: An Introduction to Historical Analysis.

Dr. Hogan, now retired, has been a professor, administrator, and lawyer. He received his B.A. magna cum laude from Princeton University, his LL.B. from Columbia Law School, and his Ph.D. in American history from George Washington University.

His articles have appeared in the American Bar Association Journal, the Journal of Politics, and other periodicals.

The Evolution of Civilizations expresses two dimensions of its author, Carroll Quigley, that most extraordinary historian, philosopher, and teacher. In the first place, its scope is wide-ranging, covering the whole of man's activities throughout time. Second, it is analytic, not merely descriptive. It attempts a categorization of man's activities in sequential fashion so as to provide a causal explanation of the stages of civilization.

Quigley coupled enormous capacity for work with a peculiarly "scientific" approach. He believed that it should be possible to examine the data and draw conclusions. As a boy at the Boston Latin School, his academic interests were mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Yet during his senior year he was also associate editor of the Register, the oldest high school paper in the country. His articles were singled out for national awards by a national committee headed by George Gallup.

At Harvard, biochemistry was to be his major. But Harvard, expressing then a belief regarding a well-rounded education to which it has now returned, required a core curriculum including a course in the humanities. Quigley chose a history course, "Europe Since the Fall of Rome." Always a contrary man, he was graded at the top of his class in physics and calculus and drew a C in the history course. But the development of ideas began to assert its fascination for him, so he elected to major in history. He graduated *magna cum laude* as the top history student in his class.

Quigley was always impatient. He stood for his doctorate oral examination at the end of his second year of graduate studies. Charles Howard McIlwain, chairman of the examining board, was very impressed by Quigley's answer to his





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CARROLL QUIGLEY

LIFE, LECTURES & COLLECTED WRITINGS

ncreasing remoteness of desires from needs; increasing confusion between means and ends. The ends are human needs. Instead we want the means we have been brainwashed to accept. Never was any society in human history as rich and as powerful as Western Civilization and the United States, and it is not a happy society.

The cause of today's instability is that we now have a society in America, Europe and much of the world which is totally dominated by the two elements of sovereignty that are not included in the state structure: control of credit and banking, and the corporation. These are free of political controls and social responsibility and have largely monopolized power in Western Civilization and in American society. They are ruthlessly going forward to eliminate land, labor, entrepreneurial-managerial skills, and everything else the economists once told us were the chief elements of production. The only element of production they are concerned with is the one they can control: capital.

The final result will be that the American people will ultimately prefer communities. They will cop out or opt out of the system. Today everything is a bureaucratic structure, and brainwashed people who are not personalities are trained to fit into this bureaucratic structure and say it is a great life — although I would assume that many on their death beds must feel otherwise. The process of copping out will take a long time, but notice: we are already copping out of military service on a wholesale basis; we are already copping out of voting on a large scale basis. People are also copping out by refusing to pay any attention to newspapers or to what's going on in the world, and by increasing emphasis on the growth of localism, what is happening in their own neighborhoods.

When Rome fell, the Christian answer was: "Create our own communities."



